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CHINESE SETTLEMENT IN A CHANGING CITY

AN ARCHITECTURAL STUDY OF THE URBAN CHINESE
SETTLEMENT IN SEMARANG, INDONESIA

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Perpustakaan
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BANDUNG

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Semarang is a provincial capital city, lies in northern coastal area of Central Java, Indonesia (see figure 1). This city has been particularly known as one of the major overseas Chinese urban population concentration in Indonesia since the pre-colonial period. I spent almost all my childhood in Ambarawa, a small town in the mountainous area forty kilometer southwards Semarang, and then lived in Semarang for three years during my senior high school period. In Ambarawa I lived in a big traditional Chinese house with my parent and grand parent. My curiosity about Chinese house and Chinatown has been put into my memory ever since.

Later, when I became one of the teaching staff in Universitas Katolik Parahyangan Bandung, I had been getting involved as a member in a research project of Morpho-Typological study of five medium town in West Java, a joint project between the Department of Architecture, Universitas Katolik Parahyangan, and the Post Graduate Center Human Settlements, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. Here for the first time I began to realize the importance of recomposition and reculturation processes for the currently decomposed and dehumanized cities. Also I began to understand the crucial role Architect is supposed to play in all scale levels using all available means, and not confined themselves within the narrow-minded attitude.

By this motivation I started my post graduate program in Architecture at the Post Graduate Center Human Settlements, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. Two years living right on the crossing point of Europe has not only academically improved me, but also has given me the first hand opportunity to watch the brutal oppositions of modernity and traditionalism, the conscientious urban revitalization efforts, and many more. It has widened my perspective on architecture and urbanism, but in the same moment it has also introduced me to the fresh understanding of the essence of architecture.

By taking the Chinatown of Semarang as my case study for the Master's thesis, in one hand I try to renew my concern to that rich and precious urban and architecture heritage which currently has undergone abusive social and physical threats. In other hand it becomes an excellent means to build initial and contextual understanding of urbanity and architecture in Indonesia.

B. Structure

For practical reasons this thesis is divided into three main parts with different entities. The first part concerns with the historical overview of Semarang urban context. The second part consists of the Morpho-Typological analysis of Semarang Chinatown. And finally the general introspection and final remarks are put in the third part.

An intensive bibliographical research, which was done between September 1987 and December 1987 in several institutions in Leiden, Amsterdam and Leuven, has resulted in a large quantity of information and data (literatures, manuscripts, reports, maps, photographs) which are more related to the social and urban history of Semarang and Chinese community. In January 1988, rather unexpectedly, I got a very precious opportunity to have short visit to Indonesia, joined by Professor Andre Loeckx and Professor Han Verschure. I used this chance to collect additional materials, and most importantly to do a personal field work in Semarang alone. Although limited by the availability of time and financial resources, I was succeeded in gaining enough materials and documentations concerning the physical features of the Chinatown (house samples, detailed maps, morphological and functional records, interviews, literatures, photographs) and the current information over the city of Semarang (master plan, newspaper clippings, studies).

The urban history of Semarang, which is intended to investigate the morphological development and changes in urban level, is explained according to a certain historical periodization (*see figure 2*) based on the analysis and synthesis process of the acquired data and information, and has been put in the first part. While the morphological and typological analyses of the locality, locality segment, and dwelling unit levels of the Chinatown have been put in the second part. The last part consists of general remarks and overview over a wide range of current problems and understandings, resulted from my introspection and contemplation processes.

This thesis has no attempt to give a certain or practical answer to the current problems of Semarang and its Chinatown, neither socially nor physically. But it should be regarded as the first important and substantial effort towards a comprehensive and coherent understanding over the problem of changes and development in Semarang urban tissue. Further inquiries and studies are absolutely necessary, before the realistic, contextual, and effective strategies can be conceived and implemented.

C. Acknowledgment

This study would not be able to be realized without the guidance, cooperation, understanding, and help from many individuals and institutions, to whom I sincerely express my thankfulness. Firstly I would like to thank Professor Andre Loeckx, my promoter, who has spared quite a lot of time from his tight schedule to open up my mind and to shape my ability all along my learning process. Also to Professor Han Verschure, my co-promoter and the program director, without him I would not be able to obtain my degree in Leuven; and to Professor Luc Verpoest, my reader, who has also opened up my understanding towards the historical perspectives.

Furthermore similar gratitude should be addressed to the Post Graduate Center Human Settlements (Belgium) which has provided me with great deals of opportunity and facilities to pursue my Master of Architectural Engineering degree; and to Universitas Katolik Parahyangan, my institution, which do not only give me permission to spend two years study abroad, but also continuously give essential supports to me and my family. Also to the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde in Leiden (Netherlands), the library of Rijk Universiteit Leiden (Netherlands), and the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen in Amsterdam (Netherlands), for their generous and helpful provisions of information, literatures, maps, and photographs.

I also owe a lot of favors to various individuals, such as: Mr. Sutrisno Murtijoso (Bandung) who has generously allowed me to use his excellent personal library of historical texts and maps; Mr. Pratiwo (Semarang) who has provided me with very useful maps and information over the Chinatown; Mr. Sih Ing Liong (Semarang) from whom I received a great deal of important information through a long discussion in his house; Mr. Ibrahim Rivai (Semarang), my beloved uncle, who has provided me not only with a lot of substantial information but also with accommodation during my stay in Semarang as well; Mr. Hadi Wreksoremboko (Semarang) who introduced me to some samples; to all inhabitants of the dwelling samples who had openly let me scrutinized their home and family; and to many other individuals I cannot mentioned here.

I always believe that the process of learning is a never ending process. And thus I hope that this initial study can be the impetus for further various studies and researches, which undeniably will also need further cooperation and help from different individuals and institutions.

Figure 1

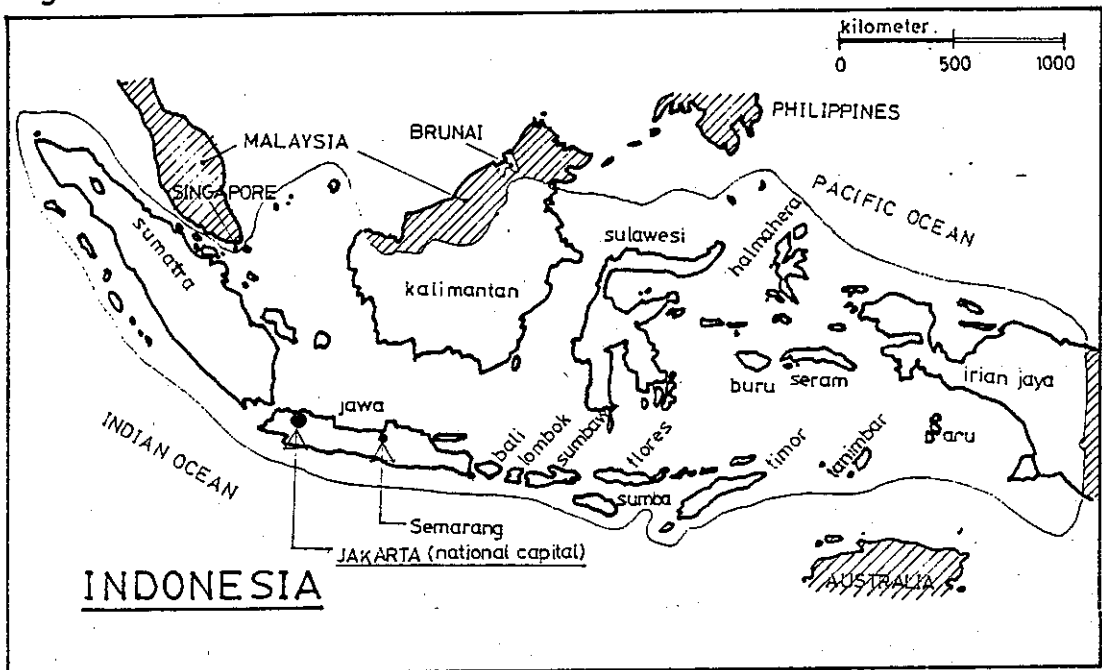
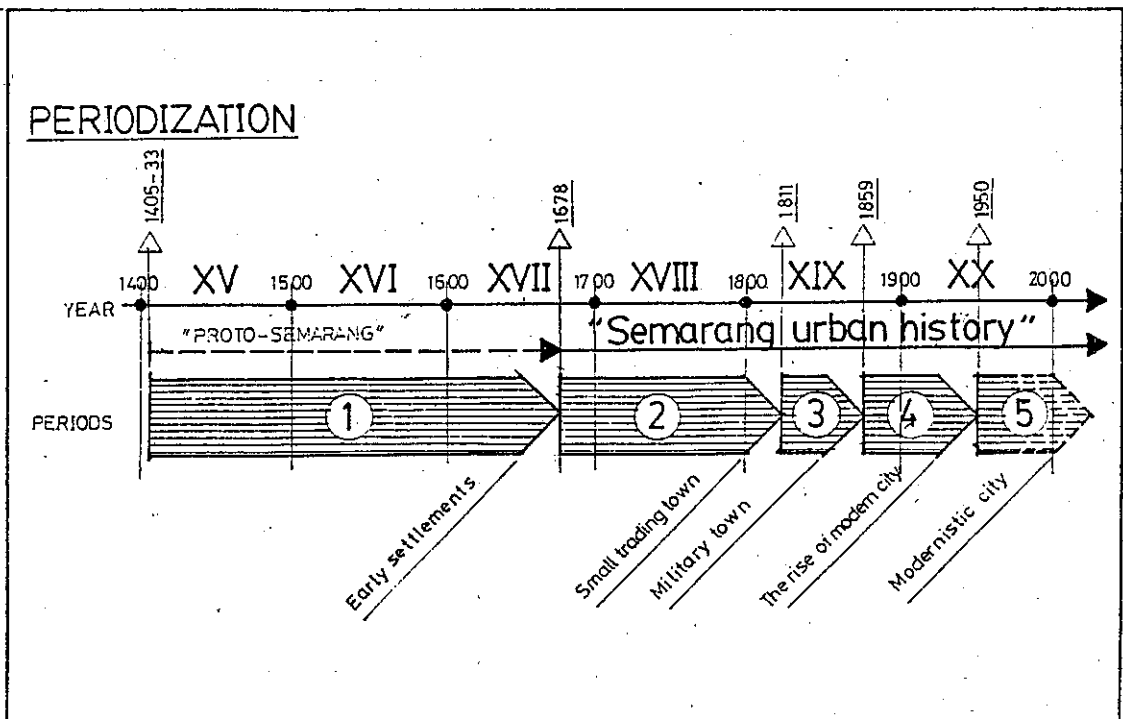


