

Synchronic Analysis of Keris in Citizenship Social Class Stratification

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Abstract

The Indonesian treasures civilization have known keris for 1000 years ago until the time of independence. Keris is often mentioned in the counter-colonialism narration led by royal figures, aristocrats such as keris of Prince Diponegara's, keris kyai naga siluman luk 13 and kyai nagasiluman luk 11 owned by the Sultan of Yogyakarta. The keris contains a widely adopted the pakem as symbolic framework. Obedience to the pakem implies a political citizenship, such as kyai carubuk kris, kyai kalamunyeng, mahesalanjer, jalatunda. Pakem keris also has a series of symbols that are accepted by the public and accepted individually, such as ladrang, dhapur, pamor. The materials of the keris, starting from the type of wood, the type of metal for the bilah (body of blade's), the form of carving the keris upstream, the warangka and its ornaments refer to a certain social class stratification as well as a marker of one's capacity. Keris becomes self-representative, represents individual identity and to gain recognition in the community. This study analyzes the keris symbol which is used as a class arrangement and civic politics which is diachronic type. The results of the diachronic analysis show that the division of social classes does not always refer to the class divisions of Max Weber and Marx's version.

Keywords

keris; diachronic analysis
diakronis; political citizenship;
symbol; social class
stratification max weber; marx
class



I. Introduction

The transfer of power of the Pajang kingdom to the Mataram period was colored by the legend of the keris which was named the kober devil keris (Purwadi, 2001). During the war for the throne of Java in 1705/1706, Amangkurat's power collapsed, the keris of the palace and the bende of Mataram were taken away by the elite royal forces who continued to be hunted by the joint VOC troops to seize the symbols of the power of the King of Mataram (Pigeaud, 1976). The king is not declared to have surrendered until the symbols of the king in the form of a keris and palace heirlooms have not been confiscated. Similarly, the story of the 18th century Javanese war led by Prince Diponegoro, Kyai Maja, Prince Sentot, tucked into the story of the seizure of Prince Diponegoro's keris by Governor General van De Kock (Cerey, 2007).

Likewise, during the 18th century Riau sea war that confronted the British navy, the warlord Raja Haji Fisabilillah held up a dagger in his right hand and a book of Dalail khairat in his left hand (Hudjolly, 2010). Raja Haji Fisabilillah's naval resistance, which always repelled the naval fleets of kingdoms from Europe, earned him the nickname "Hanibal from Riau" (Hasan Junus, 2002). The execution of Trunojoyo's death sentence against the pro-Dutch Sultan Amangkurat II at Kartasura Square could only be carried out with a kris belonging to Prince Puger, which was named the kanjeng kyai balabar keris (de

Graaf, 1989). A number of kris are still involved in a long history of conflicting colonialism in the archipelago.

The story of the relationship between leadership, power and a keris has been traced since hundreds of years ago, at least seen in the era of the establishment of Singosari as in the popular stories of Ken Arok, Tunggul Ametung and Ken Dedes. Many traces of history indicate that the existence of the keris has been known by the Malay Archipelago community. Reliefs of the temples of Sukuh, Borobudur and Prambanan in Java show images that resemble the shape of a kris. The popularity of the keris in a number of regions of the archipelago gives different names to designate the keris. In Bali the keris is called keduttan, the Sulawesi people give the name selle or tappi. In Sumatra there are those who call it kerih, kariah, kres. In the Philippines it is called sundang, Brunei and Malaysia use the names: kris, kris. The difference in the shape of the keris in each region/kingdom lies in the ornament of the stalk and the sheath of the keris. But in general the form has the same (standard) grip. Every ornament and grip on the kris stem is a symbol system that signifies the position or position of the holder of the kris and where the kris comes from. It can be said that the kris was a sign algorithm at that time.

A person's existential position and position in society is always marked by various symbols. The symbols that are the easiest to use and observe are the dress code and place of residence of a person which determines his social position in society. Even in the simplest community, the symbol system is still used to distinguish a person's social stratification in the community. Stratification here does not refer to the condition of class divisions but refers to the existence of individual functionality in the community. Communities that are increasingly complex in interaction and social stratification will make the use of symbols more complicated. It even extends to clothing ornaments, weapons, tool ornaments and other symbolic ornaments. One of the symbols that is complicated and closely related to social position is the ageman kris. A keris is not just a stabbing weapon but an ageman, a marker of one's abilities and a sign of the validity of a decision or action. Such markers were used long before the use of the culture of writing on paper. An order from a king is marked by symbolic objects, a person's capacity is marked by what is his ageman.

