

## CHANGE AND CONTINUITY OF THE TRADITIONAL JAVANESE LIFE STYLE OF ABDI DALEM HOUSES (Focused on abdi dalem houses near the Imogiri Royal Mataram Islam Graveyard)

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### ABSTRACT

*This study aims to understand how the traditional Javanese life styles in Abdi dalem houses have continued, or transformed to adapt to modernization through the study of Abdi dalem Houses located at three hamlets near the Imogiri Royal Mataram Islam Graveyard Complex, Yogyakarta. Abdi dalem were not only the pioneer of the hamlet settlements, but also had considered as the priyayi who spread the Javanese culture to the village community. Focused on eighteen Abdi dalem houses in Pajimatan, Giriloyo, and Banyusumurup, the measurements of the houses, interviews with the residents, and direct observations of residents' daily activities are applied for the methodology of this study.*

*The findings of this study are; First, most of the residents have inherited the houses from the previous generations. They tend to maintain the four sokoguru as main traditional structure and houses traditional orientation; Second, Abdi dalem is still devout to be kawula for Kraton, so they are still avoiding any architectural elements which are resemblance to the royal graveyard architecture. Third, there are spatial function changes: the uses of sacred room changed to more profane function because of the space needs reason. The function of pendopo from social activities changed to the house extension. Fourth, the spatial addition of the house in pawon and dalem adressed to fulfill the modern lifestyle.*

*This study concludes that Abdi dalem houses have maintained its traditional value in the aspect of the main structure, space, and kawula lan gusti obedience-life views. Pendopo and dalem has lost its initial function and meaning. Dalem and pawon are modified to adapt the modern life style.*

**Keywords:** *abdi dalem, Imogiri, traditional, architecture*

## INTRODUCTION

### Background

Mulder (2011) stated that Yogyakarta, the center of Javanese culture, has become a place for modern and traditional culture mixture. Depari (2013) writes that nowadays Yogyakarta is facing dilemmatic situation between the architectural heritage preservation and modern urban development tendency. As is known, Yogyakarta is the successor of the Mataram Islam Kingdom that established in the 16th century. Yogyakarta has a long history of the Mataram Islam Kingdom's glorious period. Therefore, historic sites and monuments of Mataram Islam Kingdom had existed before Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate came to existence. Governor Decree No.186 of 2011 has declared six historical sites as valuable heritage areas. Imogiri is one of the important historical area because it was the chosen place for Mataram Islam Kingdom great monument. There are three royal graveyard complexes in Imogiri which are oftenly mentioned for their high historical value, i.e the royal graveyard complex in Giriloyo, Pajimatan, and Banyusumurup. Currently, these three areas have been included as the planning area of Imogiri social and culture conservation masterplan (RURTK 2014-2034) by DPUP ESDM DIY.

The Mataram Islam royal graveyard complex grew the ancient settlement for living quarters of abdi dalem juru kunci, royal servants who are responsible for taking care the royal grave yard and the rituals. The abdi dalem are known for their loyalty to the king. According Sulistyowati (2014: 160), people in the Imogiri region in wetan kali (east of the Opak River) considered themselves to have a higher class than kulon kali. Wetan Kali territorial is an area close to the Mataram Islam Royal Graveyard Complex. This term based on Sulistyowati (2014) refers to a predominantly dominated society by the abdi dalem who reflect themselves as priyayi who always interact with the king or the royal family. Abdi dalem who have been inhabited the settlement near the royal grave yard complex had spread the Kraton high culture to local people, especially batik painting skill. Abdi dalem were oftenly considered more knowledgeable about Kraton rituals than common villagers. Nowadays, people who lives near the royal grave yard complex are still involved of the traditional rituals along with abdi dalem .

Besides the importance of historical aspect of abdi dalem living culture continuity, Yogyakarta has been known as vulnerable province to earthquake disaster. Yogyakarta area is part of an earthquake line stretching from the island Sumatra, Java, Bali to Nusa Tenggara. In 2006, Yogyakarta experienced tectonic earthquake where the epicentre was approximately 37 km south of the city. The traditional houses in Imogiri has been collapsed, including abdi dalem houses near the Mataram Islam Royal Graveyard Complex.

## **The Statement of Problem**

As mentioned above, the settlements surrounding the Mataram Islam Royal Graveyard Complex were emerged by the presence of abdi dalem houses. Abdi dalem who used to be pioneer of the settlements have brought the tradition values in nonphysical and physical aspect. The architectural form and the concept of the houses are the manifestation of abdi dalem relationship to Kraton and Javanese traditional architecture principle. For the architecture preservation behalf, it is necessary to know whether the Javanese traditions values carried by the abdi dalem are still reflected or not in the physical form of their houses.

## **Research Question**

1. What are the continuity and change of the Javanese lifestyle in abdi dalem houses near Imogiri Royal Mataram Islam Graveyard Complex?
2. What are the continuity and change of the architectural elements of abdi dalem houses near Imogiri Royal Mataram Islam Graveyard Complex?