Figure 2



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PART I

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF SEMARANG URBAN CONTEXT

A. "Proto-Semarang" Period (ca.1400-1678)

1. The ancient settlements

Geographically the ancient Semarang was unlike the contemporary one. Van Bemmelen, a Dutch geologist, defended a theory that the ancient coast line of central Java was several kilometer away from the current coast line. The coast line was gradually moved forward with the speed of 7 meter per-annum, caused by the mud carried through the rivers from Demak area.⁽¹⁾ From the topographical maps, we can easily recognize the edge of the hilly area which defined the ancient coast line. A natural bay was shaped up at the mouth of Garang river, flanked by Penggiling and Bergota hills. This river was the origin (or the upstream) of the current Semarang river (see figure 3). Around the eighth century the Bergota harbor was the main port of ancient Hindu-Mataram kingdom with an ancient native settlements around it, and the shallowing process of the harbor became one reason for the declination of this Hindu kingdom and native settlement.

The famous voyage of a Chinese Ming dynasty admiral Cheng-Ho (a Moslem) between 1405-1433 (see figure 4) had in fact planted the preliminary seeds of the Chinese settlement in Semarang. According to Chinese tradition, Cheng-Ho firstly landed at Mangkang, an old harbor westward of Semarang, where a small Chinese settlement had already established, before went to Simongan (on the slope of Penggiling hills).⁽²⁾ Between 1411-1416 the Hanafite Moslem Chinese communities had already established in the Malay Peninsula, in Java and Philippines, thus most probably also in Semarang. It is believed that in 1413 the Ming's fleet was put in for a month at Semarang for ship repairs, and during this period the admiral and his officers came very often to the Hanafite Chinese mosque in Semarang⁽³⁾, which was

(1) BUDIMAN, Amen, "Semarang Riwayatmu Dulu I", Semarang, Penerbit Tanjung Sari, 1978, pp. 1-5.

(2) LIEM Thian-Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, pp. 1-2.

(3) DE GRAAF, H.J., and PIGEAUD, G. Th. (translators), and RICKLEFS, M.C. (editor), "Chinese Muslims in Java in the 15th and 16th centuries: The Malay Annals of Semarang and Cerbon", Monash Papers on Southeast Asia No. 12, Monash University, 1984, p. 14.

probably built in 1411.⁽⁴⁾ According to popular belief Ong King Hong (Cheng-Ho's second in command) did not continue his journey, and established the first Chinese colony in the bank of Garang river close to the coast.⁽⁵⁾ A Chinese shipyard was built between 1541-1546 in Semarang and built war ships for the Demak armada to support the expansion of this Moslem kingdom.⁽⁶⁾

Later Cheng-Ho and Ong King Hong were deified as Semarang's patron gods, and were worshipped by both Chinese and native population. A temple (known as Sam Po Tong, or kelenteng Gedong Batu) was then erected on that place. Around the end of the fifteenth century or the beginning of the sixteenth century a mix populated Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese settlement was developed in Semarang around the temple and the mosque.

According to native tradition, in 1476 the first native settlement was opened by Ki Ageng Pandan Arang, a Moslem preacher from Arab, in Bergota (known as Pulau Tirang area). As a proof of the existence of ancient settlement in this area some remains of carved stones of building parts from pre-Islamic period can still be found here.⁽⁷⁾

A dynastic quarrel in the Sultanate of Demak had led into the destruction of Demak and Semarang in 1546. The Demak army, defeated by the rebels, escaped to Semarang and tried to defence themselves in the Semarang shipyard. But the rebel forces besieged them, and with the exception of the temple and the mosque, the whole Semarang settlement was set on fire. But then a loyal prince to the Demak defeated the rebels and the Sultanate of Demak was re-established. The shipyard in Semarang was not re-built anymore, and thus the Hindu-Mataram kingdom was locked from the sea and lost its role as the supreme maritime power, which would led into the rapid declination of this kingdom until it fell into the Dutch hands in 1619.⁽⁸⁾

Although Simongan and Pulau Tirang had already been settled, but these villages could hardly be conceived as a town as a social, economic, and politic entity. But

(4) *ibid.*, p. 55.

(5) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, pp. 1-2.

(6) DE GRAAF, H.J., and PIGEAUD, G. Th. (translators), and RICKLEFS, M.C. (editor), "Chinese Muslims in Java in the 15th and 16th centuries: The Malay Annals of Semarang and Cerbon", Monash Papers on Southeast Asia No. 12, Monash University, 1984, pp. 33-34.

(7) BUDIMAN, Amen, "Semarang Riwayatmu Dulu I", Semarang, Penerbit Tanjung Sari, 1978, pp. 1-5.

(8) DE GRAAF, H.J., and PIGEAUD, G. Th. (translators), and RICKLEFS, M.C. (editor), "Chinese Muslims in Java in the 15th and 16th centuries: The Malay Annals of Semarang and Cerbon", Monash Papers on Southeast Asia No. 12, Monash University, 1984, pp. 35, 116-118.

nevertheless this "proto-Semarang" development was a necessary impetus towards the ramification of urban-Semarang on another location.

2. The Movement to new location

In 1575 Ki Ageng Pandan Arang moved his mission center to the coastal flat land eastwards, and this area was called Bubakan⁽⁹⁾ ("Bubak" = opening land to be used for settlement). As a community chief and religious leader ("Jurunata" under the Sultan of Demak, the first Islam kingdom in Java) he built his palace here, and this place would be known as Jurnatan.

The period of the Sultanate of Demak was continued by the period of the Sultanate of Pajang (1568-1586), and the Sultanate of Mataram (1586-1755) (see figure 5). During the reign of Sultan Agung (1613-1645) the importance of Semarang harbor had been revived to play an important role as the main entrance harbor to the Moslem Mataram kingdom.⁽¹⁰⁾

Around 1628 the Chinese community of Semarang participated in a rebellion against Mataram. The Sunan of Mataram asked the Dutch (V.O.C.) to help to defeat the rebels. Souw Pan Djiang, the warrior who led the Chinese community, was killed and all Chinese population was forced to move from Simongan to settle in a new area near the V.O.C. trading post. This area was encircled by the Semarang river as its northern, eastern, and southern border, and an open field as its western boundary. Initially they built temporary houses using bamboos and wood-planks, on an unorganized road and block patterns, similar to the native houses.⁽¹¹⁾

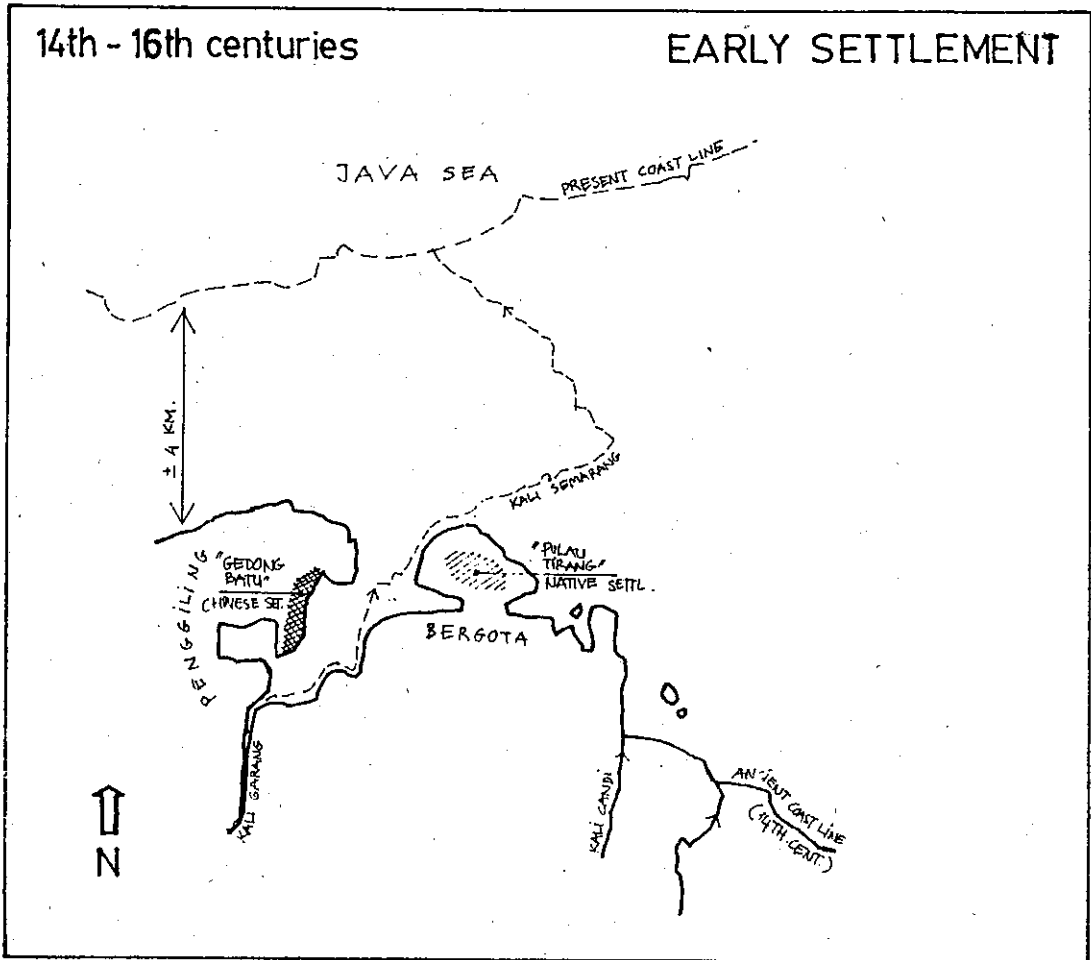
Up to this point it can be said that Semarang still had a small village character, developed around a small V.O.C. trading post core. The urban character started to be developed when this core became a fortified town, where the V.O.C. held the control over Semarang and its surrounding area in 1678.

