GENDERED SPACE IN THE JAVANESE NOBLE HOUSE OF PANGERAN MERTADIREJA III

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ABSTRACT

Javanese traditional house are built to reflect the microcosm and microcosm of the Javanese philosophy of living. For the Javanese, duality and balance are two important concepts, which is reflected spatially through the how their houses are organized: inside and outside, left and right, rest area and activity area, as well as masculine and feminine spaces. This research discusses the meaning of gendered space in the house nDalem Pangeranam Mertadireja III. Gendered space is the main focus of discussion because gendered activities both shape and are shaped by gendered spaces. Ndalem Pangeranan Mertadireja III is a traditional Javanese house built in 1901 by the 17th Banyumas Regent, Pangeran Adipati Aria Mertadireja III. The house is located in Banyumas, Central Java. The purpose of this study is to analyze how gender is reflected in space, and how gendered resistance can then be observed spatially. This research concludes that within the Mertadireja house, masculine spaces are open, clean, and located in the front and right side of the house. In contrary, feminine spaces are closed, dirty, and located in the back and left side of the house. However, resistance is reflected spatially when women make use of masculine spaces.

KEYWORDS: nDalem pangeranan; Javanese traditional house; spatial; gender

INTRODUCTION

The home is a social space formed by individual social actions. Social action gives meaning to how a spatial space is conceptualized by those who fill and bring the space to life. Therefore, the space must be used or utilized so that it has value. Social space produces social outputs related to how spatial practice is manifested through perceptions of the environment which are built through networks that link social activities, such as personal life activities in homes (Lefebvre, 2001: 31).
Lefebrve also sees a production of space into three levels, spatial practice, spatial representation, and representation space. Spatial practice creates physical spaces to meet human needs. Spatial representation is a space that is not only seen from its physical context, but also from concepts and ideas based on human experience itself. Finally, representation space is directly used for user activities where they apply the association of imagination and symbols of the users. This space is depicted physically, where the symbols of space are used based on context. An example of this is the gender context in the division of each room in a house of residence (Lefebrve, 2001: 33).

The concept of gender in space can be identified as the space used by one or more genders (Ina Rosing, 2003: 191). The concept of gender must be distinguished from sex or gender. The definition of sex is the biological difference between men and women which is natural. While the concept of gender is a trait inherent in women and men that is socially or culturally constructed; for example, women are gentle, motherly, beautiful and men are on the contrary. As a result, the social and cultural roles of men and women were born (Handayani and Sugiarti, 2001: 4; Lubis, 2006: 95; Fakih 1996: 8). In addition to applying to society in general, gender is also manifested in the family and its physical scope, namely the residence (Kottak, 1991: et passim).

More or less gender plays a role in the arrangement of rooms at home, one of which is the separation of domains between the sexes. This separation is related to the different roles and activities carried out by men and women (Lumentut, 1998:1). These differences form certain types of space based on gender. Men are presented with upward, clean, light and strong, while women with downward, dirty, dark, and weak traits (Hertz, 1909: 553-580). For example, the kitchen or the back room is often considered a woman’s domain. Meanwhile, the living room at the front is often considered a male domain.

This study discusses the meaning of the house layout (nDalem) of Prince Adipati Aria Mertadireja III associated with gender context. Space is the main focus of discussion because the division of space in a house can be determined based on the roles of women and men who occupy the house. For instance, in Javanese houses, especially traditional houses, there is a spatial division based on gender. (Frick, Heins, 1997: 86).

Prince Aria Mertadireja III was the 17th Banyumas regent who served in 1879-1913. Mertadireja III was among the regents who served the longest. He served in Purwokerto for 19 years and as a regent of Banyumas for 34 years. During his leadership, Banyumas returned to its golden age, and the Banyumas regent Adipati Mertadireja III became a Regent who was respected by many other regents in Java and the Dutch East Indies colonial government. His achievements in leading Banyumas received many awards from the Queen of the Dutch kingdom and received the title of Prince and the honor of being allowed to wear Songsong Jene Gilap (the Great Golden Umbrella) like a King or a Sultan (Budi Tjahjono, 2010: 46).