## **THEORY / RESEARCH METHODS**

### **Imogiri Mataram Islam Royal Graveyard Complex as Mataram Islam City Component**

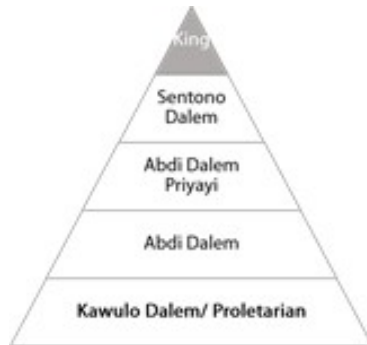
Woodward (1999) writes that the Mataram Islam Royal Graveyard Complex has become the sacred place of the kingdom. The Mataram Islam Royal Graveyard Complex existence was followed by the growth of the surrounding ancient settlements. Chawari (2008:64), in conjunction with Munawwir in Masyhudi (2014);Adrisrijanti (1997), the Royal Grave yard complex establishment begun at 1632 with the help of abdi dalem as the construction workers. Gradually, the abdi dalem improved their temporary shelters to be permanent houses according to Masyhudi's thesis (2014).

The historical aspect of Mataram Islam Kingdom in Yogyakarta is undeniably important for preservation and conservation consideration. Mataram Islam Kingdom reached its golden age during the reign of the third king, Sultan Agung Hanyakrokusumo (1613-1645). Imogiri Royal Grave yard Complex was built because of the command from Sultan Agung in 17th century before the division of the Mataram Islam Kingdom. After the Treaty of Giyanti in 1755 which divided the sovereignty of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom to Surakarta Sunanate and Yogyakarta Sultanate, the graveyard complex is still owned by two kingdoms until now.

### **Abdi dalem as Kawula lan Gusti**

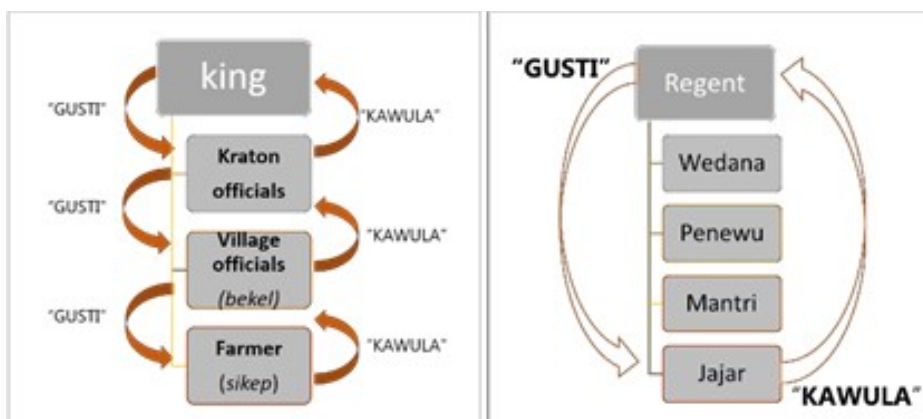
Javanese society according to Woodward (1999) is divided into two social groups, namely 1) wong cilik or agrarian society, and 2) priyayi, the social class of abdi dalem and the government officials. In addition, Geertz (1983) in his book, Religion of Java, divides the Javanese community based on their beliefs, namely kejawen,

abangan, and santri. Burger (1957) classifies Surakarta and Yogyakarta communities into three classes. The first is sentana dalem or relative of the ruling king to be a group of nobles and kings. Second, the abdi dalem, and the third is the kawula dalem, those who receive the command (Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** Javanese society  
Source: Zahnd in Depari, 2013; Woodward, 1999

Javanese hierarchical social class places the abdi dalem as both 'gusti' and 'kawula' (Figure 2). Even in the smaller scope, abdi dalem hierarchical position also applies that patron-client concept. Gusti is tasked to protect the Kawula because they are considered to have higher class while the Kawula is a servant who is assigned to serve Gusti. A privilege given by Kraton to abdi dalem differentiated their social class from common villagers. The apanage land is the land given to abdi dalem in return for his services to take care of the royal graveyard complex. However, during the time of Sri Sultan HB VII, the land was abolished along with the abolition of apanage system. Remuneration given in the form of money or 'bebungah' which the amount is still enough to meet daily needs.



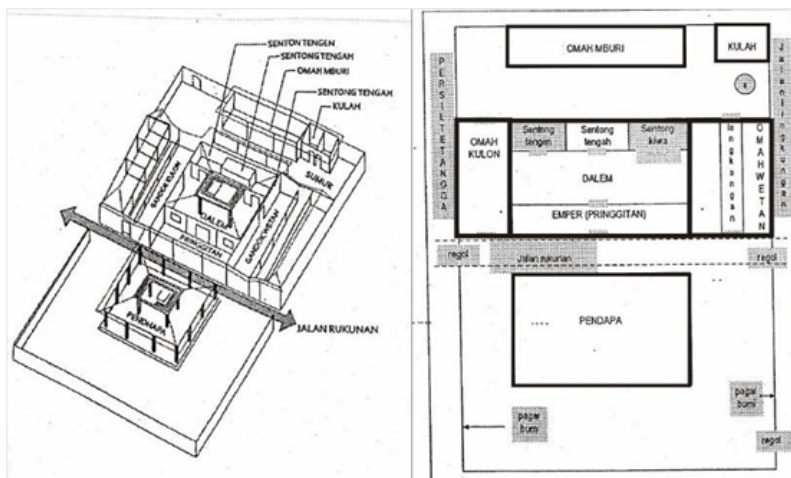
**Figure 2.** Javanese society and Abdi dalem rank hierarchy  
Source: Winarta, 1993

The period of Dutch colonial rule that had undermined the royal power and the occupation of Japan turned out to have a different impact. At the time of the Dutch occupation, the Abdi dalem were still able to enjoy a considerable salary, but by the time the Japanese came to power, the salary received never increased while the life necessities prices rose. This is what Winarta (1993) mentioned in the socio-economic condition of the 1949 in the 1940's declining so that the number of interns decreased drastically based on the of Dalem Bupati Puralaya statistic. After 1945, the internship-enthusiasts of Abdi dalem even more degenerate. The people who are still willing to continue the profession of the previous generation of servants are based on a sense of obedience and hope of blessing from the Sultan.