(9) SOEKIRNO, "Semarang", Semarang, Djawatan Penerangan Kota Besar Semarang, 1956, p. 27.

(10) *ibid.*, p. 26, 33.

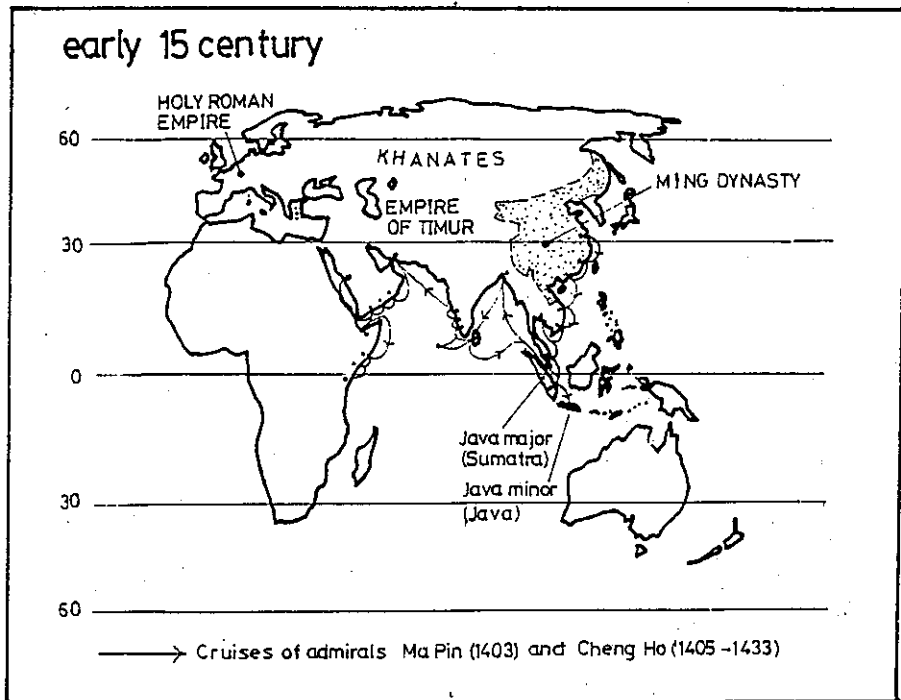
(11) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djanannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, pp. 4-5.

Figure 3



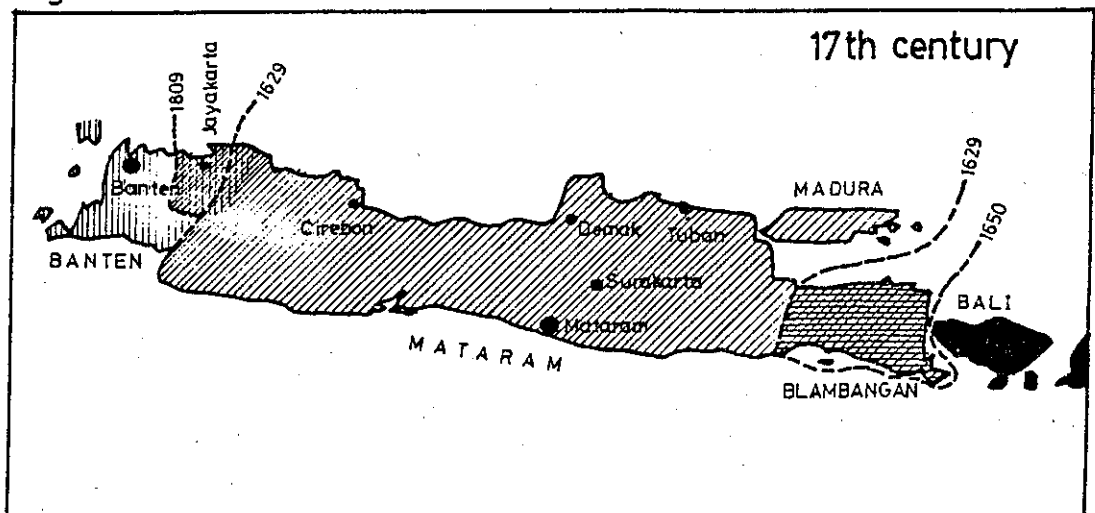
- 1) BUDIMAN, Amen, "Semarang Riwayatmu Dulu I" (The History of Semarang part I), Semarang, 1978.
- 2) WIDODO, Johannes, Reconstruction based on the old topographical maps.

Figure 4



HERRMANN, Albert, and GINSBURG, Norton (ed), "An Historical Atlas of China", Amsterdam, Djambatan N.V. Publishers & Cartographers, 1966, pp. 44-47.

Figure 5



LUBIS, Mochtar, "Het Land onder de Regenboog" (The Land under the Rainbow), Amsterdam, Sijthoff, 1931.

B. The Small Trading Town Period (1678-1811)

1. The Dutch and Chinese small trading town

In 1678 Semarang and the surrounding lands were handed to the V.O.C. by the Sultan of Mataram, but a Dutch administration center for central Java was not removed from Jepara to Semarang until 1697 when the fortress of Semarang was fully finished (*see figure 6*).⁽¹²⁾ At this moment there were about 180 Dutch traders, soldiers, sailors and artisans living in the fortress of Semarang.⁽¹³⁾ Previously the company had maintained a number of fortified trading posts in the main coastal towns of central Java such as Semarang, Jepara, Juana, and Pekalongan.⁽¹⁴⁾ From morphological point of view, the uninterrupted development of Semarang urban history was started from 1678, on which the urban morphological seed of present day Semarang was implanted.

Meanwhile there had been a steady flow of Chinese immigration from southern China to Indonesian archipelagos, especially during the turbulent years of 1644, when the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty overthrew the Ming dynasty. They followed the Chinese traditional eastern trading route to the southern sea (*see figure 7*). Semarang had its own boarding house in Batavia, where the newcomers were lodged until they found ships ready to take them to Semarang.⁽¹⁵⁾ There were two different groups of overseas Chinese: those who returned to their home villages in China after making their own fortune overseas, and those who settled in Indonesia. The second group consisted of those who could make regular visits to their homeland as often as they could afford it, and those who could not afford to make regular visits but could regularly sent a part of his earning back to their families in China.⁽¹⁶⁾

In the second half of the seventeenth century, Semarang had already become a small town with three different morphological elements: the walled Dutch town (a trading post), the Chinese kampung (a commercial center), and the enclosing unstructured native settlement (an agricultural hinterland) (*see figure 8*). The Semarang

(12) *ibid.*, p. 13.

(13) *ibid.*, p. 7.

(14) WILLMOTT, Donald Earl, "The Chinese of Semarang: A Changing Minority Community in Indonesia", New York, Cornell University Press, 1960, p. 4.

(15) ONG Tae-hae, "The Chinaman Abroad", Shanghai, 1849, quoted in BLUSSE, Leonard, "Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and The Dutch in V.O.C. Batavia", Dordrecht, Foris Publications, 1986, p. 114.

(16) *ibid.*, p. 4.

river played an important role as the main transportation passage, connecting the two economic nucleus (the Chinese and the Dutch towns) with Batavia, with another regions, or even with abroad (Europe, China).

Without any doubt, the underlying mode of the urban Semarang at that period was the economic one. The Dutch played the determinant role as the exploiter standing on the bureaucratic sector, exploiting the native peasant of the agricultural sector. While the Chinese played the mediating role between the Dutch and the native, mainly on the industry and trading sectors (*see figures 9 and 10*). The Chinese merchants and traders played some important economic roles,⁽¹⁷⁾ such as:

- a. Imported household potteries and porcelains, cotton goods, silk, and paper from China, and then exchange its with pepper, nutmeg, and cinnamon from Java;
- b. Established sugar-cane industry to be used in wine production for export and to make refined sugar for local markets;
- c. Opened home industries (small candle factory or peanut oil manufacture) in almost every Chinese residence; and
- d. Held monopoly tax rights (given by the native rulers to the wealthy Chinese) over import and export duties, the head tax, market fees, gambling concessions, taxes on wine manufacturing and trade in salt, rice, and wood.

