

**MAINTAINING THE INFLUENCE OF POWERLESS SURAKARTA HADININGRAT
KINGDOM OVER THE SUBJECTS THROUGH RITUAL**
(The symbolic meaning of Heir Procession On 1st Muharram at Surakarta Hadiningrat Court)

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Abstract: Surakarta Sultanate today no longer has the administrative power in Surakarta and surrounding communities. Surakarta Sultanate has lost its power since the Dutch colonial. The Dutch intentionally weakened it. Its position subjected to the Chief Resident of Surakarta. From independence until today, the power of the sultanate is only to the extent of its palace buildings. Even so its existence is inherent in the heart of Surakarta people and surrounding areas. This paper will try to see the construction of meaning the symbol of ritual Heir Procession held each night 1 Muharram by Kraton Surakarta Sultanate. Through functional approach of culture offered by Geertz, that culture as a system of symbols which is the symbols of and the symbol for, this paper argues that this ritual contains various symbols of spirituality, values, ethics and also an effort to maintain the hierarchical power between the king's palace, nobles and the subjects in the cultural life of Surakarta and surrounding communities.

Keywords: Ritual, Keraton Surakarta Sultanate, symbol system, the structure of power

Abstrak: Keraton Surakarta Hadiningrat saat ini tidak lagi memiliki kekuasaan secara administratif terhadap masyarakat Surakarta dan sekitarnya. Kekuasaan Keraton Surakarta Hadiningrat semenjak masa Kolonial Belanda telah dilemahkan, keberadaannya masih dibawah Kepala Residen Surakarta. Kekuasaan Keraton hanya sebatas bangunan istana yang dimilikinya. Sampai Kemerdekaan hingga saat ini, status Keraton Surakarta tidak berubah. Meski begitueberadaannya masih melekat dalam kehidupan masyarakat Jawa di Surakarta dan sekitarnya. Makalah ini akan mencoba melihat konstruksi makna simbol dari Ritual Kirab Pusaka yang diselenggarakan setiap Malam 1 Muharram oleh Keraton Surakarta Hadiningrat. Melalui pendekatan fungsi kebudayaan yang ditawarkan oleh Geertz, bahwa budaya sebagai sistem simbol, simbol dari (*symbol of*) dan simbol untuk (*symbol for*), tulisan ini berargumen bahwa ritual ini mengandung berbagai simbol-simbol tentang spiritual, nilai-nilai, etika dan juga berfungsi untuk mempertahankan kekuasaan Keraton secara hirarkis antara raja, priyayi dan kawula dalam kehidupan budaya masyarakat Surakarta dan sekitarnya.

Kata Kunci: Ritual, Keraton Surakarta Hadiningrat, system symbol, strukturkuasa

A. Introduction

Surakarta Hadiningrat palace has many cultural events that are complexity of monumental reality which contents sacred religious meaning and plays the roles of Palace in the society. One of the cultural events is heirlooms performance which is held every 1st *Malam Suro* (new year eve in Javanese lunar calendar or Muharram in Islamic lunar calendar). In this performance Palace shows off their heirlooms and people look for the blessing. It looks like palace way to maintain or cultivate their power in the society. The palace adopts Islamic events in this performance along with the local culture. The transfer of authority from the Hinduism and Buddhism to the Islamic era made Islam as the part of noblemen's lives. The transfer of authority did not mean that it changed the tradition and culture left behind by Hinduism and Buddhism that had been deeply rooted in the community, but it

made Islam adjusted in to tradition and culture that rooted in the community. The adjustment bore transfer forms in the form of syncretism among the inheritance of culture, animism, dynamism, and Islamic elements.

