

## LANDSCAPE IN THE LIGHT OF REGAINING INDEPENDENCE.

### Reflections on the relationships between elements of commemorative architecture and Hindu-Buddhist motifs in the art of Central Java \*

“From the eighth to eighteenth century Javanese social hierarchy was dominated in changing ways by Javanese kings. Their independence, if not their status was first compromised by the victory of Dutch colonialism (a policy of divide and rule ending in 1756 with Treaty of Giyanti), yet their palaces are still there and the rites accomplished inside them continue.”<sup>1)</sup>

“Despite the modernization and globalization that Javanese are experiencing, many cultural traditions appear to have shown elements of continuity.”<sup>2)</sup>

In Indonesian administrative division around twenty-five up to thirty houses (*Rukun Keluarga, RK*), represent a ward called *RT (Rukun Tetangga)*. Several *RTs* constitute neighbourhood, a *RW (Rukun Warga)*, which is a part of a *kelurahan* – sub-district, or *desa* – an administrative village. Above

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<sup>1)</sup> Headley (2004: 144).

<sup>2)</sup> Sumukti (1997: 42).

a *kelurahan* and *desa* lies a district (*kecamatan*), which is positioned below the regency (*kabupaten*) and city (*kota*).

This paper is focused on the boundaries between these administrative units, as well as on other places in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta) in Central Java, where one may encounter an architectural concrete or cement form, usually created in the 1960s, commemorating the Indonesian Independence Day. I hope to demonstrate that these objects can be considered as peculiar portals, leading back not only to the mid-twentieth century but more curiously to the ages when Java was under the rule of Hindu and Buddha dynasties.

The most basic and most common example of these kind of objects, found primarily in rural areas, is so simple in form that is easy to overlook. Its single decorative element is usually a pinnacle in the shape of a lotus bud or pineapple fruit (fig. 1). An ordinary looking post on the edge or in the middle of a rice field can be easily disregarded as an indication of a boundary line between fields or residential roads. It merges into a landscape, but preserves the memory of the day in which independence was proclaimed. The numbers "17-8-45" refer to the 17<sup>th</sup> of August 1945, while the red and white colours of the pinnacles relate to the Indonesian flag. This minimalist monument is often developed into a more complex one when situated at the entrance to an administrative division.

It is possible to distinguish six types of these monuments which exists in the area of Yogyakarta: (1) a single post without any sculptures or frescoes except the date or dates, (2) a single monument, often in the form of a three-level elaborate obelisk or tower, (3) a single monument with figurative depictions, (4) formed by two unconnected pillars, (5) in which the components are connected by an arch, often with the name of the given area placed on it. Sometimes these posts are supplemented with an additional, usually lower pair, (6) in which cross-piece resting on two uprights or posts is formed in a shape of a Javanese roof in the *joglo* or *joglo*-like style.

The most widespread as well as functional type is composed of two posts, which flank the entrances as a free-standing gateway. The majority of them have ornamental forms, although more modestly decorated versions are also not so infrequent. In the latter case, analogically to the basic single form discussed at the beginning, the numbers referring to the date of declaration of independence and the pinnacles are the only decorative elements. Still, most of these monuments are adorned with reliefs, three-dimensional sculptures, inscriptions, and frescoes. Almost all the aforementioned decorations refer to

the graphic representation of the five principles called Pancasila: (1) a *star* – belief in the one and only God, (2) a *golden chain*– a just and civilized humanity, (3) a *banyan tree* – a unified Indonesia, (4) a *buffalo's head*– democracy, (5) *rice and cotton (Gossypium)*– social justice for all Indonesians.

Ismail described these principles as “rules constituting a moral and ethical code, transformed into a political concept”.<sup>3)</sup> They became an ideological foundation, a matrix applied to the created laws of an independent state that was to be united with religion but based on a constitution in which there is no record of one national religion. Its depiction, as an ideological foundation, is a part of the national emblem of Indonesia, where they are placed on the shield located on the chest of Garuda, the Hindu-Buddhist deity and a *vāhana* (vehicle) of the god Vishnu, shown as a golden eagle with spread wings. Garuda grips a scroll inscribed with the national motto: *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, usually translated as “Unity in Diversity”, which comes from an Old Javanese poem from the second half of the fourteenth century, in which the unity of Buddha and Shiva is emphasized.