In 1672, the Dutch had already applied a system of indirect rule towards the Chinese population in Semarang by appointing leading Chinese merchants as "Captains", "Lieutenants", and later on "Majors". Kwee Kiauw was appointed as the first Chinese Captain for Semarang.⁽¹⁸⁾ V.O.C. gave them independence to handle their own affairs as long as they could maintain peace and order within their community, and could assure the steady flow of raw materials and taxes.

In June 9, 1702, Semarang was officially declared as the capital town for the ex-Mataram's northern coastal territory.⁽¹⁹⁾ Many monopoly on taxes which were previously held by the Chinese were taken over by V.O.C. But the Chinese could still hold the monopoly over salt and wood. From this period sugar industry was developed

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- (17) WILLMOTT, Donald Earl, "The Chinese of Semarang: A Changing Minority Community in Indonesia", New York, Cornell University Press, 1960, p. 3-4.
- (18) *ibid.*, pp. 4-5, and also LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djanannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoensja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, p. 9.
- (19) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djanannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoensja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, pp. 19-18.

by some Chinese of Semarang which could generate big profit for them. The methods and machineries was imported from China. The dried sugar was packed and delivered to the V.O.C. stores, which was then exported by the Dutch to fulfill the high demand of European market.

Several stone houses with ceramic roof were built in Semarang, initially along "Pecinan Lor" (northern Chinatown) and "Pecinan Wetan" (eastern Chinatown) by skillful Chinese masons from Batavia. Horse was the most important means of transportation to bring in building materials, since no big road existed at that moment.⁽²⁰⁾ Most of the buildings which were built along the Pecinan Lor were single story shop-houses, thus this street was called "gang Warung" (or shops street). This street became the most alive shopping street in Semarang, which also invited the native to stroll and to trade here, passing through the Pekojan bridge in the north and Sebandaran bridge in the south.⁽²¹⁾

In 1724 a big thanksgiving celebration to the patron god of Semarang (Cheng-Ho, or Sam Po) was held, and for the first time a temple was erected in Gedong Batu. It was a simple shelter, built in front of the sacred cave (which was believed as used to be the Admiral's shelter) to provide a place for rest for the worshippers.⁽²²⁾

Thus up to this moment Semarang can be perceived as a growing market town, with the Chinese community practically dominated the urban economic activity. They became prosperous by maintaining their position as mediator in a two-way economic system (export and import), collaborating with the Dutch colonial ruler. And morphologically Semarang can be seen as a growing town with double nucleus (centers of activity): the Dutch power center, and the Chinese economic center, surrounded by the less important and unstructured native settlements in the periphery.

2. The Fortified Chinatown

In 1740 the Dutch central government in Batavia decided to reduce the number of Chinese population in Java by stopping new arrival from China, and by deporting Chinese criminals and oppositions to Ceylon and South Africa. This decision created a big Chinese rebellion against V.O.C., ended with the famous Chinese massacre in Batavia on November 1740, when about 10,000 Chinese were killed (*see illustrations 1 and 2*).

(20) *ibid.*, p. 11.

(21) *ibid.*, p. 20.

(22) *ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

This incident was soon followed by a period of bloody retaliations and outbreaks in Java from the Chinese against the V.O.C. motivated mainly by group's solidarity. In this rebellions, the native rulers were divided. Some Regents allied with the Chinese, while the Sunan of Mataram cooperated with V.O.C. (23)

A wooden fortress was built around the Chinese kampung of Semarang, to close the settlement area from the open field westwards and northwards (the river itself had already become a means for defence). The area outside the fortress along Pecinan Wetan was then called "Pang-shia" (Chinese term for wooden fortress), or also known as "Beteng" (Javanese term for fortress).

In 1741 the Chinese fortress of Semarang fell and Kwee An Say, the second Chinese Captain of Semarang, was arrested by V.O.C. Most of Semarang's Chinese population fled to Welahan to continue the struggle against V.O.C. and native rulers. At last in 1742 V.O.C. succeeded in normalizing the situation in Java, after the Chinese rebellion had been completely overcome. (24)

3. The Chinatown revival

Soon after the war many Chinese returned to Semarang and the town's population rapidly grew because of the new flows of immigrants from China. In September 20, 1743 a Chinese Lieutenant from Batavia, Kwee Gang, was appointed as the new Chinese Captain of Semarang by V.O.C. and he maintained a good cooperation with the Dutch. In 1753 he was replaced by Captain Oei Tje. (25) This was the beginning of Chinese community revival in Semarang, which would be followed by the economic revival of the town.

Small ships could sail along the Semarang river up to the south-western end of Chinatown, and downstream northwards a river harbor was created in Darat (= landing place) village and Ngilir (= downstream) village. (26) The loading and unloading activities were performed along this navigable part of the river, especially in the Chinese area. A warehouse complex with landing facilities owned by Khouw Ping (the next Chinese Lieutenant after Oei Tje) was developed in the eastern corner of Chinatown, which then was known as Kali Koping. (27)

(23) *ibid.*, pp. 29-33.

(24) *ibid.*, p. 34.

(25) *ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

(26) *ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

(27) *ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

The empty land in the middle of Chinatown was soon divided into housing plots along two new north-south streets, Pecinan Tengah (later: Gang Tengah) and Belakang Pecinan Tengah (later: Gang Besen), in order to accommodate the rapid growth of Chinese population in Semarang.⁽²⁸⁾

During this period the first six Chinese temples of Semarang Chinatown were built (see figure 11). In 1746 a temple, Kwan Im Ting, dedicated for the Goddess of Mercy, was built in Gang Belakang. The street behind this temple was named Ting-auw-kee (later: Gang Gambiran). But later in 1771 this temple was demolished and replaced by the new one across the river in Kang-kie (later: Gang Lombok), urged by a belief that the bad location of the temple had generated a lot of trouble to the Chinese community.⁽²⁹⁾ In 1753, as a sign of thanks for the community prosperity, the second temple dedicated for the Earth God was built. This temple, Tho-kee-kong-bio, was located in the southern end of Sin-kee (later: Gang Baru). The east-west street in front of this temple was named Tjien-hien-kee (= progressive and harmony) which later was called Tjap-kauw-king, and then Wotgandul Timur. In 1756 the third temple was erected by the Kwee family, and was named Kwee Lak Kwa, located on the southern end of Gang Gambiran, facing the southern entrance of the Chinatown.⁽³⁰⁾ The fourth temple, which was erected in 1771, was the biggest Chinese temple ever built in Semarang as the substitution of the first temple.⁽³¹⁾ This temple was named Tay Kak Sie (= the temple of the Great Consciousness) and was opened by great festivities. In 1782 the fifth temple was erected in the southern corner of Tang-kee (Pecinan Wetan) near the river by Lieutenant Khouw Ping, before he returned to China.⁽³²⁾ And around 1792 the sixth temple was built at the end of Moa-phay-kee (later: Gang Pasar Baru). Also the Gedong Batu temple was renovated in 1796.

Meanwhile the town of Semarang was expanded. The native kampungs around Chinatown such as Pekojan (where many Moor or Koja population settled), Petudungan (where a lot of traditional cap or Tudung was sold), Pesantren (where the Moslem or Santri settled), and Ambengan, were alive because of its location along the main road to the Chinatown.

In 1797 V.O.C. demanded that the old Chinese cemetery in Pekojan should be removed, because a new

(28) *ibid.*, p. 49.

(29) *ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

(30) *ibid.*, pp. 22-26.

(31) *ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

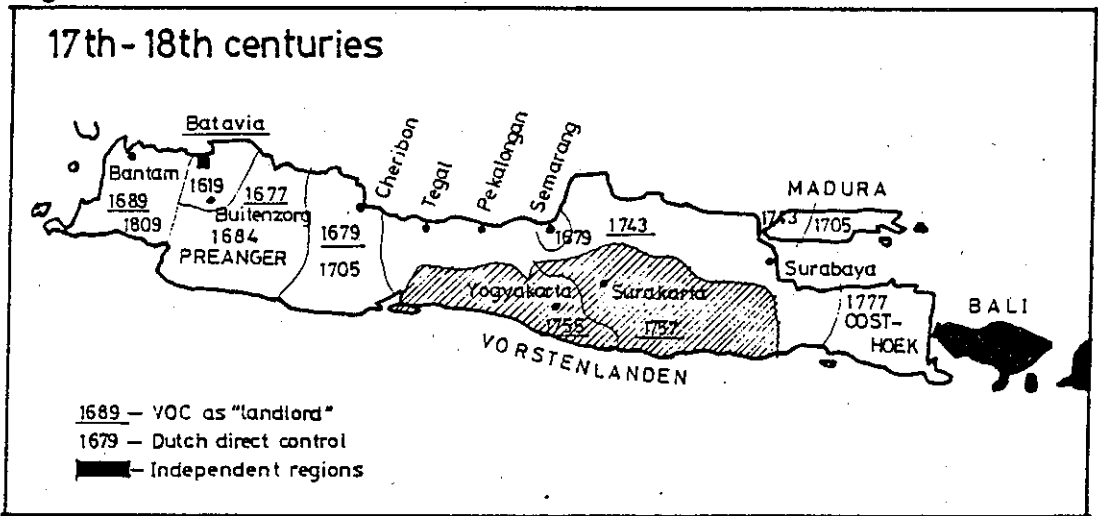
(32) *ibid.*, p. 54.

settlement area for both Chinese and native will be developed there. The new location for Chinese cemetery was in Gergaji, far away southward on the slope of Candi hills. A Chinese mystical sign placed on the wall, which was put to remove the spirits from the old graveyard, can still be found up to the present. (33)

Since 1795 Dutch became "Bataafsche Republiek", a French ally, which had continuously been in the state of war with the British until 1815. In 1799 V.O.C. was declared bankrupt and its authority was taken over by the Dutch government since January 1, 1800.