During his retirement, Prince Adipati Aria Mertadireja III resided in the east of the district.
housing complex. He built a house in Sudagaran Village on ± 5000 m² of land, not far from the house of the Banyumas regent. The house is often called nDalem Pangeranan or Pangeranan. Ndalem Pangeranan is located at Jalan Budi Utomo No 249, Saudagaran Village, Banyumas Regency, Central Java. After Prince Adipati Arya Martadiredja III retired in 1913, he lived in NDalem Pangeranan until his death in 1927 (Ratmini Gandasubrata, 2011:55). Prince Aria Gandasubrata who was the son of Prince Mertadireja III, after retiring as the 18th regent of Banyumas (1913-1933), also lived in nDalem Pangeranan. After Prince Gandasubrata deceased, the house has been under the management of Paguyuban Keluarga Gandasubrata (Gandasubrata Family Association).

Therefore, this study will discuss how the space in the house (nDalem) of Pangeranan is given the meaning of men’s and women’s rooms. The space is divided based on differences in roles and activities between men and women. After the division of the space in the house is identified, then the meaning of spatial planning in the building can be seen as a representation of the division of space in a gender context.

METHOD

The method used in this study refers to the archaeological method according to Deetz (1967: 8). The method includes data collection stage, data processing stage, and data interpretation stage.

● **Data collection.** Data were collected by field survey by directly visiting the house (ndalem) of Pangeranan at Jalan Budi Utomo No 249, Saudagaran Village, Banyumas Regency, Central Java. Field survey was used to collect data in the form of verbal and pictorial data. Verbal data were in the form of descriptions of the location of the building, the size of the building, and the layout of the building. Pictorial data were in the form of documentation of every building and room in the house of Pangeranan. In addition, a study was also carried out on the graves of Price Aria Mertadireja III and Prince Aria Gandasubrata to see the layout of the graves of husband and wife. The data that were obtained from the field were used as primary data. Then a literature search was carried out to collect supporting data in the form of the history of establishment and ownership of each house (ndalem) of Pangeranan, the funeral procession for the Princes and their wives, the concept of Javanese traditional houses, any other related theory, such as spatial planning, meaning, utilization, and gender theories.

● **Data processing.** An analysis was carried out on the field data obtained during the observation and data collection. First, division of spatial planning was made based on functions, according to activities conducted in the rooms. Second, each room was iden
tified in accordance with men’s or woman’s activities. Third, an analysis was conducted by making connection between spatial planning and the context of gender in the house (ndalem) of Pangeranan Mertadireja III. This is in accordance with the concept of Javanese traditional houses that divides each space based on the roles of men and women. Finally, the patterns of tomb layout and funeral procession as a form of space resistance were analyzed.

- **Data interpretation.** Meanings were given to spatial planning of the house (ndalem) of Pangeranan Mertadireja III on the basis of spatial layout and gender context. Moreover, the artifacts in the house supported the meaning of spatial layout and gender context. Besides, the pattern of tomb layout and funeral procession also supported the presence of spatial resistance.

THE CONCEPT OF JAVANESE TRADITIONAL HOUSE

The home is a social space that is formed based on social products and activities conducted individually by the community. This is indicated by the types of furniture used to fill the space. Each room has a different function according to the needs of its inhabitants. Then new knowledge in building a place to live has been developed, such as building designs and philosophies that are in accordance with the culture of the surrounding environment (Henri Lefebvre, 2001: 27). This is also manifested in the architecture of traditional Javanese houses where the construction is in accordance with the existing culture.

The traditional Javanese house is a heritage of traditional Indonesian architecture. The house holds deep values, philosophies, concepts, and meanings. The spatial arrangements of the house are the most important part compared to the building itself. The use of spatial arrangement does not change from generation to generation, so that it becomes a tradition or traditional pattern in the community. This is because any changes in spatial arrangement is related to changes in knowledge about the nature of the family, such as family structure, kinship, economic life, parenting, and others (Suparlan, 1968: 5).

