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*Yours faithfully in Christ,
J. Hudson Taylor*



ON THE COVER | SUR LA COUVERTURE

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Contesting Urban Space between the Dutch and the Sultanate of Yogyakarta in Nineteenth-Century Indonesia

BY PURNAWAN BASUNDORO

AND LINGGAR RAMA DIAN PUTRA

Abstract: This article focuses on the historical construction of what has recently been understood as the urban space of Indonesian colonial cities. Although studies on this topic have been carried out within various contexts, scholars generally take the concept of urban space for granted as a means to expand their arguments. Moreover, since the historical evidence shows that the domination of colonial power is contingent on several conditions including the economy, military actions, and local politics in the colonies, it becomes necessary for academics to reconceptualize Indonesian colonial urban histories. In this matter, the reconceptualization calls for more explanation of how colonial urban space was created during early colonial times in which the socio-political foundations of colonialism took place. This study traces the history of the city of Yogyakarta, Indonesia, in the nineteenth century, and examines the transformation of urban space during the colonial conflict between the Dutch and the Kingdom of Yogyakarta. Economic, military, and political conditions shaped the development of urban space of Yogyakarta. The city was deeply influenced by Dutch colonial policies, including the introduction of colonial norms and values in an engineered urban space.

Keywords: Political power, urban space, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, colonialism, Prince Diponegoro, colonial segregation, Javanese history

Résumé : Le présent article porte sur la construction historique de ce qui a récemment été considéré comme étant l'espace urbain des villes coloniales indonésiennes. Bien que les études sur ce sujet aient été menées dans divers contextes, en général les chercheurs prennent pour acquis la notion de l'espace urbain en tant que moyen pour développer leurs arguments. En outre, puisque les faits historiques démontrent que la domination du pouvoir colonial est liée à plusieurs conditions, notamment l'économie, les actions militaires, et la politique locale dans les colonies, les universitaires doivent reconceptualiser l'histoire urbaine coloniale de l'Indonésie. À ce titre, cette reconceptualisation requiert davantage d'expliquer la façon dont l'espace urbain colonial fut créé au début de l'ère coloniale, période au cours de laquelle les bases socio-politiques du colonialisme furent jetées. Cette étude retrace l'histoire de la ville de Yogyakarta, en Indonésie, au XIX^e siècle afin d'étudier la transformation de l'espace urbain lors du conflit colonial entre les Néerlandais et le royaume de Yogyakarta. Les conditions économiques, militaires et politiques façonnèrent le développement de l'espace urbain de Yogyakarta. La ville fut donc profondément influencée par les politiques coloniales, en

particulier par l'introduction de normes et de valeurs coloniales dans un espace urbain planifié.

Mots clés : Pouvoir politique, espace urbain, Yogyakarta, Indonésie, colonialisme, Prince Diponegoro, ségrégation coloniale, histoire javanaise

I. INTRODUCTION

This article investigates the efforts of the Dutch to escalate their influence in Java, particularly Yogyakarta, during the nineteenth century. It departs from Lombard's discussion of the non-ideal condition of the formation of Dutch colonialism.¹ Internal problems, including the limited number of Dutch officers and the political upheavals in Europe, might have hampered that process. Further study by van Zanden has shown how the Dutch dealt with this situation by developing political-economic experiments carried out in three stages in different periods of time, and he has suggested that the relationship between the colony and colonizer in the era of colonialism was dynamic in order to keep the balance of power both in the colony and in Europe.² Indeed, each stage of experiments was initially intended for particular objectives and resulted in deeply differing political and economic consequences for the colony. Based on this tradition, this article highlights the development of urban space in nineteenth century Yogyakarta both as the direct consequence of the political-economic policies and, to a certain degree, the Dutch's experiment of transformative power.

The arguments in this paper are twofold. Firstly, we argue that the development of urban space in Indonesian colonial cities depended on the relationship and political constellation between the colony and the colonizing nation in particular periods of time. This is based on the idea, as Harvey suggested, that such political-economic policy, to certain degrees, affected the condition of urban space since it was also the precondition of urban governance in a particular place and time.³ Secondly, the Dutch political-economic policies over the colony in the nineteenth century not only contributed to the formation of the urban but also put in place structures of power so that the Dutch could maintain and distribute their influence in the colony, including everyday life. These policies underpin

- 1 Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya. Kajian Sejarah Terpadu. Bagian I: Batas-batas Pembaratan*, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1996), 63.
- 2 Jan Luiten van Zanden, "Colonial state formation and the patterns of economic development in Java, 1800–1913," *Economic History of Developing Regions*, 25.2 (2010): 155–176.
- 3 David Harvey, "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism," in "The Roots of Geographical Change: 1973 to the Present," special issue, *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 71.1 (1989): 3–17.

the existing norms and values of the colonial system, insuring that as the urban space changes, it remains a part of colonial systems of power.⁴

Therefore, this article focuses on the development of urban space in one of the colonial cities in the hinterland of Java, Yogyakarta. It traces back what Houben called “the parades and rituals” of power as the strategy of colonial power in nineteenth-century Yogyakarta.⁵ This non-military strategy was carried out to extend colonial control over the people since a coercive military strategy, particularly toward the existing ruler of Yogyakarta, was incompatible with the Dutch political-economic policy within the country. This article thus deals with several questions such as how Dutch colonial policies affected the development of urban space in Yogyakarta; what the influencing factors of such policies were; and how the political approaches of the Dutch created cultural encounters between the colony and the colonizing nation as they enforced their urban policies in Yogyakarta. In the end, the main goal of this article is to explore the history of the urban space of Yogyakarta as a particular feature both during and since the colonial eras in Indonesia. It aims to explore, as Colombijn suggested, the historical events in a particular city that constitute the history of the city itself.⁶ Indeed, urban space is the tangible factor that might inform us of the stories of the past.

II. WHY YOGYAKARTA?

Following the establishment of their fort and headquarters in Batavia, the Dutch became more dependent on the rest of Java. Their strategic locations linking the east and the west of the archipelago were one of the reasons for this, in addition to the rice and timber produced on massive scales in Java.⁷ Indeed, the frequent massive production of rice was the main economic reason for conquering Java since the island was the major supplier of the commodity as a thousand tonnes of rice was shipped from Java to several ports in the seventeenth century.⁸ Since rice was a basic need of the commercial allies of the Dutch in the East Indies, such as Melaka, Banten, Aceh, Moluccas, Banda, and so on, which relied heavily on the imported rice,

4 Ambe J. Njoh, “Urban planning as a tool of power and social control in colonial Africa,” *Planning Perspectives*, 24.3 (2009): 301–317.

5 Vincent Houben, *Keraton dan Kompeni. Surakarta dan Yogyakarta, 1830–1870* (Jogjakarta: Benteng Budaya Press, 2002), 147.

6 Freek Colombijn, *Under Construction: The Politics of Urban Space and Housing during the Decolonization of Indonesia, 1930–1960* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 5.

7 Merle Calvin Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*. Third Edition (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 91.

8 Anthony Reid, “The Pre-Colonial Economy of Indonesia,” *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 20.2 (1984): 151–167.

controlling Java meant gaining a higher position within the East Indies' political economic circle.

Compared to the other islands in the archipelago, Java was far more interesting for the political economy of the Dutch. The Napoleonic War and the following dispute among European nations at the turn of the nineteenth century in Europe had caused a deficit for the Dutch economy. Because of this, optimizing the colony was considered a possible means by which to cover the impacts of the war.⁹ At that time, Java seemed to be more ready for economic exploitation along with several opportunities which were available on the island. In addition to the surplus of rice, the availability of fertile land and human labour might be the most important aspects recognized by the Dutch in Java. Despite the fact that both in Indonesia as well as on other islands in Southeast Asia, land was widely available, in contrast, the number of labourers was limited and, in many cases, labour had to be obtained through warfare and conquering other areas for human mobilization.¹⁰ In Java, labour scarcity was also similar but the island was more populated than other islands, such as Sumatera, Borneo, Bali, Sulawesi, Moluccas, and the Lesser Sunda islands. Reid described that in the early nineteenth century, the population of Java were approximately 5,200,000 people, almost twice that of Sumatra and multiple times that of other islands.¹¹ They dwelled in the pockets of fertile land and cultivated wet agriculture as their primary livelihood. In spite of the fact that the pockets of population were scattered in villages throughout Java, their social organizations, which were centralized through several chiefdoms, provided an intensive means of cultivating the land to achieve crop surplus.

One of several central organizations in Java was the Sultanate of Yogyakarta which had previously been part of the Mataram Kingdom. The sultanate was located in Central Java approximately 124 kilometres from the Dutch regional office for Central Java, Semarang. Inheriting its authority and tradition from Mataram, Yogyakarta developed a centralized power in which the Sultan was the chief of political, economic, and cultural affairs. He ruled directly, not only inside the palace and its capital but also in the satellite areas called *negaragung*, which spanned from the east near Surakarta up close to the West Java borders.¹² In the early nineteenth century, the kingdom achieved prosperity in economic, demographic,

9 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 155.

10 Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450–1680. Volume One: The Lands below the Winds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 132.

11 Reid, "The Pre-Colonial Economy of Indonesia," 151–167.

12 Selo Soemardjan, *Perubahan Sosial di Yogyakarta* (Kota Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2009), 27.

and military sectors.¹³ This condition came from the surplus produced by the intensive agricultural system involving cultural-political intervention from the palace. *Negaragung*, which was generally an agricultural-based economic zone, was the place where fertile land and an organization of labour were arranged within the rule of the palace, which included the partition of the areas called *perbekelan* and its application of the tax over the farmland. Here, the princes and noblemen of the sultanate and their staff, called *bekel*, were given a special right to collect taxes for each area in *negaragung* once a year (twice after the 1830s) in the harvesting season.¹⁴ To control this taxation system, the Sultan obligated all of the elites to live in the capital city by which means the Sultan oversaw taxation as well as the trading of the agricultural surplus. The point was that even though the city of Yogyakarta was located in the hinterland, far from the north coast main trading ports of central Java, the sultanate's centralized system had made the capital city of Yogyakarta important at least in supporting the management of land and labour as the most important production factors in the interior of Java at that time.

In spite of the fact that the military units of the sultanate also grew together with increasing prosperity, Dutch military tactics were always able to defeat the sultanate's or local elites' military campaigns. Ricklefs has shown that in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, at least, there were three military contentions involving Batavia and the sultanate, namely the Daendels's invasion of the palace in his early rule, an exceptional Batavia-based British attack under Raffles during the post-Napoleonic war transition, and the Java War.¹⁵ Although the Java War was the last and biggest war and its end might finally symbolize the superiority of the Dutch politics and military approaches over Yogyakarta, the Dutch still worried that potential resistance would remain. Debates emerged among the Dutch political elites in the Netherlands as to whether the sultanate was to be destroyed together with the ending of the Java War to ensure the Dutch economic interests over the Indonesian archipelago. Eventually, the appointed general governor for the colony, Van den Bosch, who proposed the *cultuurstelsel* project in Java, decided to annex only the outer territories and kept the sultanate alive to strategically use it for the agricultural exploitation of Java.¹⁶

Through frequent and continuous negotiations with the sultan and his political advisors, the Dutch representative for Yogyakarta reinforced the Van den Bosch policy over the kingdom. Right after his arrival in Java,

13 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 143.

14 Soemardjan, *Perubahan Sosial di Yogyakarta*, 28.

15 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*.