This paper will discuss about magical heirlooms procession on 1st suro in the Surakarta palace. 1st suro for Javanese is a sacred night. They always do rituals for praying in order to avoid misfortune. Javanese abangan accustomed to celebrate 1st suro night with meditation and giving the offering in the sacred place, BersihDesa (cleaning village), BuburSuran (suro porridge), Jamasan (cleaning the heirlooms), etc. In Surakarta, the celebration of 1st suro accustomed to do with magical heirlooms procession which is held by the palace. It is different from Jogjakarta palace that only holds silence procession moving around Jogjakarta palace's fortress and cleans their heirlooms without procession. Magical heirlooms procession is only held by Surakarta and Mangkunegaran palace. Surakarta palace has a special procession which gets a white buffalo involved into the procession. The white buffalo is dubbed by KiaiSelamet.

From describing the magical heirlooms procession in Surakarta palace, we can see Javanese social relationship (supporting the Javanese relation proposed by Kuntowijoyo) that divides into three elements which are King, *priyayi* (traditional Javanese administrative class) and *kawula* (Javanese peasant)¹.

This paper tries to describe the meaning heirlooms procession and its function in the elements of Javanese society which is held every 1st Muharram Hijriah (Islamic lunar calendar) in Surakarta palace.

B. Between palace, King and Kawula in Surakarta.

Keraton (palace) in the daily life is a community. Keraton (palace) community is consisted of King, King's family (King's queen, harems, daughter and son), King's siblings, and servants. According to GPH Djatikusumo which is quoted from DarsitiSoeratman², Palace where King live, has many meanings; 1st palace means State or kingdom. 2nd, it means King's territory or King's yard covered by Baluwarti palace's wall. 3rd, it means palace square. This paper will use the third meaning which is the territory inside the palace called Kedhaton. The origin of keraton word is derived from prefix "Ka", ratu or king as a noun, and "An" as suffix which mean place where King live. A word of Ratu is derived from "Ra" which means honor and "Ton" which means wished. While Surakarta means a town which is arranged and build, in order to be the beautiful place in the world.

In the whole of kingdom, the Palace is a unique building because it is the largest building and has special architecture. According to DarsitiSoeratman³, Palace is King's monopoly, therefore the modern administrative chief such as Chief of Resident in Dutch Colonial era was not allowed has a square. *Bale Winata* (the building inside the palace) did not deserve death sentence. Keraton's building and Sitinggil (king's throne) have been only for the palace, Keraton is regarded as sacred place, not all the people can enter the palace. The palace has a tight regulation that can't be broken by the people who enter the palace. Every building inside the palace has a specific philosophical symbols, for instance *Sitinggil*, the king's throne means the high land equal with mountain, the place where the god live. The high land also reflects that king has the highest position among all the people.

¹ I use Kuntowijoyo's stratification of Surakarta society for analysis of the construction of symbols of magical heirlooms procession in Surakarta Palace. For further information see Kuntowijoyo. Raja Priyayi, Kawula. Jogjakarta. Ombak. 2006

² Suratman, Darsiti. Kehidupan Dunia Keraton Surakarta 1830-1939. Jakarta. Yayasan Obor Indonesia; p.1

³ Op.cit.p.1

According Robert von Heine GelderndanOnghokham⁴, Javanese traditional kingdom is the representation of the macro cosmos. In the Hinduism mythology, Gods lives in the mountain. Javanese kingdom regardedso; King and his family live in *Keraton* which is regarded as highest world peak. Although Mataram, which Keraton Surakarta originated, is Islamic kingdom but there aremany symbol of the kingdom that remains to Hinduism mythology. Throne in Javanese is Sitinggil: the highland or mountain. The symbols of the Mataram king had been there since Hinduism and Budhism era, where the mythology of mountain was regarded as the symbol of magical power (kesaktian).

The palace's community is manifested with vertical social structures that places King as a center. According to Suyanto quoted from Daristi⁵, In 19th century vertical social structures had bureaucratically arranged, consisted of:

1. King with his family
2. King's siblings
3. Abdi dalem (traditional javanese administrative servant)
4. Kawuladalem (ordinary people) who work inside the palace as lower servants.