The procedures for creating, using, and maintaining spatial planning can be seen from the culture of the people. The culture can be seen through the pattern of daily activities in an effort to meet the needs of life. The causal relationship shows the interconnection between culture and the use of space (Parsudi Suparlan, 1986: 5). Humans live by making use of each space and its contents according to the prevailing culture and social institutions.

Pierre Bourdieu explains his theory of habitus and practice. Habitus is a cultural system passed down from generation to generation, from era to era, and from community to community. This is then internalized by individuals in the form of dispositions which become a reference in their actions. Whereas practice is an action taken by society in the context of social interaction.
based on habitus or what is called an objective structure (Bourdieu, 1997: 72,78). It can be seen that the spaces in traditional Javanese houses are a form of objective structure created by habitus and develop according to the actions or practices of the inhabitants.

The culture passed down in traditional Javanese houses is the concept of duality and center. Duality is a natural reality that everything always consists of two opposing but complimentary things, such as day-night, mountain-sea, birth-death, male-female, and others. Center functions as a link, harmonizer, or unifier between two opposing concepts. When these two concepts are combined, they will develop into the concept of natural reality which consists of three things, such as birth-life-death, creating-maintaining-fusing, the world above-the world of mankind-the underworld, and others. (Gunawan Tjahjono, 1990: 44, 213-214).

The concept of duality is manifested in the north-south axis line which has a relationship between the spaces of Senthong, ndalem, peringgitan, pendopo, and emperan. The front room is open, bright, and having low floor. On the contrary, the back room is closed, dark, and having high floor. Based on the house axis line, the domination of certain rooms can be distinguished based on gender. The kitchen (pawon) is a place of dominance for women, while the hall is a place for male domination. Therefore, the ndalem and Senthong rooms are used as harmonizing spaces that can be used by both men and women. In ndalem, there is also a division of dominance based on gender. The west side of ndalem is used for women, while the eastern part is used for men. The middle part of ndalem is used as a harmonizing space that can be shared by both of them (Gunawan Tjahjono, 1990: 162-163)

SPATIAL ARRANGEMENT IN TRADITIONAL JAVANESE HOUSE

The division of space in each house aims to benefit the life of the owner which is directed by the culture. In other words, space has been classified and selected according to its use and needs (Edward T. Hall, 1996: 110-111). This also happens in traditional Javanese houses where the space consists of: emperan/ markis, omah/ndalem, serongan, Senthong, pawon, pekiwan, pedaringan, lumbung and cowshed. Whereas in a noble house, having a high social position, there is one more room called pendopo (pavilion) (Budiana Setiawan, 2010:37-40). Every existing space is created to meet the needs of the home owner.

The customs of the palace are the starting point for pavilion aristocrats in building a place to live. The location of the house is in the area of the palace or government center. The aristocratic house is one of the most comprehensive and largest levels in traditional Javanese house architecture. These houses are easy to recognize because of the facing direction, roof and building shape, spatial layout, and land area that differentiate them from ordinary people’s houses. Usually ndalem with a spacious yard is located on land between 200 and 10.000 m². The houses have joglo and limasan roof with a complex layout. Then the houses face south or the south sea and turning
their back on Mount Slamet (Widayatsari, 2012:124).

An example of a house that has a layout in accordance with a traditional Javanese house is Pesanggrahan Ambarukmo. This was the residence of Sultan Hamengku Buwono VII after he stepped down from his throne in 1921 as well as the place where he died. Pesanggrahan was initially built by Sultan Hamengku Buwono V (1823-1855) and the development was continued in the era of Sultan Hamengku Buwono VII (1877-1921). After the decease of Hamengku Buwono VII on 30 September 1931, this place was used to receive royal guests, including guests from the Kasunaan Surakarta Palace (Interview with the Manager of Ambarukmo Hotel, 2020).