The inclusion of the variation of text and/or Pancasila graphic symbols on the monuments in the Yogyakarta are most common. If it is a gate composed of two pillars, one is usually decorated with the portrayal of the principles, while the rules themselves are written on the other. Sometimes frescoes or reliefs with the tenets are coupled with a more ordinary inscription located on the second post. This can be a slogan, often in Javanese – for example, *sugeng rawuh* (in Indonesian *selamat datang*), what can be translated as “welcome”, or the curter *HUT RI*, a shortcut from *Hari Ulang Tahun Republik Indonesia*, which means the “anniversary” or “birthday” of Indonesia. In such a case, there should be a year (the date of erection or the time of the last renovation completed with the year 1945) placed there as well. It can be written in Latin, although the Javanese alphabet is also common. An example of this is an inscription on a singular monument in the form of a three-level tower, located in the Bantul regency, in the south of Yogyakarta (fig. 2). The Javanese inscription, placed at its highest level, is completed with two dates; the time of its erection (1961), and the year 1945. The inscription itself is a chronogram (*sengkalan* or *candrasengkala*), rare in contemporary Java, but popular in the previous centuries. On the lowest level, under the Pancasila's symbols, an inscription: “PSD DJETIS”, marks the area where the monu-

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<sup>3)</sup> Ismail (2004: 5).

ment was raised, that is *kecamatan* Jetis. The construction is crowned with a prominent pinnacle.

A different type of decoration embraces frescoes or reliefs with batik motifs or singular batik ornaments. A coherent example, even though partially damaged, can be found in the area of Bantul (fig. 3). Its dominant element is a *parang rusak*, one of the oldest batik motifs, combined with a pair of *nāga* sculptures (only one of the *nāga* remains) and a simple inscription with dates. This type is rare if we compare it with the most prevalent Pancasila-theme, especially since the depiction of *nāga* is relatively seldom outside of the *kraton* (palace) area.

The most varied are the commemorative monuments with the sculptures. One of the biggest is located on Malioboro Street, near the main Post Office in Yogyakarta city centre. It refers not to the declaration of independence itself, but to the Indonesian National Revolution. In particular, to the General Offensive of the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1949, inspired by the then Sultan of Yogyakarta, Hamengku Buwono IX, hence the name Monumen Serangan Umum 1 Maret.

The monument, inaugurated by the Sultan in 1973, refers to Monumen Pahlawan Revolusi (the Monument of The Heroes of The Revolution) or Pancasila Sakti, erected eight years earlier in Jakarta. Its large horizontal structure emphasizes the sculptures of five representatives of Javanese society struggling for independence. They include a farmer with a *kris* (a Javanese dagger) stuck behind the belt, a two guerilla men with the rifles, one soldier standing in front, who in his outstretched right-hand raises the flag, and a Javanese woman with a basket wearing a *kebaya* and *kain batik*. The wall behind the sculptures is crowned with a massive representation of a unique figure in the *wayang* theatre – a *Gunungan* (a mountain-like) shape, also called a *kayon* (a tree-like).

This composition is not rare in Central Java. Tugu Kartasura (the word *tugu* means “a pillar”), placed on a traffic circle in Kartasura city (fig. 4) is another example worth mentioning. The centrepiece of the monument consists of a pentagonal tower, with the Garuda emblem placed on the top. Five shields with a graphical presentation of Pancasila tenets are located below and five realistic, full-size sculptures are installed at the lower level. These represent (counterclockwise): a Javanese woman with a basket, in a *kebaya* and *kain*, two soldiers, and a Javanese nobleman in traditional costume (*blangkon*, jacket, and *kain*), wielding a *kris*. The latter is a guerilla man, with a flag raised in his left and a rifle in his right hand. A similar monument,



called Tugu Pancasila, is found in Blora. This one also consists of the Garuda figurine placed on a high pillar (in the form of a tree) and four human figures surrounding: a Javanese woman with a basket, two soldiers and a guerilla man.

