

***The Roles of Traditional Markets as the Main Component of Javanese Culture  
Urban Space (Object of Study: The City of Surakarta, Indonesia)***

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**Abstract**

Traditional markets function not only as a mere trading place but also as a place for life conception and socio-cultural interaction. In the scope of traditional Javanese city, traditional market is a part of typical basic urban structures and an ever-existing part of the spatial arrangement pattern of cities in Java, for instance, Surakarta. This study was conducted in Surakarta, which is aimed at investigating the roles of traditional market as a structure component of traditional Javanese urban space. This study is an inductive qualitative research employing several methods of analysis, i.e., Spatial Analysis to find out the interrelationship between traditional market with the structure of traditional Javanese urban space and Interactive-Analysis Model. The results of this study suggest that the roles of traditional markets, physically, are the urban space component namely “Catur Gatra Tunggal” (Four Single-Slot), and being a part of city space structure which upholds the concept of Javanese cosmology where traditional market is placed in “Negaragung” zone. Not to mention, in traditional market networking, the location is determined based on “Mancapat Mancalima” which brings influence on the operational system of traditional market in traditional cities of Java.

Keywords: Traditional market, the traditional city of Java, the city of Surakarta Indonesia

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## Introduction

During the kingdom era, a city was composed by the existence of big/small settlements, open space (markets, religious ceremonies, public festivals), and streets, which was known as 'Majapahit Complex'. It is strengthened by the presence of several typical traditional Javanese cities mentioned by experts such as Stutterheim, Maclaine Point, Palmier, Witkamp, Van Mook, and Santoso. The variety of typical traditional Javanese cities suggests that traditional markets' component and position occupy a core region of a kingdom called *Negaragung* or the city center. As a component of traditional Javanese cities, traditional market is an ever-existing part of the spatial planning pattern of cities in Java (Santoso, 2008). Traditional market is a part of urban activities' catalysts having various functions. The location of traditional markets occupies a particular area with or without buildings used as the place where the trading activities take place. Sellers and buyers meet at the specified place, at a time set within a certain interval (Jano, 2006). On the other hand, traditional markets function as a node of the exchange of goods and services on a regional basis which then grow and develop evoking various activities in a city (Sirait, 2006).

In a traditional Javanese city, traditional markets have strategic roles, both spatially and non-spatially, namely as the space for socio-culture and socio-economic of the society. At macro level, the presence of traditional markets is a part of the typical basic structure of a city (Adrisijanti, 2000). Moreover, traditional markets located downtown can be seen as a subsystem of a larger economic system to encourage the development of a region and form a circuit round of trade (Sunoko, 2002). The traditional markets having critical roles are usually located in the city centre with higher rank, whereas the supporting markets are located in the suburbs (Pamardhi, 1997).

Unlike the structure of traditional Javanese cities, the urban structure of modern or western cities is marked by the existence of desentralisation, dispersion, and several activity centres, eventually forming a spatial structure which is complex and susceptible to conditions (Anas, Arnott, & Small, 1998). Urban space is generated from the city's surface as the floor and the building's facade as the enclosure. Specifically, a city's features are strongly related to the activities done within a city, thus there are trading city, industrial city, and other cities in accordance with available activity features in the cities (Gallion & Eisner, 1983). Besides, these features will produce a synergy of physical planning and activities within urban spatial planning which gives solid void composition, inter-part relationship, and responsive condition towards the users' needs (Trancik, 1986). Meanwhile, at macro level, modern urban space according to Spreiregen, Krier, and Gallion & Eisner emphasizes more on physical and economic aspects. In other words, all spatial formations in a city are emphasized more on market driven, with the city's service system towards *Central Place Theory* (Christaller, 1966).

In this current era, all regulations related to the provisions of health, education, shopping, and praying facilities are allocated with service distribution consideration which refers to *Central Place Theory*. Various urban spatial planning and development decisions are taken based on service scale principles in accordance with the number of population and the demand of public needs service from social and

economic aspects. Meanwhile, cultural, historical and public values do not become the main orientation in formulating urban development planning.