Pesanggrahan Ambarukmo is at the same time a ndalem whose layout resembles that of nDalem Pangeranan Mertadireja III, particularly in the main building of the house or ndalem ageng which is equally influenced by European building styles. Likewise, the layout of each room is arranged in such a way based on the function of the room (see Picture 1). The thing that distinguishes it is the presence of gandok kiwa and tengen which function as guest accommodation. Whereas in nDalem Mertadireja III, the guest house is known as pavilion or loji on the east side of the house.

HOUSE (NDALEM) OF KEPANGERANAN ARIA MERTADIREJA III

The house of Kepangeran Aria Mertadireja III is located at Jalan Budi Utomo No 249, Banyumas, Saudagar Village, Central Java, precisely to the east of the Banyumas Regency Complex, which is now the office of Banyumas Sub-district. This house stands on an area of land of ± 5000 m² with coordinates of LS 7°30'54" - BT 109°17'26".

Prince Aria Mertadireja III built a Kepangeran house in 1901 on a land of 5,000 m² (Gandasubrata, 2003: 206). The actual land area according to the record of inheritance is 432 tiles or 6,048 m². This house was used as the residence of the Prince after he retired from the regent in 1913. Prince Aria Mertadireja III occupied the house until he died in 1927 (Gandasubrata, 2011: 55). Before he deceased, the Prince Pangeran advised that the house of Kepangeranan not only be owned by one person, but belong to the Mertadirejan extended family (Sugeng Priyadi, 2018: 62).

After Prince Aria Mertadireja III retired, his position as a regent was demoted to his son, Gandasubrata. Like his father, Gandasubrata also obtained the title Kanjeng Pangeran Aria from the colonial government. The Prince also lived in the house inherited from his father after retiring in 1933 until his death in 1948 due to diabetes (Gandasubrata, 2009: 40 and 67). After both died, the house was inhabited by his son Mr. R. Sudirman Gandasubrata and his wife Satinah. Then the house was purchased from the heir of P.A Gandasubrata namely Prof. dr. Ratwito Gandasubrata. After they all died, the house of pangeranan was left vacant for years and managed by the Gandasubrata Family Association or Paguyuban Keluarga Gandasubrata (Gandasubrata, 2011: 59-60).
HOUSE (NDALEM) LAYOUT OF KEPANGERANAN ARIA MERTADIREJA III

The house of Pangeranan Aria Mertadireja III is facing south toward the south sea and turns its back on Mount Slamet. When viewed from the outside, the house looks like limasan (a pyramid) which is a typical Javanese building, but the layout inside the building is heavily influenced by European-style houses. The rooms in the house of Prince Aria Mertadireja III are symmetrical, unlike senthong in other Javanese houses. In Javanese culture, symmetry is a reflection of achievement of the value of perfection in human life.

The division of space in this house follows the division of traditional Javanese house space which consists of a gate, front porch, ndalem ageng, emper kiwa and tengen, pekiwan and pawon. The front yard is filled with pebbles and in the middle, there is a roundabout with rose plants. There are also a variety of fruit trees and kepel trees which are rare trees. It is said that kepel trees are only allowed to be planted in the palace environment and not planted in other people’s house. Since ancient times, this fruit has been a favorite of princesses of palaces in Java because it contains philosophical values as a symbol of mental and physical unity and integrity (Anonymous in Sari, 2012: 34-35).

The front porch can be accessed through five steps. The steps were formerly decorated with Chinese porcelain pots containing elephant ear plants. However, currently all the porcelain has been placed in ndalem ageng. The front porch was previously filled with two sets of tables and chairs. One set consisted of a marble table and was surrounded by four rocking chairs. The other set was a table and chairs made of woven coconut stems.

To enter ndalem ageng there are three wide doors. The main door is located right in the middle and on the right and left sides are companion doors. There is a corridor that connects the front verandah to the back verandah. On the right (west) are a study as well as a library, two main bedrooms belonging to the Prince and emper tengen. On the left (east) are three bedrooms and an emper kiwa.