After there was a culture of paper writing, the recognition of capacity was marked by sheets of paper affixed with certain written symbols. Even though there is already a paper culture and writing system, the use of kris as a marker of social stratification and capacity is still used in various regions. In this case, the keris has a synchronic nature whose symbols still represent a system of social stratification even though times have changed. How can the social stratification that exists in every society and at different times be represented by the kris as a symbol system? Research shows that there are social class divisions in several civilizations of the archipelago which are marked by the use of kris. The framework used in this research is the relation between symbol system and class division.

Every social class that is formed in society through a process that is related to the consideration of personal capacity. This capacity distinguishes the division of social class in the archipelago from the Weberian and Marxian model class divisions. The social stratification marked by the ageman kris is a phenomenal panorama of the archipelago which can then be further developed with a study of the social class order in Indonesian society (colonies) which distinguishes it from European society (colonial).

II. Review of Literature

2.1 Animal Symbolicism and Social Class Tendencies.

Humans as symbolic creatures (animal symbolism) tend to process, create symbols throughout their lives. The process of creating symbols includes efforts to form, read or interpret symbols in interactions between humans so that symbols continue to experience construction that takes place dynamically (Barthes, 2010). Symbols as a system of conveying meaning are owned by all ethnic groups from old civilizations to the present. Modern society uses symbols in the form of flags, symbols, logos, letterheads, stamps to the installation of photos of heads of state in office spaces, heroes' day ceremonies, flag hoisting is the use of symbols that are public. The symbolic system in traditional society is also reflected in the process of worship, traditional ceremonies, rituals, traditional processions.

In the context of modern society, the symbol system is used as an articulation of the ruler to the public he controls, such as the use of epaulets, groups, and spaces in staffing. Symbolic action is a form of communication across generations. Symbolic actions last limited but the nature of the interaction of symbols applies to everyone and is able to cross the ages. The symbol algorithm creates a symbolic atmosphere that is embodied in the actions of using symbols to represent a particular purpose.

The symbolic algorithm places a number of distinguishing signs based on the logical assumptions used to construct symbols. The assumptions used include hierarchical-process assumptions (administrative logical reasoning), religious assumptions (profane reasoning), and assumptions that depart from cosmic consciousness (metaphysical reasoning). Cosmic assumptions are a form of using reason—or to borrow Levi Strauss's term: reason—humans in understanding the relationship with the natural surroundings. Many things are not understood by reason, but the existence of groups demands the explanation of human relations with the natural surroundings, so that reason is like a group logic (Ahimsa, 2006). Various forms of nature are transformed in such a way into a constructive understanding by using imaginative nuances, forming mythical narratives as a means of language knowledge. Myth becomes a medium for explaining something (the importance of knowledge) as well as giving information messages to others from one generation or between generations by linking it to human natural habits (Ahimsa, 2006). Various imaginative expressions represent certain activities, representing certain social groups or classes so that people will be familiar with the vocabulary of figure of speech and the metaphors it uses. The existence of differences in social groups or classes results from the role of each group member in their community. Imaginative symbols represent things that are (personal symbols) and represent groups (public symbols) (Hudjolly, 2010).

III. Result and Discussion

3.1 *Ageman Keris* in Citizenship Class Identification

Looking at historical documents, two tendencies of opinion regarding the ownership of the keris can be divided. The first opinion states that everyone may have a dagger. After the VOC and its allies conquered the Javanese war troops led by Prince Diponegoro, hundreds of kris belonging to the troops were also confiscated. But Prince Diponegoro's willingness not to fight led to the release of the remaining 700 soldiers. Except for the few followers who accompanied Prince Diponegoro, he was exiled to Sulawesi. When the few troops that accompanied the exile were released, the soldiers' kris were also returned and one was brought by Prince Diponegoro. The keris is named Kyai Bondoyuda who will be

buried when the owner dies (Cerey, 2007). From this historical story, it shows that every person or soldier can have a kris. Of course, the type of kris that soldiers have is a kris that has a soldier's symbol. And the soldiers' daggers were not the main weapon of war because Diponegoro's troops were known as spearmen.