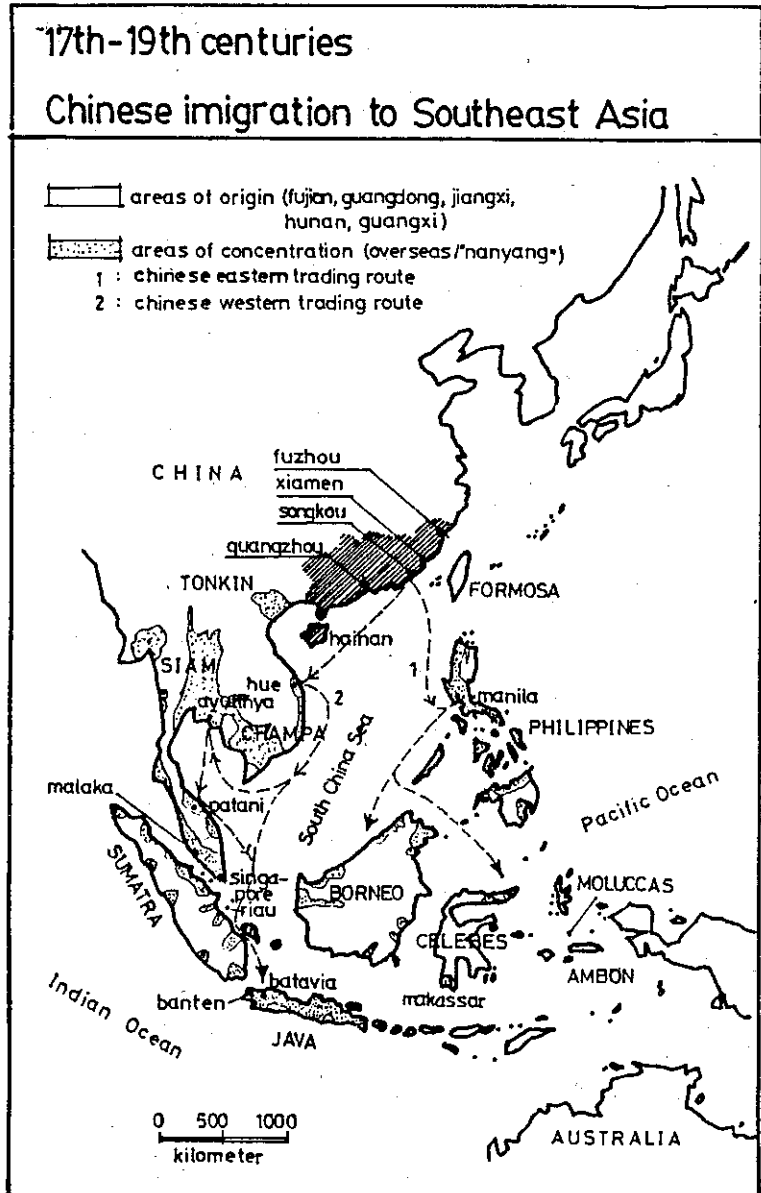
(33) *ibid.*, pp. 57-59.

Figure 6



LINGEN, J.P., "Indonesië" (Landdocumentatie 1981 No. 1), Amsterdam, Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, 1971, p.17.

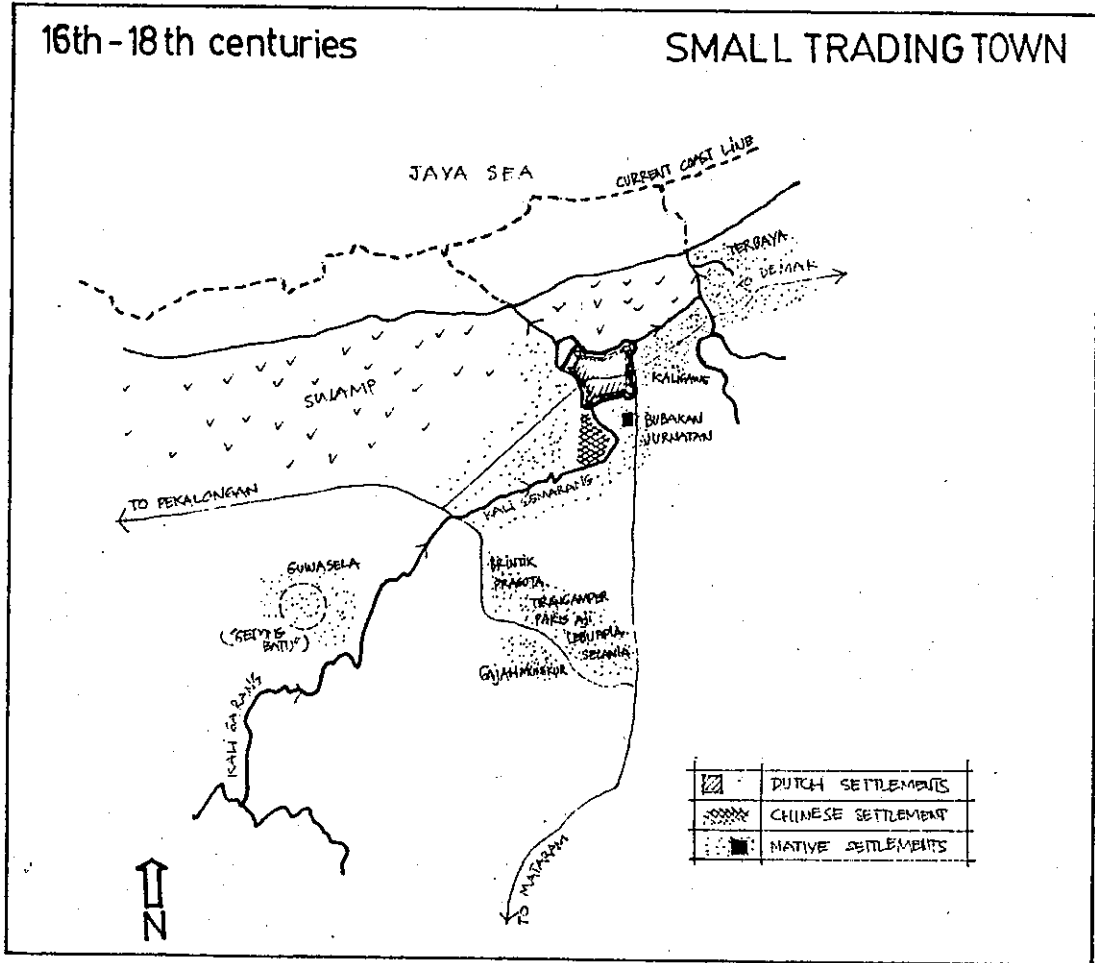
Figure 7



1) BRUSSE, Leonard, "Strange Company: Chinese Sailors, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia", Dordrecht, Foris Publications, 1986, p. 98.

2) BERGMANN, Albert, and GINSBURG, Morton (ed), "An Historical Atlas of China", Amsterdam, Djambatan N.V. Publishers & Cartographers, 1966, pp. 54.

Figure 8



1) WIDODO, Johannes, Reconstruction based on maps of 1811 and 1825.

2) BUDIMAN, Amen, "Semarang Riwayatmu Dulu I" (The History of Semarang part I), Semarang, 1972.

Figure 9

16th-18th centuries

MORPHOLOGIC MODEL

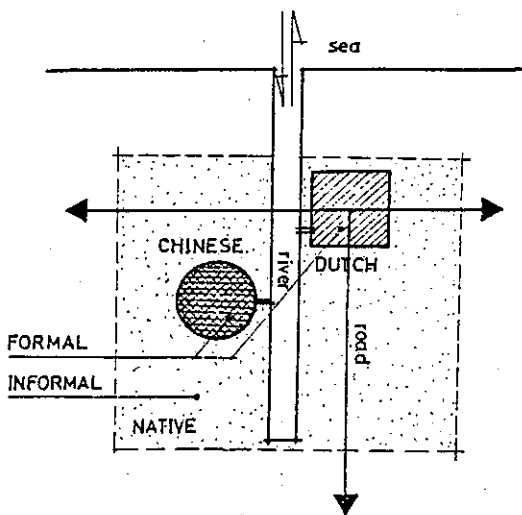
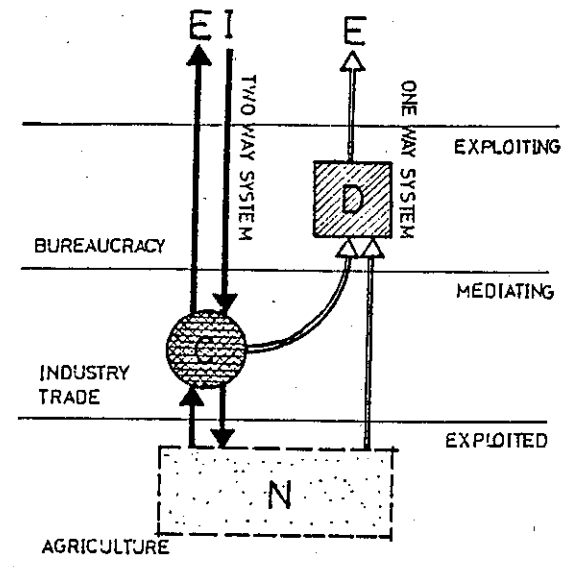