The back verandah or usually called gadri is filled with a large dining table that can accommodate 12 people and a set of tables and chairs for guests. This room is also used for gamelan performances. Outside the verandah, there are two rooms on the northeast and northwest sides. The first room is used for storage of food and utensils. The second room is used for the storage of the gamelan.

The shower room (pekiwan), kitchen (pawon) and the maid’s room are on the east side of the house. These three rooms are separate from the main building and are usually called gandok. There are two wells in front and back yards. Then, there were also two additional buildings like pavilions on the west side (loji kulon) and south side (loji kidul) of the main house. These buildings were used as an accommodation for children and grandchildren for quite a long time. At the present time, loji kulon is no longer there, but loji kidul is still standing and functioning.
GENDER IN THE SPATIAL ARRANGEMENT OF Ndalem Pangeranan Mertadireja III

The concept of a traditional Javanese house consists of values, philosophy, concepts, and value system, and deep meanings. The spatial arrangement is made in such a way as to follow the existing concept. The Javanese world cannot be separated from the understanding of the macrocosmic and macrocosmic balance. An understanding of the macrocosmic balance can be formed based on the concept of duality, such as in the Javanese house, namely north-south, west-east, male-female, right-left, dark-bright, top-bottom, and front-back (Gunawan Tjahjono, 1990: 213-214).
The determination of Javanese people in maintaining the cosmological balance can be reflected in the use of symbols. The symbols are found in almost all parts relating to the house itself in the symbols of both materials and behaviors. Material symbols are used for things that are physical and can be seen by the senses, examples of which are spatial patterns and building shapes. While the symbols of behaviors are those related to human actions reflected in the use of every space (Pitana, 2007: 128).

The two symbols are interrelated where material symbols are formed because of the behavior symbols. This is emphasized by Bourdieu (1997) who states that symbolic meaning is not actually attached to space, but must be embedded in the activities of the people utilizing each space (Moore: 1994: 320). Therefore, the traditional Javanese house is not just a place for shelter (practical function), but it is also interpreted as a form of manifestation of their ideals and outlook on life (symbolic function) (Santosa, 2000: 68-75).

These are applied in the spatial arrangement of the house of nDalem Pangeranan Mertadireja III, where each space is divided based on differences in roles and activities between men and women. Each space contains the meaning of man’s and women’s domains. The division of space is seen based on the natural or cosmological structure in the form of four cardinal directions, namely north, south, east, west, and also a central point in the middle as an intersection of the four cardinal directions. With this philosophy, ndalem is placed right in the middle of the house, with a pendapa or verandah at the front, and a room of gadri and pawon (kitchen) at the back, while on the right and left sides are gandok tengen and gandok kiwa.
The Front
The front or south part of nDalem of pangeranan Mertadireja III is the front porch. This house does not have pendopo, but a large front porch instead. To replace pendopo, this space is used to receive guests, whether they are relatives and families, or even those who do not have any close relations. This space is at the same time also a domain of the head of the family who is in charge of filtering the guests who are allowed to enter ndalem ageng.

Pendapa is symbolized as protection provided by the head of the household, while the rest of the family are under his protection (Sastroatmojo, 2006: 46). The south cardinal direction symbolizes worldly; the world that is bright, open, dry, and free. Therefore, the structure of pendapa is open, as a public space indicating masculine (male) character.
The Center

The next space is *ndalem ageng* which is located right in the center of the house, surrounded by other spaces. *Ndalem* is closed, usually accepting closed relatives only. The spatial arrangement of *ndalem* of Pangeranan is influenced by European building style, although the pattern of the spatial arrangement is symmetrical. Symmetry in Javanese culture is a reflection of achievement of the value of perfection in human life. The concept of balance and perfection in human life can be reflected in the house where they live in.