As Anderson stated: “monument building was a peculiarity of the Sukarno years”,<sup>4)</sup> and this kind of idealistic realism is characteristic for the 1950s and early 1960s. It is possible to see this phenomenon as a result of a rapprochement between Indonesia and the Soviet Union, especially after the Jakarta government’s demands over West Irian met with strong rejections. Indonesia severed diplomatic relations with the Netherlands and approached Moscow even faster.<sup>5)</sup> The influence of the highly idealized Socialist realism appealed to Sukarno’s taste. His huge collection of paintings can be the best guide to how he could perceived its role in a struggle for confederate all of the territory of the former Dutch East Indies.<sup>6)</sup> His first visit to the Soviet Union in 1956 began a new trend in monumental sculpture art, primarily in Jakarta, from where it spread throughout the country. Therefore, in many cities and villages, one can see monuments reflecting the most popular layouts. A good example is a minor one, located in Gentan, Northwest Yogyakarta, undoubtedly a small copy of the famous West Irian Liberation Monument, erected in Jakarta in 1963 (fig. 5).

However, these type of monuments are not a majority in Yogyakarta, where sculptures relating to traditional Javanese culture are more common. One of the most interesting is a minor Pancasila memorial found in Kasongan, a village in the Bantul regency, displaying a combination of the previously mentioned elements: the tenets (both in their graphic and written form) are installed on two faces of the pedestal, while an inscription marking the motto of that area is visible on the third. What is unique is the ceramic figurine on the top. It depicts Semar, a character from the Javanese *wayang* theatre, a guardian deity associated with wisdom and divinity.

Nonetheless, the most impressive example of monuments of this type can be found in the western side of the city of Yogyakarta (fig. 6). It is a slab with a *Gunungan* concrete(?) relief of a considerable size. Even though its lower section is partially damaged, its elaborate concept can be analysed.

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<sup>4)</sup> Anderson (1990: 173).

<sup>5)</sup> Leśniewski (2006: 304), Singh (1994: 156-165).

<sup>6)</sup> Man Fong (1964).

In contrast to the *Gunungan* from the Monumen Serangan Umum 1 Maret, here essential elements of the *wayang* figure have been transferred to the monument and interpreted in the context of national and cultural identity. The basis of the monument and the roots of independence (which appears as a so-called Tree of Life) are partisans shown on the exposed part. A confrontation with the enemy is shown on the upper left section, yet its counterpoise on the right side is not a war or battle, but a fisherman's struggle with a rough sea and a farmer with his cropland. Under them, a tiller with his buffalo and a traditional cow carriage replace the tigers and buffalo shown opposite each other in the *wayang Gunungan*. The *dvārapāla* giants, in the original figure guarding the gates, have been replaced probably by two soldiers. Due to the destruction of the lower left structure, it is difficult to establish if one of them is a guerilla man.

The representations of mythical aquatic creatures – *makara* – were left unchanged. As the *dvārapāla*, they also performed a protective function, and are associated with prosperity and fertility, through their relationship with water. There are portraits of a man and a woman above the acclaimed representation of Garuda. The pair is most likely Kartini and Diponegoro, both firmly connected with Javanese culture and notions of independence. A relief depicting the symbolic manifestation of the multi-religious temple is on a higher level. This whole elaborate composition is framed by a chain-like border, which arises from a plant-based ornament, with ears of rice and *Gossypium* on both sides.