A *Surakarta Kasunanan* Palace sizes 92,230 m². The palace is restricted by Kedhaton's circle wall. There is *Kamandhungangate* the way to get in to the palace. According to Suyanto, every building in the palace has occupants. The buildings are always associated with cosmologicalfeature, religious philosophy, magi, sacred meaning and structure: The structure of the building, social structure, world view and also social pillar.

Javanese Kings has role as the highest authority in every worldly aspect. Hierarchically,In Javanese Hindu-Buddha kingdom,King is regarded as incarnation of God. King and his authority cannot be separated from mythological concept of Indian culture because of the strong influence of Hinduism culture in Javanese society. The mythological concept is that there is equality between micro cosmos and macro cosmos, between human being and the universe. Between micro cosmos and macro cosmos must be harmony. The harmony is reached through developing a kingdom that represents the universe in the small form

When Islam advent, Sufism teaching influence Javanese concept about the King. King in the era of Hinduism and Buddhism is the relation between Raja-Dewa When Islam influenced Majapahit and become Demak, Islamic Kingdom, the concept about King have changed become Kawula-Gusti. KawulaGusti is derived from Sufism teaching that means the unity between human and God, The reflection of God's character inside the human being. According to Onghokham, one of the concealed feature in the Javanese mysticism is the teaching of I (*Ingsun*), which is the identification of human being with their God. In the mystical Sufism, the highest human intention is unity between God and Human being called as "manunggalingkawula-gusti" (the unity of God and I).Kawulo-gusti concept⁶is King's view about the relation between kawula (I) and Gusti (God), It is a King's cult. Bennedict Andersonquoted from Onghokham⁷in his essay discussed about Javanese King's authority as totalitarian and sacrosanct in every ritual aspect and it's mystic.

Kawula-gusti (I-God) view was interpreted in the worldly state by Islamic-Mataram as "total obedience of society with King's will, because the unity of human being with the King's will makes a perfect and complete man, and also make perfect and happiness in their lives in the worldly sense.

KawulaGusti relation is interpreted by the king of Surakarta palace, quoted from Darsiti, as having responsibility with the God's revelation. King had three kinds of revelation namelyNubuwah or prophetic revelation, Hukumah or law revelation, Wilayah or authority revelation.

⁴Ong hok ham..PengislamanKultusDewa-Raja di Jawa. Seminar Pengaruh Islam padabudayaJawa.. P.313 November 2001

⁵ibid

⁶For further information about kawula-gusti see Koentjaraningrat, 1994. *KebudayaanJawa*. Jakarta: BalaiPustaka.

⁷Op.cit. p.4

WahyuNubuwah (prophetic revelation) means that King as God representative. WahyuHukumah (law revelation) set King as the source of the law, with *Murwawisesa* concept authorizes all deeds and violence. The capacity of king having *Murwawisesa* causes King has unlimited authority and nobody can oppose his decision because his decision was regarded as God's will. Wahyu Wilayah (authority revelation) means King's guidance and protection to the society. In other word the unlimited King's authority had to equal with giving guidance and protection to his people.

Now Surakarta Hadiningrat palace has no political authority. In 1946 King Pakubowono XII fell down from his throne as political leader of Surakarta resident by people power⁸. Thus the authority of king is restricted only:

1. The chief of the palace
2. The chief of Javanese tradition
3. The chief of palace family.

Although the authority of the King in Surakarta is restricted but culturally the King of Surakarta has the highest authority of tradition. Javanese people mostly Kejawen, Islam Kejawen and abangan, still believe that King is the person who has extraordinary power and Charisma. It can be seen from thousand audiences of magical heirlooms procession joining the ritual devoutly and enthusiastically.

Lay people or ordinary people are represented as *Kawula* which means I. Aku (I) is the conception of ordinary people which represent their selves as weak people, depend on natural force and have restricted understanding with natural phenomenon. Those representations are actualized with the cult of spirit, ancestor, and ghost as a form of their expression with the reality outside themselves. Ordinary people have communal norms, togetherness in their activity included in every ritual. There is liminality in every ritual they held. There is equality without ordination-subordination. It can be seen from the ritual bubursuran (suro porridge) which held every 1st suro.