### Javanese Traditional Houses

Based on the development of the form, traditional Javanese house can be divided into four kind of roof forms, namely Panggang Pe, Kampung, Limasan, and Joglo. The house with the Kampung roof by Tjahjono (1989: 90) is often called 'serotong' or pipe, possibly is a derivatation the word 'kapung' or 'katepung' considering the roof of kampung is meeting two pieces of roof forming a unity. According to Ismunandar (1986: 125), the word kampung in Javanese means yard, village, village people who do not own rice field. In the past, the villagers assumed kampung shaped roof are for the needy.

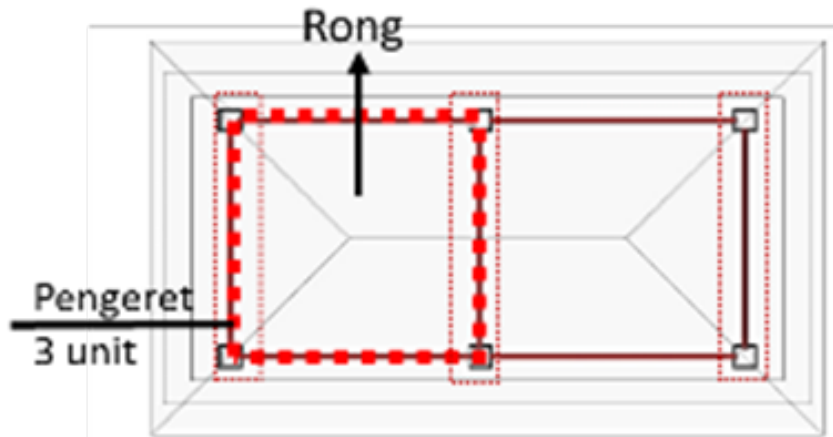
Dakung (1981: 206) and Prijotomo (1984: 40) explained that traditional Javanese house owned by ordinary people at least has composition of space divided into three parts, namely 1) pendopo, 2) pringgitan as space for puppet show, and 3) omah jero, as a family room called dalem. The composition of the house is divided into three parts, namely the ngarep (front), tengah (middle), and mburi (rear). For the middle room, divided into three rooms or senthong, namely senthong kiwa, senthong tengen, and central senthong. The spatial system of traditional Javanese houses recognizes the hierarchy of sacredness of space. Central Senthong is a space for traditional beliefs, ceremonies, and worship. This room is also used to contemplate and pray for homeowners (Figure 3)



**Figure 3.** Traditional Javanese House in Kotagede as precedent

Source: Tjahjono, 1989; Iswati, 2009

The space module in Javanese architecture is called rongrongan. The module is the basis for determining the room inside the built house. Rongrongan is a room formed by four columns and two pengeret (transverse beams). If a house has two pengeret (transverse beams), it will create a rongrongan. If it has three pengeret (transverse beams) it will have two rongrongan, and so on. The shape of a building called Limasan Trajumas is a limasan building that has six soko (columns). Thus, this building only has two spaces or rongrongan. The roof consists of four sides with one ridge or wuwungan (Figure 4).



**Figure 4.** Rongrongan  
Source : Illustrated from Dakung, 1981

### Change and Continuity

According to Noel (2011: 26) who quoted Rapoport (1990), people will experience the process of cultural change. In the process of change, there is continuity or sustainability. Preston in Noel (2011: 32) states that the changes and sustainability that accompany the process occur incrementally so that people experience it unconsciously. There is a core element in culture, where core will last longer than the peripheries which will change faster. Rapoport (1990) further explains that culture will certainly affect the built environment.

## Location of the Study



**Figure 5.** The Area of Study

Source : survey, 2017

Imogiri district is located in the southeastern part of Bantul regency, around 17 km from Yogyakarta. The third chosen hamlets are located surrounding the hill and graveyard complex. Abdi dalem houses are on the hillside. There was an unwritten rule had stated the levelling site of abdi dalem houses should not exceed the site where the royal graveyard were plotted (Figure 5).

## Research Methods

Researchers conducted field observations to collect data, and actively involved in activities undertaken by the abdi dalem. Observations made by researchers are photography documentation and measurement. Interviews were conducted with the representative sources, i.e abdi dalem Kasunanan Surakarta and Yogyakarta, the Regent of Yogyakarta Sultanate for Imogiri which is assigned to organize abdi dalem, indigenous villagers who have been living in the chosen hamlets for more than thirty years and be considered have knowledge about abdi dalem daily life, and the descendants of abdi dalem who work as house builder for at least two generations.

