Bali essay

? Edition: Tuesday, July 02 2013 Bali must reduce negative impact of tourism by Wasti Atmodjo on 2013-07-02 The provincial administration, together with the entire tourist industry, is required to minimize the negative effects caused by tourism activities. The tourism sector had both positive and negative impacts on the island’s economy, on the people and on the environment, said Ida Bagus Subhiksu, head of Bali Tourism Agency, in a discussion in Denpasar last weekend. Massive conversion of productive land for tourism and business purposes is among the crucial issues in Bali,” Subhiksu told Bali Daily. He further said that the land conversion was happening faster than predicted. “ The rapid construction of hotels, villas and other types of property has eaten up our rice fields, plantations, green areas and coastal regions alike,” he complained. Land conversion is also occurring to make way for residential areas since the island’s population is rocketing and has now reached close to 4 million people. Land conversion has also affected land prices in surrounding areas, which means an increase in land and property taxes,” he added. Farmers and low-income families who lived in those areas also had to pay higher land and property taxes, which was unfair, he stated. Citing an example, he said farmers living in Kerobokan, Canggu and Jimbaran had to pay the same taxes as residents living in the luxurious residences in these now-elite areas of Bali. In the interest of tightly controlling development activities on the island, the provincial administration has implemented various policies and regulations.

Subhiksu stated that 16 tourism zones had been designated: Nusa Dua, Kuta, Tuban, Sanur, Ubud, Lebih, Soka, Kalibukbuk, Batuampar, Candikusuma, Perancak, Nusa Penida, Candidasa, Ujung, Tulamben and Air

Sanih. There are also five special tourist destinations: Gilimanuk and Palasari in Jembrana, Tanah Lot in Tabanan, Pancasari in Buleleng and Kintamani in Bangli. Bagus Sudibya, a prominent tourism practitioner, said that the moratorium on tourism development in southern Bali (Badung, Denpasar and Gianyar) had not worked at all. There was no commitment at all from the government and investors, or other parties, to abide by the moratorium," Sudibya said, adding that construction of small and large tourism accommodations continued to flourish. " The provincial and regional administrations, tourist industry and local communities must work together and strongly commit to sustainable development for the good of Bali and its people," reminded Sudibya. Sudibya also criticized the use of revenue generated by tourism taxes, which he said was not distributed evenly to all regencies in Bali. Bali contributes more than 30 percent of national tourism revenue. Revenue from tourism must be used to improve living conditions, the environment and culture," Sudibya added. http://www. thejakartapost. com/bali-daily/2013-07-02/bali-must-reduce-negative-impact-tourism. html Bali must reduce negative impact of tourism Published 09/07/2013 The provincial administration, together with the entire tourist industry, is required to minimize the negative effects caused by tourism activities. Photo: news. co. au

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Bangli. Bagus Sudibya, a prominent tourism practitioner, said that the moratorium on tourism development in southern Bali (Badung, Denpasar and Gianyar) had not worked at all. There was no commitment at all from the government and investors, or other parties, to abide by the moratorium," Sudibya said, adding that construction of small and large tourism accommodations continued to flourish. " The provincial and regional administrations, tourist industry and local communities must work together and strongly commit to sustainable development for the good of Bali and its people," reminded Sudibya. Sudibya also criticized the use of revenue generated by tourism taxes, which he said was not distributed evenly to all regencies in Bali. Bali contributes more than 30 percent of national tourism revenue. Revenue from tourism must be used to improve living conditions, the environment and culture," Sudibya added. http://www. thejakartapost. com/bali-daily/2013-07-02/bali-must-reduce-negative-impact-tourism. html Reading urban Bali: untold history, unwanted urbanism < Amanda Achmadi Keywords: Urban Bali, urban history, urban buut environments, urban development, Denpasar Abstract: This paper is an exploration of sodo-spatial characteristics of urban Bali through a reading of the island's historical urban architectural landscape.

Focusing on the island province's capital dty of Denpasar, it considers the interplay between formations of urban built environments and urban sodal dynamics. These dynamics have been largely unexposed to tourists, thus less constrained by the dominant twentieth-century framing of an exotic Balinese otherness. The paper revisits studies and visual recordings of Denpasar during precolonial and colonial times and traces the physical and

sodal characteristics of the dty’s urban environments. The paper concludes that, although the dty’s urban orm and architectural landscape give us clues to its long standing urbanism, the marginalisation of the urban within the twentieth-century colonial and orientalist discourses of traditional Bali has lead to the abandonment of this urbanism in today’s Denpasar. Introduction: locating urban Bali In an island dotninated by cultural toutism industry, studies and pubMc discourses on the topic of built environment in Bali have largely evolved around the quesdon of how to protect the island’s tradidonal architecture from the perceived threat of modernisadon.

Accounts of indigenous communit}’ and sociopolidcal dynamics of the island have been primarily directed towards rural Bali, as the villages have been generally perceived as the ‘ tradidonal’ setdng where the pure form of indigenous built environment can be observed. In such a constrained field of intetptetadon, historical and contemporary urban built Remew of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs, vol. 44, no. 2 (2010), pp. 149-178. 150 Achmadi nvironments outside the ‘ villages’ — the island’s classical capital centres and the colonial and postcolonial administrative centres of the island province — remain largely overlooked. At the same time, these urban realms are also the most dramatically changing environments which compensate for the calcifying conservation of the ‘ villages’ through the course of the twentieth century’s political history and development of cultural tourism industry in BaH (Schulte Nordholt 1995; Vickers 1989; Picard 1995).

Urban Bali accommodates the island’s broader socio-economic dynamics such as rapid population growth and internal migration (Sudira 2009), the contestations of power relations between the traditional elites (Schulte

Nordholt 2005) and the rising new middle classes in the island's urbanised contexts (Wijaya 2000; Suwitha 2003; Lan 2005). For tourists and returning visitors, Bau in the twenty-first century is an island increasingly dominated by growing sprawl and unplanned urban environment.

Rapid construction of utilitarian shophouses, gated private housing estates, and utilit}' workshops along the main streets of Denpasar and the island's regional arteries, and the rapid rate of sporadic conversion of rice fields to accommodate this urban development are typically framed as sad evidences of ' a paradise lost' (The Age 2011). For Denpasar's indigenous communities and the long-standing multi-ethnic migrants who have called this city their home, urbanisation is both despised and essentially needed.