In Sir Stamford Raffles' report, 17th and 18th centuries, each soldier had three krisses. One tucked in the left waist is a gift from the in-laws, one tucked in the right is a gift from parents or family characteristics while the other is a soldier's personal achievement (Raffles, 2008). At that time when a man was about to get married but was unable to attend, the wedding procession could continue with the groom leaving his personal keris as a substitute for his presence. In 17-18th century Java, a mother-in-law would present her son-in-law with a kris after the wedding ceremony. In the event of a divorce, the kris is morally returned to the giver.

A keris-making master can accept orders for keris-making from anyone who orders it. If an ordinary member of the public orders a keris, Sang Empu suggests a dhapur (shape) and pamor (metal trace pattern on the blade of a keris) and warangka, upstream or stem ornaments, all of which must match the character and social functionality of the customer. After an agreement is reached, the master will carry out a number of initial ritual processions before starting the work. When the work of making the keris according to the order is completed, it will also end with a ritual procession. The master receives the agreed reward in the form of money, rice fields, horses, oxen or other rewards. Even in some cases, the keris buyer is a king, so the master will get a woman's gift, namely marriage with a woman from the palace and getting a nobility.

The second opinion states that not just anyone can have a dagger. According to the records of British Admiral Cornelis de Houtman, when he landed in Aceh in 1599, he was greeted by the King of Aceh and given local clothes and a keris tucked into his clothes. At that time wearing a keris meant the death penalty, unless there was an order from the king. But anyone who gets a kris gift from the king means that the holder of the keris gets a position, is free to take food without paying and can rule over others (John Davis, 1880). The king himself had a habit of wearing four kris tucked into his belt.

At each coronation of the Sultan of Yogyakarta and Surakarta Sunanate, the courtiers and royal court nobles insert a keris identical to his image on his official attire to witness the coronation ceremony of the king. Only high-ranking officials and special people can own a special kris or often called a kris that has esoteric values. In Brunei, they still maintain the tradition of giving a kris to someone who is entrusted with a new position. The King of Brunei gave a kris a sign of promotion or a new position entrusted to him. In the kingdom of Gowa, he also gave a dagger to a minister of state to visit Gowa Regency. The kris he gave was named the Kembar Kembar belonging to the King of Gowa XII (1565-1590) (<https://sulsel.voice.com/read/2020/10/15>)

Similarly, the Belapati ritual, a ritual of committing suicide when the husband lost the war. The wife will commit suicide using her husband's keris, usually the same keris will also be used to kill her followers or loyal servants. Death caused by a kris belonging to his lord is more noble than being a prisoner or being executed by an opponent. Dagger rituals are not carried out using each other's weapons. This indicates that the keris is owned in a limited way, not by everyone. But that does not mean there is a prohibition on the ownership of the keris. A keris can be owned by anyone, anyone, but it must be accompanied by a capacity that is commensurate with the symbolic code of the keris that it has. Only market kris can be owned in general.

Having a tayuban keris that is not commensurate with the esoteric value of the keris with the profile of the owner of the keris, results in a symbolic code that is not acceptable

to the public, although there is no prohibition on such a thing. This phenomenon can be seen in the story of Kyai Bondoyuda's kris which was buried with the owner, Prince Diponegoro, and was not passed on to other people or loyal followers. The consideration is that there is no heir that matches the esoteric characters and symbols attached to the kyai Bondoyuda kris. This phenomenon also occurs in Surakarta, when an elderly person wearing a kris ladrang Wanda Kastriyan anem will be ridiculed or not respected as an old person. Kris Ladrang Wanda Kastriyan Anem is a symbolic ageman for youth or people who are still young enthusiastic.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the shape of the kris is a symbolic code that determines the functionality of a person's position and position in the community. The shape of the white kemalon pendok kris sheath should not be worn by just anyone. A kris with a red kemalon pendok shell (or tends to be red) may only be used by high nobles. Ordinary aristocrats may not use a kris whose symbolic ornaments indicate a high degree of leadership that is reserved for princes and kings. For example, the ornament of the pendok tretes rinajawawarna type with a sunggingan warangka with a patterned excuse, on a white base, may only be worn by a king (Harsrinuksmo, 2004).