The unique layout described above indicates that even though Indonesian independence is invaluable, its essence resides deeply in Javanese history and culture; nonetheless, this conclusion can also be inferred from other traces. Javanese was chosen to name the ideological foundation of Indonesia, that is Pancasila (the Javanese words *panca* and *sila*, derived from Sanskrit). Along with the slogan *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, numerous references to Majapahit from a historical speech of the first president, Sukarno<sup>7)</sup>, or the Garuda as the emblem are apparent that this coherent political ideology created for a young independent country, has roots in Javanese traditions.<sup>8)</sup>

This confidence is also manifested in the forms of the monuments discussed above, and in the idea of flanking the space and highlighting the borders themselves. Tjahjono points out that Javanese architecture is firmly

<sup>7)</sup> On 1 June 1945.

<sup>8)</sup> Waclawek (2016: 26).

anchored in the tradition of emphasizing the centre and duality.<sup>9)</sup> It permeates the whole Javanese culture until today, even though for centuries the influences of different religions and cultures encroached into this area.

One of the most representative examples of the significance of the centre is the *Gunungan/kayon*, “a symbol of Cosmic Order, the basic concept of Javanese philosophic and religious thinking”.<sup>10)</sup> It appears at the beginning and the end each *wayang* performance, the symbol creates and constitutes a portal enabling liaison with both, the extramundane and worldly dimension. It is the only puppet which can be placed in the midpoint; also, its triangular symmetrical shape is unique when compared to other figures:

“This initial composition is the most restful and the most symmetrical. In the beginning of the *wayang* performance, there are no two poles, there is only the symmetry of the space and one puppet in the centre – the only symmetrical puppet, the only one that does not face left or right. Symmetry governs both the silhouette of the *kayon* and its details. There are pairs of animals, ogres, and flowers on the *kayon*, one of each pair being always balanced by the other of the pair according to central.”<sup>11)</sup> (Fig. 7)

It is worth mentioning that the *Gunungan/kayon* was introduced to the *wayang* probably around the 14th century, during the golden age of the Majapahit Empire.<sup>12)</sup> This would be a significant convergence with a metamorphosis of the Javanese culture during this period. The forms and elements native to Java began to be emphasized, while the new style of *candi* (temple) architecture reflected autochthonous ideas of mountain and ancestor worship. Chihara terms this phenomenon as a Javanization of Indian elements.<sup>13)</sup> Even the use of new building material – timber – can be seen as one of the signs of changes taking place at the time, and also affected the construction of buildings, especially in their proportions, as the *candi* began to be built narrower and higher.<sup>14)</sup> A representative for this style is *candi* Trowulan

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<sup>9)</sup> Tjahjono (1989).

<sup>10)</sup> Pigeaud (1970: 48).

<sup>11)</sup> Mrāzek (1998: 231).

<sup>12)</sup> Mulyono (1978: 300).

<sup>13)</sup> Chihara (1982: 199).

<sup>14)</sup> Chihara (1982: 201).

from the Mojokerto regency in eastern Java, with its terraced and elongated construction, clearly divided into three levels.<sup>15)</sup>

The same triangle/pyramidal shape, but split perfectly in two, has a characteristic element of the architecture of this period – a split gateway (*candi bantar*). The two parts of this *candi*-like structure can flank the entrance to the temple, a palace, or cemetery (fig. 8), marking the border between the secular and sacred domain. Similarly, the triangular and ideally symmetric *Gunungan/kayon* represents a bridge connecting the terrestrial and spiritual or celestial world.<sup>16)</sup>

The vertical perception of the cosmos (*jagad*) connects with its descriptions in Hindu (especially Puranic) and Buddhist sources.<sup>17)</sup> This space was divided into three levels which usually are described as the underworld, middle (earthly) world, and the upper world, but Kinney, Klokke and Kieven defines them as the *bhurloka*, Sphere of the Mortals, the *bhuwarloka*, Sphere of the Purified, and *swarloka*, Sphere of the Gods.<sup>18)</sup> This division strongly corresponds with the idea that the split gate could also be perceived as a place of purification.