Ideas, experiences and concepts from each individual and group which reciprocally habituated make the commonsense realized in the community. The different ideas, experience and concept each group and individual make an institution. In Javanese society, those differences made hierarchal institution among King, Priyayi (traditionally Javanese servant) and ordinary people. Structurally King and his family in the highest class, then priyayi is in the second class, and the last, kawula in the lowest class. The relationship among each institution is continually reproduced by symbols and the specific behavior. The concept of status among King, Priyayi and Kawula is social construction. The central concept of *The Social Construction of Reality* according to Berger and Luckman⁹ is that persons and groups interacting together in a social system form, over time, concepts or mental representations of each other's actions, and that these concepts eventually become habituated into reciprocal roles played by the actors in relation to each other. When these roles are made available to other members of society to enter into and play out, the reciprocal interactions are said to be institutionalized. In the process of this institutionalized, meaning is embedded in society. Knowledge and people's conception (and belief) of what reality is becomes embedded in the institutional fabric of society. Social reality is therefore said to be socially constructed. Every locus in the social stratification has each symbol along with each norms and regulations.

About symbolical system Mary Douglas¹⁰ revealed that all of the experiences that get through symbolic system are socially structured. For the King, *Priyayi* is the servants who have to obey with him, it can be seen in the magical heirlooms procession by which *Priyayi* carried heirlooms

⁸ Kuntowijoyo.. Raja Priyayi, Kawula. Jakarta. 2006. Ombak.p.23

⁹ Peter L Berger dan Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*. Middlesex England, penguin Books, 1979

¹⁰ Wutrow. Robert, et.al. *Cultural analysis: The work of peter berger, Marry douglas, Michael foucoult, and Jurgen Habermas*. London: Routledge. 1984

believed having high influence by lift them up with the honor. For *Priyayi* lifting the heirlooms is an honor, while lay people are satisfied enough by surrounding the procession.

C. A Sort History of Heirlooms Procession in the Surakarta Kasunanan palace

According to Sumantri¹¹, Heirlooms festival had been started in Majapahit annually. This ritual was held as “*hajatnagari*” or “*wilujjengannagari*” (hope a salvation for the kingdom) by the King of Majapahit then called as “*rajawedha*”. There was the offering and prayer recited by Buddhism tradition. The prayer was for the salvation of the kingdom, that’s way this festival must be carried on by the king of Majapahit descendent. For the laypeople according to SuryoNegoro¹², they always accustomed to *gramawedha*, the ritual held every 1stSuro.. The festival was held in the midnight every New Year of Saka..

After the fall of Majapahit, the kingdom had moved to Demak, Central Java. The son of king BrawidjayaPamungkas, RadenPatah, the king of Demak, still carried on the Raja Weda tradition, although he converted into Islam. He changed reciting prayer in Buddhism tradition to Islamic tradition (doa). In the era of Demak kingdom, the offering of Rajaweda consisted of buffalo meats, therefore the name of *Rajaweda* offerings were changed as “*mahesa (buffalo) Lawung*”. According to SunanKalijaga instruction, the offering and mahesalawung must be held in the middle of Kredhawahana forest in the north of Surakarta.¹³

Mataram kingdom under Sultan Agung, revolutionarily, changed Javanese calendar into Islamic calendar. He changed the *Saka* calendar into the *Hijry* calendar. The *Saka* calendar is based on the solar rotation. The *Hijry* calendar is based on the moon rotation. The change of the calendar in Java happened on the first Suro in alip 1555. It coincided with the first Muharram 1043. It happened on Monday *Legi*, July 8 1633. Besides he changed the calendar, he still kept maintaining the old culture and tradition. He tried to unite both Rajawedha and Gramawedha tradition. Politically, the unity was an effort to unite between King and Kawula in order to face the Dutch colonial. It was reflected in the traditional culture of KeratonKasunanan Surakarta that becomes the continuity of the Mataram Kingdom in the form of magical heirlooms procession.¹⁴