Figure 10

16th-18th centuries

ECONOMIC MODEL



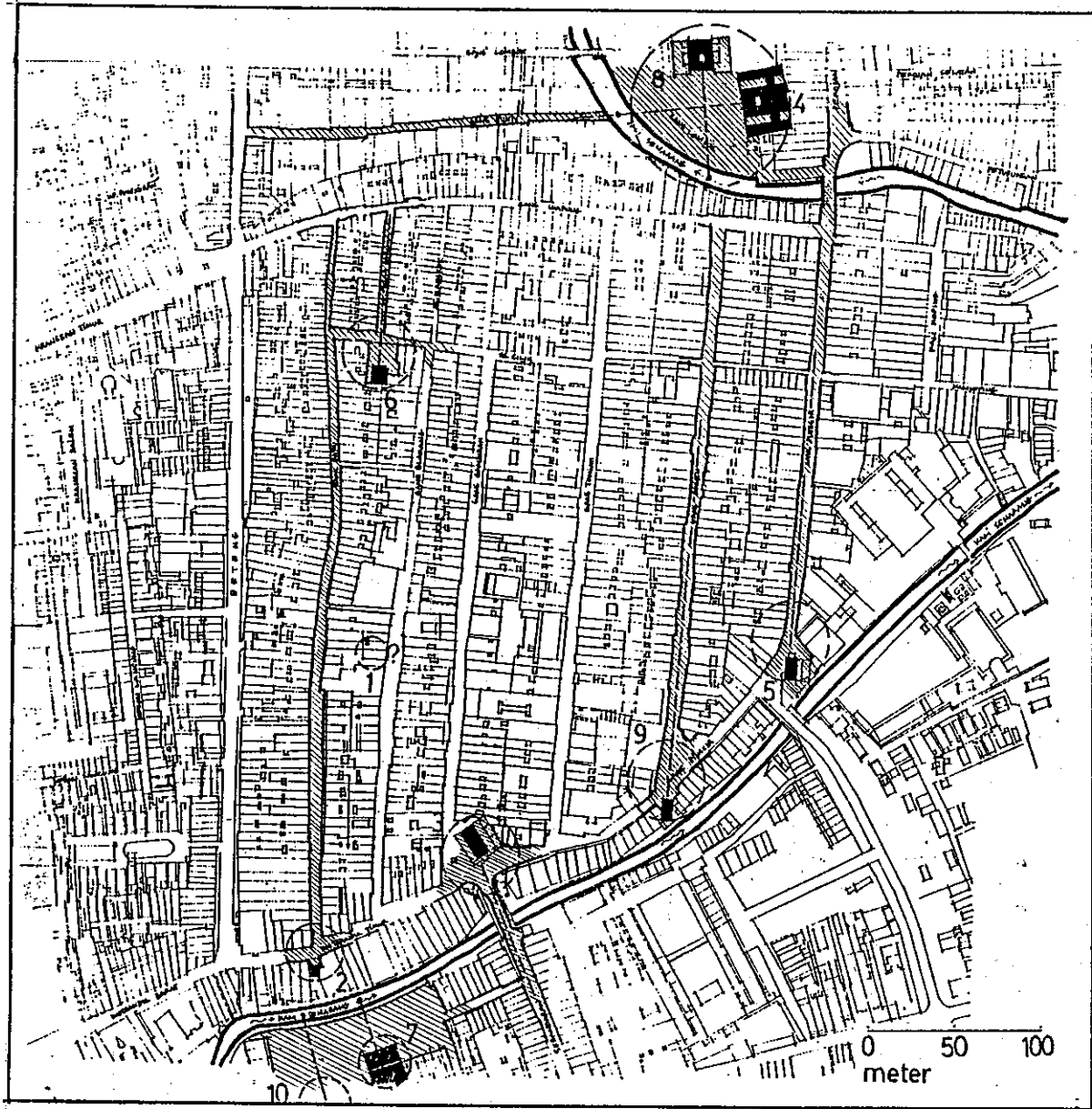
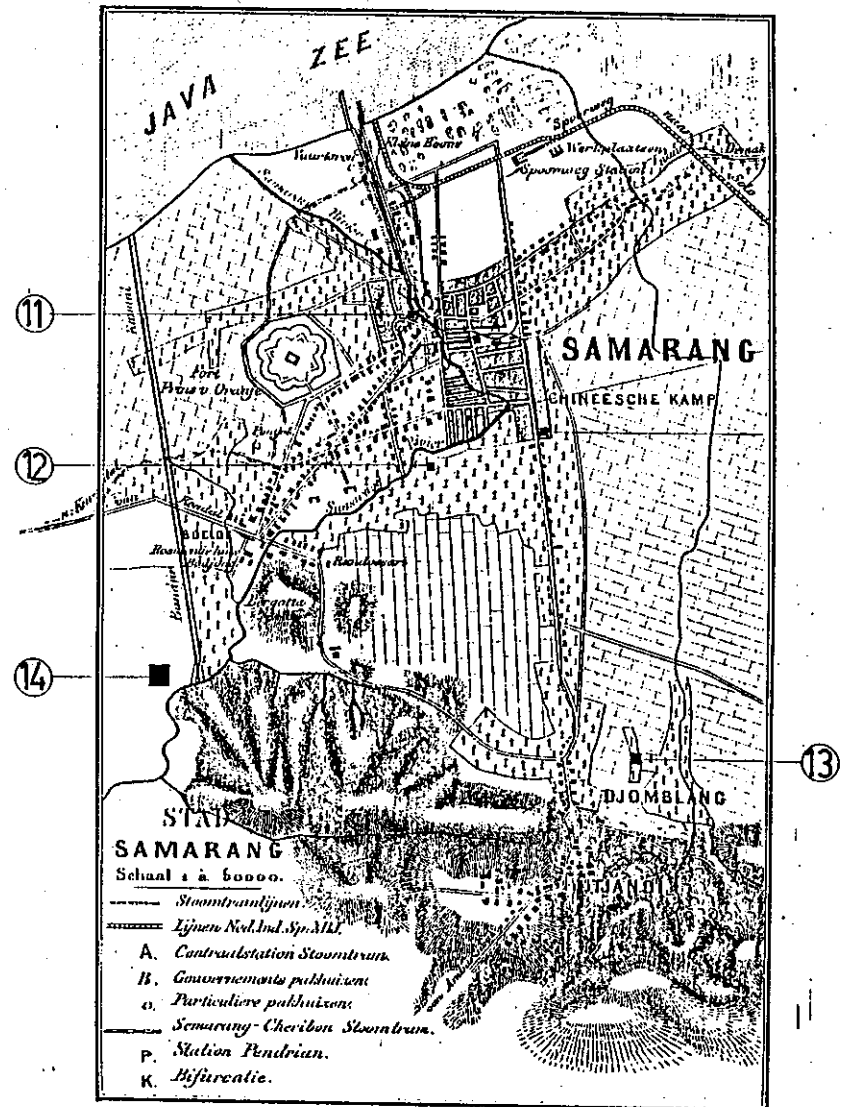


Figure 11 : Chinese Temples

See next page for notes.

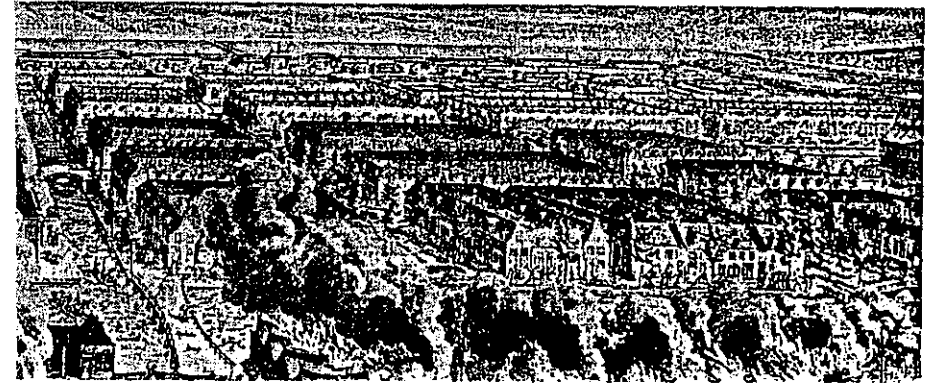


CHINESE TEMPLES ("KELENTENG") IN SEMARANG CHINATOWN

1. 1st temple : Kwan Im Ting (1746-1771)
2. 2nd temple : Tjien Hien Kee (1753)
3. 3rd temple : Kwee Lak Kwa (1756)
4. 4th temple : Tay Kak Sie (1771)
5. 5th temple : (Tang Kee) (1782)
6. 6th temple : Ho Hong Bio (1792)
7. 7th temple : Khay Tjiang Sing Ong (1814)
8. 8th temple : Kong Tik Soe (1845)
9. 9th temple : Leng Hok Bio (1866)
10. 10th temple : Ma Tjouw Klong (1881)
11. 11th temple : (Kampung Melayu) (1901)
12. 12th temple : Hian Thian Siang Tee (1905)
13. 13th temple : Hoesi Tik Bio (1905)

14. early temple: Sam Po Tong (ca. 15th century)

Illustration 1



Reproduced from LUBIS, Mochtar, "Het Land onder de Regenboog", Amsterdam, Sijthoff, 1984.

Illustration 2



Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam; contemporary print depicting the fighting in the Ommelanden and Batavia, reproduced from BLUSSE, Leonard, "Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia", Dordrecht, Foris Publications, 1986, p. 92.

C. The Colonial Military Town Period (1811-1859)

1. The end of the V.O.C. era

Though this period is very short compared with the previous one, but this unstable 60 years of war had changed the urban morphology of Semarang and had also reinforced the position of this town in central Java.

After the bankruptcy of V.O.C. and the surrender of the Dutch to the French, Herman Willem Daendels became the next Governor General in Batavia. To defend Java from the British naval attack, he constructed the first inter-regional road along the northern coast of Java from Anyer to Panarukan. This famous road was called "Groote-postweg" (= the great post-road), since this road was also used as the main communication means between the areas controlled by Dutch in Java (*see figure 12*).