On the one hand urbanisation and the emergence of a range of urban civic functions and trade-based industry in colonial and post-colonial times have given the locals opportunities to pursue higher education as well as alternative work opportunities which are not available in their rural home (Parker 2000). These regional towns and cities are the place where the local population can acquire modern competency.

This enables them to joins the workforce of the other sectors of the island's post-agricultural economy, outside the restricting tourism industry that has mostiy privileged the southern parts of the island which have been widely conceived to be the more exotic and iconic places in exemplifying the ' real' Bali. This also means escaping from the industry that has placed the locals primarily as the exotic objects of tourism, rather than as its stakeholders and active participants (Picard 1995). On Reading urban Bali 151 he other hand,

urbanisadon and its immediate effects on the physical environments are perceived as threat against the exodc appearance of tradidonal Bau, a pivotal element for the funcdoning of tourism industry in BaH {Bali Post 2004). Both percepdons place cides and urbanisadon as phenomena seemingly detached from, and foreign to, the ‘ real’ and traditional Bali. Population growth, rural-urban migradon, and social mobility are three major forces underlying the island’s rapid urbanisadon, and in this sense they are also conceived as phenomena detached from the realm of the conceived real BaU.

The marginalisadon of the urban as un-BaU is a recurring theme through the twendeth century. Miguel Covarrubias (1937) began his renowned travel account of Bali by describing his dismay upon encountering the port cit)’ of Singaraja and the colonial town of Denpasar. In his words. In the great ‘ alun-alun,’ the playground of Den Pasar, stolid Hollanders play tennis and drink beer near young Baunese pla)’ing soccer in striped sweatshirts … All around the square are the home of leading white residents, neat and bourgeois, small bungalows …

The business street leading to the market consists … of the same squalid shops, … a smau Chinese hotel, and curio stalls with mass producdon ‘ Balinese art,’ all kept by the same Chinese compradors, the same bearded Bombay merchants with eagle-like beaks … After the first bewildering days, when we had recovered from the shock of such distressing impressions as these, we began to ‘ discover’ the real BaU … we found the t)pical mud walls of the compounds, the thatched gates protected by mysterious signs…

These were the proper setdng for the lithe brown-skinned women returning from market with baskets of fruit on their heads and for the men in loincloths sitdng in groups around the baskets in which they kept their favourite fighdng cocks (Covarrubias 1937: xx). As the row of compounds with mud waUs and the thatched gates were perceived as the proper setdng for the ‘ real BaU’, the cides and their physical and social fabric were perceived as signs of a paradise lost.

In a more recent observadon, Don Townsend describes contemporary Denpasar as a site where ‘[pjrofanit)’ succeeds’, where ‘ a process of physical, economic and psychological evasion of an unacceptable and culturaUy offensive way of urban living’ were conceived to have 152 Achmadi profound effects on the conceived tradidonal and sacred culture of BaH (1994: 229-30). Here, the concepdon of BaHnese culture as a sacred phenomenon so profoundly associated with the interpretadon of Hindu reHgion and customary law, has produced a framing of city as a site of profanit)- where urban Hving is seen as phenomenon external and offensive to this culture.

The encounter with the cides in BaH condnues to offer the observers an opportunity to demarcate and spadaHse what is and what is not the ‘ real BaH’. Recent studies have examined how twendeth-century colonial, orientaHst, and travel discourses on BaH have constructed, perpetuated, and objecdfied the nodon of ‘ real BaH’ through the twendeth century (see Picard 1996; Vickers 1999; Schulte Nordholt 1996; Schulte Nordholt 1999). Through the interweaving of these discourses and the unfolding commodificarion of

otherness through cultural tourism industry, the imagined BaH has gained and produced its own reaHdes.

I have argued elsewhere that wridngs on Bali's architecture and the construcdon of built environments in twendeth-century BaH are deeply embedded within this process, and that they play a strategic role in giving this imagined otherness a convincing set of materiaHsed reaHdes and counter reaHdes (Achmadi 2008; Achmadi 2004). As Henk Schulte Nordhold (1986; 1996) describes, the colonial invendon of tradidonal BaH involves a transformadon of a shifdng poHdcal landscape into a fixed order.

In an architectural sense, this involves the framing of a producdve field of spadal representadons of power reladons and producdve built environments as an aesthedc and highly ordered field of exodc architectural composidons and building arts. The marginaHsadon of the architectural dynamic of urban Bali as ' un-BaH' and the subsequent neglect of the island's urban history and urban development should also be seen as a by-product of this process.

As colotiial and travelHng discourses formulate and codify the nodon of tradidonal BaH by selecdvely framing the most icotiic feature of the Hindu Balinese religion and customary law and by commodifying the visuaHy extravagance otherness of the island's art and architecture, the urban and its complex socio-cultural dynamic are consistendy framed as the and-thesis of such a BaH. Against the famiHar mixture and hybrid formadons of a cit)-, the nodon of the real Reading urban Bali 153 BaU and its otherness gain its urgency and focus.

In examining the rise of local modernit}’ in Bali in the 1920s, Schulte Nordholt (2000) points to the way modernit}’ and tradidon mutuaUy consdtute each other on the island, ‘[i]t was … modern urban Ufe that invented the tradidonal viUage and produced the memory of the good old rural way of Ufe that belong to the past’ (2000: 73). Expanding this observadon further, I argue that the twendeth-century invendon and commodificadon of tradidonal BaU have subsequendy produced a disdnct concepdon of the island’s urbanit}’, one that posidons urban built environments and urban condirions as the unwanted dynamics and un-BaUnese phenomena.

The late nineteenth-century royal centres in BaU, such as Badung, Gianyar, Klungkung, and Mengwi (each the poUdcal centre of BaUnese Hindu Majapahit kingdoms of the same name) are mainly described in most studies on the poUdcal history of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century BaU as court setdements. In both travel and scholarly discourses these setdements and their physical features are widely presented and interpreted as exempUfying desa or viUage environments, and as such, these royal centres and their socio-poUdcal characterisdcs have not been specificaUy interpreted as either rural or urban.

