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Article in *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering* · May 2005

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A Study on the History and Development of the Javanese Mosque

Part 2: The Historical Setting and Role of the Javanese Mosque under the Sultanates

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Abstract

This paper aims at discussing the historical setting and role of the Javanese Mosques under the Sultanates. The discussion will focus on where the mosques were built and what was the main purpose of mosques constructed under each Javanese Sultanate until the end of nineteenth century. Under Sultanates, many mosques were believed to be founded by *wali* (saint), sultan, sultan's family, or *kyai* (Islamic/religious teacher) ordered by the sultan. Referring to this kind of mosque, 71 surveyed mosques will be analyzed by historical setting and roles of the mosque, because there are some varieties in each sultanate. Based on this analysis, this paper argues that there are four types of mosques: *Agung* (Grand) Mosque, *Langgar Kraton* (Palace) Mosque, Community Mosque, and Isolated Mosque. It also argues that the historical setting of mosque always has a close relationship with its roles in each sultanate.

Keywords: historical setting; main role, Javanese mosque; Islam; Sultanate

1. Introduction

The Javanese mosque appears as a unique architectural style compared to mosques of other areas in Moslem countries. Hence, some previous scholars tried to describe the distinct physical characteristic of the Javanese mosque in some articles or papers.¹

Nevertheless, this paper will not discuss on building forms/styles of Javanese mosque architecture, but it aims at discussing the historical setting and roles of Javanese mosques since nobody studied from this point. The discussion will focus on where the mosques were built and what was the main purpose of mosques constructed under the Sultanates until nineteenth century.

Under the Sultanates, many Javanese mosques were founded by *wali* (saint), sultan, sultan's family, or *kyai* (Islamic/religious teacher) ordered by the sultan. Referring to this kind of mosque, the study has already found 71 mosques. This data will be analyzed by the historical setting and main role of the mosque, because there are some varieties in each Sultanate. A list of surveyed mosques on each Sultanate could be listed up as shown in Table 1.

The main sources are provided by documentary study and field survey. Unfortunately, historical records describing historical Javanese mosques are few in number and so far not available. The stories and

descriptions of historical Javanese mosques are generally in oral tradition. The study mostly relies on existing studies and report documentations made by the Archaeological Department (*Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah Purbakala*), complemented by interviewing the *Imam* (leader of prayer), *abdi dalem kraton* (servants of palace), older persons, or somebody who maintains the mosque.

A series of research field survey carried out in cities which were once the capital/center of Islamic political power took place. In north coast of Java, the survey was started from Banten, Cirebon, then Semarang, Demak, Kudus, Jepara, Tuban, Gresik, to Surabaya. In the inland of Java, it was started from Surakarta, Klaten, Yogyakarta, Banyumas and beyond. I have interviewed the people, identified the setting and checked the existing conditions of these mosques.

2. Overview of the Coming of Islam and the Sultanates in Java

The adoption of Islam among the communities of the Javanese north coast is one of the most obscure phenomena in Indonesian history. Historian M. C. Ricklefs argued that no definite conclusions have been possible because the surviving records of Islamisation are so few, and often so uninformative. It is not surprisingly, when, why and how the conversion of Islam for Javanese and Indonesians are still a contentious issue and causes endless discussion among historian today.

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(Received November 11, 2004 ; accepted March 2, 2005)