The right or west side of *ndalem* of Pangeranan consists of five room, among which are work space, two main rooms, and *emper tengen*. This area is dominated by the activities of Prince Adipati Mertadireja and Prince Aria Gandasubrata. The working area is also used to receive closed visitors. This room is furnished with items that show the Princes’ majesty, among which are *Songsong Jene Gilap* or the great golden umbrella inscribed 29 August 1867-20 April 1933, two *porcelain* on both right and left sides of an office table, and a photograph of Prince Aria Mertadireja III and his wife as well as a photograph of Prince Aria Gandasubrata alone. This indicates that the room is the domain of the head of the household, Prince Mertadireja III and Prince Gandasubrata. The two main rooms were occupied by the Princes and also the place where both of them died.

The left or east side of *ndalem* Pangeranan consists of three rooms. The left part of the house is usually for the bedrooms of the mother and young, immature children. It can clearly be seen that the origin of life and birth comes from the east (Tulistyantoro, 2005: 148). The first room is used as a library as well as a public room to access *emper kiwa*. The other two rooms are bedrooms for the children of the Princes. In addition, *emper kiwa* is a family living room and, in this room, there are a set of chairs and tables.

The Back

The back or north part of the house is a *gadri*, a place for family gathering and dining. There used to be a set of chairs and tables in this area that could accommodate 12 people. This area is one of harmonizer spaces for the family to get people together. Besides, *gadri* can also be used as a place to entertain guests and relatives with meals. There is also a small area on the south-east of *gadri* used to store dining utensils. Moreover, this area is also used as a playing area and gamelan performance. After that, the gamelan is stored in a room on the south-west part of the house.

The next back part of the house is *gandok*. *Gandok* in *ndalem* of Pangeranan consists of a shower room (*pekian*), a well, a kitchen (*pawon*) and a maid’s bedroom. The location of *gandok* is on the east side of *ndalem* or at the back on the left. The kitchen is used to cook and put foodstuffs. This area is also used to receive female guests, closed neighbors, and relatives. Therefore, this place is more for the main female activities or domestic function.
It can be seen that the place further to the back of the house is dark, limited, close, wet, and dirty. These characteristics symbolize the importance of the place, where life and family are originated, and all start from mother’s dark and closed womb. On the contrary, the more the front of the house, the more open, bright, free, dry and clean the space. Clean and dirty space determines the male’s and female’s power domains.

- Clean and Dirty Space

Based on the spatial arrangement, ndalem of Pangeranan Mertadireja III can be categorized as both clean and dirty spaces. Each person has a different standard in interpreting the concept of cleanliness and dirtiness. Dirtiness is like pollution which can manifest in various forms. Physical pollution is pollution manifested in physical form. Then ritual pollution that is based on religious beliefs, such as the haram of consuming pork for Muslims and Jews. Second, cleanliness can be applied based on space and action. Therefore, the categorization between clean and dirty spaces is adjusted to the activities conducted in the space (Dark, 1995: 51).

Clear and dirty areas in ndalem of Pangeranan are defined according to the activities carried out in the areas. In the classification system regarding the universe and its contents, there is a concept of dichotomy between good and bad, clean and dirty. Social interactions that take place in the front region are sacred compared to social interactions in the back region. At the same time, the front region is cleaner than the back region (Suparlan, 1978: 29).

The clean area of ndalem Pangeranan is in the main building of the house which is part of the front region, namely pendapa, ndalem ageng and gadri. The main building of a house is like a place that is very well-maintained because it is accessible to anyone, especially pendapa and gadri which are used to entertain guests. Therefore, this area is clean, well-organized, good-looking, nice and comfortable. Thus, it will give a good impression to the owner of the house.

The dirty area of ndalem Pangeranan is separate from the main building, located to the left behind the house or the back region. This region covers the kitchen (pawon) and a shower room (pekiwan). If it is analogous to the human body, the kitchen is like a butt that deals with cooking and leftovers, and like a sewage place or room (Subiyantoro, 2009: 271-278). As a result, this building is separated from the main building so as not to pollute the clean area.