A different scholarly tradidon can be found in deaUng with the royal capitals in Java of the same period. An example of this tradidon is a study by HJ van Mook on Kota Gede (in Wertheim 1958: 277-306). In this pioneering study, undertaken in the first decades of the twendeth century, van Mook revisited the remaining physical traces of the royal capital and the royal palace complex (kraton) of the seventeenth century Islamic Mataram kingdom and

interpreted the socio-economic system which governed the town’s civic funcdon, communaUt}’, and land use.

He proposed that the interpretadon of Kota Gede could lead us to understand the characters of an indigenous pre-colonial Javanese town (in Wertheim 1958: 277). By idendfying the tuncdon of the settlement as a centre for ritual and secular Ufe of the various classes of the cidzens of the royal kingdom, and by idendfying the complex reguladon of land use, the central role of and Uvely enterprise of the market, as weU as the ordering of civic and ritual roles and cidzenship in the waUed court town of Kota Gede, van Mook 154 Achmadi ranslated the Weberian nodon of cit}’ in the interpretadon of toyal Javanese town. ^ Physical traces of the court town idendfied in his study include: the territorial division of the setdement according to the four social categories of its populadon; the use of waUed-in dwelUng compound typology composed of building structures (pendopo) in the inner and mote privileged sections of the town, mainly those surrounding the old royal palace complex (kratori); the presence of market (pasar), main square {alun-alun) and the royal burial site as the key landmarks of the court setdement.

Some of these elements, as the subsequent secdons of the paper describe, are also featured in the formadon of the royal palaces of the Hindu kingdoms in BaU. Regardless of the lack of focus on the urban condidons of the royal centres of Hindu BaU, studies on the island’s pte-colonial poUdcal history provide us with numerous entry points to build an interpretadon of the pre-colonial urban condidons on the island.

They account socio-economic and poUdcal funcdons operadng in these royal courts and occasionally describe particular elements of built envitonments that accommodate these funcdons. ^ These analyses signal the urban condidons and characterisdcs of BaU's royal court setdements. Revisidng and considering the traces of urbanism in these studies, this paper seeks to estabUsh an urban focus in the reading of Balinese royal setdements.

Focusing on the southern BaUnese royal court, I trace the urban architectural characterisdcs of the royal centre of the Badung kingdom as a centre of both dtual and secular Ufe, showing how the royal centre operated as a meedng place (between the ruUng court and its noble supporters), between the court and the surrounding banjar (a unit of customary neighbourhood) that foUowed the court's ritual patronage, and between traders and theit cUents and buyers.

While these socio-poUdcal teladonships have been described in great detau (see Wiener 1995, Schulte Nordholt 1996, Geertz 1983), the physical fotmadons of the urban environment in which and through which these reladonships were performed are often only dealt with insofar as they further explain the observed poUdcal dynamics. Thus the strategic role of spadal organisadon of urban environments in the unfolding poUdcal history of BaU, and the process by which power reladons were enacted and negodated physicaUy through Reading urban Baii 155 rrangement of space, buildings and precinct, by which power relations were subsequendy normaHsed into a seemingly objective reaHty, are yet to be examined as a topic in itself In most early visual accounts of the island's built environments (Nieuwenkamp 1910, Krause 1920, Moojen 1926, Covarrubias 1937), records of BaH's built

environments were primarily focused on the extravagant and monumental Hindu Majapahit architectural structures (such as the royal palaces or puri agung,* the Hindu Majapahit temples and older archaeological sites) and the rustic appearance of the dwelHng compounds of the peasants (Achmadi 2008).

While we can find numerous illustrations and photographs of iconic architectural structures from this era, rarely do we encounter an exploration of how these structures were built and used in relation to their surrounding rural or urban settiements. Most accounts of the island's built environments from this period tend to present each of these structures as an object in itself, as an example of ' BaHnese' building arts and traditions.

While producing valuable recordings of iconic architectural sites of early twentieth century BaH, these early accounts provide us with Hmited materials to explore the broader socio-spatial dynamic of the island's urban and rural built environments. Studies by Andreas Tarnutzer (1995, 1993) and NathaHe Lancret (1997) on Denpasar are pioneering in placing urbanisation and urban history as a long overdue focus in BaHnese studies. Tarnutzer traces the urban development of Denpasar from ts pre-colonial origin up to its present-day condition by focusing on the structural changes that accompanied this long-standing urbanisation. Tarnutzer highHghts the importance of migration into the cit}' through its history as a factor that has driven the rapid expansion of urban setdement. Taking migration into account, Denpasar needs to be understood as a settier cit}'. But in the context of the island's particular mode of identity poHtics, there is Hmited space to launch a debate on the notion of settier cit}' in BaH.

Instead, migrants are persistentiy categorised and treated as a non-permanent population of the cit}’, regardless of how long they have been settied in tiie city (see Sudira 2009). The official account of cultural identit}’ of Denpasar today is still profoundly 156 Achmadi dominated by the concepdon of cultural authendcity as being hinged on the existence of the homogenous indigenous community of Denpasar, irrespecdve of the current demographic composidon of the city’s populadon.

This concepdon is openly declared in the city authority’s official mission to culdvate an urban idendty based on BaUnese culture. ‘ NathaUe Lancret (1997) examines the transformadon of BaUnese dwelUngs in late twendeth century Denpasar and argues that this transformadon represents the extent of rapid social change experienced by the indigenous community of the city. This study seeks to complement Tarnutzer’s and Lancret’s exploradons by tracing further the physical setdngs of urban development of Denpasar through history.

By revisidng and interpredng segments of the urban landscape of pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial Denpasar, this paper aims to trace the physical representadons of urban history of BaU. The foUowing secdons of this paper are organised as a chronological exploradon of urbanism in early twendeth century BaU. The first secdon considers urbanism and urban forms of Badung, the late pre- colonial era of the capital of Badung kingdom.

The second secdon considers how the royal centre was transformed into a colonial town when the cit)’ assumed its role as the colonial administradve centre of south BaU. The concluding secdon contrasts the urban condidons of

early twendeth century Denpasar with the repressed urbanism in the cit)’ today. The rise of the royal centre and Badung settlement: pre- coioniai Denpasar in the late nineteenth century As the capital of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Hindu Majapahit kingdom of Badung, Denpasar was originaUy known as Badung.