Those situations are completely different from the existing phenomena in traditional Javanese cities. The allocation of facilities and infrastructure in traditional Javanese cities which are particularly related to the main elements (Karaton, mosque, square, and market) cannot be examined by employing modern (western) theory comprehensively. Therefore, urban area development should consider the urban development process throughout a period of time, experiences from the past, and values attached to urban traditional forms towards continuing cities (Sharifi & Murayama, 2013). Consequently, these bring influence on today's free market climate in response to the establishment of Asean Economic Community. All planning forms are orientated towards goods supplies and distribution as well as economic values or market driven. Every strategic position in a city will be perceived as assets which can be developed economically, as a regional node to encourage various activities within a city generating the relations between social, economy and production (Sirait, 2006).

From the above differences, thus, it can be inferred that the concept of traditional Javanese urban space positions traditional markets as cultural product, social function and life conception of Javanese society. Besides, in its development, the concept orientates more on socio-culture or socio-culture driven. On the contrary, the urban space concept based on modern theory positions traditional markets as economic facility and regional trading node, and in its development it orientates more on economy or market driven. Nevertheless, how traditional markets' roles position themselves as a component of the traditional Javanese urban structure has not been identified in detail yet. Hence, it is necessary to conduct a research aimed to examine the roles of traditional markets as a component of the traditional Javanese urban structure. In this case, Surakarta is one of the traditional Javanese cities having specifications and phenomena related to the problems. Therefore, the case study of this research chooses Surakarta as the research locus.

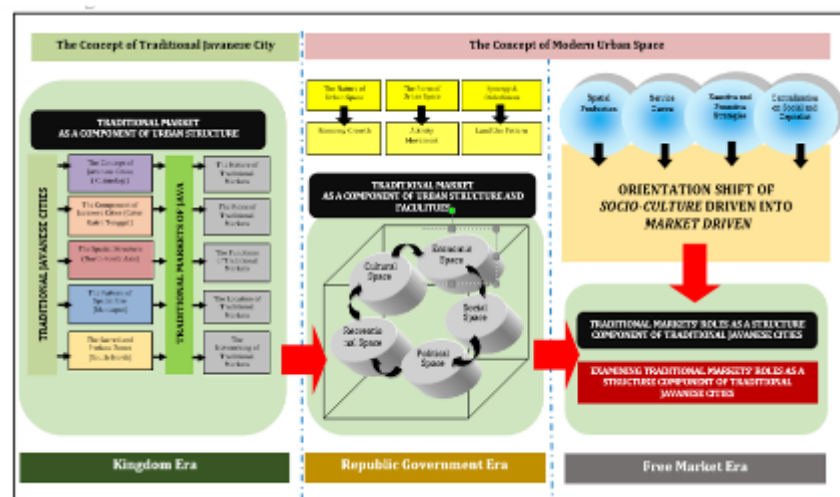


Figure 1: Mindmap and Background Knowledge

## **Literature Review**

### **A. The Definition of Javanese Traditional City**

According to several Javanology experts, traditional Javanese city is identical with the terms 'kingdom' or 'kraton' or 'state' or 'complex'. These terms are used differently, but have the same meaning, that is the central government as the city centre. The term 'central kingdom', which is then called 'state', is used by Selo Sumarjan (in Santoso, 2008) to explain that state is a place where noblemen and high class government employees reside. Meanwhile, the term 'complex' is used by Pigeaud to refer to 'Majapahit Complex' as a city comprising a number of big and small settlements which are separated by open spaces and wide streets. The open spaces are utilized for public interests, for instance markets, meeting sheds, cockfighting arena, religious ceremony venues and public festivals (Santoso, 2008). The spatial concept of traditional city in the golden period of Islamic Mataram kingdom is known as *Cosmology* concept in which the region is divided into four parts, namely *kutagara*, *nagaragung*, *mancanegara*, and *pesisiran* (Tjiptoatmodjo, 1980).