16 Houben, *Keraton dan Kompeni*.

Van den Bosch's *cultuurstelsel* project was already underway in the majority of the island. It worked within the intriguing nexus between the Dutch, the sultanate, and the local elites including *bupati* or regents whom the Dutch employed as the existing organization of power between the sultanate and the *bupatis* in organizing labour even though technically the *bupatis* worked under the direction of the Dutch.¹⁷ This was due to the fact that the sultanate's cultural influence over the *bupatis* remained and the *bupatis* remained loyal to the sultanate. Destroying this system suddenly would have been costly compared to using it for Dutch interests. Therefore, since the cultural influence of the sultan on the *bupatis* and other Javanese elites still remained, the Dutch kept the sultanate as if the Sultan was still legally ruling over the *bupati*. Nonetheless, the approaches to the sultanate were still maintained to prevent any form of resistance in order to create stability for economic purposes.¹⁸ At that time, the system proved effective and efficient for Dutch economic goals despite the fact that, at certain points, it produced disasters for Javanese, such as famine and debt bondage.¹⁹

III. SULTAN EMBODIMENT IN THE JAVANESE TRADITIONAL URBAN SPACE OF YOGYAKARTA

Since the beginning of the sultanate, the capital of Yogyakarta had played important roles. Aside from being the centre of political and economic policies where the sultanate's elites circulated, the capital state of Yogyakarta was built and spatially distributed according to the Javanese traditional morphology of space that reflected the essence of the sultanate as the leader of not only the secular aspects but also of the sacred ones. In this section, we would like to show the work of the Sultan's power through the arrangement of space in the capital of Yogyakarta. Indeed, we employ what Low termed "the embodied space."²⁰ This concept allows us to treat the self, which contains and at the same time is contained by the body that is presented in the narrative of space. In Yogyakarta, the spatial arrangement of the capital expressed the Sultan's bodily knowledge, which was transformed into the spatial distribution of the city through which the exercise of power was carried out.

In Javanese social and political culture, the Sultan is central to all aspects of social beings. According to Soemardjan, the self of the Sultan is considered

17 Robert van Niel, "Measurement of Change under the Cultivation System in Java, 1837-1851," *Indonesia* 14 (1972): 89-109.

18 Houben, *Keraton dan Kompeni*.

19 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*.

20 Setha M. Low, "Embodied Space(s): Anthropological Theories of Body, Space, and Culture," *Space and Culture* 6.1 (2003): 9-18.

to be the source of all power in the world identified with dignity, prestige, justice, wisdom, and prosperity.²¹ Employing the combination of Javanese, Hindu, and Islamic cultural concepts in reigning the kingdom, the Sultan entitles himself *Ngarsa Dalem Sampeyan Dalem Senopati ing Ngalogo Abdurrahman Sayyidin Panotogomo Khalifatullah*, which means he is the highest leader for social and political affairs, the commander of the people in dealing with threats and enemies, and the patron of religious and cultural affairs since he is also God's representation in the world.²² His centrality is described through the spatial distribution of the kingdom, which includes *keraton* (the palace) as the bridge between the Sultan and the world, as well as the sacred and the secular; *negara* (the capital) that surrounds the palace as the space of social and political governmental aspects and the place for the *keraton's* political and cultural elites; *Negaragung* as the agricultural-based economic zones; and the *mancanegara* (foreign world) as the semi-autonomous areas led by their own elites under the Sultan's political influence.²³

For the Sultan, the capital is as important as the palace where he lives and governs the kingdom. Aside from the place for elites and their offices for governmental tasks, the capital is the place for social, economic, and cultural affairs in which all people from various social backgrounds meet to do their business (see Figure 1). Typically, several hubs for people's affairs are spotted in the capital outside the wall-fenced palace such as the mosque, *alun-alun lor* (northward of the palace) for cultural activities, the market, the *patih's* (prime minister) home and office, and the attorney office.²⁴ Hence, the capital is the space where all the kingdom's affairs, both internal and external ones, are centralized.

Centralizing all people's business in the capital was not without a purpose. Since the kingdom was founded, the spatial distribution including the capital's establishment as the centre of activities has been meaningful particularly in expressing the Sultan's power over the people as well as for the sultanate's political partners. It dated back to the mid seventeenth century when the palace and the capital were first established. Actually, it was the first Sultan himself who designed the spatial structure of the palace and the capital as two different but interrelated worlds. On the one hand, the capital represented the secular while, on the other hand, it was also linked with several entrance gates into the

21 Soemardjan, *Perubahan Sosial di Yogyakarta*, 25.

22 Lailatuzz Zuhriyah, "Kosmologi Islam kesultanan Ngayogyakarta Hadinin-grat," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam*, 3.1 (2003): 90–116.

23 Soemardjan, *Perubahan Sosial di Yogyakarta*, 27.

24 Handinoto, *Perkembangan Kota di Jawa Abad XVIII sampai Pertengahan Abad XX. Dipandang dari Sudut Bentuk dan Struktur Kotanya* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2015), 65.

wall-fortified palace as the sacred space.²⁵ Following the Javanese environment-based cosmology, which included natural symbols such as the mountains, trees, seas, and so on, the first Sultan built the palace and the capital along the north-south imaginary axis line stretching from Mount Merapi in the north to the sea in the south, aligning with the axis of wind directions.²⁶ The southernmost part of the capital was the *panggung kra-pyak* monument, which was the forest-covered area of flora and fauna, while in the other direction, it ended in the *tugu* (Javanese tower) monument in the northernmost area. The palace is located in the middle of the imaginary line facing the north, which philosophically symbolizes the human being's transformation from living in the wilderness to living a religious and civic life under the palace's guidance.²⁷ Next to the north of the palace, the market is located, as well as the *patih* (prime minister's) office, *alun-alun lor* (the north square), and the mosque. They are the central points, representing the Sultan's power not only as the social, political, and military leader, but also as the protector of people's welfare and cultural-spiritual affairs. While the prime minister's office and the market describe politics and prosperity, the *alun-alun lor* and the mosque indicate the cultural and spiritual foundation of the sultanate, since all of the sultanate's cultural-spiritual festivities were carried out in these places. The mosque, in particular, also functions as the place of worship and for education where the *santri* (pupils) come and learn Islam.²⁸

This spatial arrangement reflects the means of the Sultan to accumulate his power through non-coercive ways. Within this spatial setting exists transformative knowledge through which the Sultan, on the one hand, simultaneously accumulates his power and, on the other hand, the Sultan subjects his people through the transformative knowledge embedded in the "analytical space."²⁹ In this conceptually "disciplinary space" people behave according to the sultanate rule, not only because of the design of the city, but also the myth or narrative of the city's design, which demonstrates

25 Ibid.

26 Bambang Karsono and Julaihi Wahid, "Imaginary Axis as a Basic Morphology in the City of Yogyakarta-Indonesia," Paper presented at the 2nd International Conference on Built Environment in Developing Countries (ICBEDC 2008).

27 Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala Yogyakarta, *Monografi Pesanggrahan-pesanggrahan Kraton Yogyakarta* (Sleman, Yogyakarta: Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala Yogyakarta, 2008), 6.

28 Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala Yogyakarta, *Mosaik Pusaka Budaya Yogyakarta* (Kalasan, Yogyakarta: Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala Yogyakarta, 2009), 141.

29 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison; Translated from the French by Alan Sheridan* (London: Penguin Books, 1979), 143.

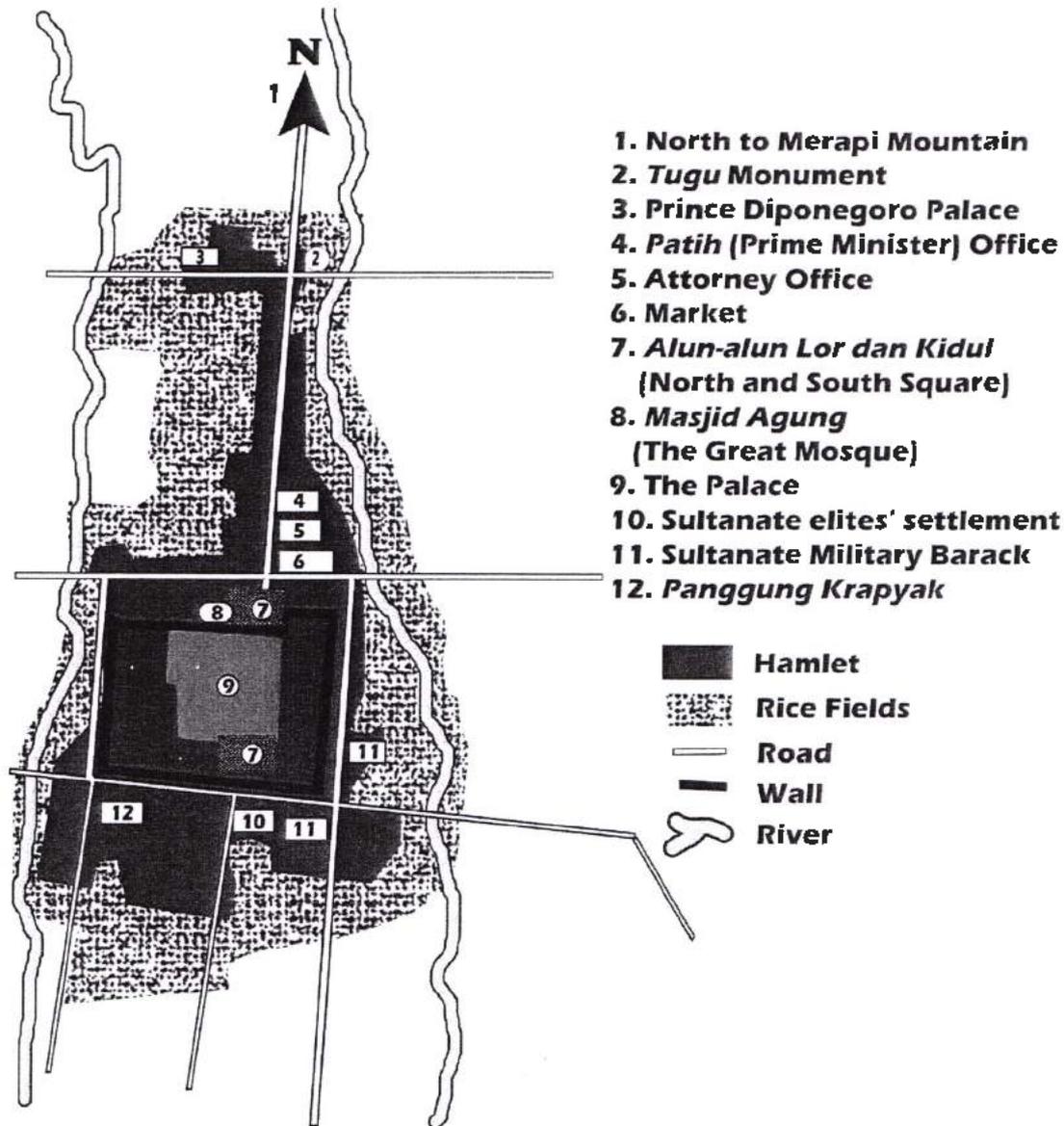


Figure 1: The Yogyakarta capital urban pattern in early establishment. Re-sketched by Basundoro and Putra based on Archive of the Province of Yogyakarta, "Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala DIY, Hasil Pendataan/Pendokumentasian Bangunan Indis di Kawasan Bintaran Yogyakarta," locally published 1997.

the power of the sultanate. The design of the space and its narrative reinforced devotion to the sultanate. Furthermore, the spatial order of the capital of Yogyakarta also reflects the Sultan himself in the sense that he is the leader of socio-political life, commander of the people, and religious figure in the kingdom. Indeed, the Sultan embodies himself within the spatial arrangement he makes as if he keeps an eye on subjects' activities and speaks to them about his sovereignty and power. According to Low and her concept of embodied space, the Sultan's embodiment has created cultural space whereby the Sultan's bodily knowledge constitutes and

repeatedly is constituted.³⁰ Hence, the spatial order of the palace and capital of Yogyakarta functions not merely as the means of spatial distribution but also as what Foucault has termed “the generalized surveillance,” the disciplinary technique to produce docile or loyal subjects.³¹

Another factor that reinforces the space-based disciplinary layout of Yogyakarta is the homogeneity of its population. Unlike other coastal cities, Yogyakarta, which is located in the interior of Java and far from the main water-based trading routes, had only a few foreigners dwelling there. The mid nineteenth century statistics noted that the demographic population of Yogyakarta was still dominated by Javanese, reaching roughly ninety-five percent while the other five percent were foreigners of both European and other Asian groups.³² Furthermore, since its economy relied on agriculture instead of trading, the land authority holders, who were the Sultan and other royal descendants, dominated power over the capital of Yogyakarta. Despite the fact that Yogyakarta was also involved in trading, for which the Chinese people controlled the market, the royal elites still dominated the main commodity they produced: rice. This could be seen from the elites’ housing complex called *dalem pangeran*, which was usually surrounded by the settlements of traders who had business with them.³³ This characteristic of power was different with the maritime portal cities in which the merchants or *orang kaya* also had strong political influences in addition to those of the royal elites since they had enough resources, derived from their trading activities, to mobilize people.³⁴ Thus, the social configuration of hinterland cities such as Yogyakarta was more solid in terms of the distribution of power and people’s loyalty to their leaders. It made sense that although the Dutch had militarily defeated the sultanate and tried employing the kingdom and its social configuration of labour for Dutch purposes, the working power of the Sultan could potentially threaten the Dutch interests in the interior of Java.