Kris is phenotypic, where certain social groups wear a kris with a certain shape and become a feature or marker of social functionality. The king's subordinates or nobles who will meet the king wear a dagger with a ladrangan warangka. But in the daily activities of soldiers, courtiers to sentanas or top officials, only wore the warangka Gayaman kris (Hamzuri, 1988). A trader is not allowed or not to wear a kris of prestige adeg iras because this kris has a symbolic tendency whose capacity refers to the character of an administrator. The merchants or merchants wore the prestige bonang rinenteng kris. This type symbolically marks the top class of traders.

The shape of the blade of the kris, the ornaments at the bottom of the blade of the kris, the sheath or sheath of the kris and the stem or upstream of the kris are symbols that refer to the owner of the kris. At the time of Sultan Agung, the king ordered a number of masters to make a special kris made of 9 metal tools with the prefix "Pa". These tools are melted down into high quality kris (Harsrinuksmo, 2004). The result is the Kris Singa Barong, the golden kinatah, which was presented to the King of Riau Lingga. The King of Riau Lingga named the kris si ginje then added symbolic ornaments on the warangka (sarong) and upstream of the kris which shows the symbolic code of the Riau Lingga Kingdom and the character according to the class of the owner of the kris: Raja Riau Lingga.

The kris used by kings and high nobles is made of special materials, as is the ginje. Even the forging procedures are also different. Kris for nobles and people who have a high capacity forged kris with a number of 1200 times forged iron. One time forging means that the kris material is flattened and then folded and flattened again up to 1200 times. So the kris blade itself consists of forged iron folds, just like plywood in modern wood technology. In other types of kris forged up to hundreds of times forging, usually 200 times to 400 times. As for the community, the kris material is forged only up to 60 times. The type of iron also determines who the potential kris user is. Nobles and community leaders will be given the type of king iron as the basic material for making kris. The soldiers were given an iron pillar, while the merchants were given a type of flag iron material. The difference in the use of kris raw materials is based on one's position in society, this applies in Sabah (Malaysia) and Brunei (Harsrinuksmo, 1985). It's not just iron that has been determined, in Yogyakarta, the wood material for the sheath (scabbard) and upstream of the kris also refers to the status of the owner.

Timaha wood is divided into several types. Timaha is a type of wood that is bored, this wood has a slightly dark brown and shiny pattern, so it is only used by nobles to make keris sheaths. Outside the aristocratic class or people who have high positions will use Timaha nyamel and Timaha mbatok wood which has a light brown grain pattern like coffee milk. Indeed, there is no direct prohibition, but people will "know themselves" and consciously do not wear the wood material on their kris. Because the keris will be seen as a person's self-image. This is reflected in the Javanese proverb "oyo is enjoyed by anake, oyo is dipoyoki bojone, aja dicacadi kerise" (don't scold people's children, don't mock people's wives, and don't demean someone's keris).

In addition to wood, the shape of the shell also conveys a different message. Warangka brangah model, characterized by the back shaped like a leaf, the front curved upwards. A kris with a brangah model warangka is worn in formal activities, such as wedding ceremonies. The groom will usually wear a warangka brangah kris model. The general public with warangka brangah can wear a kris with the symbol of wrapped prestige, ganggeng kanyut prestige, ilining warih prestige, jalatunda prestige, fighting butterfly prestige and other types of prestige that do not specifically designate a particular class. Pamor that does not show symbolic characteristics in a certain capacity is referred to as 'non-voting prestige' (Lumintu, 1985). There is a type of kris with 'pamor voters', namely the type of prestige which symbolically refers to a certain capacity. For example, the prestige kris of voters symbolized by religious leaders is the dhapur carubuk kris, which in the story is the kris ordered by Sunan Kalijaga to Empu Supa Anom. In addition there is a kris kala munyeng made by the master of Prince Sedayu on the instructions and orders of Sunan Giri.

3.2 Keris as a Political Representation of Citizenship

Max Weber saw that society is always influenced by economic moral impulses in their actions that trigger social classes. The emergence of class and class differentiation extends through the use of religion, ideas, ideas. Referring to Weber, ideas, ideas and religion are able to inspire a wider class so that they are not limited by material analysis and historical processes (Weber 2012). Ideas, ideas and religion are based on reflection on the situation of the individual's will in anticipating phenomena in society. The symbols on the kris, which are diachronically accepted by the public, are based on factual reflections of personal capacities whose ideas and ideas were not shaped by oneself.