Not only the layout of the *candi* mirrors this structure; the design of a traditional Javanese house followed it as well. The characteristic architecture of the *joglo* accentuated not only the centre (highlighted by the four main pillars set in the middle) but also the status of the owner. The aforementioned space – the houses navel, as it were<sup>19)</sup> – was intended for the worship of Rice Goddess Sri and her husband and younger twin brother Sadono. The incense buried there once a week “initiates the cosmic union – sky and earth”, so became a channel of energy flow.<sup>20)</sup> This flow occurred in many directions; today the *abdi dalem* (courtiers) from *kraton* believe that cosmic power gathers through the most sacred building (the *Bangsai Prabayeksa*) and passes over its *joglo* roof, to the Sultan (who is considered as the centre in the earthly world) as well as to other people around this place.<sup>21)</sup>

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<sup>15)</sup> See a comprehensively description of East Javanese temples in Kinney, Klokke, Kieven (2003).

<sup>16)</sup> Sumukti (1997: 13).

<sup>17)</sup> Tjahjono (1989: 212).

<sup>18)</sup> Kinney, Klokke, Kieven (2003: 30).

<sup>19)</sup> As Tjahjono (1989: 43) stated “[t]he Javanese center is puser, which means navel”.

<sup>20)</sup> Tjahjono (1989: 163).

<sup>21)</sup> The courtiers call it *wahyu* – a divine radiance. An interview with Kanjeng Raden Tumenggung (KRT) Jatiningrat. Also see Anderson (1990: 31).

Because of the potential to cumulate (or at least to express) power, the *joglo* was relevant to the hierarchy in Javanese society as well as the ceremonial garment of Javanese rulers – the *dodot*. In contrast to the ordinary *kain batik*, the *dodot* is significantly larger, ornate (usually encrusted with gold leaf, *prada*) and needs to be draped in a special manner. As such it was restricted to nobles and only for certain rites.<sup>22)</sup> Today, the *dodot* is traditionally worn by the Sultan during the most important ceremonies but can be also worn by court dancers, and by a newly married couple (fig. 9).

The plain field in the centre of the *dodot* expresses the holy source of life-giving energy.<sup>23)</sup> By wearing it, the Sultan is transfigured into the embodiment of an *axis mundi* and a mediator between the three domains of *jagad*. Therefore, he can bring harmony and balance into his kingdom, as the power will be dispersed.<sup>24)</sup>

A *kris* is another form viewed as a channel for the cosmic power and a bridge between the earthly and spiritual world. Its blade is traditionally equated to a *nāga* – a mythological dragon or a snake. Semeka-Pancratov observes that “[i]n Indian mythology *nāga* is also the name of the World Tree (*jambu*) of the southern continent, *Jambudvīpa*”.<sup>25)</sup> This is a very interesting remark, as in Java the *nāga* is primarily perceived as the creature connected with the Goddess of the Ocean, Ratu Kidul, and as so, with the *kraton* too. According to the tradition, on the day of the coronation, each Sultan espouses Ratu Kidul (his first wife and divine protectress of the empire). Furthermore, every year the Sultan sends his courtiers to Parang Kusumo Beach, where they offer numerous bounties to the Goddess.<sup>26)</sup>

Ratu Kidul itself can be sometimes identified with Dewi Sri,<sup>27)</sup> and as such, she can also participate in the gifts offering to the Rice Goddess in the most sacred place in the *kraton* – *Bangsas Prabayeksa*. In this building, located at the centre of the palace, *abdi dalem* maintains watch over an eternal flame,

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<sup>22)</sup> Moedjanto observes, that dress was an important part of the differentiation of social classes under the Mataram dynasty’s rule. Moedjanto (1986: 125-126).

<sup>23)</sup> Wrońska-Friend (2008: 49).

<sup>24)</sup> Moedjanto (1986: 106).

<sup>25)</sup> Semeka-Pancratov (1984: 260).

<sup>26)</sup> It is worth mentioning that in 1755 the Sultanate of Mataram (1527-1755) split into the Yogyakarta and Surakarta courts. The *kraton* in Yogyakarta is perceived as a successor to the Old Javanese traditions.