On the other hand, in modern context, a city is perceived as a relatively big, populous and permanent settlement, consisting of heterogeneous individual groups as seen from social perspective. City is one of complex human life expressions (Zahnd, 2008). In other words, city is seen as a space experiencing interrelationship processes between people as well as between people and their surroundings. These relationships create land user pattern forming a city structure. Based on urban space classical theory, urban space is formed from a city surface as the floor and building's façade as the enclosure and creates an urban life situation place (Spreiregen, 1965). Furthermore, city is a settlement having relatively big population, limited area, generally non-agrarian, relatively high population density, place for groups of people at particular number living together within particular geographical area by economic and individualistic rational relationship pattern (Kostof, 1991). Meanwhile, according to sociologists, the meaning of city is strongly related to the existence of market, that is a place in which people can fulfill most of their economic needs at local markets. A city's characteristics include the existence of markets as fortress, as well as private law system and cosmopolitan (Weber, 1994).

### **B. Traditional Market as a Component of Urban Structure**

As mentioned by Wiryomartono, market as a noun is synonymous with "peken" and the verb is "mapeken" which means to gather (Wiryomartono, 2000). The primary requisite of market formation is there is a meeting between sellers and buyers either in one place or in different places. Market is also an economic element which can bring benefit and prosperity to human's life (Toni, 2014). The presence of market as the media for production and distribution of production output contributes significantly in accelerating working system, mindset and quality of production types. In other words, markets can be an indicator in the change of production, consumption and distribution of certain goods. Some of traditional markets in Java reflect agrarian life pattern and cannot be separated from livelihood's characteristics of the surrounding society (Sunoko, 2002).

Traditional markets particularly located in urban areas have grown in Indonesia since the early settlement or kingdom. In the period of Majapahit Kingdom in 14<sup>th</sup> century, markets have developed within the city center area which were located at intersections (Santoso, 2008). In addition, one of the Eerste's historical notes (in Adrisijanti, 2000) shows that Banten city had owned several traditional markets in 1646 located in Paseban, Pecinan and Karangantu. In the early growth, traditional markets were in the form of spacious field without permanent buildings (Graaf, 1989). As the time passes by, traditional markets were established in many cities, formed by trading activities which are developed in open and adjacent spaces, fields and roads, and adjacent to settlements. Traditional markets are usually located in strategic places, reachable by both sellers and buyers which are not far from village, inter-villages and safe place from common interference (Rutz, 1987).

Besides, traditional markets have humane characteristics so that they can develop closeness and "kinship" relationship between sellers and buyers. In line with this, Rahadi also suggests that service quality and consumer identification factors play critical roles in encouraging consumers to shop or make a purchase again in traditional markets. Indeed, these friendly and acquainted relationships between sellers and buyers become special characteristics of traditional markets (Rahadi, 2012).

### **1. The Roles and Functions of Traditional Markets in Urban Space**

Traditional markets grow and develop as a node of goods and services exchange on a regional basis which subsequently evoke various activities in a city. The activities are not only in the form of goods and services exchange or selling-buying, but also information and knowledge exchange (Ekomadyo, 2012). It is in accordance with Geertz's theory which suggests that "market" is an economic principle as well as a way of life, a general style of economic activity covering various aspects of particular society up to socio-culture life aspect comprehensively (Geertz, 1963). In the scope of Javanese society, the strength of economic activity is centralized in traditional markets. Traditional markets function not only as a selling buying place but also a life conception and socio-culture interaction (Pamardhi, 1997). On the other side, traditional markets also reflect the society's life, marked by society's social economy domination as the environment where markets are established (Hayami, 1987). According to Bromley, traditional markets in Asian countries are located in rural and urban areas (Bromley, 1987). Furthermore, it can be figured out that the existence of traditional markets lies on social factors including norms, beliefs and bargain which can strengthen loyal network of market visitors to keep shopping in traditional markets (Andriani & Ali, 2013).