The symbols attached to a kris by a master always look at capacity considerations. Likewise, the ownership of a kris that is given or obtained or not the result of an order from the master, always considers one's capacity. The kris that is given to someone else takes into account the capacity of the recipient of the kris, for example, the ginje kris and the kober devil kris. Personal capacity is seen from a person's ability to place himself in social relations in society. Placing community members in a community based on capacity is a form of civic politics. In Plato's time, the political status of a person's citizenship was determined by his abilities. There are three classes of citizens: rulers, soldiers and producers (Bonner, 1973). In Aristotle's time, a person's capacity determines one's position and status before the king through which the status will be determined as a metic, slave or citizen (Ashley, 1941). The formation of social functionality marked by the possession of a kris is a representation of civic politics in the past.

It is difficult to determine a person's capacity by naked eye, except by the attributes and symbols attached to the way of dressing, the location of the house and the weapon. Even in modern times, attributes such as the strategic location of the office in a busy urban center, the epaulets on the clothes worn, also indicate personal capacity. The kris is used

as a marker system for the prevailing order. The implementation of the symbol system on the kris aims to facilitate the identification of a person's position, this is the determination of citizenship class. Interaction between citizens can be seen from the adherence to public symbols. For example, an ordinary citizen would not use Tayuman wood on the head of their kris and then deliberately display it.

The kris as a marker of capacity also facilitates two things: (i) the pattern of interpersonal interaction, such as two people who do not know each other will understand how the normative interaction code is carried out only by marking the kris that each wears. (ii) showing awards and positions based on the kris he wears. These two things have a broad impact on society. Information and actions are assessed based on existing capacities, not based on the content of communication, speech. The behavior of a person who carries a kyai carubuk kris (a symbol referring to religious leaders) must reflect how the kris bearer is a person who is worthy of the kris.

The blades of the kris which consist of more than 200 types of prestige and the shape of the blade body (dhapur) can be combined arbitrarily but still in obedience to the symbolic meaning that exists in each of the prestige. Blade material, upstream material (type of wood), warangka material (type of wood), carving on the upstream, layer pattern of warangka have rules called grip. Respect for the kris grip is shown by adherence to the symbol system. Having a kris whose qualifications are above his own is not declared as ownership but "deposit", which means that one day it will be given consciously to a person who is more worthy to keep it. The kris made in the modern era (the type of Kamardikan kris), most of them still obey the symbolic rules of the kris. Kris made in the Mataram Era until the Majapahit era were very obedient to the standard. Because without adherence to the standard, the kris will become a metal blade equivalent to a tool, only a form of metal art. Adherence to the symbol system is the actual form of knowledge that a person has. As is the case in modern times, knowledge determines one's existence, so the mastery of knowledge and obedience to the symbol system constitutes one's existence in society. That knowledge must be possessed by men in the community.

Tradition found in Europe before the renaissance, the existence of power and civic politics was only for men. In the archipelago, only men own a kris and a woman accepts her husband's kris as a representation of her husband's (or family's) existence, as can be seen from the Belapati ritual using the husband's kris and the wedding ritual process. In societies like Baduy, which limit their social interactions, they also introduce the use of small kris to boys who want to be circumcised. Circumcision for boys is like an initiation process, a sign of acceptance from the group and respect for its existence. Individual existence begins to emerge when a son is considered to have been able to represent his father, for example in the slametan, a ceremony that gives blessings of safety to all residents. It is at this stage that understanding relationships and personal roles, social roles begins to be taught to "male candidates" as well as giving a message to everyone about the importance of group centrality for the continuity of the existence of all members. The kris in the hands of a grown man marks the continuity of existence.

Even in societies that apply matrilinealism, kris is not given to women, except for "deposit". Although there is no prohibition for women to own a kris, it does not serve as a public marker for women. A kris owned by a woman remains a personal marker. Kris is identical with men because men are the center of the existence of a group whose identity should not be harmed. Insulting the kris or injuring the kris is considered to demean the existence of the owner. The act of escaping (not pulling out the kris) or lifting the sheath of the kris so that the blade of the kris opens without the permission of the owner, is not

recommended. Especially if there is a pause in social class stratification, this event brings distrust from others. Passing a kris without permission shows low knowledge,

The more complex knowledge is characterized by a more adequate mastery of the ins and outs of the keris and this is accompanied by the possession of a high-class keris, both in terms of metal materials, wood materials and ornaments. Therefore, high-class kris such as kyai keris tends to mix, kris kyai sengkelat, nagaraja kris, nagasasra, dragon stealth always refer to personal reflections of leadership personality and power. In this way also the division of classes in the archipelago is built on the basis of knowledge or capacity. Communities are grouped and arranged into stratification based on capacity. The keris becomes a cultural "measurement" of that compliance and capacity. At this point, the kris is like a symbolic practice of civic politics that describes the type of treatment, recognition from group leaders, nobles, to the community.