Table 1. A List of Surveyed Mosques under Javanese Sultanate until 19th Century

No	Name of Mosque		Founded	Founder	Location	Main Facility			Main Role	Remark/ Reference	
						X	Y	Z			
1	Banten Sultanate (1527-1682)	Agung Banten	1556	Sultan Hasanudin	A	√	√	√□	a	○ ● ■	
2		Kasunyatan	c. 1570s	Sultan Yusuf	C	√	√	√□	c	○ ●	
3		Kaibon	c. 1570s	Sultan Yusuf	B	√	√		b/c?	Ruins / ■	
4		Pekojan	c. late-16c	?	C	√	?	√	c	Ruins / ○ ■	
5		Pecinan Tinggi	c. late-16c	Sultan Yusuf ?	C	√		√	c	Ruins / ○ ■	
6		Kanari	c. 1590	Sultan Kanari	C	√	?	√	c	○ ● ■	
7		Cikaduen	c. late-17c	Sultan Haji	D	√	?	√□	d1?	Totally new / ○	
8	Cirebon	From Beginning	Bondan	c. early-15c?	Datuk Kahfi	C	√	√	c	○ ●	
9	Sultanate	to Kasepuhan	Pajlagrahan	c. 1452	P. Cakrabuana?	C	√	√	√	c	○ ● ■
10	(1479-1677)	Sultanate	Pakambangan	c. mid-15c	P. Cakrabuana?	C	√	√	√	c	○ ●
11			Trusmi	c. mid-15c	Buyut Trusmi	C	√	√	√□	c	○ ●
12			Kejaksan	c. mid-15c	S. Abdurrahim	C	√	√	√	c	○
13			Jagabaya	c. mid-15c	P. Nalarasa	C	√		√	c	○
14			Langgar Alit	c. 1479	P. Cakrabuana?	B	√			b	○
15			Agung Kasepuhan	c. 1500	SGJ-Walisongo	A	√	√	√	a	○ ● ■
16			Dermayu	c. 1527?	?	C	√	√	√	c	○
17			Sunan Gunung Jati	c. 1542	S. Gunung Jati	D	√	√	√□	d	○
18			Panjunan	c. mid-16c	P. Panjunan	C	√	√	√	c	○ ● ■
19			Sunan Kalijaga	c. mid-16c	Sunan Kalijaga	C	√	√	√	c	○
20			Kaliwulu	c. end-16c	Ki Gede Kaliwulu	C	√	√	√	c	○ ●
21			Langgar Agung	c. early-17c	Panembahan Ratu	B	√	√		d	○
22			Plered	c. mid-17c	Ki Gede Weru	C	√	√	√	c	Totally new / ○
23			Gamel	1730	Ki Geden Gamel	C	√	√	√	c	○ ●
24		Kanoman Sultanate	Langgar Kanoman	c. 1610	Sultan Badrudin?	B	√			b	○
25			Jami' Kanoman	c. 1679	Sultan Badrudin	A	√		√	a	○
26	From Local Islamic Authorities of North Coast of Java to Demak Sultanate (1478-1549) until late-16c	Rahmat	c. early-15c	Raden Rahmat	C	√	?	?	c	Demolished / ■	
27		Sunan Giri	c. early-15c	Sunan Giri	D	√	√	√□	d	*1) / ○	
28		Sunan Ampel	c.1421	Sunan Ampel	C	√	√	√□	c	*2) / ○ ■	
29		Agung Demak	1479	Walisongo	A	√	√	√□	a	○ ● ■	
30		Suranata Kudus	c. early-16c	Sunan Kudus?	C	√			c	Demolished / ■	
31		Sunan Kalijaga	c.1533	Sunan Kalijaga	C	√	√	√□	c	○ ●	
32		Menara Kudus	1537	Sunan Kudus	C	√	√	√□	c	○ ● ■	
33		Jepara	c.1549	P. Hadlirin	C (?)	√	√	?	c (?)	* 3) / ○ ■	
34		Nurul Huda	c. 1549	Ny. Kumaloka	C	√	√	?	c	Totally new / ○	
35		Astana Mantingan	1559	Ratu Kalinyamat	D	√	√	√□	d1	○ ●	
36		Al-Makmur Jipang	c. mid-16c	Aria Penangsang	C	√	√	?	c	Totally new / ○	
37		Sendang Duwur	1561	Sunan Sendang	D	√	√	√□	d	○ ● ■	
38		Kauman Semarang	c.1575	S. PandanArang	C	√	√	√	c (?)	Totally new /○	
39		Agung Tuban	c. late-16c	Pangeran Dalem	A (?)	√	?	?	a (?)	Demolished / ■	
40		Gala	c. late-16c	S. Pandan Arang	D	√	√	√□	d	○ ● ■	
41	Pajang	Sultanate	Laweyan Pajang	c.1550	Kyai Ngenis	C	√	√□	c	Totally new / ○	
42	(1549-1587)		Butuh	c. mid -16c	P. Hadiwijaya	C	√	√	√	c	■
43	Mataram Sultanate (1575-19c)	From Beginning to Kartasura (1575-1755) (Before Gijanti Treaty)	Besar Kotagede	c. late-16c	P. Senopati	C	√	√	√□	c	○ ●
44			Makam Bayat	c. 1613-1645	Sultan Agung	D	√	√	√□	d1	○
45			Agung Plered	1649	Amangkura I	A	√	?	√	a	Ruins / ■
46			Agung Kartasura	1677	Amangkura II	A	√	?	?	a	Demolished / ■
47			Cilik Ki Ageng Gribik	c. early-17c	Ki Ageng Gribik	C	√	√	√□	c	○
48			Besar Ki Ageng Gribik	c. early-17c	Ki Ageng Gribik	C	√	√	√□	c	Totally new / ○
49			Pajimatan	1646	Sultan Agung	D	√	√	√□	d1	○
50			Banyu Sumurup	c. late-17c?	Sultan Agung?	D	√	√	√□	d1	○ ●
51			Santren Bagelen	c. 1700s	Kyai Bidowi	C	√	√	√	c	○ ●
52			Soko Tunggal Pekuncen	c. 1719	A. Mangkuprojo?	C	√	√	√	c	○
53	Kasunan Surakarta Sultanate (1746-19c)	Agung Surakarta	1757	PakubuwonoIII	A	√	√	√	a	○ ● ■	
54		Kalioso Jogo Paten	1825	Kyai Turmudzi	C	√	√	√	c	○	
55		Al-Yahya Kalioso	1825	Kyai Yahya	C	√	√	√	c	○	
56		Suranata Surakarta	1745	Pakubuwono II	C	√	√	?	c	Ruins / ○ ■	
57			Bandengan Mosque	c. late-18c?	?	B	√	√		b	○ ■
58	Mangkunegaran (1813-19c)	Agung Mangkunegaran	1878	P Mangkunegaran	A	√	√	?	a	○ ■	
59		Jami' Kepatihan	c. late-19c?	?	C	√		?	c	■	
60		Ptk Ngoro Mlangi	c. mid-18c	Kyai Nuriman	C1	√	√	√	c1	○ ● ■	
61	Kasultanan Yogyakarta Sultanate (1755-19c)	Agung Yogyakarta	1773	Sultan HB I	A	√	√	√	a	○ ● ■	
62		Watu/Selo	1787	Sultan HB I	C	√	√		c	○	
63		Girilaya	c. 1788	Sultan HB I?	D	√	√	√□	d1	○ ●	
64		Ptk Ngoro P. Kuning	c. late-18c	Kyai Mursodo	C1	√	√	√	c1	○ ● ■	
65		Ptk Ngoro Dongkelan	c. late-18c	Kyai Syihabuddin	C1	√	√	√	c1	○ ● ■	
66		Ptk Ngoro Babadan	c. late-18c	?	C1	√	√	√	c1	○ ● ■	
67		Ptk Negro Wonokromo	c. late-18c	Kyai Faqih	C1	√	√	√	c1	○ ● ■	
68		Suranatan Yogyakarta	c. mid-18c?	?	C	√	√	?	C	■	
69		Rotowijayan/Keben	c. 1877	Sultan HB VII	C	√	√		C	○	
70		Panepen	c. mid-19c?	?	B	√			b	■	
71		Pakualaman 1813	Puro Pakualaman	c. 1861	Sri Paku Alaman	A	√	√	?	a	○