The chosen cases are based on this following considerations; abdi dalem is the descendant of the previous generation, the abdi dalem who is not a descendant but registered and have served as abdi dalem after experiencing a long apprenticeship (at least 10 years). In addition to the variety of servants in the palace, there are homes that have been inhabited 7 generations, and some are new houses which were built in the yard of inheritance.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Abdi dalem House Characteristic near the Imogiri Royal Mataram Islam Graveyard Complex

After major earthquake in Yogyakarta on May 27, 2006, the old traditional Javanese architectural houses in the study area suffered severe damage, even collapsed. Ironically, the respondent stated that post- earthquake disaster, many of damaged traditional buildings were dismantled. Its wooden columns and beams had been sold to buyers from outside Yogyakarta. It was the decision of the heirs to determine the shape of the architecture whether to preserve the traditional Javanese architecture or just ignore it.

Evidently, there are several heirs of abdi dalem houses have rebuilt their houses without heeding the principle of traditional Javanese architecture. The new abdi dalem houses which were built after the earthquake have big difference with the old houses in spatial organization, ornaments, and structures. The heirs replaced wood as the main building material with reinforced concrete, the spatial organization now tends to fulfill the aspects of functionality and modern needs than the symbolic meaning as before. The decorative elements of Javanese traditional architecture has also been abandoned.

### The Component of the House Compound

The common abdi dalem house near the Imogiri Royal Mataram Islam Graveyard Complex consists of at least two building masses, namely dalem which is also called omah pokok, and a gandhok, a complementary building that serves as omah pawon (gegenen) or kitchen. The plotting of gandhok is generally located beside the omah pokok (west or east) or at the back of omah pokok (commonly called omah mburi) (Figure 6).

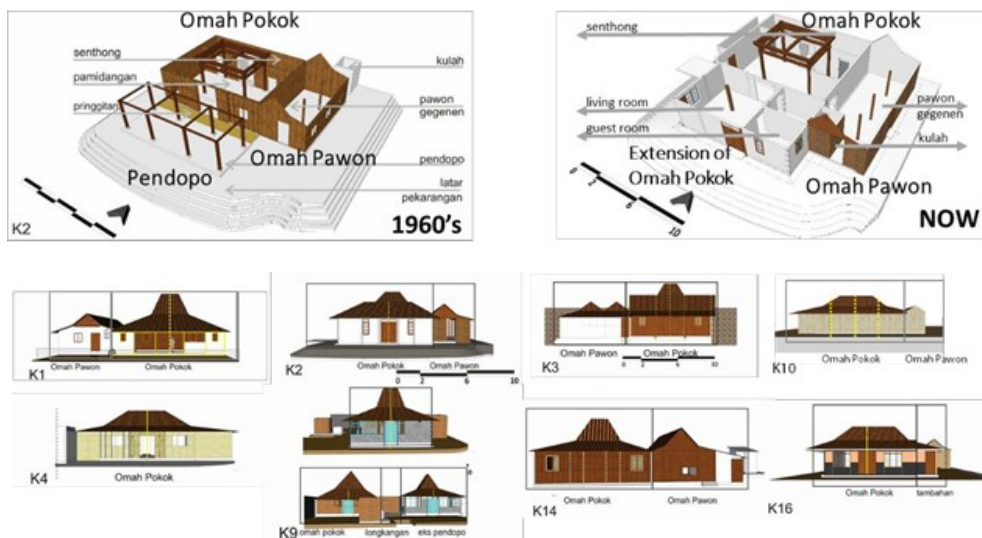


Figure 6. House compound, i.e Pendopo, Omah Pokok, and Omah Pawon

Source: Survey, 2017



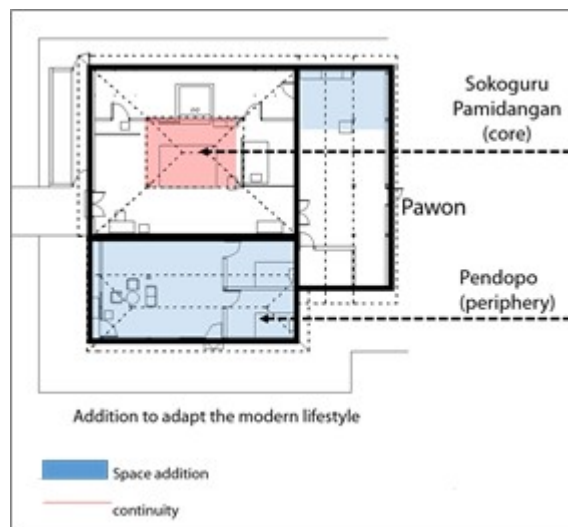
Abdi dalem who has close kinship with the royals often exhibits their aristocracy by the existence of pendhopo as the component of the house. His house consists of at least three masses, ie pendhapa, omah pokok, and omah pawon. Joglo roofed pendhopo is commonly owned by the abdi dalem who has high position, especially by abdi dalem who are titled with "Kanjeng" because of his position as Kanjeng in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, equals to 'Tumenggung' for Kasunanan Surakarta.