The rise of Badung as a civic and poUdcal centre in the southern region of BaU was inidated by the rebelUon led by I Gusd Ngurah Sakti Pemecutan against the more estabUshed Mengwi kingdom of central BaU in the mid eighteenth century (Agung 1986: 35). U I Gusd Ngurah Sakd Pemecutan was a leading figure from the noble clan Pemecutan, who occupied a large family dweUing courtyard on the western bank of the Badung River. The residendal court of the Reading urban Baii 157 ruHng noble clan of Pemecutan was the central point of the settlement.

The growth of the court and its noble supporter base accompanied the rise of the kingdom to its peak in the middle of the ninteenth century (Tarnutzer 1995: 250). The expansion and poHdcal manoeuvres of the clan of Pemecutan also drove the expansion of the setdement of Badung from its original locadon along the western bank of the Badung River (Tukad Badung) towards the eastern bank and subsequendy to the north and to the south towards Kuta (originaHy Figure 1. Badung in 1906 ? mage courtesy of KITLl) 158 Achmadi Badung’s coastal trading place) (figure 1). It also became the early twendeth-century royal centre of Badung.

The construcdon of new noble courts and their adjacent pubUc square, reUgious structures and civic faciUdes such as market space, community

haU and rice storage pavilion marked each stage of the poUdcal manoeuvres within the ruUng court. The core of the Badung court setdement in its early days was the intersecdon where the residendal palace of the Pemecutan clan (Puri Pemecutan) was located (no. 26 in figure 1). Standing on the northwestern quadrant of the intersecdon, the palace’s prominent posidon was further accentuated by a smaU pubUc square on the eastern side. Within this square, pubUc markets and pubUc gatherings were held.

An open paviUon for muld-purposes use (wantilan) was situated in one corner of the square to accommodate civic gatherings, including cockfights and occasional dance and musical performance. The wide main street of Badung provided the north and south axis of the setdement; it ran almost paraUel to the adjacent Badung River, allowing easy and equal access to the river. Along the main street to the north and the south, the dweUing compounds of the lesser noble families were located. The commoners of Badung, divided into around 40 banjar communides, occupied the space behind and around the alace and the noble compounds (Tarnutzer 1995: 250). The commoners’ dwellings were accessible from the secondary streets branching out from the main street and the aUe}’ways (figures 1 and 5). The first expansion of Denpasar involved a construcdon of two court palaces to the north and northeast across the Badung River (Agung 1986). FoUowing the sudden death of I Gusd Ngurah Sakd Pemecutan, Badung was divided into three territories, each to be controUed by his three sons. The oldest son, I Gusd Ngurah Made Pemecutan resided in Puri Pemecutan (no. 26 in figure 1), whUe his younger brothers resided in Puri Satria (no. 5 in figure 1), across the Badung River to the north, and Puri Kesiman, further east towards Sanur.

Arrangements similar to those of Puri Pemecutan were repeated in Puri Satria and Puri Kesiman: a large square where weekly market was held, beU tower (kul-kul), and viUage haU (wantilan) were placed around the main royal compound and the compounds of nobles Uned Reading urban Bali 159 the main streets. The construcdon of two new noble courts of Kesiman and Satria, along with theit separate civic centres, midgated the possibiUt}’ of conflict between the sons of the ruUng Pemecutan king and their immediate foUowers.

A reconsoUdadon of the Badung kingdom was undertaken by the thitd generadon of the Pemecutan clan. This poUdcal move was again marked by a construcdon of a new poUdcal centre, a new royal compound. The son of I Gusd Ngurah Made Pemecutan, 1 Gusd Ngurah Gde Denpasat contructed a new palace, Puri Denpasar, actoss the Badung River from the cote Pemecutan court (no. 1 in figure 1). Ftom Puri Denpasat, he and his successor ruled the kingdom and its capital city until the puputan of 1906. The territory of the Badung kingdom condnues to be contested by the three ptincely courts, Pemecutan, Sattia, and Kesiman.

The poUdcal expansion of Badung through construcdon of new royal courts was consistently accompanied by the construcdon of communal faciUdes such as market square, pubUc gathering haU, rice barn, and beU tower. In this sense, the poUdcal expansion of the Pemecutan court was accompanied by an expansion of the civic role of Badung as an urban setdement. At its peak, the kingdom’s royal centre offered its populadon of 2000 (Tarnutzer 1995: 251) a range of pubUc spaces faciUtadng, not only the ritual Ufe of the Hindu BaUnese communit}’ as documented by many studies, but also other

socio- economic exchanges involving the populadon of the urrounding region of South BaU. The grid pattetn of the road network in early twendeth century Badung, which had evolved from the mote common Unear pattetn t}’picaUy exempUfied in tutal setdement, further indicated the importance of Badung as civic and poUdcal centre for southern BaU, with regional roads connecdng the capital with Kuta, Sanur, Kapal and Tabanan. The abundance of pubUc structures and buildings in Badung demonstrated the wealth and capacit}’ of the ruUng Pemecutan clan in faciUtadng both the titual and everyday Ufe of its subjects.

The most thorough visual accounts of Badung, itonicaUy, were produced during the event that brought an end to the teign of the toyal family of the southern kingdom (Creese and others 2006). In 1906, the colonial army entered the capital and was met by a fierce resistance 160 Achmadi from the population of Badung and the army of the royal family. The event ended with a puputan, a mass suicide procession carried through by the royal famiHes, their supporters, and the people of Badung as they marched against the colonial army whue stabbing themselves to death. The puputan culminated on the market square outside the Denpasar palace.

The event was documented in HM van Weede’s collection of photographs and travel writing (1908) and by WOJ Nieuwenkamp through his drawings (1910). An affluent tourist, van Weede had been traveHng through the Netherlands Indies after visiting British India (Creese and others 2008: xiv). Gaining permission to join the miHtary mission and armed with his camera, pen and curiosit}’, he documented the event in detail and took 154 pictures depicting the movement of the colonial army into the cit}’ and the tragic

aftermath on the streets of Badung and the squares in front of the Pemecutan and Denpasar Palaces.