IV. DUTCH INTRUSION IN YOGYAKARTA URBAN CAPITAL

In this section, we provide an illustration of the Dutch means of contesting the power of the sultanate through the spatial politics enforced in the city of Yogyakarta. We analyze the physical changes that occurred during

30 Low, “Embodied Space(s),” 9–18.

31 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 143.

32 Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo, *Kota Yogyakarta 1880–1930: Sejarah Perkembangan Sosial* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Untuk Indonesia, 2000), 23.

33 Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala Yogyakarta, *Mosaik Pusaka Budaya Yogyakarta*.

34 Anthony Reid, “The Structure of Cities in Southeast Asia, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 11.2 (1980): 235–250.

the nineteenth century as the Dutch projects transformed the landscape of the city of Yogyakarta. We try to present the socio-cultural aspects underlying such changes. Indeed, as Rotenberg points out, studying physical transformation of a colonial city does not mean overlooking the human factors.³⁵ Instead, he stressed that the physical aspect of the city is the evidence of the past efforts of urban engineering projects. The city landscape creates new imaginaries, as well as boundaries of both geographical and cultural experiences of the city. The physicality is thus one of the most tangible aspects that we can use to contextualize and examine colonial ideologies.³⁶ Since the development of colonial urban space, in this context, is subject to the condition of locality and the nexus between the Dutch and local rulers, here we show how each period of the colonial political-economic policies was construed and reconfigured into specific urban patterns. Indeed, the main purpose of contesting the prevailing spatial patterns of the sultanate in the city of Yogyakarta was to reduce the sultanate's influence over the city.

a. The Early Period

In Yogyakarta, a year after the establishment of the palace, the Dutch continuously attempted to restrict the Sultan's political movements beyond his territories. Aside from the many legal agreements, the effort to delimit the sultanate's influence was also carried out by the spatial intrusion of Yogyakarta's spatial symbolic configurations (for the early period of the Dutch intrusion to Yogyakarta capital city, please see Figure 2). In 1760 or four years after the establishment of the palace, the Dutch built their first post located in the north of the palace since the Dutch East India Company, or *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie's* (voc) proposal for building a fort in Yogyakarta was rejected by Sultan Hamengkubuwono I. The post was intentionally designed as a rest area for Dutch clerks or visitors to Yogyakarta.³⁷ Since the tension between Yogyakarta and voc arose in the late eighteenth century, the Dutch were urged to establish their fort in Yogyakarta.³⁸ Facing Dutch coercion, the Sultan eventually accepted the proposal, but politically intervened in the establishment process by giving help, both in terms of materials

35 Robert Rotenberg, "Metropolitanism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Nineteenth-Century Colonial Metropolises," *American Anthropologist* 103.1 (2001): 7-15.

36 Ibid.

37 Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala-Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, *Laporan Pendokumentasian Bangunan-bangunan Kuno yang Merupakan Struktur Kota Lama Yogyakarta* (Yogyakarta, 2000).

38 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*.

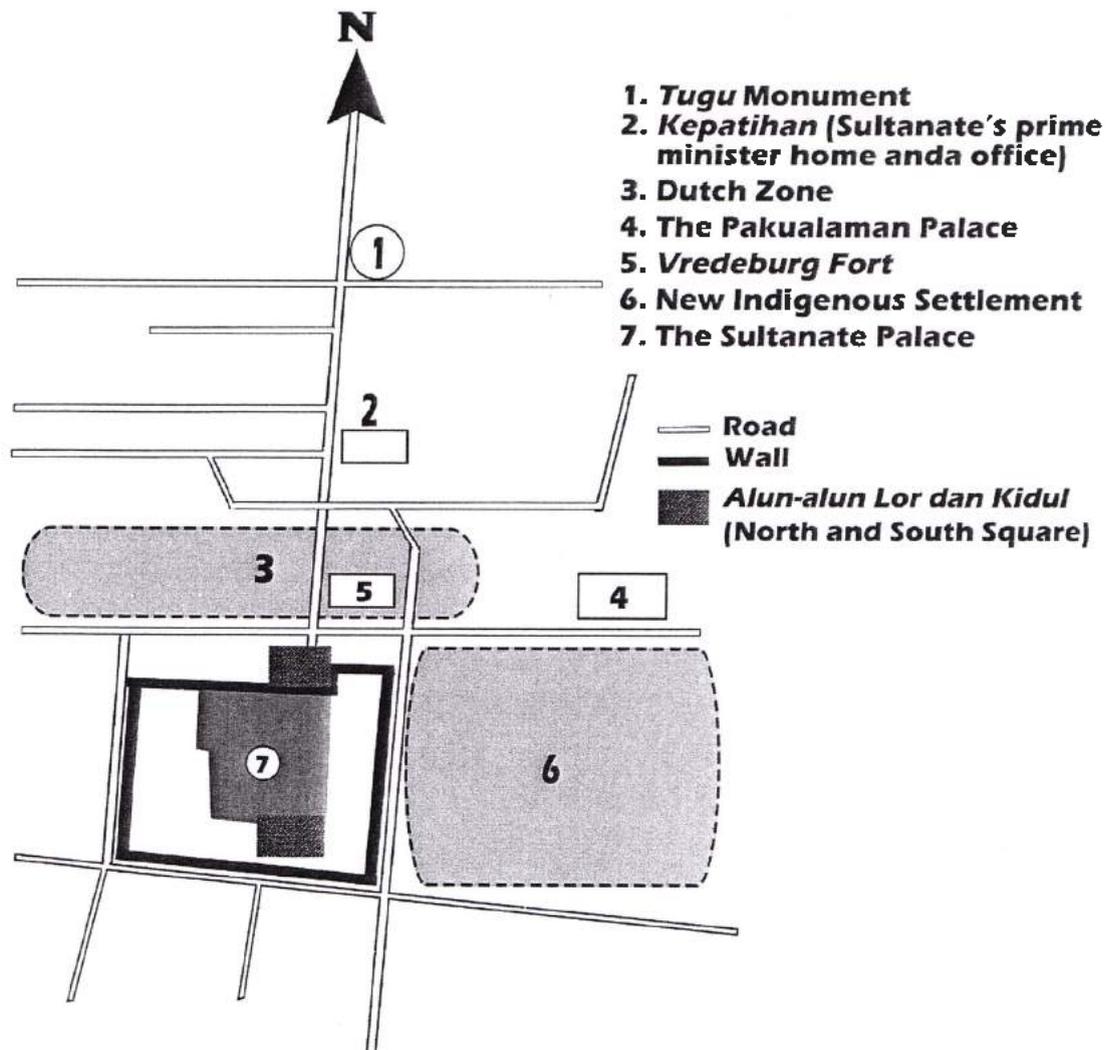


Figure 2: The capital city of Yogyakarta after Daendels and Raffles's reformation in the early nineteenth century. Re-sketched by Basundoro and Putra based on Archive of Provincial of Yogyakarta, "Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala DIY, Hasil Pendataan/Pendokumentasian Bangunan Indis di Kawasan Bintaran," locally published in 1997.

and workers, for the fort building process. Finally, it was completed in 1788 and was named *Vredeborg*, which meant the fort of peace since the Sultan also took part in establishing it.³⁹

The establishment of the Vredeborg Fort benefitted the Dutch although it was less meaningful in reducing the sultanate's influence over the people. The fort and its military training ground, which were located in a

39 Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala-Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, *Laporan Pendokumentasian Bangunan-bangunan Kuno yang Merupakan Struktur Kota Lama Yogyakarta*.

yard in front of the building across from the main road to the palace, had blocked the northward direction of the spatial planning development of the capital as it had already been planned according to the Javanese concept.⁴⁰ As the north of the palace had been occupied, the sultanate had to change his plan to build the capital either to the east or the west crossing the two rivers located in both directions. Furthermore, the establishment of the fort also allowed Dutch spies to increase their surveillance over the sultanate. Locating the fort between the palace and the *kepatihan* (the prime minister's home and office) enabled Dutch spies to observe the sultanate since they could see any time there were movements made either by the Sultan or his prime minister. Despite the fact that the development of the capital was no longer toward the north as had been planned in the north-south imaginary cosmic, the people of Yogyakarta were still faithful to their leader. To keep maintaining the people's faith over the sultanate's power, the crown prince, who was later to become Sultan Hamengkubuwono II, mobilized people for the fortification project. When the Vredeburg Fort was about to be finished in 1785, he constructed a "European-style fortification" of the palace displacing the wooden fortress as it was built by his father.⁴¹ The new fortifications encircled the palace and were built with walls four metres thick and about 3.7 metres high. In line with the sultanate's tradition of personifying the palace's properties, the fort was named *Beteng Baluwarti*. At that time, it was the most wonderful building in the palace and its greatness was described in a poem, called *mijil*, telling about its beauty, myth, and strength.⁴²

In the early nineteenth century, the administrative reformation brought about by Daendels and Raffles in the whole of the Dutch East Indies changed the landscape of Yogyakarta's capital. Since the reformation altered the status of Yogyakarta from an independent state to just a vassal of Batavia, the Dutch established resident offices to oversee colonial matters within the vassalized territory. The head administrator was simply known as the resident, and they, in turn, authorized new residences, districts within the vassal city that were colonial Dutch spaces. When the principle of the residence was applied in Yogyakarta, the role of Vredeburg Fort became more important. It was no longer for European troops only but also for the resident office. The number of European people increased since Dutch clerks arrived in order to administrate the residence of Yogyakarta, which included all sultanate territories. Before

40 Handinoto, *Perkembangan Kota di Jawa Abad XVIII sampai Pertengahan Abad XX*.

41 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 135.

42 Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala Yogyakarta, *Mosaik Pusaka Budaya Yogyakarta*, 146.

the Java War, there were approximately 400 European people including the residence's servants and armies. Since the fort was no longer able to accommodate the increasing European population, in 1824, the Dutch built a new residence office right in front of the fort in the former Dutch army's training ground.⁴³ Furthermore, new barracks and settlements were founded in the east and south of the fort restricted to European inhabitants.⁴⁴

The other impact of the reformation agenda in the early nineteenth century was the establishment of a new palace in the eastern part of the Sultanate called *Pakualaman*. When Raffles took Batavia from Dutch-French occupation, he also announced the clearance of Daendels's remaining institutions, one of which was the sultanate of Yogyakarta under Sultan Hamengkubuwono II. With the help of Prince Natakusuma, a member of the sultanate's royal family, British troops defeated the sultanate in June 1812 and as he was loyal to the British government, Raffles gave him inheritable land with 4,000 households and placed him in the new independent palace.⁴⁵ From then the Pakualaman Palace became a new urban primary unit that served as the pull factor, attracting more citizens to dwell surrounding the new palace to the east.

What was important in this early period was that, at that time, a different spatial orientation in Yogyakarta's capital was initially introduced. The new Dutch building tried to interrupt the existing spatial arrangement of Yogyakarta as proposed by the Sultan. This spatial interruption, however, was also intended to block the sultanate's spatial development toward the north. It served as the foundation of the Dutch spatial project in the future era upon which the Dutch metropolitanism project was based. Furthermore, the Dutch building in the north of the palace was also to increase the surveillance over the Sultan and elites of Yogyakarta in order to prevent any resistance the Dutch thought the sultanate may attempt. Although military-based surveillance had been carried out and administrative pressure had been reinforced since the anti-feudal reformations of both Daendels and Raffles, these efforts were arguably insufficient to achieve Dutch goals as, in the late 1820s, the Java War, led by Prince Diponegoro, broke out. This conflict took many lives and materials from both the Dutch and their allies, and from Diponegoro who, at that time, was supported by a lot of Javanese — elites and subjects alike.⁴⁶

43 Ibid., 173–174.

44 Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala-Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, *Laporan Pendokumentasian Bangunan-bangunan Kuno yang Merupakan Struktur Kota Lama Yogyakarta*.