### **2. Traditional Markets in Urban Economic System**

Traditional markets are seen as an organizational system comprising interconnected and interdependable elements, thus forming a complex unity which supports each other components. In this case, market system includes several components, namely rotation, production, distribution, transportation and transaction (Nastiti, 1995). Traditional markets cannot be separated from many problems, either financial or operational system. The sellers of traditional markets encounter several difficulties, including goods delivery, service and payment with producer or consumer. Besides, there are time and weather problems. Throughout this time, sellers overcome these problems by establishing relationship with middlemen, consumers (sellers) and

between sellers, both producers and distributors even with market officers and ‘goods carrier’. In addition, sellers always keep working hard, and getting used to thrift habits, as well as religious improvement among seller community (Sutami, 2012).

### 3. The Scope of Traditional Market Service

The market system usually culminates in one main central settlement or other centres, which eventually leads to networking among markets. A market is a space or particular area with or without buildings used as a place where selling-buying activities take place. The goods sellers and buyers meet at the specified places, at a time set within a certain interval (Jano, 2006). Traditional markets have become urban public space, a place where society gather and build social relationship between them (Ekomadyo, 2007). In the scope of traditional markets, there is several work divisions including the sellers who manage the goods transportation from one market to other markets, the sellers who manage goods sale to rural area, the sellers who manage goods weighing or wholesale, and the others may sell textiles, baskets, livestock or corns (Geertz, 1963). On the other hand, the seller’s effort to sustain the continuity of traditional markets is to maintain the social advantage created by a business life tradition in traditional markets which becomes the basic reference of conduct for sellers in daily business by preserving values and norms of honesty, trustworthiness, cooperation between sellers and consumers and cooperation among sellers in traditional markets (Laksono, 2009).

In its development, traditional markets reach larger scope as a node of goods and service exchange on a regional basis which then grow and develop evoking various activities within cities (Sirait, 2006). It is supported by the result of Karnajaya’s research suggesting that the relocation of traditional markets can change field utilization, street pattern, movement and pattern or type of building, circulation way distribution and land use (Karnajaya, 2002).

### Research Methods

The research location is the city of Surakarta. Meanwhile, the data collection procedures include collecting information through observation and interview both structured and unstructured, documentation and visual materials (Creswell, 2009).

The techniques employed in collecting data are as follows:



Figure 2: Technique of Data Collection

The research informants are focused on the related parties including market users and policy makers of traditional Javanese urban space. Nevertheless, there are possibilities to expand the involvement of other informants for instance cultural observers and public figures related to historical data of Javanese traditional cities (Arikunto, 2010).

In addition, the technique of data analysis applied in this research is Spatial Analysis to examine traditional market scope as a component of Javanese traditional urban structure, and Interactive-Analysis Method to analyze the roles of traditional markets as a component of Javanese traditional urban structure (Miles & Huberman, 2002).

## **Results and Discussions**

### **A. The History of Surakarta**

In the historical establishment of Surakarta Hadiningrat city, as written in *Babad Tanah Jawi*, *Babad Sala* and *Babad Giyanti*, the relocation of Mataram Kingdom from Kartasura to Surakarta was because of the doom of Kartasura Kingdom as a result of Geger Pecinan incident in 1740-1743. Finally, through physical and mystical considerations, “Sala Village” was chosen as the best place to establish new Keraton Mataram. The selection of Sala village was based on the following considerations (Aliyah, 2002):

Sala village is located near *tempuran*, which is a meeting place of two rivers namely Pepe and Bengawan.

The location of Sala village is near Bengawan, the biggest river in Java island which has been known since ancient period having important meaning as the connector of East Java and Central Java and used for the sake of economy, social, politics and military.

Sala has become a village, thus in order to establish keraton, it is unnecessary to call for forest cutting laborers from other places.

The meaning of the word Sala is connected with the word *Cala* which means a large room or shed as a sacred building.

Keraton Surakarta was built based on the pattern of Keraton Kartasura which was only wreckage at that time. When the building of Keraton has been built, in the condition that there has not been brick wall fence in the surrounding keraton, Sunan Paku Buwono II pronounced the establishment of Surakarta Hadiningrat Country in 1745. In the process of relocation, several buildings of old kingdom including Pangrawit shed which are now located in Pagelaran were also relocated. According to historical notes and Solo Heritage Society document, this relocation passed Kartasura-Sala street, through west street passing Laweyan Kampong dan Kemlayan Kampong (Secoyudan street) (Aliyah, 2002).