**Change and continuity of Javanese life style in Abdi dalem House Spatial Organization**

**Table 1.** The House Compound Component

Case	Latar	Pendopo its characteristic	in initial Omah Pokok	Dalem/ Omah Pokok	Senthong	Omah Pawon	Kulah/ Padasan	Kandang
K1	V	-	V	-	V	V	-	
K2	V	-	V	V	V	V	-	
K3	V	-	V	-	V	V	V	
K4	V	-	V	-	-	V	V	
K9	V	-	V	-	-	V	-	
K10	V	-	V	V	V	V	V	
K14	V	-	V	-	V	V	-	
K16	-	-	V	-	V	V	V	
K17	V	-	V	-	V	V	-	

Source : survey, 2017



**Figure 7.** Core and periphery in abdi dalem house architectural element

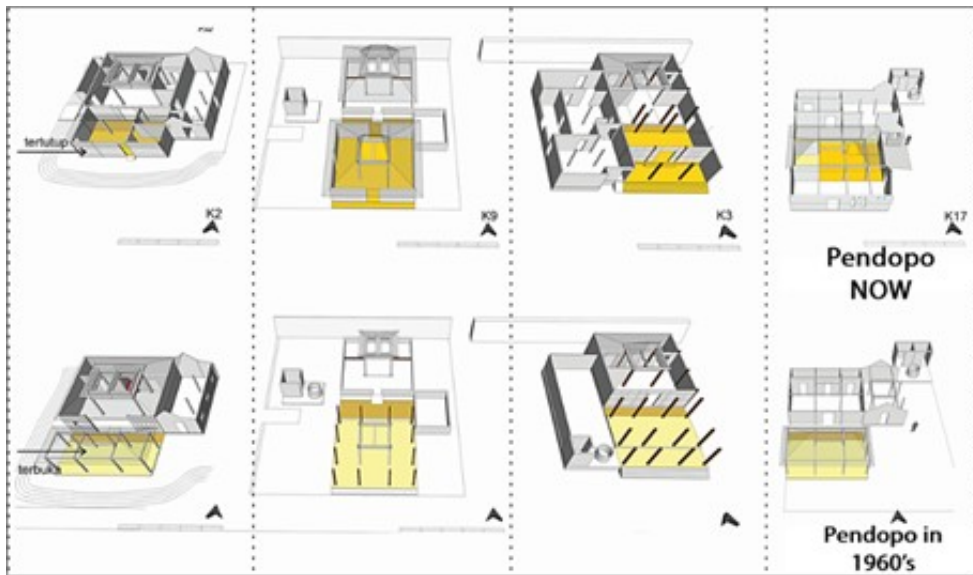
Source : survey, 2017

### Pendhopo

Pendhopo is a part of the traditional Javanese house compound which is not always found in every Abdi dalem houses near the Imogiri Mataram Islam Royal Graveyard Complex. Only the noble abdi dalem owned pendhopo as a validation of their social status, economic and aristocracy. The existence of structure and construction of Pendhopo which can still be found in four cases (K2,K3,K9,and K17) (Table 1).

There are two basic type of pendhopo, i.e

1. an elongated pendhopo (K2, K3, and K17)
2. square pendhopo (case K9) (See Figure 8)



**Figure 8.** Pendhopo Transformation  
Source : survey, 2017

**Table 2.** The Function Change of Pendhopo

Case	Roof type	The Function Change of Pendhopo	Character	Abdi Rank/ Kinship	dalem Kraton
K1 (Resodiharjo)	Joglo	1960's	Social activities, performing arts, wayang	Open	The descendant of the Royal Surakarta Sunanate

**Table 2.** The Function Change of Pendhopo (continued)

<b>Case</b>	<b>Roof type</b>	<b>The Function Change of Pendhopo</b>		<b>Character</b>	<b>Abdi dalem Rank/ Kraton Kinship</b>
		Now	demolished	-	Living room and bedrooms
K2 (Jogo Wiyono)	Joglo	1960's	Batik workshop and social activities	Open	Kanjeng, the descendant of Hamengkubuwono II
		Now	Living room and guest room	Closed	
K3 (Mangku Diharja)	Kampung	1960's	Batik workshop and social activities	Open	Jajar Sepuh
		Now	Living room	Closed	
K9 (Kurni)	Joglo	1960's	Social activities : performing arts, wayang	Open	The descendant of the Royal Surakarta Sunanate
		Now	Living room and bedrooms	Closed	

Source : survey, 2017

According to the heirs, in 1960's pendhapa was used as a gathering area of social activities as well as to craft the batik. Nowadays, the function of pendhapa is no longer seen as an obligatory public space as before. A pendhapa is indeed an identity of the previous generation's social status, but on the other hand, there is an increasing need for functional spaces that accomodate the domestic activities effectively , i.e bedrooms to respond the growing number of family member and more private living room (Table 2 and 3).

