



# Comparison of Batang Batik Motifs with Mataram Keraton Batik and Pekalongan Batik

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## ABSTRACT

*Batang Batik has unique motifs that originate from its historical background as part of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom, and its geographical area adjacent to the coastal batik center of Pekalongan. Batang Keratonan Batik is influenced by the Mataram Keraton Batik, while the Batang Pesisiran Batik is influenced by the Pekalongan Batik. The influence of the Mataram Keraton Batik can be seen from the use of sogen (brown) color, as well as geometric, and organic abstract motifs, while the influence of Pekalongan Batik in the use of bright colors and figurative organic motifs. Even though they have similar designs, there are also differences between the Batang Keratonan Batik and the Mataram Keraton Batik, as well as between the Batang Pesisiran Batik and the Pekalongan Batik. The similarities and differences in visual styles are interesting to study because they show the dominance of power over aesthetic tastes from Pierre Bourdieu's concept; and the phenomenon of mimicry from the STORM theory from the study of social psychology. This research uses a qualitative descriptive approach with purposive samples originating from the Pisan Bali motif on 2 pieces of Batang Keratonan Batik and 1 piece of Mataram Keraton Batik, as well as floral and bird motifs on 1 piece of Batang Pesisiran Batik, 1 piece of Rifa'iyah Batik, and Pekalongan Batik. To reveal the similarities and differences in batik designs, we conducted a visual content analysis of color, motifs, execution of forms, layout, and composition. Furthermore, the concept of Pierre Bourdieu and the STORM mimicry theory were used to reveal the causes of the similarities and differences in visual styles of the purposive samples. The results of the analysis show that the similarities in visual style are due to the influence of power domination on aesthetic tastes in a field, and mimicry is done to gain social advantage, while the differences come from heterodoxy which occurs due to changes in the constellation of power in the social field.*

## KEYWORDS

Aesthetic taste,  
Batik Batang,  
Mimicry

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## 1. Introduction

Batang is a district located in Central Java Province, bordering the Java Sea in the north, Kendal Regency in the east, Banjarnegara Regency in the south, and the City and Regency of Pekalongan in the west. Historically, Batang Regency was under the rule of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom from 1620 to 1755. As one of the regencies on the north coast, Batang had an important role as Mataram's defense area when dealing with the kingdoms in East Java and the VOC. To control power in Batang, the position of Regent of Batang always comes from Mataram officials, while to strengthen the bond between Mataram and Batang, one of the wives of Sultan Agung Hanyokrokusumo, Ratu Wetan, is the daughter of Adipati Batang (Jelajah Kompas.id). The Islamic Mataram kingdom began to decline after Sultan Agung died in 1645. The social and economic conditions of the population experienced a setback due to the struggle for political hegemony in Java, which led to the emergence of a secessionist movement from the conquered areas of Islamic Mataram. To overcome this problem, Amangkurat I,



the son of Sultan Agung and Ratu Wetan, cooperated with the VOC. The Dutch intervention caused a dispute among the heirs to the Mataram Islam throne. It was later terminated through the Giyanti Agreement on February 13, 1755, which divided the Sultanate of Mataram into Nagari Kasultan Ngayogyakarta and Nagari Kasunanan Surakarta. The division of this kingdom is a sign of the end of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom (Kompas.com). After the collapse of the Mataram Kingdom, Batang came under the rule of the VOC and then the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies. On January 1, 1936, Batang Regency was incorporated into the Pekalongan region, but since 1966 it has returned to being an independent and separate regency from Pekalongan. From the trajectory of this historical journey, Batang received various cultural influences from the Mataram palace and foreign countries in Pekalongan, such as Chinese, Dutch, and Islamic cultures (profil.batangkab.go.id), (Afikah, 2012).