Based on the above descriptions, nDalem Pangeranan Mertadireja III can be categorized into two kinds of buildings, namely the main building and additional buildings. The main building comprises pendapa, ndalem ageng, and gadri or in the Javanese culture called ndalem ngarep. Then another building that are separate from the main house is gandok that consists of pawon, pekiwan and a well called ndalem mburi. From the divisions, it can be seen that the division of domains is based on the different roles of women and men.

The domain of women is ndalem mburi and the domain of men is ndalem ngarep. The kitchen is part of ndalem mburi because cooking and raising children in Javanese culture are
always performed by women. Women spend more time in the area of kitchen and a wife and other
female members of the family are called wong mburi, konco wingking or backstage persons
(Keeler, 1983: 2).

The head of the family, a male, is in charge of receiving guests in daily life and in ritual
ceremonies that take place in ndalem ngarep. The domain of the head of household in ndalem
pangeranan is also seen on the right side of the main house. Women can certainly enter and use
the area of ndalem ngarep, but only the head of the family can meet guests and use the area on the
right side. For example, in receiving guests in a family, women can play a role in serving the guests
with beverages and snacks.

The social reality demonstrates the presence of objectives divisions on gender. Bourdieu
holds the view that power in a theoretical context in society is cultural and symbolic. The power
is given a place and space, so that in every space there will always be a dominant one. Bourdieu
finds that there is an implicit rule in every realm called symbolic domination. Symbolic domination
has a forceful nature which then becomes an embedded belief. Therefore, the dominated parties
do not object to domination (Bourdieu in Jenskin, 2016: 156).

Symbolic domination occurs in social life, especially in the family occupying nDalem
Pangeranan Mertadireja III. Men and women have different positions in the household. The
position of women is below that of men. This different in position occurs because of differences
in the division of labor within the household. The duties of a man are often placed in an open,
clean room, in front and on the right side of the house. In Javanese culture, a man is a leader whose
job is to protect the family from outsiders. They are not required to carry out domestic activities.
Meanwhile, women are placed in a closed, dirty, behind, and to the left side of the house. They are
required to carry out domestic activities because from an early age they have been instilled that
women’s duties include wells, kitchens, and mattresses (Sri Lestari, 2015: 82).

The symbolic domination between men and women continued until Prince Adipati Aria
Mertadireja III died. At the time of the funeral procession was carried out in a procession by opas
troops and only male nuclear families were allowed to participate. In Javanese tradition, women
are not allowed to join the lelayon group. The body was taken in a 1992 Ford TT truck which was
decorated with lelayon decorations (see picture 9). The body stayed for one night in the pavilion
of Preceptor Regency before it was buried at the Kalibagor family cemetery. This procession was
carried out as a form of respect for the services of the prince who has been Banyumas regent for
19 years (www.banjoemas.com).

The tomb of Prince is adjacent to the tomb of his first wife. The position of the prince’s
grave is to the right of the wife because it follows Javanese kejawen rules (an interview with
Trenggono Gandasubrata, 2020). In Javanese culture, the context of right position for men is
defined as protecting or mengayomi the sustainability of family life (an interview with Darmoko,
2020), likewise with the position of the tomb of Prince Aria Gandasubrata and his wife. This layout
the symbolic dominance male is that males are always on the right side, both in their domestic domain and at his grave.

Room Resistance of Ndalem Pangeranan Mertadireja III

Resistance can be interpreted as an attitude to behave defensively, trying to fight, oppose or make an attempt to oppose. Foucault is of the view that power often gets resistance in social class (Dosi, 2012: 34). In other words, the resistance that occurs is understood as a force that meets other forces.

In the division of spatial planning in Ndalem Pangeranan Mertadireja III, there are two forces that shape the division of space based on gender, namely the strength of men and the strength of women. Men are considered to have more power, so that they have the right to show their power in a household. However, if observed in practice, men’s space can be entered by women. The domain of men is placed in an open, clean, front, and right side of the house. While the domain of women is in a closed, dirty, back, and left side of the house.