45 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 149.

46 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*.

b. The Java War and the Polluted City

The Java War is the most important historical period in the nineteenth century in Java. This is not only due to the huge resources devoted to the war but also its implications for Java in the aftermath.⁴⁷ The war mobilized people as well as resources from all the surrounding countryside up to the north coast of Java. Since Prince Diponegoro had successfully gained support from the villagers and other Javanese elites, he employed guerilla tactics and manoeuvred the battlefield out of the city of Yogyakarta.⁴⁸ Disrupting the Dutch communications and logistics by limiting access to the city of Yogyakarta was the strategy through which, in his early two years, Diponegoro's campaign resulted in a sequence of victories. Hence in the Java War, despite the fact that most of the events occurred away from Yogyakarta's capital, the centre of conflict was still in the city of Yogyakarta.

Understanding the Java War's impact on the city of Yogyakarta cannot be separated from discussing the previous events that led to the war. This is not an attempt to escape from discussing the impact on the city during the war. We acknowledge that there are few historical sources talking about the city of Yogyakarta in this period. However, studying evidence pertaining to the dynamics of the city in the final years prior to the Java War may describe an important sequence of history for the urban space of Yogyakarta. In this regard, we argue that the Java War is the manifestation of the contestation over urban space of Yogyakarta, as the primary symbol of power and dignity in Javanese tradition, between the Diponegoro side, which urged for purification of socio-political affairs and the Dutch administration in cooperation with the reigning sultanate, both of which enjoyed benefits from their alliance for their own purposes. We highlight this scheme in the paragraphs that follow.

In the years prior to the outbreak of the Java War, Yogyakarta witnessed both the structural and cultural legacies of Franco-Dutch and British reformation of the colony. The changing political relationship, which posited the Kingdom of Yogyakarta as equal to the provincial state of Batavia, led the Dutch to undertake more intervention in the kingdom, not only in palace political affairs but also in cultural matters extending into urban Yogyakarta's everyday life.⁴⁹ The Dutch role in the succession of the kingdom remained important along with the intrigue between European and Javanese elites. However, one thing that should be underlined from the

47 Ibid.

48 Peter Carey, *The Power of Prophecy: Prince Dipanegara and the End of an Old Order in Java, 1785-1855*. Second Edition (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007), 607-642.

49 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 150.

post Franco-Dutch and British administration era was the more urbanized Yogyakarta strengthening its position as the centre of activities in south-central Java.

Prior to the Java War, Yogyakarta grew as the centre of politics and business of the Dutch administration in south-central Java. The land-rent policy attracted European merchants to build their agricultural-based industries in the land they rented from Javanese elites. To facilitate their business, the Dutch provided amenities for both commercial-practical needs and ceremonial-cultural purposes. The plantation industries necessarily required infrastructures through which the production and distribution of commodities were well ensured. Among the infrastructures that steadily increased were the roads that branched from Yogyakarta. They linked Yogyakarta and the other areas in south-central Java, intensifying political as well as economic control, which was administratively centralized in Yogyakarta.⁵⁰ Later, the expanding road project triggered the outbreak of the Java War when it intersected the Diponegoro's ancestral property. In addition, the Europeans arriving in Yogyakarta also promoted their values of living. For several years, their living habits became a lifestyle for not only their community in the city of Yogyakarta but also for the Javanese elites. Dinner parties, sexual indulgence, and growing consumer behaviour in terms of European imported goods such as clothes, jewellery and ornaments, and alcohol were popular among the elite Javanese who gained benefits from the land-renting policy.⁵¹ Even the fourth reigning Sultan used to dress himself in Dutch elite military uniform and it became a new pride for him in his position as the leader of Yogyakarta.⁵² Furthermore, Chinese subjects in Yogyakarta also enjoyed the benefits of the Dutch administration in the city since they dominated the market and had a special role as tax collectors. All of these circumstances contradicted Diponegoro's vision as senior advisor of the sultanate, which later influenced him to break his relationship with the royal family.

Despite living outside the palace, Diponegoro devoted his life to the kingdom of Yogyakarta by guiding the fourth Sultan with the experience he had both in practical-administrative and Javanese-Islamic literature.⁵³ In addition to his military duties, his passion in studying Islamic literature, as well as Javanese tradition inherited by the Mataram Dynasty, he was well regarded as an intellectual, which he used to maintain his influential position within the palace. Amid the rumour of his desire to take

50 Carey, *The Power of Prophecy*.

51 *Ibid.*, 437.

52 Peter Carey, "The Origins of the Java War (1825-30)," *The English Historical Review* 91.358 (1976): 52-78.

53 *Ibid.*

over the throne, he proved his loyalty to the Sultan by continuing to teach him the value of being a nobleman and of dignity, based on the combination of Javanese and acculturated Islamic traditions. Through his role, he thought that he could achieve what he had envisioned for the palace as well as Yogyakarta without being the Sultan. Yet, one of the Dutch-appointed residents, Nahuy van Burgst, devastated Diponegoro's cultural-political vision of the kingdom. Van Burgst successfully persuaded the Javanese nobles with a cultural-ceremonial strategy in the palace. Secular indulgence had become the lifestyle of the Javanese nobles. Furthermore, it also broke several principles in the city of Yogyakarta that turned Diponegoro's political goals toward the palace, driving his opposition *vis-a-vis* the sultanate as well as the Dutch administration. Firstly, it led to pragmatism that grew among the influential persons in the sultanate and affected the Sultan's policy. *Ratu Ibu* (the mother of the crowned prince) and *patih* (the prime minister), who enjoyed benefits from the resident, were more powerful than the Sultan himself. They appointed staff who, according to Diponegoro, lacked Islamic as well as Javanese knowledge. This led to a break in the relationship between Diponegoro and the palace.⁵⁴ Secondly, the urbanization project carried out by the Dutch administration ignored the customary laws that existed in the values of the Javanese nobility. The road expansion that was projected in Tegalreja, which was the ancestral territory of Diponegoro, caused a bigger conflict that forced Diponegoro to move, triggering mobilization toward the Java War. For Diponegoro, it was outrageous since, according to the Javanese concept of the universe, land and property were the symbol of nobility not only for economic reasons, but also spiritual ones.⁵⁵

While the city of Yogyakarta experienced changes because of its special position as the centre of economic and political administration, and was a focus for grandeur due to the growing consumer culture, in contrast the countryside was experiencing hardships. Peter Carey describes at least three main problems in the countryside of rural south-central Java, prior to the Java War.⁵⁶ The first was the land-rent system with the labour obligation of the villagers who lived on such land. In addition to land alienation, this land-rent system transformed villages into industrial sites, which broke local norms, including the traditional role of labourer. Many villagers just fled from their duties as wage-labourers to rebel against this policy. This policy also transformed *sawah* (rice farmland) into plantations with

54 Carey, *The Power of Prophecy*, 543.

55 Jusna Joesoef Ahmad, "Earth, Land, Landscape: Javanese Perceptions of Landscape in the Mataram Kingdom," (PhD diss., University of Melbourne, 2002).

56 Carey, "The Origins of the Java War (1825-30)," 52-78.

cash-crops, which meant it potentially reduced the amount of rice production. Secondly, Raffles's legacy on the tax of land, rent system left villagers bound in debt to Chinese merchants. Thirdly, the failure of the rice harvest in some areas caused increasing prices of this commodity, adding to the difficulties for the poor who, in 1822, faced the further disaster of the cholera plague. All of these factors caused uprising in the rural area.

After his escape to the Selarong, Diponegoro began his campaign. He mobilized his followers both in Tegalreja and in the palace to move out of the city to receive his instruction. Noblemen, Islamic priests (*ulama* and *kyai*), and *abdi dalem* (the palace escort) left for the countryside to join Diponegoro.⁵⁷ The villagers voluntarily enacted Diponegoro's plan to confront the Dutch occupation since they knew that Diponegoro had declared war on the resident. His immediate success in mobilizing resources for the war was inseparable from the Javanese belief in the coming of *Ratu Adil* (the Just King) who would save the people and bring prosperity under Islamic values. Through his distinguished capability, Diponegoro transformed himself as a leader of political affairs and as a "religious regulator" in Java (*ratu peneteg panatagama*).⁵⁸ Together with his supporters, he inflamed a "religious crusade" (*perang sabil*) against foreigners and their culture and political system and followers centralized in the city of Yogyakarta who were considered, according to Douglas, to represent the "pollution" of the Javanese tradition.⁵⁹ Hence, the city of Yogyakarta was then imagined to be a polluted space from which the "clean" people should move out to partake in purification. Diponegoro's warfare strategy, by sabotaging access to the city, included occupying the surrounding towns such as Tempel, Plered, Bantul, Kasuran, and Delanggu.⁶⁰ Seizing the main access point meant undermining control, paralyzing Dutch order in the city, which left the Dutch position "hopeless," at least during the two early years of the war.⁶¹

c. During the Cultivation System: From Sanctified to Formalized Space

The impact of the Java War changed the situation in the interior of Java. The annexation of the outer territory of Yogyakarta led to the restructuring of the kingdom, administratively and geographically.⁶² In addition to preventing any form of resistance, the restructuring was also required to

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of the Concept of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Taylor & Francis e-library, 2005), 3.

60 Carey, *The Power of Prophecy*, 642.

61 Ibid.

62 Houben, *Keraton dan Kompeni*.

support Van den Bosch's exploitation plan to budget the post-war recovery in both the Netherlands and Java. Both administrative and geographical reformations were forced through the *metropolitanism* project, which placed Yogyakarta as the *metropole* of the hinterland of Java. As Rottenberg conceptualizes, metropolitanism is both an infrastructural and administrative project forced by a colonial capital through which urbanization takes place. It produces urban institutions and its social bodies functioning as the centre of economic exploitation, producing a distinction between the city and the outskirts while, at the same time, shaping the different social boundaries between the colonizer and the colonized within the urban space.⁶³ Enacting these principles transformed the capital of Yogyakarta into a *metropole*, a centre of economy and politics as well as socio-culture for the hinterland of Java. Indeed, distinctive features such as the urban pattern, infrastructure and amenities, the administrative body, and political apparatus of the city also served as boundaries for the surrounding area aside from geographical borders. Although the cultivation era for Yogyakarta did not change the urban landscape thoroughly, at this time the Dutch metropolitanism project, which set the foundation of colonial city, began to interact with the Javanese concept of urban space. In the end, the Dutch colonial metropolitanism project segregated the social fabric of the city of Yogyakarta, which placed the Europeans as the superior ethnic group, dominating politics, economy, and urban culture, while at the same time excluding Javanese noblemen from urban political and economic roles.

Since its appointment as a province of the Dutch East Indies' colonial government, the administrative reorganization of Yogyakarta functioned as a foundation for the making of Yogyakarta's capital as a *metropole* in the interior of Java. According to Rottenberg, the *metropole* was important since it served as "the capital of colonial system," which contained the colonial ideologies embedded in cultural, social, and political activities.⁶⁴ Reshaping of physical and spatial aspects of the city created clear boundaries between the city and the hinterland. Since the *metropole* functioned as the hub of activities, the distinction between the capital city and the hinterland was necessarily required.

In the making of the *metropole* of Yogyakarta, the Dutch mainly referred to the issues of efficiency, aesthetics, and surveillance in reshaping the physical set of the capital city. According to Mrazek, following the idea of aestheticization of living that was occurring in Europe, the Dutch began to imagine the colony as a place not only for working but also for excursion.⁶⁵ This was manifest in the built environment in which the Dutch might experience

63 Rotenberg, "Metropolitanism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Nineteenth-Century Colonial Metropoles," 7-15.