Due to its historical background and geographical location close to the center of coastal batik, namely Pekalongan, Batang has unique batik motifs. Based on the design, Batang Batik can be divided into two types: Batang Keratonan Batik and Batang Pesisiran Batik, which consists of ordinary Batang Pesisiran Batik and Rifa'iyah Batik. Batang Keratonan Batik shows similarity designs with Mataram Keraton Batik (Surakarta and Yogyakarta) in its color scheme, namely sogan (chocolate) and motifs such as Udan Liris, Sido Mukti, Romo Ukel, Parang, Pisan Bali and so on. Batang Pesisiran Batik has similar designs to Pekalongan Batik in a more diverse color scheme (red, blue, purple, green, and brown) and symbolic motifs in the form of flora and fauna, except for Rifa'iyah batik, which does not depict fauna clearly and completely (warisanbudaya.kemdikbud.go.id, digilib.isi.ac.id, lib.unnes.ac.id).

Although they have similarities in visual style, it turns out that there are also differences between the Batang Keratonan Batik and the Keratonan Mataram Batik, as well as the Batang Pesisiran Batik with Pekalongan Batik. These similarities and differences in visual styles are interesting to study from Pierre Bourdieu's point of view on aesthetic tastes involving the concepts of habitus, capital, and field, as well as power dominance, as well as STORM theory from the discipline of Social Psychology. The design of Batang Batik is not just a simple artistic phenomenon as a visual work that comes from the imagination of a mere batik artisan but involves socio-cultural issues.

## 2. Method

This qualitative descriptive study compares Keraton batik with Batang Keratonan Batik and Pekalongan batik with Batang Pesisiran Batik.

The purposive samples are one piece of Pisan Balinese batik motif originating from Surakarta or Solo, two batiks originating from the Batang Keratonan Batik; one floral and bird motif batik from Pekalongan, and two batiks from the Batang Pesisiran Batik. The motifs with similarities and differences in visual styles are analyzed for their visual content, including color schemes, shapes, processing of forms, and arrangement of visual elements, including layout and composition. The results of the visual content analysis are then analyzed through Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, capital, and power dominance, as well as the STORM mimicry theory, to understand the phenomena of the similarities and differences in visual styles.

### 2.1. Pierre Bourdieu's Concept of Habitus, Capital and the Field

Bourdieu developed the concept of habitus, modal, and field. This concept can express power dominance in society by tracking the accumulation of capital ownership of each member of the community, also known as social agents. The domination model proposed by Bourdieu is broader than just economic domination from Marx's thought. It can take the form of cultural, political, gender, and artistic domination, which occurs in various domains. The stratification of power in society is not in the form of a pyramid or ladder but a configuration based on the ownership and composition of the capitals owned by these social agents (Krisdinanto, 2014).

Bourdieu has a duality perspective position to explain the tension between the objectivism of Levi-Strauss and the subjectivism of Jean-Paul Sartre. Levi-Strauss argues that structures outside the



individual's consciousness influence his actions; on the other hand, Sartre places the individual as a creative and free actor as a subject. According to Bourdieu, objectivism and subjectivism have their respective shortcomings in understanding social reality. Therefore the right approach is through genetic structuralism that integrates structures with individuals. Thus the analysis of objective structures cannot be separated from the analysis of the origin of mental structures in biological individuals, which are partly derived from social structures. The dialectical meeting between the objective structure and the subjective understanding generates a practice. In other words, practice is a dialectical dynamic between internalizing externalities and externalizing internalities. External is an objective structure that is outside of social behavior, while internality is everything that is attached to the individual (Harker, Mahar and Wilkes 2010). Bourdieu describes social practice as the result of intersecting between habitus and capital in the field that can be formulated as  $(\text{Habitus} \times \text{Capital}) + \text{Field} = \text{Practice}$ . To understand this, it is necessary to know the key concepts, namely habitus, capital, and field. Habitus is not just a habit attached to someone's personality but a disposition that lasts a long time (Bourdieu 1997, 4). In simple terms, habitus can be expressed as a mental or cognitive structure used by social agents to deal with social life. He is equipped with internalized schemas and used to feel, understand, realize and assess the social world. Through this pattern, social agents produce actions and judge them, so it can be said that habitus is a product of the internalization of the structure of the social world (Ritzer and Goodman 2005).