His account of the event was pubHshed in 1908. Nieuwenkamp, an artist who knew Bali weu, also documented the burnt capital through his sketches (1910). While the focus of their recordings was the unfolding of the tragic event, their photographs and drawings allow us to gHmpse the physical and spatial dimensions of the royal centre. Van Weede’s photographs bring into view the grand scale of the pubHc space and noble courts of Denpasar (figures 2, 3, 4 and 5). The main streets of Denpasar were wide and enclosed by the walls of the noble dwelHng compounds.

The streets are mostiy empty from building structures aside from the appearance of the gates of the compounds occasionally break the continuation of the walls. A distinct urban feature of the street was an open paviHon occasionally placed Figure 2. Street in Kesiman, Badung 1906 Figure 3. Street in Taensiat, Badung 1906 (Image courtesy of KITLV) (Image courtesy of KITU-J Reading urban Bali 161 Figure 4. Wantilan in Kesiman, Badung Figure 5. Alley leading to peasant quarters, 1906 (Image courtesy of KITLy) Badung 1906 (Image courtesy of KITLV) along the street aUowing smaU-scale pubUc gatherings to take place ~ in various locadons (figure 3).

TaU mature trees Uned the streets, where the occasional silhouette of banyan trees marked the more prominent part of the setdement, such as the intersecdon and square in front of the Denpasar and Pemecutan palaces. The generous space of the streets and the minimum visual interacdon between the enclosed compounds and the street indicated a clear separadon between

the pubUc and private realms. In this scale, the streets appeared as a condnuous open space instead of merely funcdoning as circuladon.

The width of the street and the clear visual and physical separation between the dweUing space and the surrounding pubUc realm made the street space a suitable setdng in which to conduct large scale ceremonial processions. For a setdement of 2000 inhabitants (not including the populadon of Badung’s port setdements, Kuta and Sanur, in the south and the east) this involved the parade of a large number of people through the capital. The scale of the street, which is even wider than any comparable space in today’s Denpasar, strategicaUy and powerfuUy demonstrated the kingdom’s capacit)’ to hold and faciUtate large-scale rituals and ceremonies.

The grid network of the setdement streets also reflected a careful configuradon which enabled effordess mobUity through the setdement. In contrast to the grand empdness that occupied these wide setdement streets, the square in front of the Denpasar Palace, and the noble houses of Puri Kesiman and Puri Pemecutan, was a much more animated space (figures 6 and 7). With its decorated enclosure, towering gates and massive waUs, the palace complex was presented prominendy and monumentaUy as the centrepiece of this square. At 162 Achmadi Figure 6.

Rice granary with the market square and the Denpasar palace behind from Kieuwenkamp 1910: 102 •4% Figure 7. The scene shortly after the puputan of 1906 with the Denpasar palace and the market square behind (Image courtesy of KTTLl’^) the southwestern corner of the first courtyard (Jeroning Ancak Saji) of the royal compound, an elevated and highly decorated

paviHon stands proudly (panggungan), from which the royal family and the king regularly observed pubHc Hfe and the acdvides of their subjects. A large open wooden paviHon with a muld-level roof, a wantilan, was placed across Reading urban Bali 163 he palace. A communal rice barn was situated on the other side of the square (figure 6). A weekly market was held in the square while the regular daily market was situated between tbe Pemecutan and Denpasar courts by the river of Badung (Tarnutzer 1995: 250), where Denpasar’s Kumbasari and Badung markets are now located. Equipped with a range of communal faciUdes in contrast to the restrained empdness of the streetscapes of the other quarters of the setdement, the squares of Badung were specificaUy plotted as an acdve communal space for the members of around 40 banjar that sbape Badung.

The square contained a range of physical pubUc structures that accommodated and represented the funcdoning of a certain socio-poUdcal coUecdvity within the royal centre. It was an example of a highly ordered indigenous urban district. Badung in early twendeth century was already an important trade centre of south BaU. In addidonal to the weekly market held in the palace square, a number of permanent market spaces were located along the street connecdng the Denpasar and Pemecutan courts. Shops belonging to Chinese traders was centraUy located to the west of the Puri Denpasar square.

As a civic centre, the capital Badung was also home to a district law enforcer (jaksd), several market squares, temples, and communal rice storages (lumbung) (Tarnutzer 1995: 249). Migrant roles were incorporated within the setdement, where Chinese traders occupied a disdnct labour market in the

city through their retail shops seUing households items and agricultural products. Iconic and decorated viUage beU tower (kul-kul) were strategically located nearby the main squares of Pemecutan, Denpasar, and Kesiman as reptesentadons of each court’s communaUt}’.

The regional street network surrounding pre-colonial Badung indicated the setdement’s important role as a regional poUdcal and trade centre. The setdement was a crossing point between Kuta, Sanur, Kapal and Kesiman, aU key setdements in southern region of BaU. Badung in pre-colonial dmes was a royal centre with a highl}- ordered arrangement of pubUc and private realms and districts, exempUfying what the architectural historian Spiro Kostof proposes as the underlying socio-poUdcal division which characterises urban formadon through history (1992: 71-121).

Social hierarchy was 164 Achmadi physically translated through the placement of royal and noble residences along the main roads and the peasant dweUings hidden away at the back of these residences. Architectural composidon and ornamentadon further disdnguished the upper caste’s dweUings from those of the peasants. The poUdcal ambidon of the kingdom was further demonstrated through the grid network of wide stteets of the setdements which signaled the kingdom’s abiUt}’ to draw and organise large scale mass reUgious cetemonies.

Read alongside CUfford Geertz’s intetrpretadon of the nineteenth centtary theatre state of BaU (1983), these dramadc streetscapes were the stage where the Badung kingdom demonstrated its abiUty as the titual patron within the region. Aside from the ritual aspect of the configuring of the

setdement, Badung’s abundant civic spaces and amenides, as demonsttated by the numerous markets it hosted, further affirmed the kingdom’s dominadon in the region.

Equipped with these diverse amenides and elaborated street network, the setdement was able to embrace foreign trading parmers and migrant workers. In the early twendeth centuty, these urban condidons made the setdement and the Denpasar market square a suitable locadon from which the colonial government assumed its full control of the island. Denpasar in the 1930s: the making of the colonial administrative centre of south Bali The 1906 colonial miUtaty expedidon to South Bali and the ensuing puputan brought an end to Badung kingdom. With Badung’s poUdcal centres.