Legenda

X= main hall, Y = pendopo, Z = cemetery, √= exist, □= big/wide cemetery complex

○ = Interview, ● = archaeological report documentation

■ = mentioned in book/thesis/article

A = West of *Alun-alun* (public square) of *Kraton* (palace)

B = inside of the *Kraton* (palace) complex

C = inside of community/*Kampung* (village) or *Pesantren* (Traditional Islamic School)

C1 = inside of community/*Kampung* or *Pesantren* and *tanah perdikan* (village/area with special regulation, no land tax, etc).

D = on the slope of mountain, hill, or on upland.

a = as a space/place for Friday prayer of Sultan and the Sultanate, state's ceremony, etc.

b = as a praying space/place only for Sultan, sultanate family or *abdi dalem kraton* (servants of kraton) or some cases only for women of the sultanate family and *abdi dalem keputren* (woman servants).

c = as a praying space/place of community and *dakwah* (religious proselytizing)

c1 = as a praying space/place for community, *dakwah* (religious proselytizing), and to support the state (as pillar) in both politics and religion as the symbol of Sultanate authority

d = as a praying space/place of community and *dakwah* (religious proselytizing) and probably for *khalwat* (solitude/retreat).

d1 = as complement of cemetery complex. This type of mosque is a part of cemetery complex. It was built in after or at the same time with the cemetery complex.

Remarks

*1) There are two mosque buildings. First mosque is (believed) founded by Giri in c. 15c, small in size and the second mosque is founded by his descendant in 19c, large in size.

*2) There are many changes. The new mosque was constructed in c. 19c and in 2000 A.D.

*3) The data was only based on an old sketch drawn by Wouter Schouten in 17th Century and published by de Graaf in 1936 in *De Moskee van Japara*, 1936, p. 160-162. It is believed that the founder is Pangeran Hadlirin (husband of Ratu Kalinyamat) in circa 1549 but there is no evidence. Existing condition of the mosque is totally new.

However, it is agreed by scholars that trade provided a fertile ground for the early growth of Islam throughout Java and the Indonesian islands. Muslim traders had apparently been present in some parts of Indonesia for several centuries before Islam established within the local communities.² Many of them decided to be permanent residents and established "Muslim Communities" in the north coastal areas such as *Grisee* (Gresik), Surabaya, Tuban, Jepara, Demak, Cirebon and Banten.³

Regarding early Muslim communities, it could also obviously argued that many Muslim communities have

existed in Java especially in coastal areas in the middle of fifteenth century. When the Chinese Muslim Ma Huan visited the coast of Java in 1433, he reported in his book *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* that there were three kinds of people communities in Java: Muslims from the west, Chinese (many of them are Muslims) and the heathen Javanese.⁴ Along with the Muslims' community expanding, I argue that many mosques should be founded before Sultanate. Unfortunately, it has no strong historical evidence or physical remains until today.