64 Ibid.

65 Rudolf Mrázek, *Engineers of Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in a Colony* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

their lives in the colony as similar to theirs in the Netherlands. Building new roads, transportation access, brick buildings along the streets, and the *societeit* at close range represented their effort to exhibit their taste of living among themselves and to a host of other ethnic groups in East Indies.

Despite their alliance during the Java War, the conflict had narrowed the sultanate's political bargaining when the sultanate's elites negotiated with the Dutch for post-war recovery. In the case of the Java War, the Dutch commission for the post-war recovery indirectly blamed the sultanate for its inability to maintain peace and stability in the kingdom's administrative territories.⁶⁶ By capitalizing on blaming the sultanate, the Dutch were consequently allowed to take over the outer territories of Yogyakarta and unified them under a centralized colonial administrative bureaucracy. This included Yogyakarta's economic zones such as Banyumas, Kedu, and Magelang, but the latter was annexed due to its role as the centre of Diponegoro's movement during the Java War.⁶⁷ By then, Yogyakarta had lost many of its productive zones and was only left with Mataram, Gunung Kidul, and Kulon Progo as its definitive territories.

In spite of the fact that the colonial government had defeated the kingdom in the post-Java War negotiations and had taken over most of the outer territories, the Dutch allowed the kingdom to exist. Indeed, the Dutch kept the sultanate functioning as the centre for traditional hierarchies among the Javanese elites. During the post-Java War negotiations, all parties, including the Dutch and the sultanate of Yogyakarta, agreed that the Dutch directly governed the outer areas on behalf of the Sultan.⁶⁸ The reorganization of Java and the demarcation of Yogyakarta with its neighbouring zones was finally followed by the appointment of Yogyakarta as a special province of the Dutch colonial East Indies government, which was led directly by two powers, the Dutch resident and the Sultan of Yogyakarta.

In Yogyakarta, rituals and customs relating to the relationship between the Sultan and all *bupatis* of the outer territories were preserved both by the palace and the Dutch government. The demilitarization of the sultanate since the Java War had forced the sultanate to focus mainly on cultural affairs and ceremonies instead of on military issues and politics.⁶⁹ For each

66 Houben, *Keraton dan Komipeni*.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.

69 Dewi Widyastuti, "Memorable Square: Identities, Meanings and the Production of Urban Space in Yogyakarta, Indonesia," in *Re-Mixing the City – Towards Sustainability and Resilience? Proceedings of REAL CORP 2012, 17th International Conference on Urban Development, Regional Planning and Information Society. Schwechat, 2012*, eds. Manfred Schrenk, Vasily V. Popovich, Peter Zeile, Pietro Elisei.

ceremony, the *bupatis* of the annexed territories were still allowed to attend it as part of their past tradition in praising their king despite the fact that they were no longer administratively responsible to the Sultan, but to the Dutch colonial government. It was a way to ensure the stability of Java through the cultural compliance among its elites and people, although the most important legislations and policies were still under Dutch supervision.

By 1831, Yogyakarta had become the "kingdom residence," which both the sultanate and the Dutch colonial government simultaneously authorized. While the sultanate kept using the palace as the central authority, the Dutch resident of Yogyakarta governed from his home and office located across in the Vredeburg Fort.⁷⁰ Since there were two authorities, the division of power was unavoidably applied between the sultanate and resident government. While the resident, as part of the bureaucratic machine of Batavia, functioned in the legislation, police, courts, and minor governmental aspects, the sultanate had more roles in terms of the internal palace governmental issues, economy and taxation, and its own justice and court system.⁷¹ Despite having two courts, the residence had more authority in solving judicial problems, particularly for criminal cases, in which the sultanate's court could not intervene at all.⁷² The role of the Dutch court's institution became more important since the number of crimes kept rising. Things that were illegal according to the Dutch court might be legal according to Javanese customary law. It was the biggest issue with which the Dutch government in Yogyakarta had to deal.

In Yogyakarta, the issues of security attracted the Dutch resident's attention. The ineffectiveness of the sultanate's security system had been considered as the source of an increasing number of crimes. For this reason, the Dutch set up the police regiment of Yogyakarta to address the problems. In doing so, the Dutch resident partitioned Yogyakarta province into three *kabupatens* (regencies) including Sleman, Kalasan, and Bantul led by three different *bupatis*.⁷³ Each *bupati* had to implement the residence's provisions, including the legislation of the police regiment throughout Yogyakarta Province. Since then, each *kabupaten* had been installed with a police office and regiment whose centralized provincial office and command was at Vredeburg Fort Yogyakarta.

To support the work of the colonial government, the Dutch built several offices in the city of Yogyakarta. The Vredeburg Fort, which was previously used for both the resident's and military's office, now functioned only as the police office following the establishment of the police regiment.

70 Houben, *Keraton dan Kompeni*.

71 Soemardjan, *Perubahan Sosial di Yogyakarta*, 16.

72 Houben, *Keraton dan Kompeni*, 286.

73 *Ibid.*

The resident's office was then moved into a new building in front of the fort, called *Loji Besar*, as part of a complex of provincial government buildings from which the colonial government controlled the province of Yogyakarta.⁷⁴ To ease communication and coordination with the central government in Batavia and other institutions, in the mid nineteenth century, the Dutch built the post and telegraph office located in the south of the Vredeburg Fort or between the fort and the sultanate's palace.⁷⁵ The building was the first service office of the Dutch to be established in Yogyakarta. All of these buildings were built in a conspicuous European design, located next to each other. By the mid nineteenth century, this area had become the enclave of the European population. It was asserted by the fact that there was a Christian religious facility called Marga Mulya Church, which had existed since the 1830s, but was formally inaugurated in 1857.⁷⁶

The establishment of Yogyakarta as a local government within the colonial centralized bureaucratic system had shifted both the orientation and landscape of the city (see Figure 3). For the first time it drove the use of foreign elements, which became the catalyst of urban units bolstering the development of the city.⁷⁷ The construction of the residence governmental buildings implied the working idea of efficiency in the production of the urban space of Yogyakarta. Its location, function, and architectural design implied how to build an effective governmental complex to support the Dutch interests in Yogyakarta. It contradicted and also contested the previous idea of sanctity of urban space developed by the sultanate. Indeed, it asserted the Dutch spatial politics in intersecting the north-south axis, which began when the Dutch built the Vredeburg Fort. Furthermore, the Dutch spatial politics was followed by locating the Dutch central administrative office and police command in the north of the palace, which provoked the existence of the sultanate as the reigning power of Yogyakarta. Last but not least, the new architectural design of the buildings, which were built grandiosely, a sharp contrast with the Javanese buildings surrounding them, showed off not only Dutch power but also European beauty in architecture.

The foreign element of the Dutch colonial agenda that was also introduced during the cultivation system was the revision of the Mataram constitution.

74 Ibid., 171.

75 Direktorat Pelestarian Cagar Budaya dan Permuseuman, "Benteng Vredeburg." Sistem Registrasi Nasional Cagar Budaya. <<https://cagarbudaya.kemdikbud.go.id/public/objek/detailcb/PO2015071000001/benteng-vredeburg>>, accessed 8 April 2019.

76 Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala Yogyakarta, *Mosaik Pusaka Budaya Yogyakarta*, 201.

77 Handinoto, *Perkembangan Kota di Jawa Abad XVIII sampai Pertengahan Abad XX*, 104.

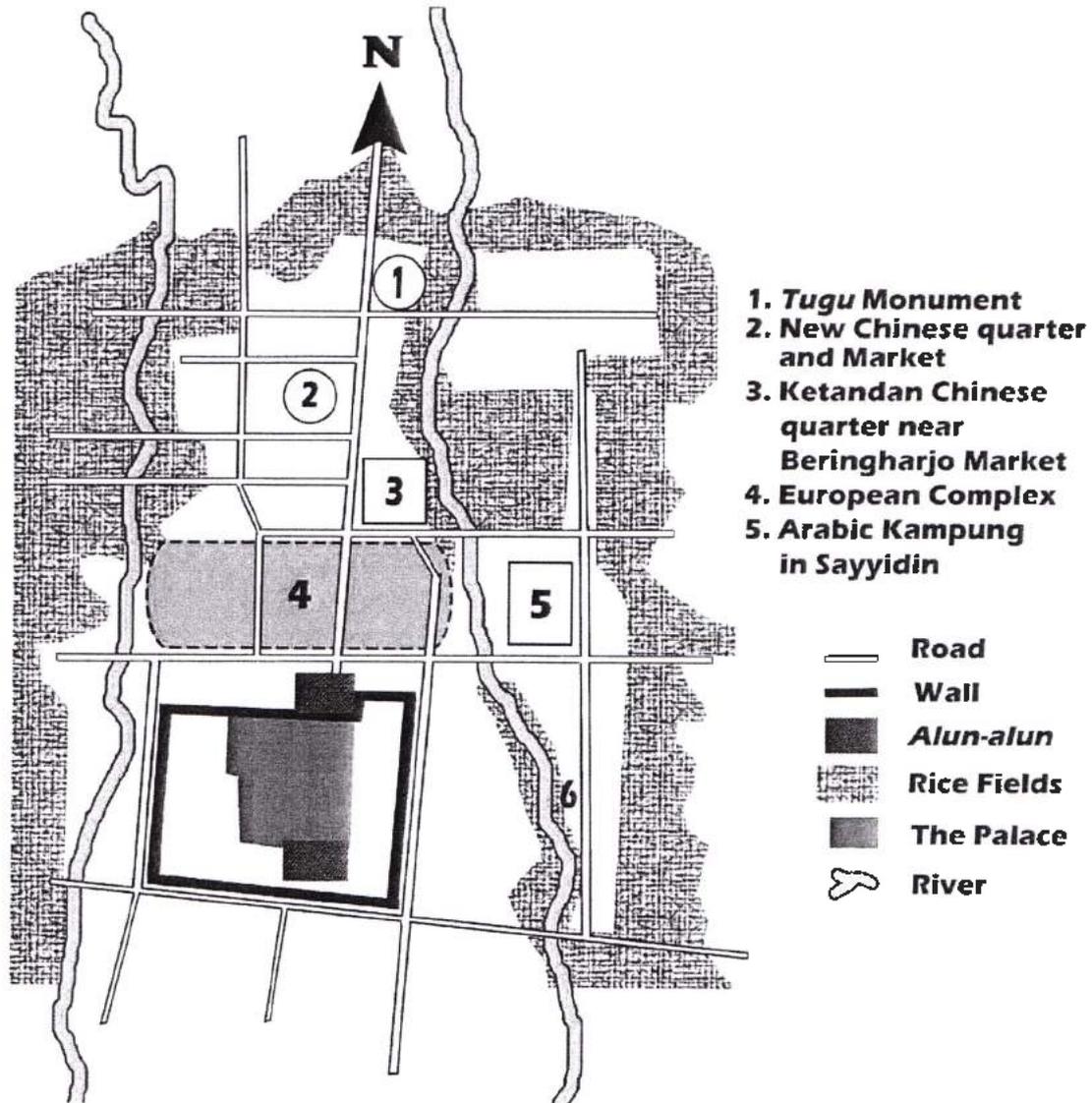


Figure 3: The Quarter System in Yogyakarta during the Cultivation Era. Re-sketched by Basundoro & Putra, based on Handinoto (2015: 65).

Houben reveals that one of the features of the post-Java War colonial system was the introduction of the constitution of law to maintain the security and stability of the residence.⁷⁸ The new system of law shifted the old sultanate's law, which simultaneously placed the Javanese elites, including the Sultan, as subjects of the law and constitution. In addition to the decreasing roles of the sultanate in legislation and court affairs, this also reduced the cultural privileges of the Javanese elites. Locating the Javanese elites as subjects of the law and constitution meant they had the same rights and obligations as other people with the exception of some rights of the Sultan and high-level sultanate functionaries. The amendment of the constitution in the provincial district allowed

⁷⁸ Houben, *Keraton dan Kompeni*.

the Dutch to divide the loyalty of the Sultan's administrative bodies; each department answered both to the king and the Dutch resident of Yogyakarta.