Habitus reflects the objective division of class structure based on age, sex, group, and social class obtained due to the length of the individual's position in social life. The consequence of this understanding is that people with the same social position tend to have the same habits, so it becomes a collective phenomenon. Through habitus, individuals understand the social world. This means that individuals have many habitus in society, so it is impossible to impose the same structure. Individuals do not take structures for granted but reflect on rational choices, principles, and strategies as filters before they improve them. The field cannot be separated from the concept of habitus because both influence each other. Habitus exists in the individual's mind, while the field is outside the mind. Habitus underlies the field and operates in a field. Bourdieu and Wacquant defines a field as a network or configuration of objective relationships in various positions. The position itself is defined objectively in its existence and in the determination imposed on the individuals who occupy it, namely agents and institutions, by actual and potential situations in the power-sharing structure or capital whose ownership opens access to advantage at stake in the field (Krisdinanto 2014, 200).

The structure of the field is determined by the relations among the positions occupied by individuals in the field. Thus the field is dynamic because changes in the position of individuals will cause changes in the structure of the field. In the field of symbolic struggle, there is a monopoly on the meaning of the legitimacy of symbolic power. The terms 'symbolic violence', 'symbolic power,' and 'symbolic relations' are often used by Bourdieu to describe the process of social reproduction involving social agents in a domain with different capital and habitus. Symbolic power is the power to change and create reality as something recognized, and legitimated so that others see and believe it, to strengthen or change how people view the world and how to change the world itself (Bourdieu 1991, 170).

For a social agent to be recognized for his existence in this realm, he must at least have the same habitus as an agent in a higher position. This habitus adjustment can be explained in social psychology theory as mimicry, which is an action that occurs in social interactions when one person imitates another. The theory of mimicry that fits the concept of habitus adjustment is the STORM (Social Top-Down Response Modulation) theory which is a model of mimicry control in social interactions (Wang and Hamilton 2012).

Mimicry is a strategic intervention to change positions in the social field for the benefit of the imitator (Lakin and Chartrand 2003). If mimicry can benefit a person's social status, then he will increase the level of mimicry; conversely, if mimicry becomes unfavorable, it will reduce mimicry. Individuals increase the mimicry of those important to their social well-being, such as attractive and kind people. (Likowski, et. all 2008), who are strong and have high social status (Cheng, Chartrand,



2003) and who are friends and group members (Bourgeois and Hess 2008). People also increase mimicry when their social relationships are threatened, when they fail to affiliate with other individuals (Lakin, Chartrand 2003), or when ostracized by members of their group (Over and Carpenter 2009). In other words, mimicry is carried out by social agents against those who dominate a domain. The form of domination can be in the form of cultural domination, art, politics, and so on.

The concept of symbolic power is related to habitus, namely, an effort to influence the perspective of other individuals in terms of perception and appreciation. The mechanism of symbolic power is based on doxa, a set of fundamental beliefs regarded as absolute truths or dogmas. Doxa is taken for granted, never questioned, and directs one's perspective in perceiving the realm in which the doxa exists. However, when the domain's autonomy is weakened, other thoughts can be conveyed by agents in the realm that question, challenge, or replace doxa. In this situation, Bourdieu's two concepts must be considered: heterodoxa and orthodoxa. The 'challenging' thinking is heterodoxa, which is a thought that explicitly questions the legitimacy of the prevailing perception and appreciation schemes. In comparison, orthodoxa refers to a situation when doxa is recognized and accepted in practice. Of course, the dominant group in power will try to maintain the structure of the realm by producing orthodoxa (Grenfell 2008).