In 1811 Daendels was replaced by General Janssens. Just two months after Janssens took his office as Governor General in Batavia, on August 27, 1811 the British Navy defeated the Dutch (or French) force in Batavia (Meester Cornelis). Janssens's force retreated to Semarang through the post-road, and with the help from the native rulers' forces the Dutch army tried to make a stand in Semarang. On September 1, 1811 the Dutch established a military headquarter in front of the Resident palace in Bojong. Several batteries were also built in the hilly area of Srondol further to the south, in Ungaran they also established another military headquarter. Those headquarters must be the temporary ones, since its were built in a hurry.

On September 9, 1811 the British force under the Admiral Sir Samuel Aughmuty landed in Semarang without any resistance. General Janssens drew his defeated army to Ungaran on September 11, 1811, and the British army entered the deserted town the following day. After a short battle the fort of Ungaran (a square masonry fortress) was soon defeated, and Janssens retreated further to the south to the fort of Salatiga. On September 18, 1811, Java fell to the British control after Janssens surrendered in the fort of Ungaran.

A strong rumor about a big battle that would happened in Semarang had caused panic among Semarang population. Many Chinese evacuated to another towns (Wedung, Demak, Kudus, Welahan, Jepara). Semarang was left empty, but there were still some brave or poor inhabitants remained. But soon after the battle was over

the life in Semarang became normal again. Celebrations were held in all five Chinese temples of Semarang. (34)

2. The British Administration

On October 19, 1811 Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles became the Lieutenant Governor General in Batavia under Lord Minto, the British Governor General in Calcutta. Semarang had an authoritarian British Resident, John Crawfurd, the Chinese community here was led by the most upstanding Captain Tan Tiang Tjing (Hok Goan) (in 1829 he would be received the first Chinese Major honorable rank), and a native Bupati ruled the native population. According to Raffles, in 1815 there were 1700 Chinese (51%) lived in Semarang among 327,610 its total population. (35)

The most significant change of policy from the previous V.O.C.'s old order of arid commercialism was Raffles' administrative reformation. He changed radically the administrative system with a humanitarian, efficient and effective one. Firstly he instituted a detailed statistical inquiries, before issued the land reform acts (revenue, commerce, and judiciary). His land reform acts gave limited rights of private ownership over land to abolish the system of forced labor and of all forms of irregular incomes. It secured the government administrative and political control over the land market and ownership. (36)

During this short British administration, several native kampungs growth around the Chinese economic pole and British/Dutch military and administrative pole, named after the specific functions or features of those localities (such as: Deresan - the palm-sugar makers, Bubutan - the wooden-shoe makers, Pusporagan - the house of prince R.M.T. Pusporogo, Logenderan - the house of prince Logender, Kranggan - the house of a native lord or Ronggo, Wotgandul - the suspended bridge, Jagalan - the slaughter-house, Kulitan - the leather tanning). Further to the south some haphazard villages along the main road had not yet connected morphologically with Semarang (Karang Wulan, Karang Turi, Karang Sari, Bangkong, Peterongan, Jomblang). (37)

(34) *ibid.*, pp. 63-68; and also consult the military map "Schets van de verstrekte stelling der Fransche troepen onder de bevelen van den Gouverneur Generaal Janssens ...", Dordrecht, H.J. Backer, 1811, RUL: Port 57 No. 81.

(35) RAFFLES, Thomas Stamford, "History of Java", volume 1, p. 62.

(36) WRIGHT, Arnold (ed.), "Twentieth Century Impressions of Netherlands India: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources", London, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Company, Ltd., 1909, pp. 87-90.

(37) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwajat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang,

Some large parcels of private lands owned by British, Dutch, and Chinese were also appeared in Semarang. A British's parcel across Pecinan Kidul was sold to Tan Tiang Tjing, and a sugar warehouse was then built on this site (thus this area was called Gedong Gula). Later a big house was erected and the warehouse was moved nearer to the road. A two stories entrance gate-house at the southern side of Sebandaran bridge, and also a strong wall along the river to prevent flood, were constructed (*see illustration 3*). The name Sebandaran had appeared since the Captain, who hold the monopoly over gambling, opened a gambling place here. He also opened a Chinese market in Ambengan, outside the old Chinatown, known as Kebon Cina. (38)

In 1814 Tay Kak Sie temple, together with the Pecinan Lor bridge, were renovated. Also in this year the seventh temple (Khay Tjiang Sing Ong), surrounded by a big Chinese garden, was built. This was the temple for Tan family, the Captain's clan (*see figure 11*). (39) Thus the Chinatown began to expand outward bit by bit, and also it was inwardly densified, without abandoning its main quality as a commercial center.

The British administration was ended in 1816, as the result of the Dutch-British treaty in London (after the fall of Napoleon in 1814), through which Dutch became a free kingdom, and the previously known as V.O.C.'s "East Indies" was then called "Nederlandsch Indie".

3. The Colonial Military town

Between 1825-1830 the Java war (led by Diponegoro, a Javanese prince, against the Dutch) broke in central Java. Semarang became a strong military center against the wide-spread rebellion. From the early nineteenth century maps we can see a lot of military establishments was spread within the town along the axes of east-west post-road, with the Dutch walled town as its central stronghold. In 1835 the Dutch built a fortress in Poncol which was named Fort Prins van Oranje. (40) The Chinatown was still a dense commercial and dwelling nucleus. The native settlement spread to the east-west direction around these two centers, with a rather unclearly defined native Regent's house behind the alun-alun and the market

Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, pp. 77-79; and also consult map "Kaart en Plan en Samarang met desself land en zee situatie", 1/7200, ca. 1825, RUL: VI-12-19.

(38) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwajat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, pp. 79-80.

(39) *ibid.*, p. 85.

(40) *ibid.*, p. 102; also refer to map "Plattegrond der stad Samarang door G.P.F. Cronenberg, De Groot Kolff, 1/20.000, 1866, KIT: Krtz. 379.

(see figures 13, 14, and 15). In 1829 the total amount of permanent house (masonry walls with tiled-roof) in Semarang were just 1492.⁽⁴¹⁾

Reacting against the rumor about the possibility of the native attack to Semarang, Captain Tan Tiang Tjhing asked Dutch permission to built big gateways on the four entrances to the Chinatown (see illustrations 4 and 5). These gates were situated on Sebandaran (at the road corner to Jagalan), Beteng (at the end of Pecinan Lor and Pecinan Kidul), and at the northern entrance to Chinatown (across the Pekojan bridge).⁽⁴²⁾ For several months the heavy doors of these gates were closed and guarded by a group of Chinese adults every night, until the rumor ceased and the secure feeling among the Chinese community returned gradually. Even after the Diponegoro war was ceased in 1829 and the situation became normal again, these four gates was still being kept and guarded by hired native guards. All of these gates were removed around 1890.⁽⁴³⁾

At this moment some Chinese had already lived along Petudungan, the road connecting northern part of Chinatown with Ambengan eastward. To insure their security they also asked permission to built gates on both ends of the road.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Some years later, after many Chinese lived in Pekojan, the western gate was demolished while the eastern gate remained. Together with the other eight gates, these features had been able to define clearly the boundary of the Chinatown in early nineteenth century.

Responding to the spread of a great epidemic in 1830 because of the bad and inadequate urban infrastructures (utilities and sanitations) in Semarang, Captain Tan Hong Yan (Soei Goan), who replaced Tan Tiang Tjhing in 1828, opened a special Chinese traditional clinic for the poor.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Tan Tiang Tjhing, who had already retired, purchased a piece of public land in Merican area in the south to provide a free burial place for the poor Chinese in 1832, and he died in 1833.⁽⁴⁶⁾ From these facts we can learn that the Chinese officials were in fact the most influential and honorable community leaders, through their wealth and their very good relations with the Dutch ruler. They had been given control over the monopoly of opium trade and gambling, and most of them owned either sugar industry or other business (export-import).

(41) *ibid.*, p. 96.

(42) *ibid.*, p. 92.

(43) *ibid.*, p. 97.

(44) *ibid.*, p. 98.

(45) *ibid.*, p. 100.

(46) *ibid.*, p. 96-97.

In this period the names of the Chinatown's streets were changed: Gang Pinggir (Pecinan Wetan), Gang Warung (Pecinan Lor), Gang Baru (Sin-kee), Gang Gambiran (Ting-auw-kee), Gang Cilik (Hoay-kee), Gang Tengah (Pecinan Tengah), Gang Besen (Belakang Pecinan Tengah or Kak-pan-kee).⁽⁴⁷⁾

In 1835 the first Chinese community office was set up in Gedong Gula as the initiative of Captain Tan Hong Yan. This office was known as "Kongkoan" (or "Chineesche Raad" in Dutch). The status of this office was informal until 1885, and would be erased in 1931. After 1885 this institution had a right to apply the police power to the Chinese community. In 1837 he asked permission from the authority to build a special Kongkoan building beside Tay Kak Sie temple in Gang Lombok. In 1845 this building and Tay Kak Sie were renovated. A big building was erected on the site of the old Kongkoan building and was named Kong Tik Soe. The middle and the east part of this building was a communal temple (the eighth temple) where every clan may place their god's or ancestor's altar there, while the west part was used for Kongkoan office and jail (see illustrations 6 and 7 and figure 11).⁽⁴⁸⁾

In 1839 a Captain from Bagelen, Be Ing Tjioe, moved to Semarang and bought some parcels in Gang Pinggir. He built a big house with a big garden there, which finished in 1841. Coincident with the inauguration of his new house, he was awarded with honorary Major title. This place was known as Kebon Dalem (Tong Wan, or the eastern garden). Another garden in Gedong Gula was known as See Wan, or the western garden. This pair of gardens became the best entertainment place for wealthy Chinese in the holidays, and special boat was connecting these places. Across the river, where the building materials for this project were kept, later became a kampung named Kapuran, and a potato field nearby was also became kampung Kentangan.⁽⁴⁹⁾ (see illustrations 8 and 9)

4. The Ethnical zone

In 1821 a travel restriction ("Passenstelsel") was applied to everybody, including European. But in reality the tight control was merely applied to the Chinese group. Everybody could still make a journey, but before that he had to apply for a pass and made a detailed statement about the purpose, the means, the destination,

(47) KAM Seng Kioe, "Sam Po", Semarang, Toko Buku Liong, s.d., p. 79.