The city arrangement started in the reign of Paku Buwono II in the early relocation of Keraton Surakarta from Kartasura. In this case, Surakarta is centralized in the Keraton Surakarta Sunanate which becomes the central government as well. Meanwhile, the city's facilities including squares, mosques and markets were located in the northern Keraton. Surakarta as a kingdom city in Java has a belief on the effort of cosmology world creation, namely believing the existence of harmony between small world (Microcosmos) and big world (Macrocosmos). This influence can be seen from the governmental system, namely a king as a single ruler (small world ruler). Another influence is the royal area division portrayed as a concentric circle of authority distribution. The first authority is in the most inner circle and the more outer part refers to the less authority. Meanwhile, the area of keraton is the most inner constellation or the first order namely *Kutanegara* (Aliyah, 2002).

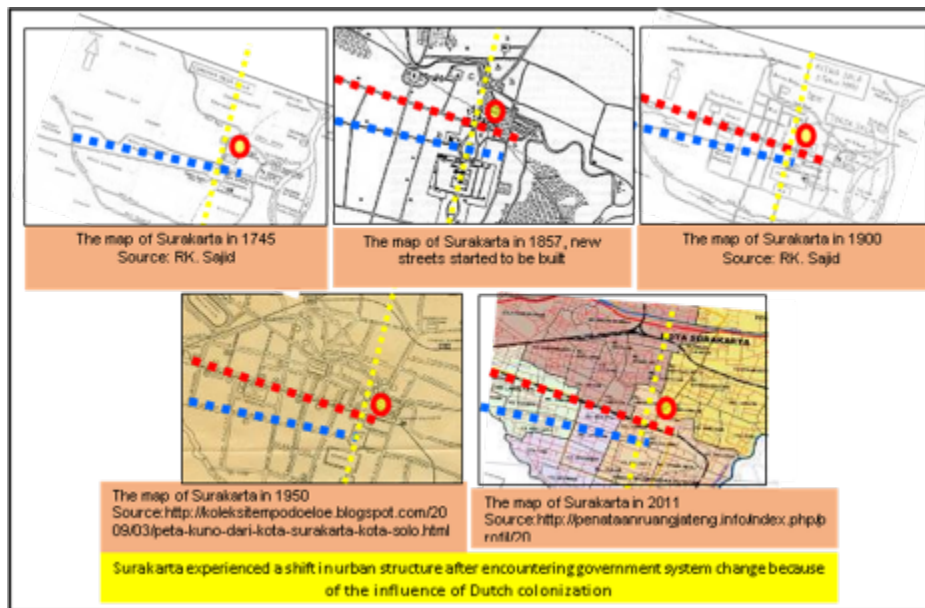


Figure 3: The Map of Surakarta's Development

Several prominent characteristics of Surakarta as a traditional Javanese city are as follows: (Santoso, 2008):

- Surakarta has two squares namely Northern square and Southern square.
- The complex of keraton is located between Northern and Southern squares.
- The relocation of urban area to rural area is quite harmonious. Although there is no information regarding to the early city border.
- In Surakarta there is a wide road stretching from the east to the west dividing Surakarta into south and north parts.
- The mosque, keraton and the houses of the prince are located in the west part of the city. This part tends to be situated in southwest (Hasta Brata), which in Javanese cosmography refers to a direction having characters from fire that owns strength and divine power and is able to conquer all attempts against universe law.

## B. The Area Of Pasar Gede In Surakarta

### 1. The History of Pasar Gede in Surakarta

One of the traditional markets existed in Surakarta Hadiningrat Kingdom period and becoming a part of urban constellation is Pasar Gede. Pasar Gede is perceived as one of the traditional Javanese urban structures. Besides, before the Keraton relocation from Keraton Kartosura to Surakarta on 17 February 1745, there has been trading activities in the valley areas of Semanggi river, Bengawan Solo river dan Pepe river (Soedarmono, 2004 in Mutiari, 2010). Pasar Gede is one of the plans of PB X and Dutch colonialists to develop economy sector in Surakarta (Mutiari, 2010).