Unlike Marx, who only recognizes one type of capital, namely economic capital, Bourdieu proposes three basic types of capital, namely cultural capital, economic capital, and social capital, plus the accumulation of all capital, namely symbolic capital. Cultural capital is the overall intellectual qualifications generated through formal education and family heritage relating to the ownership of attitudes and equipment that are symbolically culturally valuable. Cultural capital can be expressed in various symbolic ways that are considered valuable by social agents who share positions in a domain. Economic capital is the most material form of capital related to wealth and can be directly demonstrated. This means that it does not need to be symbolic. Social capital refers to the network of personal relationships that a person builds and is symbolic. He/she is appreciated for the relationships he/she has because this network can provide benefits and strengthen the efficiency of economic and cultural capital (Grenfell dan Hardy 2007, 30).

Symbolic capital is the accumulation of all forms of prestige, status, authority, and legitimacy. Because the types of capital are different, different people will have different volumes and configurations of different types of capital. A community group is identified by the configuration of its type of capital through a pattern of ownership determined by the group's position in the realm. Capital can determine the position of social agents in the realm according to the rank determined through power relations (Lukman 2016, 35). Through an understanding of these basic concepts, aesthetic taste is a practice that must be understood with the concepts of habitus, realm, and capital to explain the relationship between the structure of social objects (institutions, discourses, realms, ideologies) with everyday practices. People and reasons (Webb et.all. 2002).

Changes in aesthetic tastes are motivated by the desire to dominate social class culturally so that the dominating group's aesthetic tastes are considered legitimate aesthetic tastes. Thus, aesthetic taste is socially constructed in real historical space and is an attribute contained in human beings that must be understood with social class, subculture, and lifestyle. Aesthetic tastes are the result of struggles in art relations and power strategies to monopolize art appreciation (Martini dalam Lukman 2016).

Aesthetic taste is always based recognition of a model of 'perfection,' considered legitimate within the scope of a particular concept. As long as a practice takes place in the social realm, one's aesthetic choice is influenced by various interests, at least symbolic interests. (Bourdieu 1998, 75-86.)

Society inserts 'symbolic items' in the differentiation strategy, especially those considered first attributes. Differences in aesthetic tastes become cultural capital used to significant differences between classes of society. Bourdieu believes that class differences and aesthetic tastes stemming from the dispositions embedded in social agents will determine their aesthetic choices. Although the aesthetic taste of the dominating group is often considered a dox to legitimize the position of social



agents in a domain, there are times when heterodox occurs, which questions the legitimacy of the dominant group's taste.

## 2.2 Research Step




The research steps are as follows: the first stage is a visual content analysis of the Balinese Pisan motif derived from the Mataram Keraton Batik and the Batang Keratonan Batik, as well as on the Bird and Floral motifs from the Pekalongan Batik and the Batang Pesisiran Batik. The analysis results will reveal similarities and differences in visual style between these batiks. Then, through Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus, field, capital, and symbolic dominance, the reasons stem from differences in social and aesthetic tastes.

## 3. Results and Discussion

### 3.1 Visual Content of the Pisan Bali Motif at the Mataram Keraton Batik with two Batang Keratonan Batiks

In the beginning, a visual content analysis of each batik was carried out, which included color schemes, shapes, processing of forms, compositions, and layouts. From the results of the analysis, it can be seen the similarities and differences in visual styles.




**Table 1.** Visual Content of the Pisan Bali Motif at the Mataram Keraton Batik with two Batang Keratonan Batiks

Pisan Bali Motif Mataram Keraton Batik	Pisan Bali Motif Batang Keratonan Batik (1)	Pisan Bali Motif Batang Keratonan Batik (2)
		