**Table 3.** The Pendhopo Function Alteration and its motives

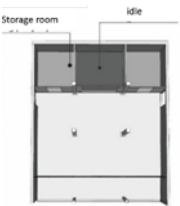
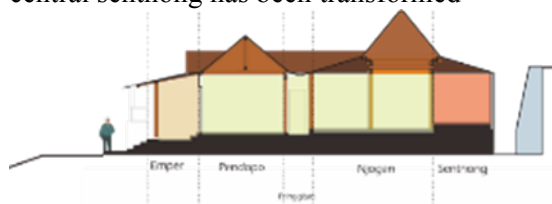
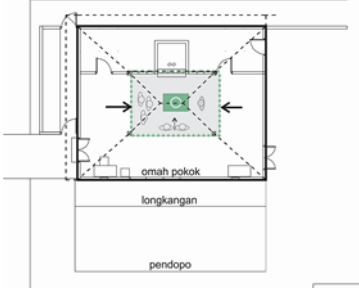
<b>Case</b>	<b>Function alteration</b>	<b>Form transformation</b>	<b>motives</b>
<b>K1</b>	Yard	Demolished. No reconstruction.	The front yard has been transformed to narrow alley for public pathways. Batik crafter profession discontinuity.
<b>K2</b>	Living room and guest room	The pendhapa is partitioned	<b>Spatial needs reason</b> Addition of functional spaces: guest room for the pilgrims
<b>K3</b>	Omah Pokok extension as more private living room	Adding emper as public space	<b>Spatial needs reason</b> addition of functional spaces that efficiently support domestic activities
<b>K9</b>	Bed rooms and private living room	Pendhopo is partitioned with wall and movable partition	<b>Spatial needs reason</b> addition of functional spaces that efficiently support domestic activities
<b>K17</b>	Living room	Pendhopo is partitioned with wall and movable partition	<b>Spatial needs reason</b> addition of functional spaces that efficiently support domestic activities

Source : survey, 2017

### **Omah Pokok**

Omah Pokok is generally divided into two parts, njogan and senthong. Omah Pokok nowadays is used in its original function for living and serves as domestic space.

**Table 4 .The Changes and Continuity of Omah Pokok**

Changes	Aspect	Space
<b>Hierarchy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The discontinuation of senthong as a sacred room. Central senthong is no longer functioned for worshipping Goddess Sri.</li> <li>• The discontinuation of amben as place for sleeping together. Now senthong tengah has been transformed to bedroom</li> </ul>	
	<p>Floor levelling continuation despite the function of central senthong has been transformed</p>	
<b>Continuity</b>	<p>Traditional rituals held at the Pamidangan space</p>	
	<p>The pilgrim and <i>abdi dalem</i> still hold traditional ritual 'Kenduren' with tumpeng as offering at Pamidangan (space between sokoguru) in Omah Pokok</p>	

Source : survey, 2017


### Senthong

There are three types of central senthong found in abdi dalem houses (Table 5);

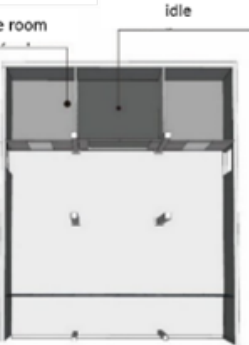
Table 5. Senthong change and continuity

Type	Senthong Function Changes	motives	Conclusion
1	All of three senthongs have been converted to bedroom by opening the former partitions.	Spatial needs Change in perception of kejawen ritual	
2	Central senthong has left idle, the flanking senthong become storage room for previous generation's heirloom	Spatial needs Change in perception of kejawen ritual	Senthong tengah or Central Senthong has lost its sacredness
3	All senthongs have been partitioned and converted into bedrooms	Spatial needs Change in perception of kejawen ritual	

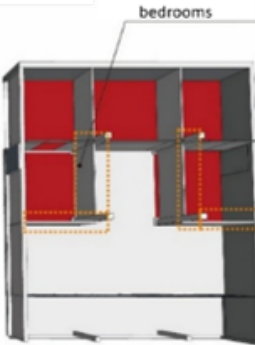
  



Type 1



Type 2



Type 3

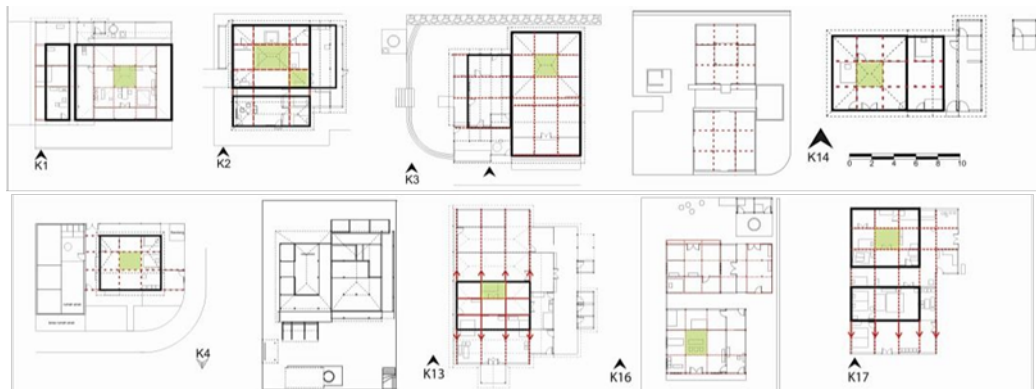
Source : survey, 2017

The abdi dalem no longer practice the Kejawen rituals, the ritual of the predecessors' because they regard it as heresy (bid'ah) in pure Islam teaching, especially Muhammadiyah. Interestingly, they separated the effort to preserve traditional rituals with the rituals of Islam. This affects the space usage at home. Abdi dalem admit that they no longer practice the old rituals in the house so as not to emphasize a part of the house. Now there is no more hierarchy of space seen from

the function of sacred and profane. It can be said that all the space in the house has been in profane state (Figure 9).

### The Importance of Pamidangan and Sokoguru

To respond to the space needs development, generally, the addition of space in abdi dalem house does not change the basic module of the inherited house. The addition of space does not change the module of the dalem area or the principal omah as the core of the building. The house extension space adjusts and follows the basic module of 'rong-rongan' to place partition as a room. The addition of space usually occurs in the front, side, and back of the house.