Heirlooms procession, annually held in Surakarta Palace¹⁵ connected with a history of arising of the kingdom itself. Surakarta palace was formed by SampeyanDalemSusuhanPakoeBuwono II. In the beginning, the palace of Surakarta kingdom was situated in Kartasuro (now as a district on west side of Surakarta palace), therefore the name of this kingdom was Kartosura kingdom. Because of the coup of Chinese which had known as “*gegerpecinan*” by Raden Mas Gerendi and SunanKuning on 1743, the Kartasuro palace was broken, therefore the king tried to find new place. Finally, King found Solo village as a proper place to build a new palace on 17 Februari 1745. For the moving palace celebration, King held Mahesalawung ritual and offering for salvation of the kingdom. The MahesaLawung ritual was still maintained by King’s descendent until SinuhunKanjengSusuhanPakuBuwono X (1893-1939) reigned and added Mahesalawung ritual with heirlooms festivals every 1stSuro or Muharram. Mahesalawung and heirlooms festival were ever absent when PakuBuwono XI (1939-1945) authorized Surakarta palace.

When SusuhanpakuBuwono XII authorized the palace (1945-2006) in 1964, changed the ritual of 1stsuro of Muharram only with heirlooms procession and Mahesalawungchanged the day. It was

¹¹Sumantri.MitosDalamUpacara 1 Suro di Keraton Surakarta. FAI. UMS. 2001; p 38

¹²Negoro S Suryo. UpacaraTradisionaldan Ritual Jawa. 2001

¹³Ibid.p 39

¹⁴Opcit.2001. p 39

¹⁵Mataram was divided by gianti treaty into two kingdom, Kasunanan and Kasultanan. Kasunanan takes place in Surakarta palace while kasultanan takes place in Yogyakarta palace.

held on Monday or Thursday in the beginning of Rabiulakhirhijrymonth (6th month of lunar month), it is because the day is a special day for King celebrating his throne¹⁶.

The same meaning between magical heirlooms procession and mahesalawung are ritual is held in order to avoid the misfortune. Mahesalawung is the ritual held by the palace for the palace salvation from the evil, while Magical heirlooms procession is the ritual held by the palace for the society. Palace releases the magical heirlooms in order to radiate the power to the people surround them, and brings the salvation and wealth for the people, while Mahesalawung is only held for the palace necessity. Mahesalawung is the ritual that offers the offering for the spirit called BetariDurga who is believed live in kredhawahana forest and protect the palace.

We can see structural relationship between Palace and Kawula in magical heirlooms procession. The mystical symbols from Palace is believed by the people can bring them to the salvation and wealth. Palace have own symbols used in order to strengthen its position in the society.

PakuBuwonoX added magical heirlooms procession as a ritual in celebration of 1stSuro, it cannot be separated by socio-political history background. According to Kuntowijoyo, at that times King was the decreasing of political authority. The authority was restricted only cultural authority by Dutch Colonial. In other hand, he was clever to maintain the symbols as King; those symbols included personal symbols and public symbols. King's symbol for his society (ordinary people) was few and restricted. King's symbols in society were when palace held certain rituals such as funeral, marriage, *Sekaten*, *GrebegMulud* and when King passed through the street. It was not like *Priyayi* which is contiguous with king's symbols which are tight and a lot. As revealed by Kuntowijoyo that Pakubuwono X showed numerous public symbols as seen from his wedding celebration with Jogjakarta King, Hamengkubuwono VII daughter. The capacity to maintain the symbols made him become the greater Surakarta's king who loved by his society. Therefore the magical heirlooms procession is an effort to show King's symbol in order to maintain his position in the society, while the King authority now is restricted only in his palace. Considering of the decreasing of palace roles moreover after Indonesian independence that only become a site of living Javanese tradition, the ritual is still maintained until now, no wonder if Pakubuwono XII in 1964 added a large route of the procession and managed professionally as tourism destination, even TMII (Indonesian miniature park) in Jakarta borrows the ritual as as one of the feature of Indonesian culture held annually.