<p>Fig. 1 Pisan Bali Motif Mataram Keraton Batik (Source: Private collection, 2022)</p>	<p>Fig. 2 Pisan Bali Motif Batang Keratonan Batik (Source: Batik artisan's collection, 2022)</p>	<p>Fig. 3. Pisan Bali Motif Batang Keratonan Batik (Source: Batik artisan's collection, 2022)</p>
<p><b>Color scheme:</b> Brown, black, beige (slightly) black background</p>	<p><b>Color scheme:</b> Dark brown, black, beige (a lot) cream background</p>	<p><b>Color scheme:</b> Black, red, blue, purple, yellow, beige black background</p>
<p><b>The shape of the batik style and its density:</b> Abstract organic, smooth, detailed</p>	<p><b>The shape of the batik style and its density:</b> Abstract organic, rough, not detailed</p>	<p><b>The shape of the batik style and its density:</b> Abstract organic, rough, detailed</p>
<p><b>Composition:</b> Dense</p>	<p><b>Composition:</b> Pretty dense</p>	<p><b>Composition:</b> Very dense</p>
<p><b>Layout:</b> In order</p>	<p><b>Layout:</b> In order</p>	<p><b>Layout:</b> In order</p>
<p><b>Visual Style Equation:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Abstract organic shapes from the Pisan Bali motif fig.2, 3, and 4</li> <li>• Brown, black, beige color scheme fig.2, 3</li> <li>• Regular layout: Figure 2, 3, 4</li> </ul>		
<p><b>Visual Style Difference:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The brown color in picture 2 is darker than fig. 1</li> <li>• The color scheme in fig. 3 is different from fig. 1 and 2.</li> <li>• Processing the shape of fig. 1 is smooth and detailed, image 2 is rough and not detailed, fig. 3 is rough and detailed</li> <li>• The composition of image 2 is dense, fig. 3 is quite dense, fig. 4 is very dense</li> </ul>		



### 3.2. Visual Content Analysis of Bird and Floral Motifs on Pekalongan Batik, Coastal Batik Batangan and Rifa'iyah Batik

**Table 2.** Visual Content Analysis of Bird and Floral Motifs on Pekalongan Batik, Batang Pesisiran Batik and Rifa'iyah Batik

<i>Bird and Floral Motif of Pekalongan Batik</i>	<i>Bird and Floral Motif Batang Pesisiran Batik</i>	<i>"Bird" and Floral Motif of Rifa'iyah Batik</i>
 <p>Fig. 4 Bird and floral motif of Pekalongan Batik (source: Achjadi &amp; Damais, 2005: 155)</p>	 <p>Fig. 5 Bird and floral motif Batang Pesisiran Batik (source: Kwan collection, 2022)</p>	 <p>Fig. 6 "Bird" and floral motif (Pelo Ati motif) (source: Miftakhutin collection, 2022)</p>
<p><b>Color scheme:</b> Pale ocher, red, blue, brown Pale ocher background</p>	<p><b>Color scheme:</b> Pale ocher, red, blue, brown Pale ocher background</p>	<p><b>Color scheme:</b> Beige, red, blue, black cream background</p>
<p><b>The shape of the batik style and its density:</b> Figurative organics: Birds among floral. Smooth, detailed, natural</p>	<p><b>The shape of the batik style and its density:</b> Figurative organics: Birds among floral. Delicate, detailed, stylish</p>	<p><b>The shape of the batik style and its density:</b> Figurative organic, abstract organic: Bird shape camouflaged among floral. Delicate, detailed, stylish</p>
<p><b>Composition:</b> Less dense</p>	<p><b>Composition:</b> Dense</p>	<p><b>Composition:</b> Dense</p>
<p><b>Layout:</b> Loose</p>	<p><b>Layout:</b> Loose</p>	<p><b>Layout:</b> Loose</p>
<p><b>Visual Style Equation:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Red and blue colors in fig. 5, 6, 7</li> <li>- Birds and flora motifs in fig. 5, and 6</li> <li>- Solid material in fig. 6, and 7</li> <li>- Free layout on fig. 5, 6, 7</li> </ul>		
<p><b>Visual Style Difference:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The background color of fig. 5 is different from fig. 6 and 7</li> <li>- The green color that is only in picture 6</li> <li>- Dark and light brown colors are only in picture 5</li> <li>- The shape of the bird in picture 7 is disguised as a floral motif</li> <li>- The pictures of birds and flora in picture 5 are naturalist, while pictures 6 and 7 are stylized</li> <li>- The composition of image 5 is less dense than images 6 and 7</li> </ul>		