<sup>27)</sup> Waclawek (2018: 98). For the opposite viewpoint see: Headley (2004: 138).

hedged in the most precious *pusaka* (sacred heirlooms), the source of power and blessing.<sup>28)</sup>

One can see a linkage between this competence of the *dodot* (and the Sultan himself) and the *Gunungan/kayon*. It was also mentioned that the split gateway can also be perceived as a conduit between the physical and non-physical realm. However, while in the *Gunungan*, if a Tree of Life or Cosmic Tree (whose trunk crosses the figure in half) can be perceived as the channel enabling the connection between the three levels, then in the case of the *candi bantur*, this core is represented by a superficial void of the gateway. Tjahjono writes that “[i]f combined with a centre as a synthesis point, duality becomes an ordering system based on three”,<sup>29)</sup> thus this “void” can be considered as a space of tension between duality, while the power of this tension can bring a balance and purification.

This tension can be seen firmly rooted in the Javanese perception of the space, and in this context it is interesting to follow an anchor of the *dvārapāla* statues on Java. These guardian pairs closely connected to the entrances – from the Sanskrit *dvār* (entrance/gate) and *pāla* (guardian)<sup>30)</sup> – were placed “on the boundary between the sacred and the profane, or between the less sacred and the most sacred”.<sup>31)</sup> They derived from the Indian *yakṣas* tutelary deities and although they were often depicted in the guise of a warrior, holding a dagger or a club (especially in the latter periods), these sculptures can be differentiated by nature and attributes. They also include *dvārapālas* in the form of *nāga*, and – as van Bommel points out – some *makaras* (mythological creatures connected with water) and “the *kāla* head (monstrous head)”, because of their location, can “have a *dvārapāla* function”.<sup>32)</sup>

In this context the two posts with *Pancasila* depictions, which flank the entrances as a free-standing gateway can be considered as a distant echo of these guardian statues (fig. 10).

Although the idea of cosmic and earthly power is not vivid anymore in the cases of the numerous monuments, one can note a strong bond to the *joglo* as a symbol of authority and tradition. Also, the monument from the *Jetis* area can be connected with the belief that energy can cumulate in a shape.

<sup>28)</sup> Woodward (2011: 161).

<sup>29)</sup> Tjahjono (1989: 214).

<sup>30)</sup> van Bommel (1994: 1).

<sup>31)</sup> van Bommel (1994: 3).

<sup>32)</sup> van Bommel (1994: 7).

A three-level structure of the Jetis' "tugu", with an emphasis on the central zone, appeals to the structure of the *candi* from the Majapahit era. One can also interpret this shape as an inspiration for the common element of Javanese culture – a *tumpeng*. Similarly to the *candi* and *Gunungan*, the *tumpeng*, which is a cone of cooked rice, follows the shape of Mount Meru, the centre of the universe from Hindu mythology.<sup>33)</sup> The *tumpeng* is an inseparable part of most of the rites and ceremonies. Its connection with wealth, fertility and blessing is so strong that in some areas of Central Java one can see a special *tumpeng* (split into two, and then set back to back) destined as an offering to the funeral feast.<sup>34)</sup>

These days the most spectacular form of the *tumpeng* can be seen (and eaten) in the processions held three times a year in the *kraton* of Yogyakarta (fig. 11). During these ceremonies, several monumental *tumpeng* carried from the palace as a symbol of abundance and power, shared by the Sultan with his subjects.

In the middle of the 18th century the first Sultan of Yogyakarta, Hamengku Buwono I, founded a monument with a shape clearly referring to the form of the *tumpeng*. The so-called Tugu Golong Gilik was located on the North-South axis, together with Mount Merapi, the *kraton* and the ocean. Its original layout, a cylindrical and three-level, with a sphere on its top, represented an inextricable connection between the Sultan and his attendants (*kawula-Gusti*).<sup>35)</sup> To some degree, the Jati "tugu", is a reflection of this Tugu Golong Gilik. Its base, even though it is not round but four-sided, can be interpreted as an echo of the shape derived from the Majapahit tradition. By contrast, a new monument, Tugu Jogja, erected by the colonial rulers in 1889, after the original Tugu Golong Gilik was destroyed, resembles neo-classical European obelisks. The first monument, founded by Hamengku Buwono I, highlighted the centre as the point through which power (or the Sultan's blessing) can be transferred and which was the symbol of order as a guarantee of peace in the sultanate. Instead, the new one marks a colonial dependency, and yet, as it was erected on the same place on the North-South axis as the first one, it is still interpreted as a part of the *kraton*.