D. Magical Heirlooms procession

The sequences of the heirlooms festival procession as follow. In the beginning of the ritual, inside the palace, there were gamelan orchestras following the king entering *SasanaSewakaroom*, and then when the king would sit in his throne the orchestras, which contain the praise for the King were also changed. Nearly the midnight, King started to take his heirlooms in his room into which only he can enter. The removal and selection of his heirlooms was done by King self. The removal and selection the heirloom could not be done randomly, it needed the hint. They believed with the hint to guide the removal of the heirlooms, if it were not any hint to select the heirloom, it could not be removed. After the removal of heirlooms, King gives his heirlooms to the women servants; the room outside the King's room (*prabasuyasan* rooms) is for women servant only. While the *Sentana* (king's servant who bring the heirlooms to the procession) waited in the room called *parasedya*. After receiving heirlooms they immediately joined with the formation of procession. Before starting the procession, exact in the midnight, they firstly started with praying hope the procession held smoothly. The Heirlooms are brought by the servants with the Samir and jasmine garlands in their neck. One by one, the heirlooms are covered by red napkin, umbrella and lifted by two people. Then the formation walks slowly outside the palace in to the square where

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 40

crowded mass waited. The procession moves a palace with the *Pradaksima* direction meaning following watch needle direction and Palace always in the right side. .

The Procession of magical heirlooms moves a circle of *keraton* (palace). It starts from the palace, moving to the north until Gladag, the major office, then moving to right to the east until AsiaAgung Bank, then moving to the south until Baturono cross section, then moving to the west until Gemblegan cross section, then moving to the north until Nonongan cross section, then the final route is moving to the east back to the palace. The procession moves palace in the right side. For servants who do not attend the procession do meditation inside the palace, and for them who are servant do not attend the procession and meditation do *Tahajjud* praying in Pujosono Mosque (inside the palace) lead by palace religious chief (penghulu).

E. The meaning of magical heirlooms procession symbols

The magical heirlooms procession moves circle around the palace. The palace as a center of ritual means that a palace is a symbol of a center of an empire (nominus), for the Javanese society, Keraton is not only as a spiritual center but also as a center of culture. Palace according to Franz MagnisSuseno¹⁷ is a place where king lives, and King is a source of cosmos power which influences society and brings peaceful, wealth and fertility. Javanese views about the power of King can be seen from the King's name such as Hamengkubuwono (King's of Jogjakarta palace) that means as the bearer of the universe, and Pakubuwono (King's of Surakarta palace) that means the nail of the universe. Although palace now does not have a political authority in Surakarta, the phenomena of heirlooms festival shows that the palace still has influence in society as a center of culture. The existence of palace is still admitted by society who believes with the power of the King who can bring peaceful, wealth, and fertility.

The ritual procession moving heirlooms in circle (*kirabpusaka*) ceremony on the first *Suro* uses several symbols. The symbols in the form of thing are such as King's magical heirlooms, white buffaloes, umbrella, aromatic resin, flowers, chandelier, food etc. King's Magical heirlooms are such as draggers, lances, carts, gamelan orchestra, manuscript etc. Several heirlooms are used exclusively for the military use, sickness and plant disease. Participants of the ritual believe when the heirlooms are being processed moving in a circle radiate their prestige for them. The meaning of magical heirlooms procession for lay people is revealed by Sukiman¹⁸ who is a farmer in boyolali (the name of resident in central java). He said that It *suro* is the day when the evil spirits appear; therefore there will be many misfortunes for the people who are not cautious. Therefore people should recall the god and be concerned with much prayer. His motivation attending the ritual is in order to get blessing and avoid from misfortune. For Javanese folk culture, 1st *suro* is a time when there are misfortunes; therefore they hold such a ritual to avoid it

As Mark Woodward¹⁹ said that in the folk Javanese culture there is believing that anyone who have magical power is thought to have magical heirlooms, used to meditate or pilgrimage, expertise in using *gamelan* (Javanese orchestra) and *wayang* (javanese puppet), and learn religious teaching. It can be understood that the possession of magical heirlooms is important to show a King's charisma to the society. Those are a symbol of status, For the Javanese King, a possession of heirlooms is a symbol of power and authority. The ritual may have function to make society to be obedient with the king.