The results of this visual content analysis show that the bird and floral motifs in Figures 4, 5, and 6 are made with similar visual styles but have differences. Bird and floral motifs commonly found in coastal batik, including Pekalongan, are also found in ordinary Batang Pesisiran Batik. In Rifa'iyah Batik, the bird's shape is disguised to resemble leaves. The figurative, organic forms of the motifs are shown in Figures 4 and 5. In contrast, in Figure 6, in addition to using figurative, organic forms on floral motifs, they also use abstract organics on bird-like foliage motifs. Although the color scheme of each batik shows differences, the red and blue colors are shown in Figures 4, 5, and 6. The similarity of the background color is shown in Figures 5 and 6, which use beige, which is usually the color of the cloth that changes after dyeing. While the background color of picture 4 is pale ocher, intentionally



given a synthetic dye. The color scheme of the batik in figure 4 is pale ocher, red, blue, and dark brown. The batik color scheme in Figures 5 and 6 is similar, namely beige, blue, red, and black, but in Figure 5, there is also a green color. The batik in Figures 5 and 6 from Batang has a dense composition, while in Figure 4, it is less dense. The layout on all batik is free.

### 3.3 The Application of Bourdieu and STORM Theory to Explain the Similarities and Differences in Visual Style in the Three Batiks Discussed Above.

The theory of Bourdieu and STORM can be used to explain the similarities and differences in the visual styles of these three batik designs. Batang is a district adjacent to Pekalongan and was once the territory of the Pekalongan district from 1936 to 1965. In administrative and geographical proximity in the coastal area, the Batang batik shows similarities to the Pekalongan batik. As a result of online discussions in 2022 with William Kwan Hwie Liong, an expert on coastal batik, many batik artisans in Batang used to work for Pekalongan batik entrepreneurs.

The waning dominance of the Mataram Kingdom, and the increasing domination of the Dutch, caused a change in the constellation of power. Dutch people with dominating positions of power became social agents with specific aesthetic tastes, visualized through the batik cloth designs used by Dutch and Indo-Europeans women who lived in the Dutch East Indies from the 19th century to the 1920s ([connect-gateway.pln.co.id](http://connect-gateway.pln.co.id)). The motif widely used in the bouquet motif is sometimes combined with birds or butterflies in pastel colors. After obtaining equal rights (*gelijkgesteld*) from the Dutch East Indies colonial government in 1910, Peranakan Tionghoa women also used batik, similar to Dutch and Indo-European women. The mimicry performed by the Peranakan Tionghoa women aims to show the equality of social position with the Dutch ([iiste.org](http://iiste.org)).

Dutch/Indo-European and Peranakan Tionghoa batik entrepreneurs in Pekalongan produce batik with similar motifs but in brighter colors. Some of the batik artisans who produce this type of batik come from Batang Regency. In the social sphere occupied by Batang Batik artisans, the social agents who occupy positions that have economic and cultural dominance are coastal batik entrepreneurs from Pekalongan. Aesthetic tastes considered legitimate in batik are those from Pekalongan Batik, strongly influenced by Dutch and Chinese visual styles. The Pekalongan Batik design formula was considered a doxa that represented a legitimate aesthetic taste for an extended period. Figures 4 and 5 show the similarity of the motif objects, namely bird and floral, although in a slightly different way of depiction. The constellation of power was disrupted when in the mid-19th century, the Rifa'iyah religious group emerged in Kalisasak Batang Village. Most Batang people are followers of Rifa'iyah, so the social agents who have ideological and cultural dominance are Kiai Ahmad Rifa'i and other Islamic scholars. They prohibit the depiction of humans and animals because they are considered contrary to Islamic law ([lib.unnes.ac.id](http://lib.unnes.ac.id)).