The Dutch constitution also allowed them to adjust urban spatial distribution. The ideas of surveillance and race-based differentiation were the basic principles of urban spatial reconfiguration during the cultivation system. In Yogyakarta, as in other colonial cities, the Dutch set up the quarter system (*wijkenstelsel*). It was actually reinforced according to the *Raad van Indies* signed by the Governor General of East Indies 1842.⁷⁹ The quarter system constitutionally allowed the distribution of urban space based on ethnicities, which spatially segregated the population within the city.⁸⁰ In Yogyakarta, the quarter system was introduced in 1835 following the implementation of Dutch colonial rule, which classified the population of Java.⁸¹ As the other purpose of the metropolitanism of the Dutch colonial approach was to classify the people of the colonial urban city, in Yogyakarta, the quarter system was followed by the social classifying system.⁸² Embedded in the quarter system, the metropolitanism project categorized people into three subsequent classes, namely Europeans as the first one, "Foreign Orientals" such as Chinese and Arabic as the second, and Indigenous Javanese as the third. The racially-based classification system, in the end, emphasized differences between the ruler and the ruled in the colony.⁸³ At that time, ethnicity and class were intertwined with constructing the social hierarchy in the Dutch East Indies.⁸⁴ Hence, the reinforcement of the quarter system in the Dutch East Indies colonial cities also reflected an exercise in colonial power, classifying society by segregating the city using urban planning. This reinforced constructed colonial identities that were then reproduced in the everyday life of the cities.

Despite being introduced after the Java War, the race-based zoning system had initially been carried out since the establishment of the sultanate of

79 *Staatsblad* 1842.

80 Handinoto, *Perkembangan Kota di Jawa Abad XVIII sampai Pertengahan Abad XX*, 83.

81 Andreas A. Susanto, "Under the Umbrella of the Sultan: Accommodation of the Chinese in Yogyakarta during Indonesia's New Order," (PhD diss., Radboud University Nijmegen, 2008).

82 Rotenberg, "Metropolitanism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Nineteenth-Century Colonial Metropolises," 7–15.

83 Ann Laura Stoler, "Making empire respectable: The politics of race and sexual morality in 20th century colonial cultures" in *Imperial Monkey Business: Racial Supremacy in Social Darwinist Theory and Colonial Practice*, ed. Jan Breman (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1990).

84 Susie Protschky, "Race, class, and gender: Debates over the character of social hierarchies in the Netherlands Indies, circa 1600–1942," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 167.4 (2011): 543–566.

Yogyakarta. In the early years of the city, the other group of peoples that existed in Yogyakarta aside from the Javanese was the Chinese. They migrated to the hinterland of Java to expand their business that had previously been initiated by their ancestors in northern coastal areas of Java. They naturally built their shop-houses aligning Malioboro street and settled close to the Beringharjo market, which at that time was the central market of Yogyakarta, following their role in commercial activities.⁸⁵ In addition, the Dutch prejudice against the Chinese people, linked with their past experience in rebelling against the VOC both in Batavia and in Mataram, led the Dutch administration to limit the Chinese people's mobilization in several cities in Java.⁸⁶ Indeed, aside from having to remain in their living quarters, they had to have permission papers from the local official for each trip to leave their enclave. This restriction had been valid since 1816, and was reformulated in the post-Java War period not only for the Chinese people but also for other Asians including Javanese people.

By the mid nineteenth century, the quarter system dominated the landscape of the north-south axis of Yogyakarta. It was featured in architectural ornaments of different cultures, which marked the ethnically-based segregated enclaves. In addition to the dominating Javanese and European characteristics of the buildings in the quarters of Indigenous people and Europeans, other parts showed Chinese features. While in most parts Javanese architecture was dominant and there were small conspicuous European traces to the north of the sultanate's palace, the Dutch government set aside the market in the north as the Chinese quarter. Despite the fact that Chinese people had lived in Yogyakarta since the early years of the kingdom, the Chinese quarter was formalized during the cultivation system.⁸⁷ It was located around the market following their main activities in trading and commerce.⁸⁸ The oldest Chinese quarter in Yogyakarta was Ketandan Kampong, which was located near Beringharjo Market. Ketandan in a Javanese sense refers to *Tanda*, which means tax since one of the tasks of Chinese residents during the cultivation system was to collect the land tax on behalf of the Dutch colonial government.⁸⁹ In addition, a small

85 Ibid., 27.

86 Amry Vandenbosch, "A Problem in Java: The Chinese in the Dutch East Indies," *Pacific Affairs*, 3.11 (1930): 1001-1017.

87 Peter Carey, ed., *Archive of Yogyakarta: An Edition of Javanese Reports, Letters and Land Grants from the Yogyakarta Court Dated between A.J. 1698 and A.J. 1740 (1772-1813) Taken from Materials in the British Library*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1980).

88 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 159.

89 Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala Yogyakarta, *Mosaik Pusaka Budaya Yogyakarta*, 185.

Arabic quarter was built in the east of the European complex at that time. The important point of this spatial distribution was that it was oriented for surveillance over the citizens, and for the residents to be constrained, in addition to its efficiency for urban commerce.⁹⁰

Although the class distinction was reinforced in Yogyakarta as reflected in the distribution of roles and spaces that changed the meaning of the city landscape, the will to contest Dutch order emerged in various ways. The context for this was the aggressive Dutch colonial policies over the sultanate, which had narrowed the functioning of the kingdom in public life.⁹¹ In reality, the Dutch kept maintaining their authority in politics, the economy, and the law of Yogyakarta. However, this did not mean that the sultanate's power was over as was originally intended by the Dutch colonial government. In the everyday life of Yogyakarta, the Javanese noblemen gained exceptional rights in the quarter system. Despite having diminished its role in the city's political and economic affairs, the sultanate was still allowed to authorize cultural activities. Indeed, rituals and ceremonies that the sultanate performed became the medium of power through which the Javanese elites claimed their authority.⁹² In doing so, the sultanate shifted its political apparatus, such as the *bupatis*, *abdi dalem* (palace clerks), clerics, and military regiments, and incorporated all of these into cultural events. Furthermore, the rituals became more publicly accessible. To do so, the sultan transformed *alun-alun utara* (north square), the main place to perform cultural activities, which was previously defined as a sacred place, into a public space.⁹³ In *alun-alun utara*, the sultanate paraded his political, cultural, and social capital in front of people who came to the events. As Ricklefs revealed, such cultural festivities were important to show the Javanese "aristocratic ethos" to the Javanese people even though it was less relevant for their political position in the Dutch colonial system.⁹⁴ From that time, the palace and *alun-alun utara* had become important spaces in which the reproduction of power through cultural festivities took place annually.

Another exemplary way Javanese women of Yogyakarta contested Dutch domination over the metropolitanism project was by being mistresses of Dutch men in the city. Within the racially segregated urban space, distinctions based on ethnicity were exercised in various ways, both structurally and culturally. Structurally, the Dutch administration adopted the VOC regulation to restrict marriage between Dutch people and Indigenous Javanese, while the living habits of the Europeans implied the exercise of

90 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 143.

91 Houben, *Keraton dan Kompeni*.

92 Dewi Widyastuti, "Memorable Square."

93 Ibid.

94 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 164.

their class through taste, distinguishing them from the rest through community, parties, dress, and so on.⁹⁵ Yet this class exercise was disrupted by the phenomenon of mistresses. In Yogyakarta, there were several women who had affairs with Dutch officers. The Yogyakarta Dutch residents Nahuy and A.H. Smissaert were among the Europeans who had Javanese mistresses, some of whom were from noble families.⁹⁶ Although they did not marry, some of them had children who later gained equal status with the Europeans. For colonial Dutch men, having a mistress was usual since there was a lack of European women in the colony to be homemakers, and, often, this role expanded into a sexual relationship. On the other hand, Javanese women sometimes found that this was a way to experience a European lifestyle.⁹⁷ They made use of their relationships with people from a higher social status to lift their social position. For some, being a mistress provided a path to escape from European power that constructed identities in the developing city of the colony.

The aforementioned political reconfiguration of the interior of Java in the post-Java War period revealed the Dutch colonialists' efforts to establish their colonial power in Yogyakarta. It was a movement to set Yogyakarta as the *metropole* of the bureaucratic system of the hinterland of nineteenth-century central Java. The administrative and social boundaries produced social practices through which the idea of efficiency and surveillance constituted the landscape of urban space in Yogyakarta. Furthermore, the spatial segregation, which produced enclaves divided by ethnicity, as well as Dutch law enforcement, all represented the overlay of Dutch colonial influence on Yogyakarta. The city became a part of the Dutch Colonial Ideology, clearly reflected in Yogyakarta's design when compared to the previous sultanate city model. The imposition of the people as subjects of law and order implied the making of metropolitanism. This changed the former sultanate system where the administrative power and law enforcement were obscure, since all of the policies and laws relied heavily on the Sultan's power. All of these became the references for the local elites from *kabupaten* and show how the changing power occurred during the cultivation system. *Bupatis* who came to the annual festivities of the sultanate in Yogyakarta could also see the superiority of the Dutch set up in an urban form, while the sultanate's annual festivities tried to contest the aggressive Dutch policy, in addition to Indigenuous mistresses who challenged the racial classification system of metropolitanism. Nonetheless, the contestation between different powers of Yogyakarta over urban spaces showed the distinctive feature of the development of urban

95 Frances Gouda, "Nyonyas on the Colonial Divide: White Women in the Dutch East Indies, 1900–1942," *Gender & History*, 5.3 (1993): 318–342.

96 Houben, *Keraton dan Kompeni*, 207–208.

97 Adrian Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia* (Cambridge, 2005).

spaces in Yogyakarta due to both the policy of the cultivation system and the local constructs that underpinned the nexus of the Dutch and the sultanate.

d. The Liberal Economy Era

The liberal idea of political economy of the colony accepted by the Dutch parliament marked the beginning of the liberalization of Java, which catalyzed both structural and cultural changes in the colony. Several regulations, such as the Agrarian Law 1870, the Sugar Law 1870, and the abolition of compulsory export crops, which allowed the involvement of private parties in the colonial economy, drove the emergence of industrialization.⁹⁸ The infusion of foreign capital contributed to the emerging new economic hubs in agro-industry, manufacturing, and service sectors. Foreign entrepreneurs who were formally permitted to lease land for a certain period of time had changed the landscape of Java, leading to deforestation and the opening of private plantations. It was also driven by technological acceleration, which shifted manual labour toward the mechanization of the means of production that required more skilled labourers to operate. Improvements in transportation led to an overwhelming number of European-educated workers in Java. It improved the quality of life in the colony, which transformed it into a liveable and comfortable place for European families.⁹⁹ Since then, new service sectors such as finance, leisure, and markets had arisen to complement all such changes. This section deals with two main questions about how such changes affected the urban space of Yogyakarta, and how this led to benefits for Dutch colonial rulers in Yogyakarta, both politically and culturally.

In Yogyakarta, a wave of liberal economy transformed the city and the outskirts (to see how Dutch East Indies liberal economic policy affected the landscape of the city of Yogyakarta, please see Figure 4). Along with the invading foreign investments, a number of industrial hubs arose in the outskirts. Most of them were sugar plantations and mills that attracted many labourers from amongst both the Europeans and Indigenous Javanese. Up until the turn of the century, there had been seventeen sugar mills scattered in three *kabupatens* surrounding Yogyakarta, including Sleman, Bantul, and Kulon Progo.¹⁰⁰ To support industrial activities, an improvement in transportation was also carried out, linking Yogyakarta and its outskirts and other cities, particularly Surakarta and Semarang.¹⁰¹ Mobility from and to Yogyakarta

98 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*.

99 Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya*.

100 Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala Yogyakarta, *Mosaik Pusaka Budaya Yogyakarta*, 196.

101 Endah Sri Hartatik, "The Development of Agroindustry and Transportational Network in the Central Java during Dutch Colonization," *Paramita*, 24.1 (2014).