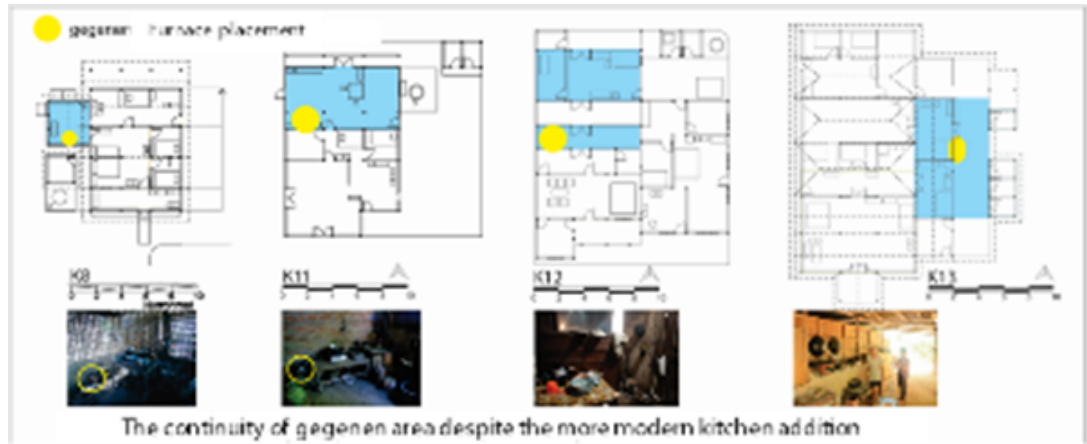


**Figure 9. The Continuity of Sokoguru as main structure, and Pamidangan space**

Source : survey, 2017

### Omah Pawon Transformation

Omah Pawon has significant existence in abdi dalem houses. The proportion of omah pawon compared to omah pokok is quite large. Nowadays, abdi dalem tend to build more modern kitchen to omah pawon part. Despite of the addition, they preserve a distinguish part called gegenen area, the cooking area using a traditional furnace. For daily cooking purposes, the wives and families of the abdi dalem use gas stoves, but at certain times (kenduren activities), they still use the furnace. It is believed that communal cooking activities can be done more effectively when using a furnace than using gas stoves. Furnaces are usually placed in the south and east of the building. The existence of amben as a semi fixed element used as a workplace for women in an informal way. Amben is oftenly functioned as a gathering place for women (Figure 10).



**Figure 10.** modern kitchen addition and the continuity of gegenan area  
 Source : survey, 2017

### Form and Ornaments Avoidance

Abdi dalem are still avoiding any architectural ornaments which have resemblances to Mataram Islam Royal Graveyard Complex because the position of abdi dalem is Kawula or the klien, and Kraton has higher position (patron). There is a differentiation for aesthetic taste between Kraton royals and folks (Table 6).

**Table 6.** Form and Ornaments Avoidance

Ornaments Motifs found in the Cupolas of Mataram Islam Royal Graveyard Complex Columns or Saka	Abdi dalem Houses
	<p>not implemented / being avoided because there are included derivating Sorotan motifs to simpler motifs</p>



**Table 6.** Form and Ornaments Avoidance (continued)

<b>Ornaments Motifs found in the Cupolas of Mataram Islam Royal Graveyard Complex Columns or Saka</b>	<b>Abdi dalem Houses</b>
Elemen Dadapeksi	<p>The image contains three diagrams labeled K1, K9, and K1. Each diagram shows a cross-section of a structure with various motifs. The motifs are labeled as 'motif tiacapan', 'motif saton', and 'motif lunglungan'. The diagrams illustrate the placement and avoidance of these motifs in the architecture of Abdi dalem houses.</p>

Source : survey, 2017

**Structure and Construction**

*House building rituals*

It can be inferred that the praxis of the house building ritual has gradually tends to be discontinued. The reason why it has been discontinued because abdi dalem are nevermore consider the rituals as an obligation for seeking God’s bless. The rituals that have been preserved are foundation construction and the sokoguru erection (Table 7)

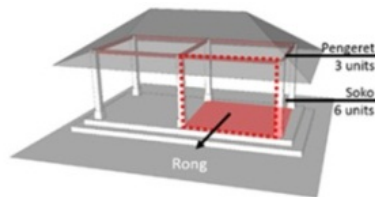
**Table 7.** House Building Rituals

	<b>1960’s</b>	<b>1980’s</b>	<b>NOW</b>
Working system	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	-
	Gotong royong or sambatan	Gotong royong or sambatan	Sambatan with artisan salary
Measurement units	Human dimension	Meter	Meter
Traditional rituals for cleaning sites from evil power	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	-
Foundation construction	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>
The erection of sokoguru	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>
The erection of molo	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	-