However, according to Javanese tradition, the most

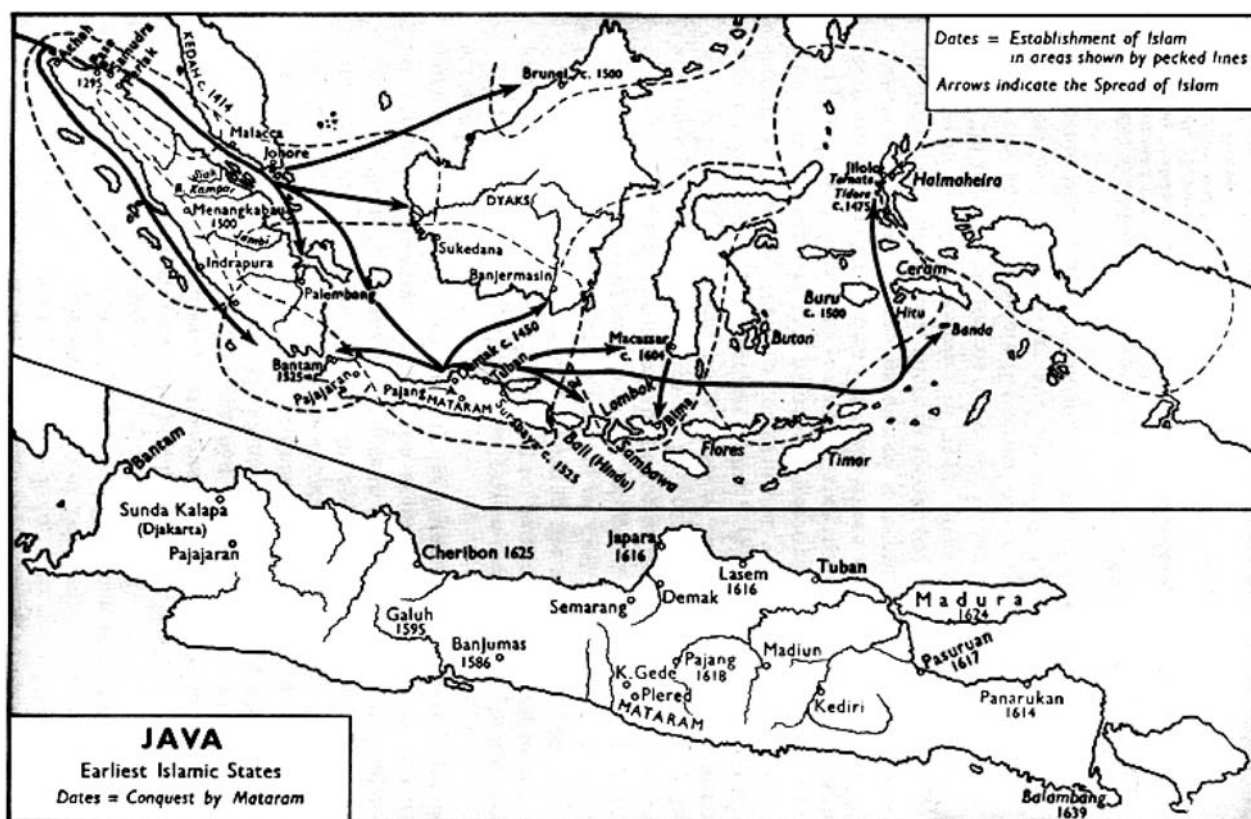


Fig.1. Map of the Spread of Islam in Java and Indonesia, Reproduced from Hall, 1985

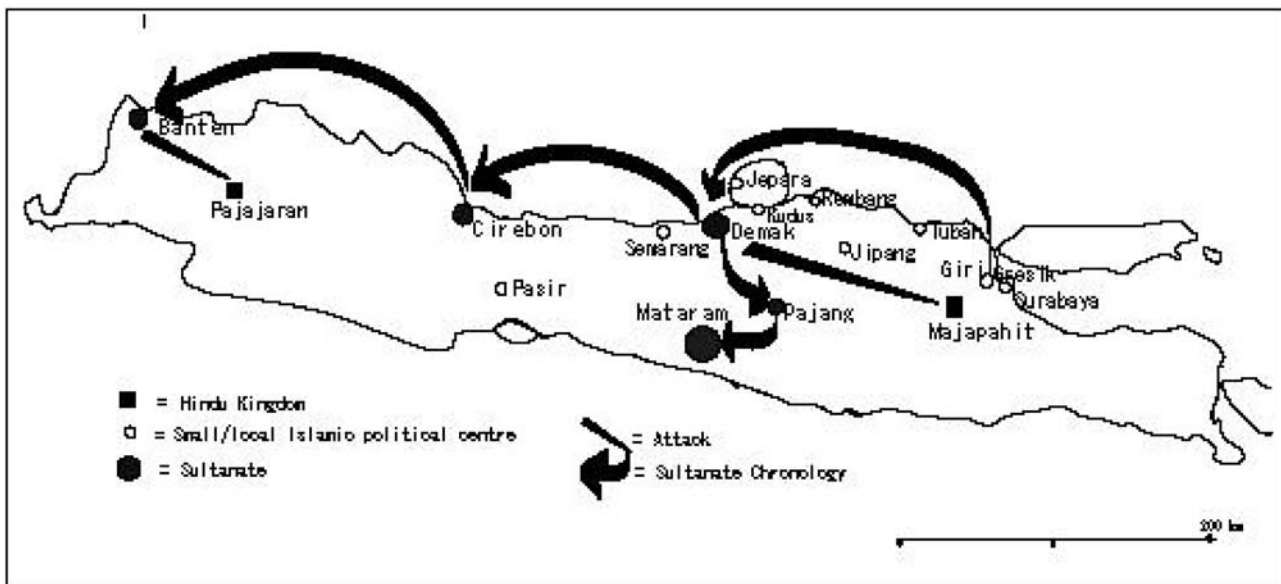


Fig.2. Map of Sultanate and Islamic Spreading in Java, Originally from Lombard, 2000, Modified by Author

influential Islamic missionaries in Java were holy men or so-called *Wali Songo* (nine saints), most of whom lived in the sixteenth century. Up to this stage of my studies, I argue that not all of *Walis* built an own mosque, but all of their tombs are pilgrimage places of many believers until today.