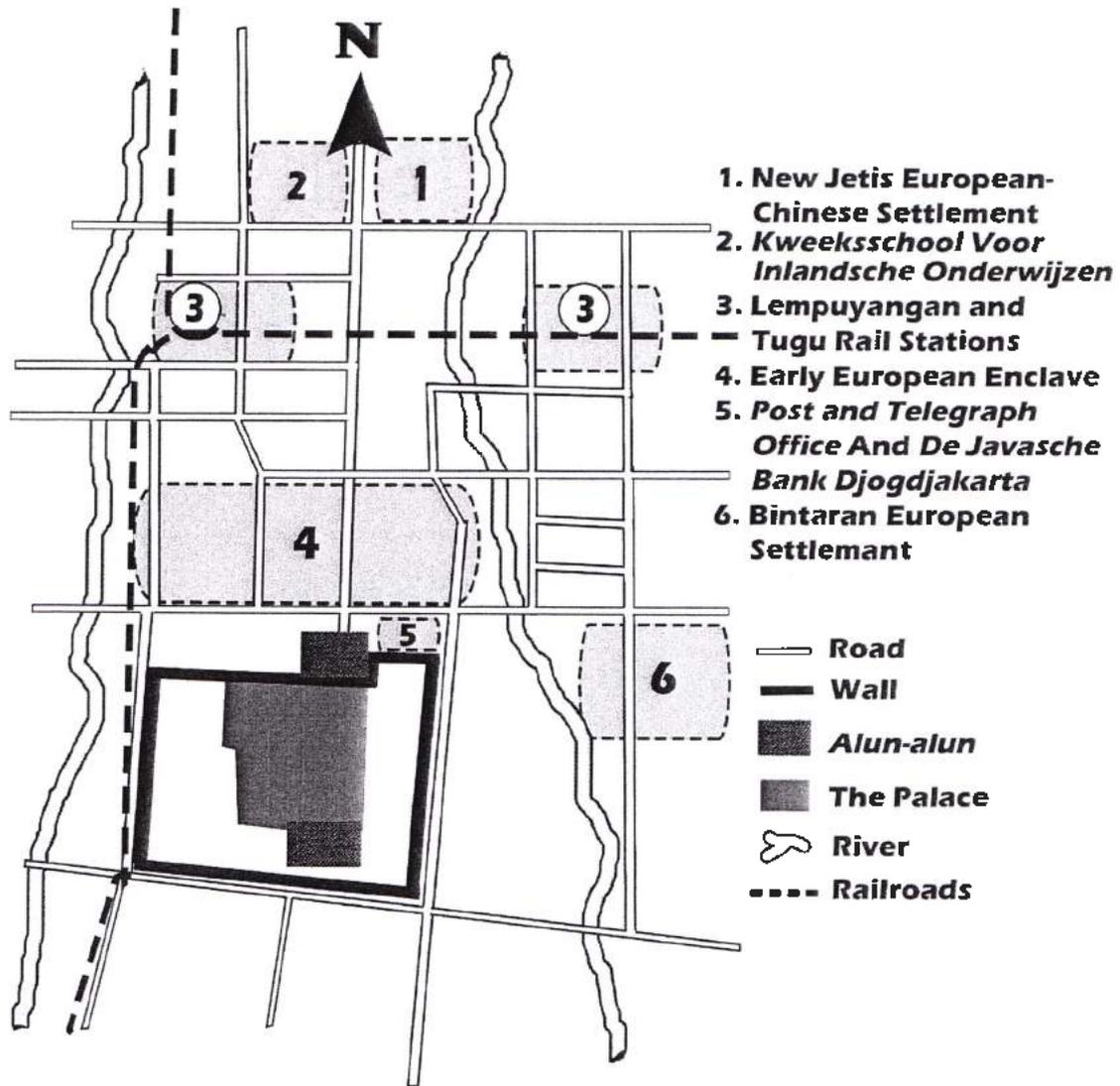


Figure 4: The Urban Space of Yogyakarta since the liberal economy in the late nineteenth century. Re-sketched by Basundoro and Putra, based on Handinoto (2015).

was much easier. All of those caused an increase in the European population residing in Yogyakarta and its surrounding areas. At the turn of the century, it was noted that there had been approximately 4,200 European inhabitants in Yogyakarta.¹⁰² This was the era when the fetishism of modernity affected the development of urban space in late nineteenth-century Yogyakarta.

In addition to growing industries, several changes occurred in the city of Yogyakarta, influenced by the improvement of transportation. The growing number of exports from central Java required a sufficient transportation system to deliver the commodities to the main port of Semarang, which,

102 Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo, *Kota Yogyakarta 1880–1930*, 28–29.

at that time, became the main entrance of international trades from and to central Java. In 1873, *Nederlands-Indische Spoorweg Maatschappij* (NIS) completed the first railway network in Yogyakarta with Lempuyangan as its station connecting Yogyakarta with Semarang via Magelang and Ambarawa.¹⁰³ A decade later, another rail company, *Staatsspoorwegen* (ss), opened a new network to Bandung and Batavia, which was stationed in Tugu near the Chinese settlement across the north-south axis road of the palace.¹⁰⁴ Wondering at the work of the new technology of transportation, Sultan Hamengkubuwono VII gave permission for the expansion of the network, which had been proposed to pass his own territory next to the palace fort into the south. In 1887, the railway network was completed, linking the sugar mills in the south. Hence, the installation of a railway network was a new mode of transportation that spatially crosscut the north-south axis line of the urban landscape of Yogyakarta.

The development of the rail network in Yogyakarta had at least two significant aspects for the evolution of the urban space. Firstly, it served as the new urban unit that concentrated people at this point. Kaur identified that up until the late nineteenth century, in Java, railway companies had been the most significant urban service sector, which absorbed labourers for construction, operation, and maintenance, despite the sharp racial division in the employment system.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, while European skilled labourers filled specific high-skill jobs as, for example, engineers, drivers, and stationmasters, Indigenous Javanese workers were mostly employed as their servants. Centralized in the downtown, it attracted a number of labourers into Yogyakarta, most of whom were Europeans. Secondly, the operation of the railway network encouraged the geographical expansion of urban Yogyakarta. It disclosed the peripheries and transformed them into new units of businesses or settlements. As Dick points out, the railway network stimulated the construction of new roads and the opening of new plantations, mills, and settlements.¹⁰⁶ In Yogyakarta, the installation of the railway network contributed to the building of new roads and hubs both for commerce and settlement, which we will discuss later.

103 Endah Sri Hartatik, "The Development of Agroindustry and Transportational Network in the Central Java during Dutch Colonization."

104 Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala Yogyakarta, *Mosaik Pusaka Budaya Yogyakarta*, 195.

105 Amarjit Kaur, *Wage Labour in Southeast Asia since 1840, Globalisation, the International Division of Labour and Labour Transformations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 136.

106 Howard Dick, "Representation of Development in 19th and 20th Century Indonesia: A Transport History Perspective," *Bulletin of Indonesian Economics Studies*, 36.1 (2000): 185–207.

Financial infrastructure was also established following the growing industry in Yogyakarta. The steadily growing sugar production of Yogyakarta was still attractive for investors. Hartanto has shown that, in the 1870s, Yogyakarta produced approximately 2,850 tons of sugar each year.¹⁰⁷ It was followed by an annual circulation of money in Yogyakarta, which reached up to three and half million guildens based on *De Javasche Bank Surakarta's* data. The influx of funds drove a Semarang-based financial company, Dorrepaal & Co Firm, to propose the opening of the first Yogyakarta Bank. In 1879, it was founded and named *De Javasche Bank Djogdjakarta*.¹⁰⁸ *De Javasche Bank Djogdjakarta* had an office in the existing European complex of Yogyakarta next to the post and telegraph office. Its existence not only met the financial needs in Yogyakarta but also brought more European workers into Yogyakarta. Since then, the early European enclave of Yogyakarta had gradually become denser. Aside from housing the European population, the complex was the centre of colonial administration and business.

The colonial government was prompted to build new housing to accommodate European workers, who were increasing in number since the introduction of the liberal economic policy. The early European enclave seemed no longer able to accommodate the growing number of European residents and several offices located in that area. Considering the need for accommodation, in the mid-1870s, a construction company called *Enthoven & Co Hage* proposed a plan to build a new settlement for the European community of Yogyakarta to the east of the sultanate's palace across the Code River. This proposal was finally accepted by the Dutch colonial government and the construction began in 1877.¹⁰⁹ In the early 1880s, for the first time, the European community had a new settlement outside their first complex to the north of the sultanate's palace. The settlement was called Bintaran and was designed by combining European architectural elements with native motifs as an adaptation to the local climate. Within the new housing complex, several amenities were installed including a security post, a church, a modern school, and a garden. The coming of European professional workers influenced the standards of living in this new settlement. New European officers, who were mainly Dutch and worked both as government employees and in the Post as well as at the Javasche Bank Office, lived in Bintaran. At that time, Bintaran was apparently the most conspicuous housing compared to its surrounding areas, through which the sense of modernity was implied.

107 Bobby Hartanto, "Nilai estetika arsitektur pada museum Bank Indonesia Yogyakarta," Unpublished paper at Universitas Katolik Parahyangan (2016).

108 Ibid.

109 Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala DIY, *Hasil Pendataan/Pendokumentasian Bangunan Indis di Kawasan Bintaran, Yogyakarta* (Yogyakarta, 1997), 76.

The expansion of new roads had encouraged the emergence of new urban concentrations. Following the railway network, the construction of a new Yogyakarta-Semarang road in 1872 had stimulated the urban sprawl in northern Yogyakarta.¹¹⁰ In the late 1870s, in the northern area surrounding the Tugu Monument, there had been both Chinese and European settlements, which are now called Jetis. The Chinese housing was founded around the Kranggan Market, a new marketplace in the northern area of Yogyakarta. The blueprints for establishing this settlement were inspired by the Chinese worship building called Klenteng Kwan Ti Kiong, which was built in 1879. Around this building were Chinese house-shops that stood densely on the roadsides. To the north of this Chinese housing there were new European houses. The European architecture and spatial layout implied that the housing belonged to the Europeans even though among them were houses owned by the Chinese. Among these houses, there were two Dutch schools called *Kweeksschool Voor Inlandsche Onderwijzen Djokjakarta* or the school for the Indigenous teacher candidates, and *Keningen Wilhelmina School*, an elementary school only for Europeans. These two schools were built in the 1890s when the need for education for both Europeans and other groups increased.¹¹¹ The important point about the existence of the Jetis settlement in northern Yogyakarta was that it also exemplifies the thesis of Colombijn and Barwegen of class segregation throughout decolonization, which suggests that financial ability also mattered in the distribution of space in colonial cities.¹¹² Ownership by both Chinese and Europeans in the new promising space, located with main access to commodities and services in Semarang, suggested that economic conditions determined property ownership in Yogyakarta in the colonial liberal economic era.

Modern education is another important feature of urban space arising in Yogyakarta during the liberal economy. In addition to meeting Western professional living standards, European education notably functioned as a colonial instrument in enforcing colonial orders and producing colonial subjects. It contained an ideology through which the colonial norms and values were represented and regulated. It was the instrument through which the production of colonial knowledge and its superiority were carried out.¹¹³

110 Endah Sri Hartatik, "The Development of Agroindustry and Transportational Network in the Central Java during Dutch colonization."

111 Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala-Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, *Laporan Pendokumentasian Bangunan-bangunan Kuno yang Merupakan Struktur Kota Lama Yogyakarta*, 21.

112 Freek Colombijn and Marteen Barwegen, "Racial Segregation in the (Post) Colonial City: The Case of Indonesia," *Urban Geography* 30.8 (2009): 838–856.

113 Francis B. Nyamnjoh, "Potted Plants in Greenhouses': A Critical Reflection on the Resilience of Colonial Education in Africa," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 47.2: 129–154. Reprinted by permission of Sage Publications, Ltd.

Before the turn of the century, modern education in Yogyakarta, both for Europeans only and for Javanese elites, were built around the European settlement.