Pud Denpasat, Puri Pemecutan and the neighboring noble dweUing compounds badly damaged and burned during the event, the physical transfotmadon of the setdement into a colonial town soon began at the heart of the royal centre. With its urban characterisdcs and strategic posidoning within the broadet context of the setdement, it was not a random decision that the colonial government chose the site of Puri Denpasar and its market square as the focus of transformadon of the setdement into the colonial administradve centre of south BaU. When Covarrubias arrived in the cit}’ in the early 1930s, he ncountered a typical utban centre of a colonial town as commonly found in Java: a large open square {alun-alun) surrounded by free-standing bungalows painted in white with pitched terracotta tiled roofs. Reading urban Baii 165 Figure 8. Denpasar in 1930 (Map courtesy of KITU) This transformation involved a radical re-ordering of the civic centre and residential development of the settiements. Comparing the 1908 map of

Badung (figure 1) with the 1930 map of Denpasar (figure 8), the grid street netu’ork of the colonial town maintained the pattern which was already estabHshed at the time of the Badung kingdom.

The alun-alun of Denpasar (no. 2 in figure 8) was an extension of the Denpasar market square (no. 2 in figure 1). Almost nine times the size of the old square, the new square was created by demoHshing the row of noble dweHings to the south of Puri Denpasar. On the southern half of the site of the Puri now stood the house of the assistant resident of south BaH, a clear demonstration of the presence of a new poHtical rule in the region. On the northern half of the site, the first tourist accommodation in south BaH, the BaH Hotel, was built in art deco architecture.

The large banyan tree, still standing today, is the last 166 Achmadi remaining element of the Puri Denpasar. Framing the square were office buildings of wholesaler trading and shipping companies along the western and southern edge, whUe a cUverse range of civic amenities such as tax commissioner, smaU medical cUnic, poUce stadon, post office and European social club Uned the southern and northeastern edges. Several tennis courts could be found in the alun-alun direcdy opposite of the house of the Assistant Resident.

A BaU ethnographic museum, designed by German architect Curt Grundler under the guidance of the Assistant Resident of South BaU and the Denpasar tradidonal architects {undagi) I Gusd Ketut Rai and I Gusd Ketut Gede Kandel, was buUt between 1915 to 1920 on the east side of the alun- alun (Sutaba 2009, Wiradharma 2011). The Denpasar square remained the urban

centre of the setdement, but now serving the colonial society under the patronage of the Assistant Resident of South BaU. Inspired by the architecture of Puri Denpasar, the museum project was commissioned by the Assistant Resident as an attempt to ‘ save’ and restore the local culture of he island (Tarnutzer 1995: 257). The museum was also the first building commissioned by the colonial government in Denpasar to be constructed according to the classical architecture of the Badung kingdom. The adopdon of indigenous architectural language within the construcdon of the museum reflected the major shift in the atdtude of the colonial government towards the island’s incUgenous culture in the midst of rising awareness of nationalism among the growingly urbanised nadve populadon on the island (see Vickers 2000; Vickers 2005; Schulte Nordholt 2000).

During the same period of dme, Puri Pemecutan was rebuUt by the dynasty’s surviving members. This dme it was placed in the more sacred locadon, the north-eastern quadrant of the Pemecutan intersecdon, mimicking the placement of the royal Puri Denpasar in late 19th century (Blackwood 1970: 105). While the construcdon of the museum mimicked the physical appearance of the destroyed Puri Denpasar, the rebuUding of Puri Pemecutan in the new locadon signaled a symboUcal return of the royal court of Badung.

The two projects, despite their similar architectural appearances, exempUfied two different poUdcal agendas in the use of indigenous architecture in colonial Denpasar. The museum buUding signaUed the role of the colonial government in Reading urban Baii 167 safeguarding the local culture, while the reconstruction of the old court signalled the continuing

presence of the royal family in the setdement. Aside from the radical transformation of the poHtical centre of Badung, the development of housing was a significant component of urban expansion of Denpasar in early twentieth century.

Rapid population growth, due to the migration of other BaHnese, as well as Javanese, Chinese, and Arabic traders was the underlying force for the scale of housing development in the cit)' and its subsequent social transformation (Tarnutzer 1995, Setiawan 1992). The physical representation of this process was the rapid expansion of the settiement and densification of its existing urban housing clusters. A different architectural language and building typology was used in the transformation of the surrounding neighborhood of the alun-alun as the cit)' attempted to house its new and growing urban population.

The areas to the west, south and northeast of the alun-alun, originally rice fields and forest, were cleared and developed into European quarters with free-standing villas of different sizes lining the streets. Some of these smaH units were used by native civil servants, usually Javanese of noble origins, who had been relocated to Denpasar from Singaraja or other colonial towns in Java as part of the estabHshment of colonial administration in the region (Tarnutzer 1995: 258).

The rising number of Chinese and Arab retailers (a mixture of South Asian and Middle Eastern traders), who were important trading partners of the colonial wholesaler trading companies, settied in the area towards the west of the alun-alun, along the street where the two traditional Badung markets

were situated. Behind the street and further towards the north and the west, the local communities of Pemecutan and Satria resided. The indigenous t)’pology of the multi- paviHon compound was largely maintained here, although renovations and extensions were undertaken to meet the requirement of the growing communities (Setiawan 1992; Lancret 1997).

The distribution of housing areas in Denpasar of the 1930s was based on ethnic categories used by the colonial government at the time and seems to reflect the theory of race segregation of colonial urban environments. ** Although recent studies (Colombijn 2010; Dick 2002) have argued against this theory and presented evidence of the 166 Achmadi interplay between racial and class segregadon in case studies of colonial urban setdements, the condidon in Denpasar seems to support the theory.

Not only was there a clear territoriaUsadon of urban clusters based on race, but these clusters were further cUsdnguished from one another through their differing types of building. A spacious free-standing viUa or bungalow was the common type in the European area. Occupying a smaller lot of land, the foreign Asian trader areas — that is, the Chinese area to the north of today’s Jalan Gajah Mada and the Arab area to the south, today’s Jalan Sulawesi — were built as rows of attached two-storey shophouses. These two areas were far more densely populated than the European and nadve areas.