According to Sumantri²⁰ A white buffalo precedes the ritual procession moving heirlooms in a circle ceremony. The white buffalo is called *KyaiSlamet*. The myth of *KyaiSlamet* is that it guided a king to find a new place for the palace in solo after burned Kartasura palace. Now *KyaiSlamet* was

¹⁷Suseno Franz Magnis. *EtikaJawaSbuanalisisafalsafiTentangkehidupan*. Jakarta: PT. Gramedia p.107

¹⁸Interviews. On 20 December 2009

¹⁹ Woodward. Mark. *Javanese Dukun and Moral Ambiguity*. Unpublished. 2009. P.78

²⁰Sumantri. *SimbolisedalamUpacaraKirabPusakaSatuSuroKratonKasunanan Surakarta Hadiningrat*. JurnalSuhuf. UMS. 2003. P 101

died and change by its descendent to be foremost of the march. It lines up in the foremost of the march. The buffaloes are a symbol of fertility. Some of ritual attendances also believe a shit of a buffalo to ensure the fertile of the land and animals.

Umbrella is a symbol that means as a guardian. Therefore a king is not only as a leader which has an authority but also as a protector for his society to ensure society that they get safety in their daily life. Aromatic resin which has special fragrance is believed for protecting from the evil spirit, in order not to annoy the people to reveal their prayer to god. Aromatic resin also helps the people to concentrate their prayer to God. God will help the people and be avoided from bad evil. Flowers in the ritual content three kind of flowers that are *mawar* (rose) *kantil* (magnolia), *kenanga* (cananga) called *kembangtelon* (three flowers). Rose Flowers is a symbol of anger, Magnolia is a symbol of purity and Cananga is a symbol of glorious. The flowers have a meaning that if anyone who wanted God blessing, he consequently purified himself from sin. Chandelier is a light from kerosene. This is a symbolical meaning of people praying that hopes God enlighten people live and bring them into salvation. Therefore this is a symbol for enlightenment of the people live.

Foods, there are many foods served in the ritual. The food means a serving for the spirit and also manifestation of thankfulness to the God for His fortune. And for serving a food they hope it will bring them into salvation and wealth. The main meanings of those symbols are to be avoided from miss fortune and bring wealth and salvation.

Heirlooms march moving a circle means that the human's glorious can chase away every obstacle in their lives. Silence activity is a symbol of thankfulness to the God, because of the weakness of the human who always depend on God.²¹

Those symbols acquire the meanings of magical heirlooms procession consisted of; First, the ritual which society can get the blessing from magical heirlooms influence. Second: that is the ritual which the king shows his charisma and power with his army and heirlooms to the society which contents the concept of *manunggalingkawulagusti* (the unity between Human dan God) which is interpreted as society's obedience with the king. Third is the ritual for praying and being close to the god. Fourth the ritual to unite of every actor's intention raises the obedience with the God.

F. The Meaning of 1st Suro momentum for Javanese

Momentum of 1st Month *Suro* has many meanings. First, Month *Suro* is a sacred month for Islamic and Javanese tradition. According to HM Brathasiwara which quoted from Sumantri²², month *Suro* is a moment when Muhammad migrated from *Makkah* to *Madina*. The procession of heirlooms which is matched with the moment of Muhammad migration is important in Islamic momentum of the beginning of Islamic triumph then this momentum is adapted with the rooted Javanese culture. G.P.H. Puger statement quoted from Sumantri²³ said that 1st *suro* is just a momentum when a historical moment in Islamic tradition happened. He said that this date is a sacred day in Islam. It takes just a sacred moment in order to the ritual of heirlooms is also sacred.