Traditions ascribed to the *Walis* used a cultural accommodation strategy for introducing Islam in Java. Therefore, many scholars also argued that there was a process of acculturation in which Islam value was absorbed in Javanese culture.

In the last quarter of fifteenth century, one of the Muslim community leaders - Pate Rodim⁵ or Raden Fatah, supported by *Walis* - established Demak Sultanate as the first Islamic Kingdom in Java. When Trenggana (Rodim's son) ruled Demak Sultanate, he oversaw the expansion of Demak's influence to the east and west, and the last Hindu-Buddhist state of east Java fell in circa 1527.

After Muslims established the first Islamic Kingdom (Sultanate) at Demak in 1478, they also established Cirebon Sultanate (1479) and Banten (1527) at the north coast of Java. Soon after the collapse of Demak Sultanate, Pajang (1549) and Mataram Sultanate (1575) emerged from the inland of Java and the latter became the strongest Islamic sultanate in Java until nineteenth century. The period of Pajang Sultanate (1549-1587) was too short. It was argued that Pajang was a transition period from coastal area to Mataram in the inland of Java.

In 1755, through the Treaty of *Gijanti*, VOC (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*) divided the Sultanate of Mataram into two parts. One was Surakarta and the other was Yogyakarta. Each *kraton* built an agung mosque near their court. Both Yogyakarta and Surakarta were divided into two for each again in the early nineteenth century. In Surakarta these were Kasunanan



Fig.3. Agung Mosque of Yogyakarta, 2004, Photo by Author

Surakarta Sultanate and Mangkunegaran Sultanate, while in Yogyakarta these were Kasultanan Yogyakarta Sultanate and Pakualaman. Their courts and mosques still stand until today.

3. Analysis on Setting and Role of Mosques under the Sultanates

Under the Sultanates, many mosques were founded by the *wali*, sultan, sultan's family or *kyai* ordered by Sultan. Although; I believe that the data are not complete yet, I have tried to collect them and found 71 mosques as shown in table 1. In that table, this research has already identified mosques in each Sultanate, their location and main role. The table also shows various main facilities of each mosque: main prayer hall, *pendopo*, and cemetery. The minaret is excluded, because only a few historical Javanese mosques have this element.

From the identification on location/setting and role, Javanese mosque could be summarized and categorized into four main groups: 1) *Agung* (Grand) Mosques located on west of *alun-alun*, 2) *Langgar Kraton* (Palace)

Mosque located inside of *kraton* complex, 3) Community Mosque located inside the community, and 4) Isolated Mosque located on a slope of mountain, hill or upland. Each group of mosque has main role, and some cases have specific roles. It will be explained as below.

3-1. Agung (Grand) Mosque

Except Pajang, every Sultanate always has *Agung* (grand) Mosque. It is located near the palace and is always in the west of *alun-alun* (open square) as the heart of the city and centre of political power. This type is also always the largest in size compared to the others. Its main purpose lies in formal Friday prayer of sultan and the sultanate, religious and state ceremonies, etc. There are ceremonies we can still see today, such as *Sekatenan* ceremony in Surakarta Sultanate and *Gunungan* ceremony in Yogyakarta Sultanate.⁶

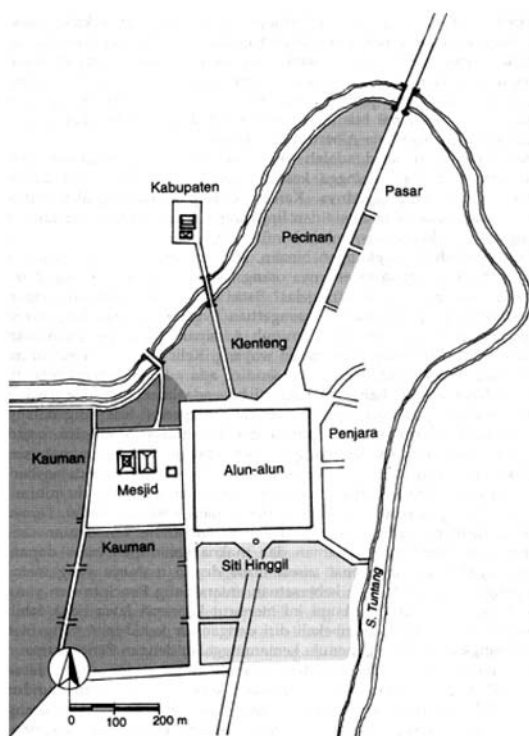


Fig.4. Setting of *Agung* Mosque of Demak Reproduced from Wiryomartono, 1995

Concerning the fact that most of the sultans/ruler have an own mosque near their palaces, it has been considered as the special right/authority of the ruler and the symbol of greatness or majesty of Sultanate since sixteenth century. The mosque as a religious building seems comparable to the sacred building which was built near the king's palace before Islam influences.⁷

3-2. Langgar Kraton (Palace) Mosque

Most of Sultanates built one or two small mosques which were exclusively privately used inside of *kraton* (palace). However, this kind of mosque can not be found in Demak and Pajang sultanate, because there are no physical remains or historical records.