### 2. The Roles of Pasar Gede as a Traditional Market in Surakarta's Constellation

In the spatial planning of Javanese kingdom area, especially in Surakarta, traditional markets are situated in the scope of *negaragung* or the city centre which is sacred, or *dhalem* as the centre. The location of traditional markets is in the scope of keraton, square and mosque (Santoso, 2008). It is also strengthened by the concept of traditional markets' location in Surakarta during kingdom period which refers to the concept of *catur gatra tunggal* (Rajiman Gunung, 1991 in Sunoko, 2002). In this



case, the complex's composition is keraton is in the south of square, mosque is in the west of square and market is in the northeast of square (Basyir Z.B, 1987). Meanwhile, the primary components of a city regarding to the Islamic Mataram kingdom consist of the fortress and *jagang*, *cehuri* and *baluwarti*, keraton-square-mosque-market. On the other hand, the supporting component of a city comprises *loji*, *lumbung*, *gedong obat*, *warung eca* (Adrisijanti, 2000). It is even emphasized that the location of traditional markets is not merely as physical meaning in the main spatial structure of a city. In fact, traditional markets in the past spatial planning elements have political function as a control element towards social mobility (Soemardjan, 1991).

At macro level, Pasar Gede as a traditional market is a part of typical basic structure of Surakarta. Several typicals of traditional cities in Java portray that traditional market is an ever-existing part in the spatial planning pattern in Java. Various typical structures of Javanese cities have been suggested by Stutterheim, Maclaine Point, Palmier, Witkamp, Van Mook, and Santoso based on Mintobudoyo's information showing that the component and location of traditional markets occupy the main area of kingdom called *Negaragung* or the city centre. Meanwhile, the part of kingdom area located in the periphery is called *mancanagara* (Santoso, 2008).

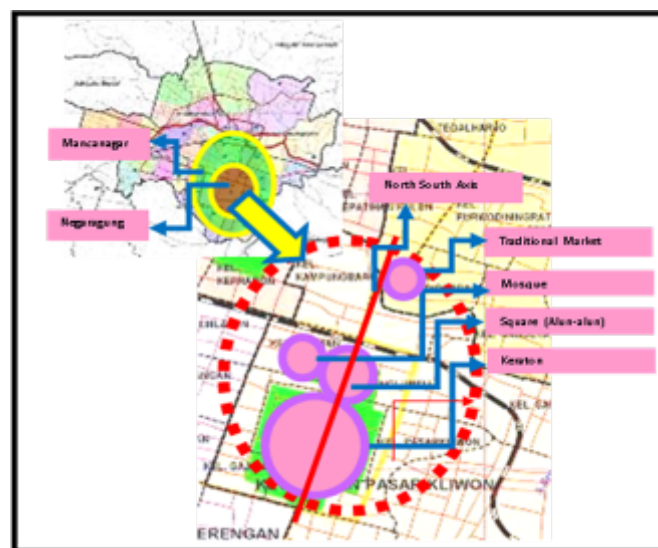


Figure 4: The Structure of Surakarta

### 3. Traditional Markets as a Part of Urban Spatial Component in "Negaragung" Zone

Tjiptoatmodjo mentions the existence of Cosmology concept dividing an area into four parts namely *kutagara*, *nagaragung*, *mancanegara* and *pesisiran*. The part of kingdom area located on periphery is called *mancanagara*. Meanwhile, according to Ossenbrugen, *manapat* urban structure is derived from the word *manca* which refers to a central point surrounded by four points and each point is located in the west, east, north and south. Besides, based on Witkamp, urban structure is dominated by North South Axis as urban orientation. Maclaine Point also highlights that a city consists of two parts namely sacred city centre and profane periphery (Santoso, 2008). It is supported by the view that a city or *kuta-negara* is a secular and spiritual authority central place and *kuta-negara* citizens are no more than the lord's servants having the

role as servants of their ruler (king) with centralized power (Wirjomartono, 2000). Therefore, it can be pointed out that traditional markets as a part of urban spatial component based on the Javanese cosmology concept are located in "Negaragung" zone.