This ideological dominance influenced the batik artisans in the Rifa'iyah group so that the bird's shape was disguised to resemble leaves, as shown in Figure 6. In the field occupied by social agents of Rifa'iyah followers, heterodoxa occurred, which 'challenged' the legitimacy of doxa regarding the Pekalongan batik design formula featuring figures of figurative animals (e.g., birds) in addition to floral. However, the heterodoxa that occur do not necessarily change the existing doxa but revise them. This phenomenon follows the social psychological theory of mimicry. When mimicry against the visual style of Pekalongan Batik is considered inappropriate because it is contrary to Islamic law, there will be a reduction in the level of mimicry. However, an aesthetic taste is maintained because it is considered doxa, a rich color scheme (red, blue, brown, Green, purple, and so on), floral motifs, subtle and detailed form processing, free layouts, and relatively solid compositions.

Visual processing style is similar due to the influence of aesthetic taste that has been internalized into a kind of doxa. However, it is also due to similar cultural capital. The artisans in Batang has almost the same batik skills as those in Pekalongan. For the Pekalongan and Batang Batik artisans (not included in Rifa'iyah), the bird and floral motifs have a profane meaning: joy. However, for the Rifa'iyah batik artisans, it means transcendent. The Rifa'iyah group gave a specific name to this motif, namely 'Pelo Ati', which became a symbol of Ahmad Rifai's teachings of Sufism. 'Pelo' is the gizzard



which symbolizes the bad qualities of humans that must be discarded, while 'Ati' is the heart which symbolizes the good qualities of humans that must be preserved. The Tarujumah book written by Kyai Rifa'i states that a gizzard is a place for human vices, namely Hubbub al-Dunia (loving worldly things), Thama (greedy), Itba'al-hawa (following lust), Ujub (admiring oneself), Riya (likes to be praised), Takabur (arrogance), Hasad (envy), and Sum'ah (showing off good deeds to others). On the other hand, in the heart there are 8 good qualities, namely Zuhud (not concerned with worldly things), Qana'at (feeling enough about His grace), Shabar (patience), Tawakal (surrendering to Him), Mujahadah (sincerely), Ridla (willingness), grateful, and sincere.

The difference in meaning shows a shift in ideology from the profane of Pekalongan Batik to the transcendent of Rifa'iyah Batik. The difference in visual style is caused by changes in the constellation of power so that what is considered legitimate must follow the teachings of Kyai Rifa'i.

#### 4. Conclusion

Although the geographical area of Batang has not changed, for the batik makers, various domains are formed from the course of history and geographical location. A social field is formed symbolically, aesthetically, culturally, and politically by the social agents of the Mataram Palace; a field that Pekalongan Batik entrepreneurs economically and aesthetically dominate; and a field that is dominated symbolically, culturally, and ideologically by Rifa'iyah scholars.

Different fields have different constellations of power. In these areas, there is a practice of mimicry, namely imitating the aesthetic taste of social agents who have dominance manifested in the visual style of batik. Causes in Batang, there are three types of batik, namely Batang Keratonan Batik, Batang Pesisiran Batik, and Rifa'iyah Batik. However, imitation is not precisely the same due to various factors, such as differences in cultural capital (batik skills and insight into the meaning of mimicked batik) and differences in the level of dominance that occurs in these fields. As stated in the STORM theory, mimicry is carried out to obtain social and economic benefits from social agents who have authority. Thus, if political dominance in a domain decreases, social agents in a lower position will reduce the level of mimicry. This can be seen in the Pisan Bali motif in Batang whose visual style can be very different from the original motif from the Surakarta Palace area. The dominance of ideology in the form of interpretation of Islamic law taught by Rifa'iyah scholars can also lead to a revision of the visual style of the mimicked Pekalongan Batik. Floral motifs are still imitated, but bird forms are disguised to resemble leaves.

From the results of this study, it can be concluded that the visual style of Batang Batik, which is a reflection of aesthetic taste (aesthetic preference), is not a pure practice without interest but is a practice that has claims related to socio-cultural conditions. Mimicry of the visual style of batik is mimicry of the aesthetic taste of social agents who have symbolic dominance in a field and can change when there is a change in authority.

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