The existence of this division does not merely prevent women from using men’s territory. Women even have a greater chance of being able to use the space. For example, Ndalem Pangeranan Mertadireja III is divided into ndalem ngarep (for men) and ndalem mburi (for women). This division is categorized based on the roles of activities between men and women. Ndalem ngarep is the main house that includes pendapa, ndalem ageng and gadri. While ndalem
mburi is an additional building consisting of pawon, pekiwan and well. Nevertheless, if we look closely, women to a certain extent make use of ndalem ngarep to support their domestic activities.

The domain of men in ndalem Ageng is found in the left side of the house, in the form of working space and the main room. However, it is possible for a wife to share the same room with her husband. Therefore, the main room is used by both women and men at the same time. In this room, women or wife share the same right in using and utilizing it. It was not uncommon for women in the past to give birth, as well as take care of a baby in the main room for a while. This is due to the taboo for the Javanese people to leave a baby in bed alone. This prohibition come from the belief of Javanese people in the myth of Dewi Sri towards children. It is said that there are many supernatural beings that want to disturb the baby (Phuspita, 2010: 53).

Space resistance is also seen when a wife dies. The woman’s body is placed in the front room, which is the male’s territory, before being buried (see picture 10). This is to make it easier for relatives and families to pay their last respects. The same thing also happens when a husband dies. The difference is the procession before being buried, in which a ceremony is carried out for the body of a husband first called lelayon. Lelayon is a procession accompanying a dead man to the pavilion to be given the final tribute for his services as a regent.

Both examples are forms of resistance expressed by women. They resist in practice that women are always placed in a room that is closed, dirty, back, and on the left side. Although women have their own territory, it is also possible for them to use men’s territory. Women even
have a greater opportunity to use all the rooms in the house to support their domestic activities. Meanwhile, because men are not supposed to do domestic work, they are only able to use their own territory. The same thing happens when a woman dies and her body is placed in the front room in man’s territory.

CONCLUSION

Javanese society in building a house is inseparable from deep values, philosophies, concepts, value systems, and meanings. The same applies to ndalem pangeranan Mertadireja III. Although ndalem ageng’s spatial layout has been influenced by European elements, it does not rule out the possibility of not changing the Javanese cultural values contained in it. This influence occurred because Prince Adipati Aria Mertadireja III was a former regent of Banyumas. The regent was an indigenous elected by the Dutch to govern an area. This was different from nda elems in the area of Yogyakarta, the government of which was still under the kraton. Therefore, the building style was not influenced by European elements.

Ndalem Pangeranan Mertadireja III is divided into two buildings, namely ndalem mburi and ndalem ngarep. Ndalem ngarep is the main house comprising pendapa (front), ndalem ageng (middle) and gadri (back). Then the spatial arrangement of ndalem ageng is divided into right and left sides. While ndalem mburi is an additional building located in the east at the back of the main house. This building consists of pawon (kitchen) and pekiwan (shower room and well). Ndalem ngarep is at the same time a front region where more sacral social interactions take place compared to social interactions in the back region. Because of this categorization, front region is considered a clean area, while back region is a dirty area because it has a direct connection with a place of disposal.

The meaning of spatial arrangement based on gender context at ndalem Pangeranan Mertadireja III can be seen in the divisions of spaces between male’s and female’s domains. The domain of men is dominantly placed in ndalem ngarep or part of the main house of ndalem pangeranan. Whereas the domain of women is dominantly found in ndalem mburi or additional buildings at the back of the house. This arrangement is inseparable from the roles each of them plays. Males are placed in an open, clean, front, and on the right-side area of the house. While females are placed in a closed, dirty, back, an on the left side of the house.

Resistance by the dominated or women also occurred in Ndalem Pangeranan Mertadireja III. This is manifested in how women have the right to use men’s territory in carrying out their domestic activities. This can be seen in the space of gadri and the main bedroom owned by the head of the household. Therefore, women in fact have a greater opportunity to use all the rooms in the house than men.
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