Recognition from the leadership seen from a person's participation in politics or activities organized by the leader is allowed only for persons who are not injured in the eyes of the community. Community members are not allowed to increase their capacity manipulatively by wearing a high-class ageman keris that they do not deserve. Such self-image is like the actions of a lowly person who is incompetent (lack of knowledge) but wants to be seen as a capable person and given a position in society. His existence is increasingly underappreciated because of his inability to develop social relations, unable to respect others based on the principle of mutual respect for self-existence and self-respect as reflected in the ageman of the keris. This kind of person has less place in the context of citizenship-power relations. Citizenship politics consists of competing individuals, involved in a relationship that influences each other (Fraser, 2010). At the time of Sultan Agung where the kris became quite dominant because it was synonymous with awards from the king, it also resulted in competition between individuals. The story of the struggle for the keris is also always tucked away when there is a rotation of power.

Social stratification is shaped by capacity, expressed in a symbolic system that is supported by narratives of public knowledge, accepted and obeyed without enforcement institutions or penalties. Humans who are recognized as having a capacity (with high knowledge) means occupying a high social rank accompanied by a high-class ageman of a keris. On the other hand, humans with mediocre abilities occupy the position of being led. Social stratification formed by capacity shows non-structural life practices. Humans make associations of themselves and their groups in a symbol that is considered a manifestation of a stronger power to signify a position of power. Various incidents of conflict with the colonial government began to experience a weakening of resistance when leaders who were considered as manifestations of power were taken prisoner along with a keris, a symbol of personality of reflection. As long as the symbols of power are not captured or taken away, there is still a chance to enforce their communal existence.

The concept of communal existence depends on the acceptance of the use of public symbols by an individual. This level of acceptance or rejection is part of citizenship politics. The symbol that is still accepted by the public means that the order, power and leadership associated with the symbol still exist and are obeyed. Therefore, in the context of leadership, it is very necessary to have kris that implies a public symbol. The more symbols that are successfully collected means an increase in capacity. Prince Diponegoro, Sultan Agung, Sunan Amangkurat even arrived in Brunei who still practice the tradition of "gifting" the kris as part of the group's recognition. In modern times, like someone who wins awards and honors,

A member of the group is declared accepted based on the level of appreciation of the person in the order and rules that apply in that group. This acceptance has consequences

for the division of individual duties and responsibilities, in front of the group, in front of the person who leads or the leader. Even at a certain point, when an award is given to a king-level leader, there will be economic benefits. However, it should also be noted that public attention and trust also has an impact on economic activity. Individuals who often mock people's kris, wear inappropriate ageman, ignore public symbols will also be economically alienated. So it can be said that accepting the public symbol and wearing the appropriate private symbol is a condition of a group's acceptance of the individual.

IV. Conclusion

Keris can be used as a symbol system analyzed to read past symptoms that are still found in a number of generations. These symptoms indicate a pattern of social stratification formation through a system of symbols on the body of the kris blade, the sheath and its ornamental carvings, its upstream and its ornamental carvings. The materials for making the kris also lead to certain identities. The king uses a kris with a distinctive phenotypic characteristic, it must not be imitated or imitated by other people. Because the uniqueness of the symbol on the kris also shows the capacity of the owner, one's position in society, so that other people can know the public ethics applied to him. The ageman kris that someone brings will mark how other people interact with him, because the kris is also a self-representation, can be used as a substitute for self and envoy evidence. The kris of the king brought by someone else indicates he has a certain closeness with the king, or he has a commanding relationship with the bearer of the kris.

The kris which represents a person's identity and marks the way of interacting in society can represent a civic political order. The focus of attention on civic politics is not only about the division of tasks and responsibilities but also concerns the relationship between individuals, between individuals and those in power and respect for other individuals. Likewise, class division is not only based on modality, history, ideas and ideas alone, but it is necessary to pay attention to the theory of social class division of citizenship based on one's capacity.

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