Second, the first *Suro* is New Year momentum both Islamic calendar and Javanese calendar. As we discussed before that Sultan Agung converted the *Saka* calendar adapted into Islamic calendar. This is the moment when people should remember the past and do self-introspection, starting a new live with the right intention, and much praying hope the next year will get a better live.

Third, it is the moment when societies much do the ascetic deed in order to close to the God as what the ancestor have ever done. The ascetic deed is the way to reduce worldly pleasure, such as fasting, staying up in the night with praying and meditation. Those are an effort to maintain the right deeds and avoid the bad deeds.

²¹ Ibid. P 102

²² Op.cit

²³ Ibid p 98

Fourth, it is the taboo moment for ordinary people to hold the worldly celebration such as wedding, build the new house, etc. People believe that it is the moment when NyiRaraKidul holds the celebration. This is also a special moment for the king to make a celebration. For the instance is when Pakubuwono XII reigned the palace, this moment was his celebration for getting the throne. For the ordinary people is forbidden to hold the celebration because they believe it would be bad effect if they held it.

Kawula accustomed to hold a Javanese new year with *BuburSuran* (make white porridge in the suro night). White porridge of *BuburSuran* means the holly self. Reserving *BuburSuran* every 1st suro has the meaning that the people should have right and holly intention to face the new life. *Bubursuran* also expresses communal norms, togetherness in their activity included in every ritual. There is liminality in every ritual they held. There is equality without ordination-subordination.

G. Conclusion

In order to understand the pattern of Javanese culture, it will talk about Culture according to Geertz²⁴ is a certain model; in which a set of symbol connected each other by aligning, imitating, and creating. "Model" has two meanings that are a "model of" and a "model for". For the instance, "Model for" is dogs behavior which is imitated by its puppy. The way dogs eat, run, etc are model for, imitated by its puppy in order to act the same with their parents. Therefore "model for" gains a certain pattern to be imitated. In other hand a "model of" has a function to describe something that encourages people to understand the meaning of this symbol. For the instance the DNA model describes structures of the smallest part of our blood. Or a globe is a model of our earth. From the geertz interpretation of symbol it means that the Surakarta magical heirlooms march has a certain meaning and its function of the society. Society believes that attending this events bring blessing for them. The showing heirloom is king's effort to legitimate their power in the society. This procession moving heirlooms in the circle is the symbols of King's charisma, the sacred of the heirlooms, ritual, and *Keraton* or Palace as a center of Javanese civilization that produce the order and values for the society.

. I will lead my analysis about the pattern of hierarchal organization between *Keraton* (Palace) and *kawula* (javanese lay class people). *Keraton* is the centre of civilization. They are a small community. They consist of King, *abdidaem* (servant), intellectual, manuscript, etc. Palace the place where they lived is a center of culture. They produce the symbols that become a mediation to communicate the norms and values of society. The symbols which they produce adhere in the society through a ritual, manuscript, and the customs for their ethics. The symbols that they produce are mystic, that is can be seen from how the symbols in the magical heirlooms procession try to give a myths which regard king as sacred person. Therefore in the patrimonial tradition, Palace tries to maintain the control for its charisma to the *kawula* even it now has no administrative authority among javanese. In the other hand *kawula* also have mystical symbols. They have strong belief with the spirit. They have strong dependency with the *priyayi* and the King. They believe that King have mystical power that can radiate their prestige in order to avoid from evil spirit. Nevertheless, both need and support each other. *Keraton* needs *kawula* to maintain the function of their power. In other hand *Kawula* need *Keraton* charisma and figure to protect their live. Historically, The function the ritual procession moving heirlooms in circle (*kirabpusaka*) ceremony on the first suro that happened on the first Muharram is unity the palace tradition and *kawula* tradition in order to maintain the structural relationship between *Keraton* and *Kawula*. It is also to sthrengten the *keraton* existence. *Keraton* is the main component of the ritual. *Keraton* need confession of its existence as the highest authority of Javanese Surakarta tradition.

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