MeanwhUe, the low-rise, muld-paviUon courtyard was sdU the prevalent type of dwelUng adopted by the BaUnese community. Each of these different types contributed to the disdnct ethnic character od their associated quarters. With mixed-use funcdon, high populadon density and direct

interacdons with the street, the Chinese and Arab quarters funcdoned as Uvely urban precincts. Private and pubUc realms intermingled effordessly in these locadons. In contrast, the European suburb and the BaUnese area showed a clear separadon between pubUc space and the private residendal area.

It should not be assumed, however, that these ethnicaUy differendated urban precincts led to a racial segmentadon or social division in the urban Ufe and urban environments of colonial Denpasar. Except for the European quarters, none of the other quarters were physicaUy isolated or sociaUy detached from the other. The Arab quarter, the Chinese quarter, and the BaUnese quarter, in pardcular Banjar Senggowan, shared a range of civic amenides and their co- existence was translated through a dense network of streets that connected the three residendal quarters.

The shophouses in both the Arab and Chinese quarters were accessible from the front and the back (figure 9), meaning that the shophouses have two acdve facades, the shopfront towards the street and the housefront at the rear towards the Banjar Senggowan situated within the urban block. ‘ The inhabitants of the three quarters also shared and inhabited pubUc spaces within and surrounding the area, namely the market square and the night market held along the market street (Agung 1986; Wayan 2000). Reading urban Bali 169 Figure 9. Face to face: the Arab quarter and the pillage temple of Banjar Senggowan.

Photograph by the author. SociaHy, interacdons between migrants and local Denpasar populadon took place through marriage and pardcipadon in the

indigenous neighbourhood organisadon (banjar) (Tarnutzer 1995: 258). These interacdons often triggered a range of appropriadons of the physical structure of dwelHngs in each quarter in order to accommodate specific spadal requirements of new members of the family. These included construcdons of a family temple {pemerajan) on the top of shophouses and building an enclosed paviHon in colonial style (loji) within Hving compounds.

These interacdons and the physical impHcadons for the physical urban environments signalled the emergence of a new muld-ethnic urban populadon in Denpasar. The introducdon of different building t)-pes also had an impact on the way the BaHnese Denpasar communides adapted their dwelHngs in attempts to deal with famil)- growth and changing Hfestyle. When indigenous dwelHng compounds could no longer contain the growing family, the spadaHy efficient shophouse or enclosed viHa typology was adopted. 170 Achmadi

The construcdon of the BaU ethnographic museum and its use of the indigenous architectural language of Badung set up the ensuing pracdce of designadng the indigenous architecture as a form of ‘ heritage’, as a visual apparatus by which the nodon of heritage can be simulated, displayed, and neutraUsed. What happened through this process was a framing of the historical material field as a set of architectural aesthedcs and buUding arts, a set of cultural imaginaries that can be transferred and reproduced solely to create the conceived reaUdes of a ‘ BaUnese authendcity’ (compare Al Sayyad 2001: 4).

The use of indigenous architecture in the context of the museum of ethnography — and not in the creadon of colonial urban civic structures such as schools, hospital and shops — also signals the placement of indigenous architecture as a complete field of ‘ heritage’ made in the past. It was isolated from the colonial producdon of buut environments. At the same dme, indigenous buUt forms, such as the wantilan, beU tower and the neighbourhood street pavilions were abandoned.

Visual and physical dimensions of indigenous architecture were given a disdnct role within the formadon and expansion of the colonial setdement: to restore the existence of a tradidon presumably threatened by the urban transformadon of the cit}’ itself. The indigenous and the urban were framed as two opposing enddes: one representing the authendc distant past, whUe the other represented the colonial present. The subsequent use of indigenous architecture in the city has since taken place by means of reproducdon of the visual and iconic elements of historical monuments and structures which were conceived to be ‘ authendcaUy’ BaUnese.

This situadon can stiU be observed in contemporary Denpasar where the use of indigenous architecture is profoundly Umited within symboUcal projects and urban funcdons, such as the new provincial administradve offices in Renon and the Arts Centre complex. These buildings deUberately project and represent the dominant concepdon of cultural idendty of the cit}’, the Hindu BaUnese culture, regardless of the city’s muld-ethnic and muldcultural populadon. The transformarion of Badung into Denpasar in early twendeth century introduced new layer of urbanism on to the Reading urban Bali 171 nineteenth-century toyal centre.

While Badung’s network of streets and pubUc squates was largely maintained during colonial dme, thus maintaining the existing pattetn of mobiUt}’ and connecdvit}’ within the setdements, the economic and poUdcal structure of the colonial rule brought into the city new modes of ethnic interacdon — between diverse BaUnese, Javanese, Chinese and Arab traders, and Europeans — and a new ardculadon of urban civic funcdons. Ttadidonal social hierarchy, which underlay the spadal distribudon of the core area of Badung, was significandy affected by the reotganisadon of the Denpasar square and the cteadon of the surrounding suburbs.

In contrast, the areas immediately adjacent to Pud Pemecutan, Pud Satria, and Puri Kesiman largely maintained their exisdng spadal otganisadons while developing into denser urban blocks. Their subsequent growth, however, unfolded in connecdon with the broader urban economies of the colonial administradve centre and the ensuing rapid migradon into the city. A growing number of the local populadon idendfied new economic opportunides within the expansion of Denpasar through leasing part of their compounds as boarding rooms for incoming migrants (Sedawan 1992).

Although the colonial economy of Denpasar largely excluded the pardcipadon of the local communit}’, the rising demand fot housing and accommodadon among migrants gave the locals, regardless of their social status, an opportunity to take part in shaping, and benefidng from, the unfolding expansion of the cit}’. This spontaneous interplay between indigenous urbanism of Badung and colonial utbanism of Denpasat, however, was shott-Uved. The island was not immune ftom the rise of nadonaUsm

which commonly took place in the context of colonial utban development (Vickets 2005).