This kind of union between the ruler and his court is perceived as a source of order and harmony, similarly to another relation which is still vivid in

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<sup>33)</sup> About a *candi* as a replica of Mount Meru: Kinney, Klokke, Kieven (2003: 30).

<sup>34)</sup> Sumukti (1997: 204).

<sup>35)</sup> Moedjanto (1986: 107-108).



the palace of Yogyakarta. The connection between Garuda and *nāga* is one of the most important to the *kraton*, and has a great impact on the palace's iconography. These opposites are expressed on numerous artefacts, batik motifs (fig. 12) and as the architectural elements, but most vividly as a fusion of the two *nāga* sculptures with a so-called *HoBo* emblem in between, placed in the front of the Museum of Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX (fig. 13). This one is an ornament and *candrasengkala* in one.<sup>36)</sup> The most interesting design feature is a duplication of protective energy by creating layers of two opposites, framing the emblem with initials of the Sultan written in Javanese (the name Hamengku Buwono– “HB”). It is surrounded by the wings of Garuda, the symbol of Sun, guarded by two *nāga* snakes, the symbol of water, in an absolute unity, which arise not from blurring their features but from their consolidation. As Anderson pointed out in his analysis about the deepest meaning of the Indonesian motto, this is not a glorification of a process of unification out of divergent elements, but “the inseparability of unity and diversity”.<sup>37)</sup>

As the balance can be maintained not only through the existence of the centre but also through dialectical interaction of the opposites,<sup>38)</sup> then the contemporary monuments of Yogyakarta discussed above can be perceived as symbols of such a union between diversities.

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<sup>36)</sup> This *candrasengkala* can be read as *Kaheksi Nagaraja Manjing Kadhaton*, that means “the *nāga* divinity going into the *kraton*”.

<sup>37)</sup> Anderson (1990: 30, note 32).

<sup>38)</sup> Behrend (1989: 182); also Seo Ryeong, Do Yeon, Revianto (2018: 72–73). About a tension and a balance between the opposites see Anderson (1990: 29).

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1. A single post with the date “17-8-1945”, June 2015. Photo: Joanna Wacławek.



2. A monument from *kecamatan* Jetis, July 2015. Photo: Joanna Wacławek.





3. ▲ A monument with the batik motif, July 2015. Photo: Joanna Waclawek.

4. ◀ Tugu Kartasura, July 2014. Photo: Joanna Waclawek.





5. The monument from Gentan, June 2015.  
Photo: Joanna Waclawek.



6. The *Gunungan* monument from Yogyakarta,  
July 2014. Photo: Joanna Waclawek.





7. ◀ The *Gunungan/kayon* puppet in the *wayang kulit*, June 2014. Photo: Joanna Waclawek.

8. ▼ The Royal Cemetery Complex, Imogiri, view from the hill top. This complex was built in 1632, during the Mataram Dynasty reign, but follows the architecture of the Majapahit era. 22 November 2013. Photo: Joanna Waclawek.







9. A royal wedding in the palace of Yogyakarta, 22 October 2013. Photo: Joanna Waclawek.



10. A "Pancasila Gate" with a joglo-like roof, June 2014. Photo: Joanna Waclawek.



11. A *Tumpeng* from the palace of Yogyakarta, 15 October 2013. Photo: Joanna Wacławek.





12. A dance in the Sultan's Palace, 18 May 2015. Photo: Joanna Wacławek.



13. An emblem from the palace of Yogyakarta, July 2015. Photo: Joanna Wacławek.