Inside of Kasepuhan Cirebon sultanate, there are two small mosques: *langgar alit soko tunggal*⁸ and *langgar agung*. The *langgar agung* is bigger than the *langgar alit*. Kanoman sultanate has one *langgar*, named *langgar Kanoman*. The term of *langgar* is always combined with mosques being small in size and sometimes privately used. It is said that the mosques are used by sultan and sultan's family for praying, reciting the Koran, etc.

Inside of the *kraton*, Kasunanan Surakarta Sultanate built the *Bandengan* mosque while Yogyakarta Sultanate built a/the *Panepen* mosque. These mosques are used for reciting the Koran; and as a praying place for their families, especially for the women of the sultanate family and the *abdi dalem keputren* (woman servants). In fact, Kasunanan Surakarta also built the *Pudyosono* mosque which is located inside of the *kraton*. But it is believed that this mosque was constructed in 1918.⁹ This mosque is used as a temporary rest area of the sultan's corpse before the corpse is sent to the main graveyard of Mataram sultanate in Imogiri.¹⁰ Hence, it is said that this mosque is also *keramat* (sacred).

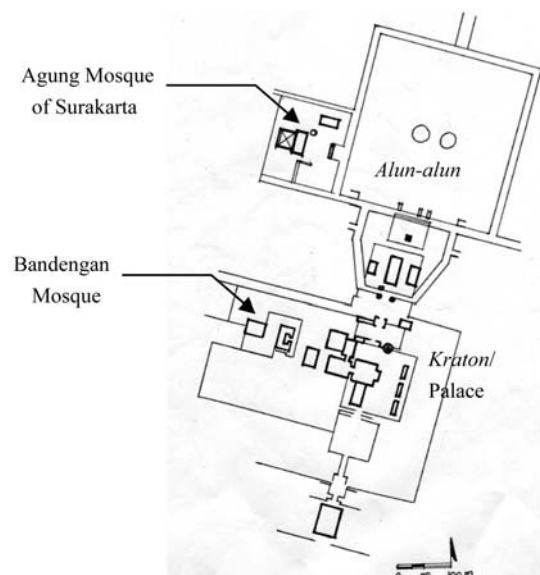


Fig.5. Location of Agung Mosque of Surakarta. West of Alun-alun, Originally from Bonnef, 1986, Drawn and Modified by Author

Panepen mosque is also well-known as a place for marriage ceremonies and located in the *keputren* (women) area. It must be used privately, because it is located inside the *kraton* (*keputren*) and in *keramat* (sacred) area.

The Banten Sultanate also built this kind of mosque, especially in *Kraton Kaibon* (palace of queen mother). The mosque was constructed of brick and it is only ruins now. However, based on size and circulation, it is an exception. In contrast to the mosques mentioned above, it is neither so small in size nor privately used. Probably, it is not only for the sultan's family and their servants.



Fig.6. Ruins of the Mosque in *Kraton Kaibon*, 2004,
Photo by Author

3-3. Community Mosque

The majority of mosques belong to the type of the community mosque existing inside the community. They are intended for praying places of the community and for *dakwah* (religious proselytizing). The location is generally inside of a community/*kampung* (village) or *pesantren* (traditional boarding Islamic school) in both city and rural area.

In the city, the sultanate built mosques inside of the community beyond/around the palace. Usually, the community around the *kraton* was high level official. Hence, the mosque was for a praying space/place for the *abdi dalem kraton* (servants of Sultanate) or soldiers, but it was generally also for the community. For example, Suranata mosque in Kudus, Surakarta, and Yogyakarta sultanate can be classified into this group. Beside for *abdi dalem kraton* and Javanese, it was said that the sultanate also supported building mosques for various communities; for examples Pecinan Tinggi Mosque (Chinese) and Pekojan Mosque (India) in Banten, and Panjunan Mosque in Cirebon (Arab), etc.

However, we should note that there is a special kind of mosques which was ordered by the sultan and located inside of the community - the so-called *pathok negoro* mosque in the area of the Kasultanan Yogyakarta Sultanate. There are five *Pathok Negoro* mosques under the Yogyakarta Sultanate.

The *Pathok Negoro* mosques were located in villages which had a status of *tanah perdikan* (special land with no tax, etc.) and were settled by the *kyai/ulama* with his *pesantren*. As Carey in his book *Babad Dipanagara an Account of the Outbreak of the Java War* (1825-1830) mentioned, *Pathok Negara* were centres for *ulama* (experts in *fiqh* (Islamic) laws) who acted as advisers of the *Pengulu* (chief religious functionary) in the religious courts. He also mentioned that before they were abolished in c. 1830, there were four *pathoks* (pillars) at both Yogyakarta and Surakarta answerable to the *Pengulu* at the centre, thus recalling the five pillars of Islam.¹¹

The *ulama* in *pathok negoro* supported the *Pengulu* at the centre in religious jurisdiction. Raffles in *History of*