This led to a radical shift in the colonial government's atdtude towards the indigenous culture, which was encapsulated in the adopdon of the conservadve BaUniseering poUcy. The poUcy promoted a return to the ' authendc BaUnese' way in terms of custom, speech, architecture, arts, castes and educadon (Te FUerhaar 1941; see also Robinson 1995: 27-51, Schulte Nordholt 1999; 2000). At the same dme, the first thtee decades of the twendeth centuty witnessed the rapid growth of the tourist industry on the island, where ' authendc BaUnese' culture and its conceived exodc otherness were marketed as 172 Achmadi ts main commodity. The combination of the rise of conservative and orientaHst conceptions of indigenous culture as a primarily non- modern, exotic and static entity produced a view of the evolving urbanism in Denpasar as a threat to the authentic Bali. The notion of heritage led to the classification of urban landscape of Denpasar as either ' traditional' or ' modern' and to the framing of the traditional urban landscape as a series of exotic buildings interpreted and reproduced through their conceived physical attributes.

Within the subsequent proHferation of the colonial and orientaHst discourses of BaHnese culture, the indigenous built environments and urbanism continued to be conceived as two seemingly unrelated and opposing entities. Such a sentiment was profoundly demonstrated in Miguel Covarrubias' authoritative account of BaH and later on in Don Townsend's framing of contemporary Denpasar as the triumph of the profane. Conclusion

Urban expansion of Badung in late nineteenth century and the making of colonial administrative town of Denpasar in early twentieth century are processes deeply imbedded within the transformation of the poHtical order of the time. Underlying these urban expansions are the dynamic relationships between the poHtical configuring and the physical transformations of the capital's built environment where architecture and urban form are used as means to express power relations on the one hand and to accommodate the everyday Hfe of its growing population on the other.

Historicising the physical components of the urban landscape of Denpasar allows us to encounter the inherent productivity of the island's built environment and the types of urbanism that have emerged in such a context. Returning to Denpasar today, urban expansion and transformation continue to characterise the city's development. This process, however, is no longer shaped by a certain urban vision and a creation of an urban landscape that reflect the social and economic spectrum of the city's population.

Read against the city's urban history, the conditions of buut environment in Denpasar today demonstrate a city that is less enthusiastic in cultivating its urban characteristics. Reading urban Baii 173 Figure 10. ' Balinised' shophouses along Jalan Gajah Mada, Denpasar Photographs by the author Instead, gated and privately owned smaU-scale housing developments and seasonal entrepreneurships are the driving forces of the segmented urban expansion of the cit)' in the absence of a recognidon that the cit)" s populadon condnues to grow at a rapid rate.

In order to survive, Denpasar’s growing populadon has had to undertake the modificadon of the urban environment themselves, while the urban authorit)’ condnues to be preoccupied by urban image construcdon projects with a view to safeguarding a certain BaUnese cultural idendt)’ and heritage of the cit)’. Not only that. The cit)-‘ s urbanism and cultural idendt)’ are perceived as two seemingly unrelated and opposing reaUdes; they now evolve and are produced separately.

The recent government led ‘ restoradon’ project of the market street of Denpasar (today’s Jalan Gajah Mada), where the Chinese quarter, the Arab quarters, and the indigenous BaUnese banjar of Senggowan have coexisted through the course of the twendeth century, exempUfies this separadon between Denpasar’s actual exisdng urbanism and its conceived cultural idendt)’ {Bali Post 2003, 2009, 2010). Before the market street can be promoted as part of the cit)” s cultural heritage, a series of architectural restoradons has had to be undertaken.

The most obvious visual outcome of the restoradon is the covering of the facade of the shophouse structure with elements and 174 Achmadi materials conceived to be ‘ tradidonal BaHnese’ (figure 10). The muld- ethnic coHecdvism that has long evolved in this part of Denpasar and the diverse urban building t-pology produced in this setdng have now been concealed by the appearance of a certain BaHnese architecture. The architectural imaginary of tradidonal BaH has been given a much more powerful presence than the everyday Hfe complexit)- of the cit)-‘ s urban economy and populadon.

The hidden urban Denpasar remains to be an invisible subject on an island where cultural imaginary has come to be seen as the otily teaHty at the cost of its urban history and urban future. Amanda Achmadi is a senior tutor at the Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning, University of Melbourne and can be contacted at edu. au. Notes 1. The field research undertaken as part of the preparation for this paper was funded by the Early Career Researcher Grant from the Facult}- of Architecture, Building and Planning, the University of Melbourne.

The archival research component of this paper was funded by the Affiliated Postdoctoral Fellowship from the Internadonal Institute for Asian Studies and KITLV in Leiden. 2. 1 would Uke to thank the anonymous reviewer of this paper for constructive feedback and for drawing my attendon to van Mook’s study and his application of the Weberian notion of cides in the context of urban studies in Indonesia. 3. See Schulte Nordholt 1996; 228-229 for his exploration on the layout of Mengwi, the capital of Mengwi kingdom. 4.

While the term keraton or kraton is used in Java to refer to the royal palace complex of central Javanese kingdom, the term puri agung is used in Bali to refer to the royal compound or palace of a ruling court. 5. For development program and mission of the Denpasar munidpal government, see www. denpasarkota. gov. id. 6. For a detailed account of the rise and fall of the Mengwi kingdom and an insight into the role of architecture within the contestation of power within the kingdom, see Schulte Nordholt 1996. Reading urban Ball 175 7.

For examinadon of power contestadons among the princely courts of Badung in the context of decentraUsation and regional autonomy discourses, see Schulte Nordholt 2007: 61-78. 8. See Colombijn 2010 for analysis of the interpretadons of social characterisdcs of colonial urban settlements and their postcolonial aftermath. 9. This interacdon condnues to take place today, as observed in Banjar Senggowan, May 2009. References Achmadi, Amanda 2004, ‘ The Legacy of (Mis)Idendfying ‘ Bali’: Wridngs of Architecture and the 20th Century Construcdon of BaUnese Cultural Idendt}”, Journal of Southeast Asian Architecture, 7, (November), pp. 7-46. 2008, The Architecture of BaUnisadon: Wridngs on Architecture, the vUlages, and the Construcdon of BaUnese Cultural Idendt}’ in the 20th century, PhD thesis, Universit}’ of Melbourne. Agung, A. A. Gde Putra and others 1986, Sejarah Kota Denpasar 1945—1979, Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Sejarah Nasional, Departement Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta. Al Sayyad, Nezar 2001, ‘ Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism: Manufacturing Heritage, Consuming Tradidon’, in N. Al Sa}’}’ad, N ed.. Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage, Roudedge, New York.

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