The first European school opened publicly was the *Europeesche Lagere School* (ELS). It was built around Bintaran along with the construction of the European settlement in this area. Initially, it was intentionally used to provide education for European children but later it was also opened for the royal and elites' families.¹¹⁴ It used Dutch as the teaching language. Dutch colonial technologies amazed the sultanate and Javanese elites who were attracted to the scientific approaches the Dutch colonists took to the city of Yogyakarta. Because of this, the Javanese elites schooled their children through European education, since their privileges allowed them to engage with European education. Furthermore, because modern education was the main prerequisite for involvement in the new colonial system, in 1890, the Sultan even built a modern school in the palace called *Eerste Klasse School met de Basa Kedaton*.¹¹⁵ The Sultan also made a regulation that everyone who wanted to be the officials or *abdi dalem* (sultanate servants) had to attend and be certified by this school. Since then, the need for modern education increased.

Despite the fact that the city of Yogyakarta had been witnessing crucial changes following the wave of liberalization and modernization, which required a particular code of conduct to engage with, Javanese noblemen had a different view about them. Liberalization, which had restructured the economy of Java at that time, affected the social fabric of the city. New rich European entrepreneurs had become a new group, which gradually dominated the economic affairs in Yogyakarta. Engineers and technicians also gained an advantage during the economic restructuring, since their services were important for the growing industry in the hinterland of Java. While they enjoyed these kinds of economic changes, the many Javanese noblemen seemed to be trivialized due to their limited role in Dutch-set industrialization. The industrialized system sometimes restricted their involvement. Only those who had authority over the land leased by the European entrepreneurs could absorb the advantages brought by industrialization.

In the wake of industrialization, other Javanese noblemen developed their own businesses and became new Javanese entrepreneurs. During the monetization of agribusiness in Java, some Javanese elite built their own textile factories, which produced famous traditional cloth called *batik*. It was a new industry established by the Javanese during the liberal economic era.¹¹⁶

114 Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo, *Kota Yogyakarta 1880–1930*.

115 Ibid., 56.

116 Takashi Shiraishi, *Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912–1926* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

The factories were built close to the Javanese settlement close to the *keraton*, which absorbed the surrounding labourers, particularly women, who had been trained in drawing the designs and producing the cloth. The new Javanese entrepreneurs in *batik* production and distribution appeared to rival Dutch-driven commerce in Yogyakarta, run by the Chinese and Arabic residents through market economic activities. Indigenous entrepreneurs had their own business networks with other Javanese locals; many of them became wealthy because of this growing market. The new industry contested the racial classification system built by the Dutch, which placed Indigenous people at the bottom. Furthermore, the emergence of the Javanese *batik* entrepreneurs also became a milestone for the rising anti-colonial movement, which, at the turn of twentieth century, the Javanese initiated and led to a radical movement resisting Dutch colonialism.¹¹⁷

Another fact that should be underlined regarding the modernization carried out as a result of Dutch colonialism in Yogyakarta was the growing number of educated people who later became proponents of the anti-colonial movement. Unlike in other cities, in Yogyakarta, the noblemen were allowed to educate their children in Dutch schools. Although the sultanate also established the modern school, as previously discussed, the Javanese elite, particularly in the Pakualaman palace, preferred to send their youngsters to the Dutch schools. While there was a financial and administrative problem regarding land administration in the palace, since taking the throne in 1883, Paku Alam V opted to focus on developing education for his family members. Moreover, through the establishment of the *Paku Alam Studie Fond* (Paku Alam Study Foundation), Paku Alam V sent his families to pursue higher education, some of them being educated in Nijmegen, the Netherlands.¹¹⁸ They later became important individuals in the life of the East Indies in terms of their roles. R.A.A. Ario Purbohadi-kusumo, daughter of Paku Alam V, was an expert in Javanese arts while her sister, R.A. Miryam, was an expert in language and was often invited to attend national events by Queen Wilhelmina in the Netherlands. R.M. Suwardi Suryoningrat, who was also known as Ki Hajar Dewantara, and P.A. Notodirojo were Paku Alam family members who gained Western education and became intellectuals.

In the late 1890s, the Dutch colonial government established a school for teacher candidates in Yogyakarta. *Kweeksschool Voor Inlandsche Onderwijzen Djokjakarta* was the first institution that educated the Javanese elites to be teachers in their own schools. It was located in Jetis, in the northern area

117 Ibid.

118 Atika Suryodilogo, "Tata Pamong Keraton Pakualaman" in *Warnasari Sistem Budaya Kadipaten Pakualaman*, eds. Saktimulyo, Sudibyso, Sumardiyanto (Yogyakarta: Eka Tjipta Foundation-Perpustakaan Pura Pakualaman, 2011).

of the city.¹¹⁹ In the late nineteenth century, the school played a pivotal role in the evolution of urban space in Yogyakarta. Despite being intended for natives of Yogyakarta, students of this school came from other cities, even from outside the province of Yogyakarta, such as Banyumas, Magelang, and Kedu. The number of boarding students contributed to the transformation of the area as a centre for education, which was followed by the emergence of rented houses surrounding this school. As a centre for education, young Indigenous scholars in this school developed thoughts and ideas of their own visions, particularly for their conditions under Dutch colonial rule. In the early twentieth century, in this school, they initiated the first student organization movement in the East Indies, called *Boedi Oetomo*, in 1908.¹²⁰ This organization was important and considered to be a milestone of the Indigenous movement's struggle toward independence in Java, since it provoked the natives' political awareness.¹²¹ Several Javanese Western-educated persons were involved in this movement including Dr. Wahidin Sudirohusodo, R.M. Suwardi Suryoningrat, and P.A. Notodirojo. Indeed, it could be seen that while the Dutch government planned to educate the Indigenous people as part of a subjectification project to produce docile subjects, instead it produced what Mrazek called "Dandy," the Indigenous Western-educated modern group, which challenged the existence of Dutch colonialism.¹²²

The late nineteenth century development of Yogyakarta, previously described, showed how Dutch colonial control over urban space had shifted the influence of the sultanate in this respect. The pattern of the urban space of Yogyakarta no longer referred to the north-south axis, which was previously employed by the sultanate as the stage of power accumulation. On the other hand, the Dutch spatial-political approach gained momentum in this era together with industrialization and technological improvements in every aspect of East Indies life. Indeed, the modern system introduced by the colonial government produced the meaning of colonial superiority over the colony, which was symbolized by the material setting of urban space. It impressed not only the Javanese elites but also Yogyakarta's people. It provoked the feeling of being amazed by modernity that the

119 Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala-Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, *Laporan Pendokumentasian Bangunan-bangunan Kuno yang Merupakan Struktur Kota Lama Yogyakarta*, 21.

120 Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala DIY, *Laporan Pendataan Gedung Bersejarah Bekas Kongres I Boedi Oetomo (SPG Negeri I Yogyakarta) DIY (Yogyakarta, 1988)*, 4.

121 Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo, *Kota Yogyakarta 1880-1930*, 104.

122 Rudolf Mrazek, *Engineers of Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in a Colony* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 144.

Dutch colonial government had brought. Together with this, "the modernizing *bupati*" project was carried out by the Dutch colonial government through the abolition of their traditional privileges and rituals pertaining to traditional statuses, and upholding of the modern as well as scientific approaches in the local bureaucracy.¹²³ Furthermore, the modernizing *bupati* project was also carried out by educating Javanese elites' children to instill new knowledge about modernity, through which the Dutch colonial government systematically revoked traditional concepts of power to the younger generation. Yet the emergence of new Javanese entrepreneurs and the educated Indigenous people led to the power the Dutch employed in Yogyakarta being contested. While the sultanate was subjugated within the structure of the colonial government, the new-born Javanese elites who absorbed the Dutch system, both in the liberalized economy and modernized mode of living, began to undermine the construction of colonialism. The value of the city of Yogyakarta as the centre of education and activism was created at this moment. Indeed, as Kusno has theorized, the urban space of Yogyakarta became a means to observe ideas embedded in a history of the city.¹²⁴

IV. CONCLUSION

The development of urban space in Yogyakarta during the nineteenth century went through different stages. Each stage revealed a different political constellation pertaining to the nexus between the Dutch and Javanese elites, particularly the sultanate as the symbolic power of Java. Despite the fact that the Dutch experienced difficulties during the formation of the colonial state, they appeared to be the dominant power in Java, but were not completely so. Political negotiations during particular events between the Dutch and the sultanate were influential in determining the development of urban space in nineteenth-century Yogyakarta. For example, prior to the Java War, the form of the capital city of Yogyakarta strongly represented the power of the sultanate. The Treaty of Giyanti, which posited Yogyakarta as an independent kingdom and the Dutch as its closest ally, allowed the sultanate to solely influence the city with limited intervention through other powers. At that time, as long as their monopoly over rice exports from Java was complied with, the Dutch did not intervene with urban planning within Yogyakarta.

During the early nineteenth century, administrative reformation and the anti-feudalistic campaign brought about by Daendels and Raffles affected

123 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 167.

124 Abidin Kusno, *The Appearance of Memory: Mnemonic Practice of Architecture and Urban Form in Indonesia* (London: Duke University Press, 2010).

the relationship between the Dutch and the sultanate. It created tensions between them and even ended in warfare with the sultanate conceding defeat twice. This changed the relationship between the colonial government and the sultanate to the extent that the sultanate became only the vassal of the colonial government. The colonial government was now allowed to intervene, to a certain degree, in the configuration of the urban space of Yogyakarta. The establishment of the Dutch colonial administration in Yogyakarta in the north of the palace illustrated how the Dutch tried to challenge the sultanate's traditional urban patterns.

The post-Java War period and the following cultivation system was the first time the aggressive Dutch policies over Yogyakarta were reinforced. The intriguing nexus between the Dutch colonial government and the local elites urged the Dutch government to employ urban spatial politics. On the one hand, the feudal system of Javanese elites was useful to ensure the work of the cultivation system. On the other hand, the Dutch colonial government had to repress the sultanate to prevent any form of resistance without reducing the elites' satisfaction with their station. This urged the Dutch to employ what Giddens terms "the institutional mediation of power," which is the enforcement of power through the silent process of institutionalized practices.¹²⁵ It was realized by the establishment of a colonial order through state apparatus, such as local governance, police regiments, and the colonial court, through which the reproduction of colonial norms and values were carried out. Obvious social and geographical boundaries were necessarily required to produce an ideal colonial subject, one who accepted those norms and values. Therefore, the Dutch colonial government used urban planning to exercise their power over the colonial subject. Indeed, the quarter system was evidence of the metropolitan project during the cultivation system era, through which colonial norms and values were reinforced.

The aggressive policy of the Dutch placed the sultanate in a subordinate position to the Dutch colonial government. It changed the role of the sultanate in its own territories. Since the abolition of the military and economic functions, cultural activities were the only foundation of the sultanate's prestige and dignity that the Dutch colonial government still allowed. Despite being impotent politically, militarily, and even economically, the Sultan still exercised his power against colonial pressure through cultural festivities. Displaying his dignity through parades of military and cultural apparatuses, the Sultan made the palace more open for public access instead of merely for sacred functions as it was in the past. Therefore, the sultanate's cultural festivities were to show the people the existence of

125 Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence*. Vol 2 of *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 9.

the sultanate's power as superior to Javanese class stratification to refute any loss of dignity caused by military defeat. Thus, during the cultivation system, when the changing balance of power in Yogyakarta occurred, the urban space became a battlefield in which both the Dutch colonial government and the sultanate vied to exert their influences over city dwellers.

Finally, the liberal economy era likely asserted the Dutch domination over the kingdom. The coming of foreign capital and acceleration of technology increased the economic power of the Dutch in the colony. Moreover, they also stimulated the urban spatial reconfiguration, since new economic hubs and transport improvements allowed urban expansion along the peripheries. Human mobilization to and from Yogyakarta significantly increased. It affected the number of workers, particularly European professionals, who worked for modern sectors established in Yogyakarta. Modernization was thus the most important aspect the Dutch introduced in the late nineteenth century altering their vision of the colony. However, the growing Javanese entrepreneurs and modern-educated Indigenous youth in the city began to challenge established colonialism. Indeed, modernization, which was the tool of colonialism, became the gateway through which counter-colonial ideas began to spread, undermining Dutch colonialism itself.

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