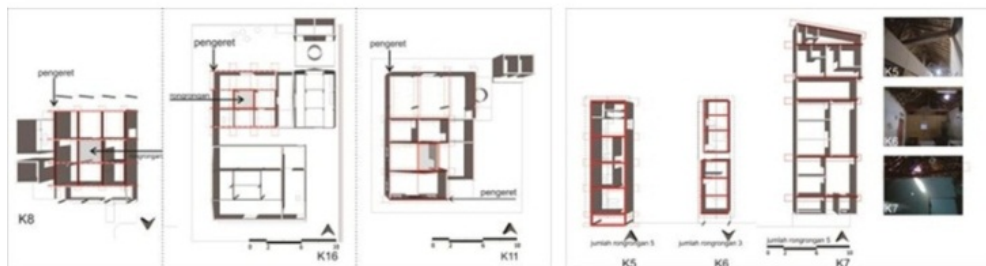
Source : survey, 2017

## Columns and Beams

Abdi dalem are still avoiding Limasan Trajumas shape as their house form. It is formed by only six columns and odd number of pengeret or beams. They are still strongly believe that trajumas is an exclusive form which can only be implemented for buildings owned by Kraton. Until nowadays, the architectural order of Limasan Trajumas has never been a precedent to abdi dalem houses. Abdi dalem mention that Limasan Trajumas can only form two rong-rongan (space between two pengeret beams) which is not practical for a dwelling. Building a house with an odd number of pengeret can be considered as resembling trajumas form because the number of rong-rongan formed is even. Ideally, people build houses with an even number of pengeret, for example the ideal number of pengeret are four or six so the formed rong-rongan amount are odd (figure 11).



Limasan Trajumas, the forbidden shape which has to be avoided by every abdi dalem

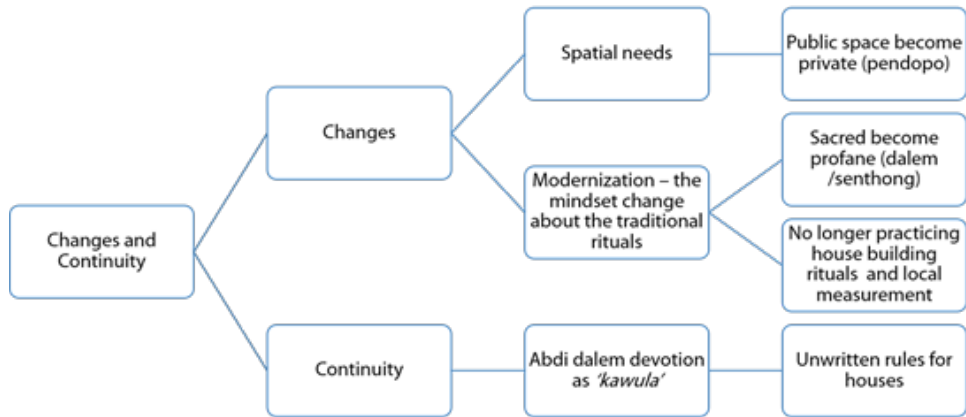


The number of pengeret in abdi dalem house are always in even numbers so that those don't resemble Limasan Trajumas

**Figure 11.** Avoidance of Limasan Trajumas form resemblances to Abdi dalem Houses  
Source : survey, 2017

## CONCLUSIONS

There are changes and continuity on Javanese lifestyle in abdi dalem houses. The changes of Javanese lifestyle are related to the domestic and traditional ritual activities discontinuity. Abdi dalem has been influenced by the modern lifestyle. The increased awareness of purified Islamic religious teaching among abdi dalem affects the space function and meaning. Spaces which were considered sacred has now has became profane and transformed to adapt the spatial needs. Therefore, pendhopo and senthong have lost its initial function and meaning. Spatial additions of omah pokok and pawon are adressed to adapt the modern lifestyle (Figure 12).



**Figure 12.** The change and continuity of Javanese lifestyle motifs in Abdi dalem houses  
 Source : analysis, 2017

However, *abdi dalem* is still devout to be *kawula* for Kraton, so they are still avoiding any architectural elements which are resemblance to the royal graveyard architecture and still obeying the unwritten rules about house ornamentation and structure. *Sokoguru* is always be considered be the core of the house while *pendopo* can be said acts as periphery, which is changed faster (Table 8).

**Table 8.** Continuity of Javanese Lifestyle in architectural elements on *Abdi dalem* Houses

<b>The Continuity of Javanese Lifestyle in <i>Abdi dalem</i> Houses</b>	
<b>Non-physical aspect</b>	
<b>Continuity</b>	Ritual done by the pilgrims and <i>abdi dalem</i> named ‘Kenduren’ which occurs at Pamidangan space
<b>Physical Aspect</b>	
<b>Orientation</b>	Obedience of the traditional orientation : north and south
<b>Spatial Organization</b>	
<b>Continuity</b>	Building orientation and bedroom orientation Respecting the orientation of Royal Graveyard Complex Molo beam is still used as house orientation sign despite the house entrance has been changed
<b>Zoning</b>	The plotting of <i>kulah-padasan</i> at right-front or on the left-behind the <i>Omah Pokok</i> The plotting the parent's sleeping room is at the privat zone in the house

**Table 8.** Continuity of Javanese Lifestyle in architectural elements on Abdi dalem Houses (continued)

<b>The Continuity of Javanese Lifestyle in <i>Abdi dalem</i> Houses</b>		
	<b>Avoidance</b>	Avoidance of limasan trajumas form Avoidance of the ornaments which are resemblance to Kraton
<b>Form-Ornamentation</b>	<b>Derivation</b>	Derivating Royal Graveyard Complex Cupola's Dadapeksi motifs to simpler motifs
<b>Structure-Construction</b>	<b>Preservation</b>	Sokoguru as main structure
	<b>Avoidance</b>	Compliance of unwritten rules about the number of uleng and tumpangsari beams

Source : survey, 2017

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