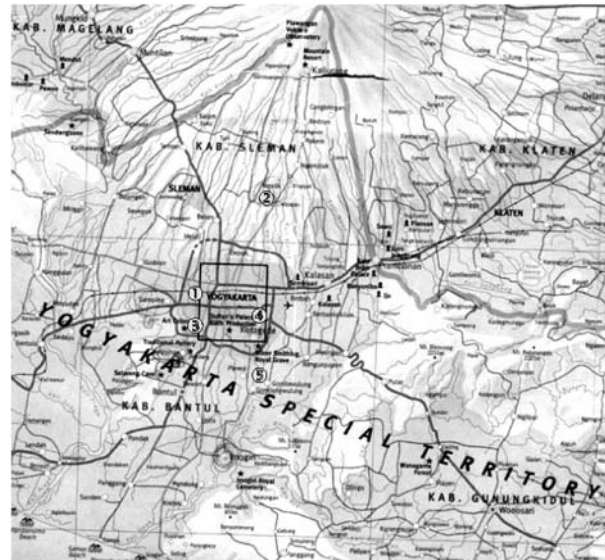
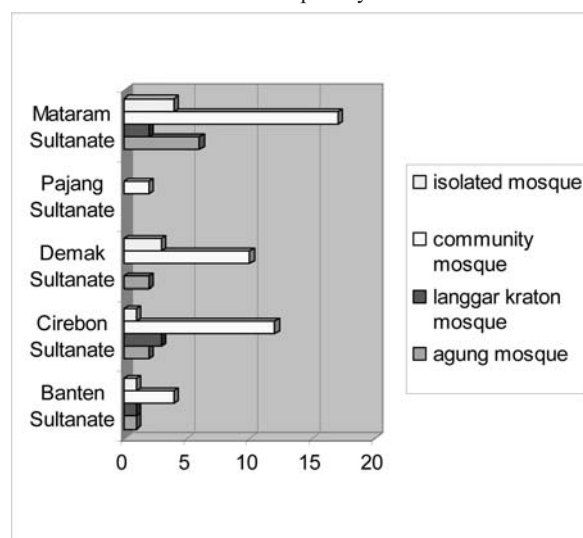


Fig. 7. Location/position of Pathok Negoro in Yogyakarta City:
1) Mlangi Mosque, 2) Ploso Kuning Mosque, 3) Dongkelan Mosque, 4) Babadan Mosque, 5) Wonokromo Mosque

Table 2. The Number of Mosques by Group

	Agung Mosque	Langgar Kraton Mosque	Community Mosque	Isolated Mosque
Banten Sultanate	1	1	4	1
Cirebon Sultanate	2	3	12	1
Demak Sultanate	2		10	3
Pajang Sultanate			2	
Mataram Sultanate	6	2	17	4
total	11	6	45	9

Table 3. The Number of Mosques by Sultanate



Java also noted that the court, at least at the seat of government, consisted of the *Panghulu*, the officiating priest of the mosque, and four individuals, also of the religious order, called *Pateh Nagari*, meaning literally the pillars or supporters of the country, to whom, after the examination of the evidence in capital offences, the point of law and decision is referred.¹²

3-4. Isolated Mosque

Probably, it was influenced by Hindu-Buddha tradition that the upland (e.g. mountain) was believed more sacred than level/plain land. Some Javanese mosques were also built and located on the slope of a mountain, hill or upland. It is also common, that the cemetery is always attached in this site near the mosque.

This type of mosque is divided into two: first, in the early development (Demak and Cirebon Sultanate in the sixteenth to seventeenth century), mosques are intended as a place/space for praying, *dakwah*, and probably also for *khalwat* (solitude/retreat). The Mosques of Sunan Giri, Sendang Duwur and Sunan Gunung Jati are regarded as examples of this group. It is said that the cemetery was expanded later but the cemetery of Mantingan mosque is an exception.

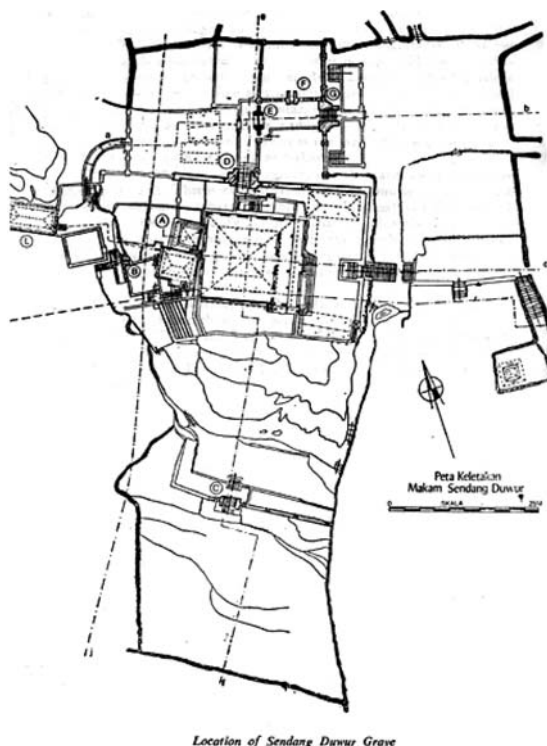


Fig.8. Location of Sendang Duwur Mosque, on the Slope of Mount, Reproduced from Uka Tjandrasasmita, 1970

The second, in Mataram Sultanate period, mosques are intended for a praying place/space for cemetery visitors. The mosque was built after the cemetery complex, and in several cases even just as a complement of the cemetery complex. It is said, influenced by Sunan Gunung Jati cemetery complex in Cirebon, Sultan Agung built a cemetery complex on upland of Girilaya, then on

the slope of mountain (Imogiri). Its mosque was built later.