#### **4. The Networking of Traditional Markets Based on "Mancapat Mancalima"**

Traditional markets play strategic roles in maintaining the growth centre structure. It is shown by the ability of traditional markets in evoking economic activities in their surroundings (Alexander, 1987). In addition, the relocation of traditional markets is capable of changing land use, street pattern, movement and pattern or type of building, equalization in circulation path, and land use (Karnajaya, 2002).

Traditional markets are seen as an organizational system comprising interconnected and interdependable elements, thus forming a complex unity which supports each other component. Meanwhile, market system includes several components, namely rotation, production, distribution, transportation and transaction. It means that 1) The components of rotation are related to production output specifications which eventually determine the cycle of five-day week. In terms of five-day week, there are *mancapat* and *mancalima* systems in Java, namely the role division of a village surrounded by other 4 villages located at 4 directions. Thus, the time rotation division comprises *Legi*, *Pahing*, *Pon*, *Wage* and *Kliwon*. One rotation which lasts 5 days is called a five-day market week and the roles of each market is controlled by five-day rotation; 2) The components of production are related to the path and accessibility of distribution and transportation; while 3) The components of transportation cannot be separated from a market's location which is reachable by sellers and buyers; and 4) The components of transaction are influenced by the preference or selection of a market's location. It is because the more strategic a market is, the more sellers and buyers will come, so that it will optimize transactions which result in the improvement of production (Nastiti, 1995). These are the same with Surakarta in which the networking of traditional markets includes the selection of location based on "*Mancapat Mancalima*" that affects the operational system of traditional markets.

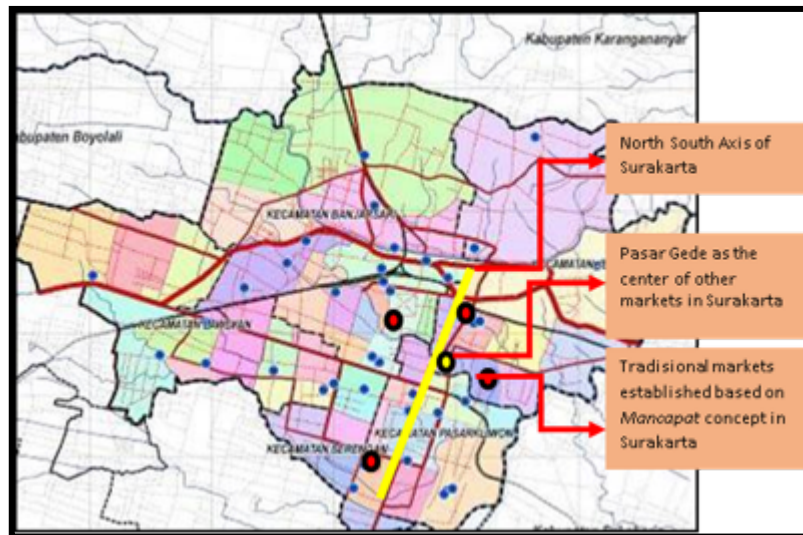


Figure 5: The traditional market networking based on *mancapat mancalima* concept in Surakarta



Figure 6: The condition of Pasar Gede area in the afternoon



Figure 7: The condition of Pasar Gede area at night welcoming Imlek celebration

## Conclusion

Traditional markets function not only as a trading place, but also as a place for life conception and socio-cultural interaction. In the scope of traditional Javanese city, traditional market is a part of typical basic urban structures and an ever-existing part of the spatial planning pattern of cities in Java, e.g., Surakarta. The roles of traditional market, physically, are one of the urban spatial components called “Catur Gatra Tunggal” (Four Single-Slot), and being a part of urban spatial structure which upholds the concept of Javanese cosmology where traditional market is placed in “Negaragung” zone. Not to mention, in traditional market networking, the location is determined based on “Mancapat Mancalima” which brings influence on the operational system of traditional markets in traditional Javanese cities.

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