Girilaya (cemetery) mosque, Banyu Sumurup mosque, *Makam* (cemetery) Bayat Mosque and Pajimatan mosque can be classified into this group. *Makam* Bayat and Pajimatan Mosque in Imogiri were built as only for complement of cemetery complex.

It is believed that Banten Sultanate also built this kind of mosque (Cikaduen mosque). Probably it was influenced by Mataram tradition, because it was built at the end of seventeenth century.

4. Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the historical setting and role of the Javanese mosque under the sultanate, the result can be summed up in the following points:

1. There are four types of mosques: *Agung* (Grand) Mosque, *Langgar Kraton* (Palace) Mosque, Community Mosque, and Isolated Mosque. It is argued that the historical setting of mosque always has a close relationship with its roles/purposes.
2. The number of *Agung* Mosques increased in the Mataram period because firstly, the shifting of court from Kotagede via other centers to Surakarta, and secondly the division of the *kraton* into several courts by VOC after *Gijanti* treaty (Surakarta and Yogyakarta sultanate) and in early nineteenth century (Mangkunegaran and Pakualaman).
3. It is argued that *Langgar Kraton* Mosque is intended to closely relate with religious activities of Sultan and sultanate family especially the woman and their servants. Because *Kraton* is believed as a source of the life, there is always no cemetery near this type of mosque.
4. Only in Yogyakarta Sultanate, there is special kind of Community Mosque called *Pathok Negero* Mosque. The mosques were constructed on special land (*tanah perdikan*) and built not only as praying place/space for community and *dakwah* (religious proselytizing), but also as a pillar (*pathok*) to support the centre (sultanate) in both politic and religion aspect.
5. There are some changes of roles especially on Isolated Mosque, between early development in coastal area (Demak and Cirebon) with Mataram in the inland of Java. In the Mataram period, the mosque was built as complement of cemetery complex. Despite almost all of Javanese mosques have cemetery complex, but in this case, cemetery is main facility and more popular than the mosque. It is popular in Java, the historical mosque has cemetery complex (except *Langgar Kraton* Mosque), then it is so-called *Masjid Makam* or *Mahsyad* (cemetery mosque).

Acknowledgments

The author is grateful to Dr. Izumida Hideo, Associate Professor at Architectural History Laboratory, Toyohashi University of Technology, for his information, discussion and comments during the writing of this paper. The author also wishes to thank Dr. Inajati Adisrijanti, Head

of Archaeological Department of Gajah Mada University (UGM) in Yogyakarta, for her information and discussion. Finally, the author would like to thank Archaeological Department (*Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala*) for the data of documentary study, and all of the people who have been interviewed by author.

Notes

- ¹ See the summary of general characteristics of the Javanese Mosque in Bambang Setia Budi, 2004, p. 189-191.
- ² See M.C. Ricklefs, 2001, p. 6.
- ³ See S.O. Robson, 1981, p. 263.
- ⁴ Three classes of persons: 1) Muslim people are from the West who have migrated to this country as merchants, 2) Chinese (T'ang people) are all men from Kuang tung (Province), Chang (chou), Ch'uan (chou) and other places; many of them follow the Muslim religion, doing penance and fasting, 3) the people of the land (Javanese), they are still heathen. See Ma Huan report in *Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan*, p. 93, ed. and transl. by Armando Cortesao.
- ⁵ As Tome Pires mentioned Pate Rodim, he is a chief pate in Java. They make him out to be head of all the lords of Java who are his friends. See Tome Pires's report in *The Suma Oriental*, p. 184.
- ⁶ *Sekaten* is a ceremony to celebrate the birth of prophet of Muhammad by playing the *gamelan* (traditional Javanese music). It is also called *garebeg* Mulud. *Gunungan* is a rice mound presented during the *garebeg* ceremony.
- ⁷ See also de Graaf, 2003, p. 114.
- ⁸ It is well-known as *langgar saka tunggal*, because the main pillar is only one in the centre of praying hall.
- ⁹ See Victor Zimmerman on article *The Kraton of Surakarta in the year 1915* in *The Kraton Selected Essays on Javanese courts*, edited by Stuart Robson, 2003.
- ¹⁰ In fact, based on interview with one of the Kraton Surakarta adviser KPA Hardjonagoro (2004), this mosque was built as replacement of ruined Suranata mosque. If the mosque was intended for temporary rest area of sultan's corpse before the corpse is sent to main grave Mataram cemetery (Imogiri), the location of the mosque is not correct. Because *kraton* was a symbol of source of life, religious ceremony for the sultan's corpse should be in outside of *kraton* complex.
- ¹¹ See P.B.R. Carey, 1981, p. 302. However, despite he mentioned that both Yogyakarta and Surakarta Sultanate have *pathok negoro*, I argue that this term is only used in Yogyakarta Sultanate. In Surakarta, it does not exist, not only the term but also the existing mosque. Obviously, there are no mosques which have same role with *Pathok Negoro* Mosque.
- ¹² See Thomas Stamford Raffles, 1965, p. 279.

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