(48) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, pp. 101, 104-107.

(49) *ibid.*, pp. 102-103.

the route, the companion, of his journey.⁽⁵⁰⁾ In 1848 a special court for Chinese population was formed ("Politierol") to punish the violators without necessarily following a proper justice procedures. This institution was lifted in 1915, 67 years later.⁽⁵¹⁾

Around 1841 until 1915 (for about 74 years), the settlement restriction ("Wijkenstelsel") was also applied to the Chinese population. They had to settle in certain areas, and every Chinese who lived outside these areas should move in. Many Chinese who had already lived in rural areas declared themselves as 'native' in order to avoid the regulation. In fact many poor Chinese had still settle outside the Chinese quarter.⁽⁵²⁾ Morphologically this regulation had divided the town into three distinct ethnical zones by law: the Dutch zone, the Chinese zone, and the Native zone. Meanwhile the political instability in China around 1850 had pushed big immigration waves, and many of them landed in Semarang, pushing a faster densification process within the Chinese quarter.

In 1852 the monopoly over market-tax was taken away from the Chinese by the Governor General, and then was handed over to the town authority.⁽⁵³⁾ But the monopoly over opium trade was still allowed to be hold by the Chinese officer. Normally this monopoly was transferred to the new holder by auction, and thus only the most prominent and wealthy Chinese merchants (or officers) could afford to make their bid. Captain Be Ing Tjioe succeeded in getting the opium monopoly for central Java region after Major Tan Hong Yan passed away in 1851 (and replaced by Major Tan Tjong Hoay).⁽⁵⁴⁾ Because of this Be family gradually became the most prominent Chinese family in Semarang, superseding the previously prominent Tan family.

All of those restrictions were within the framework of Dutch's Ethic policy which aimed to broke the economic power of the Chinese group in the Netherlands Indies. Except putting limitation on travelling and settlement, abolition of tax monopoly system, and opening public bank to counter the Chinese rentier activities. The Dutch government gave the Chinese a lower status in the court - similar to the native - and also special limitations which were not applied to the native were applied to them.⁽⁵⁵⁾

(50) *ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

(51) *ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

(52) *ibid.*, pp. 88-90.

(53) *ibid.*, pp. 117.

(54) *ibid.*, pp. 117, 121.

(55) SURYADINATA, Leo, "Politik Tionghoa Peranakan di Jawa 1917-1942", Jakarta, Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1986, p. 22.

In 1850 the old city hall in the center of the old Dutch town burned to the ash. To replace it a new city hall was built across the river, at the end of Bojong street in 1854 (see *illustrations 10 and 11*).⁽⁵⁶⁾ From these old pictures we can have an impression over the Semarang river, which was still very wide and became an important means for boat traffic and goods loading and unloading places.

(56) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwajat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoensja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, pp. 101, 115-116.

Figure 12

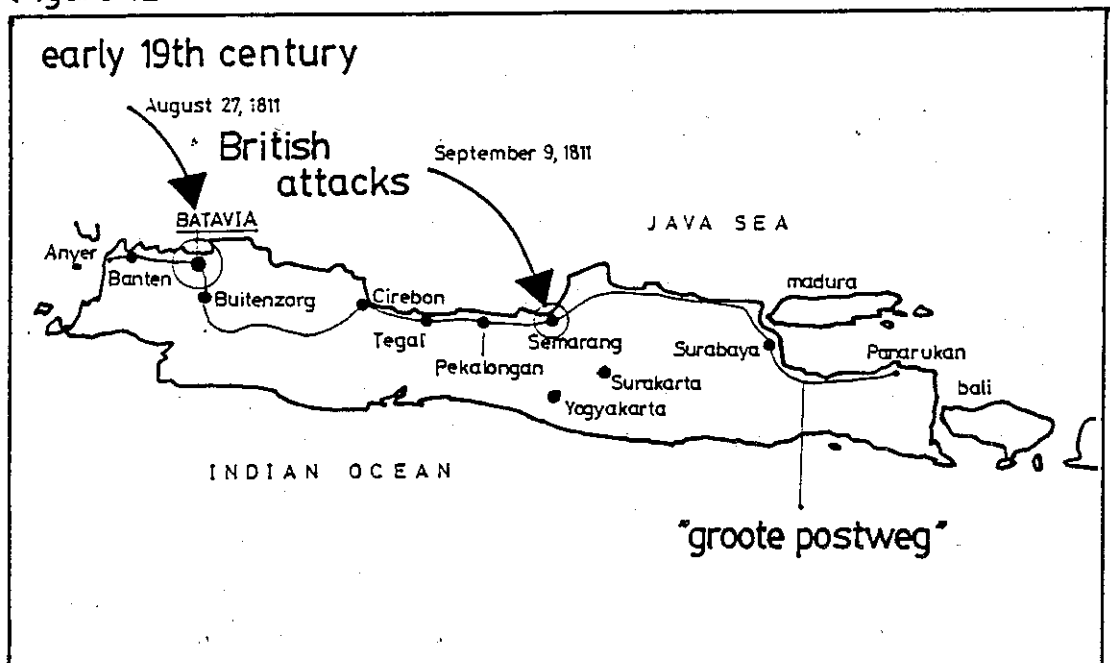
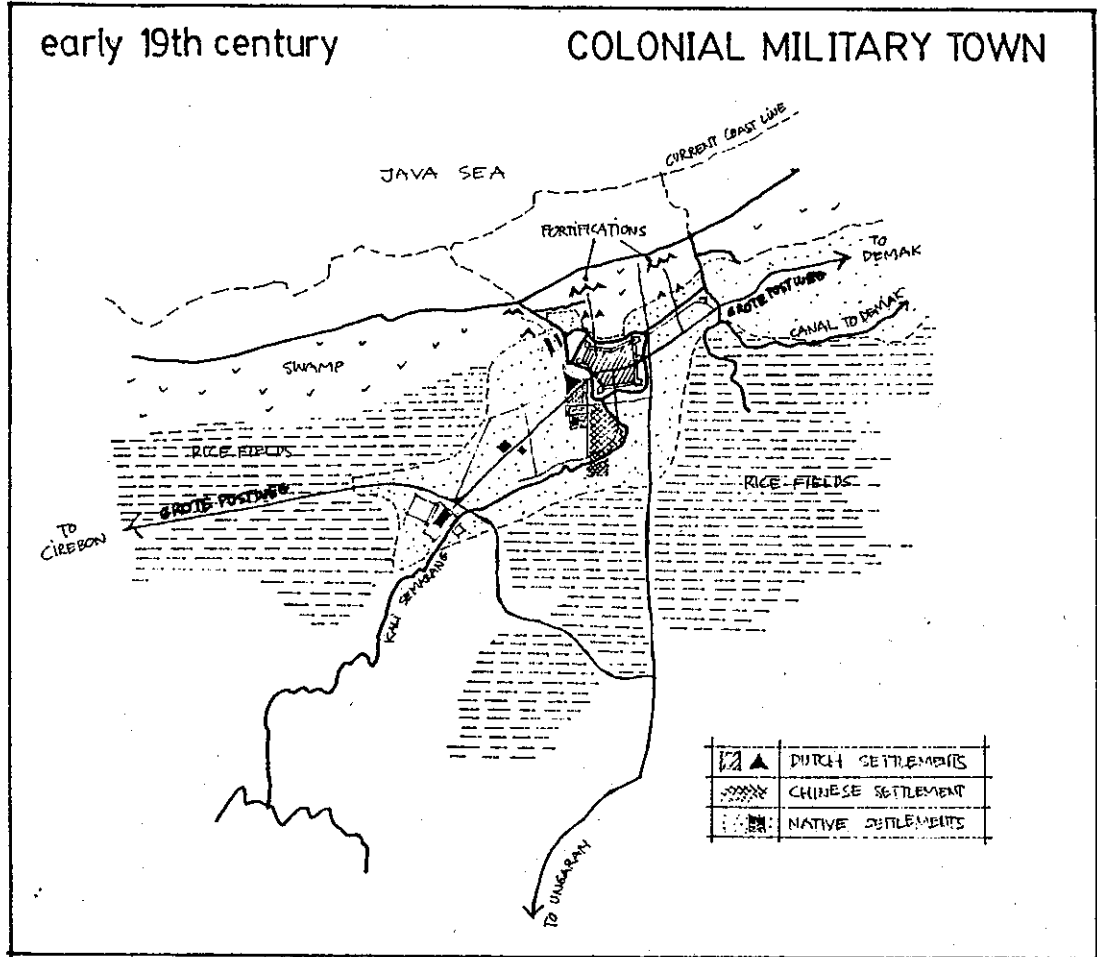


Figure 13



- 1) Map: "Schets van de versterkte stelling der Fransche troepen onder de bevelen van den Gouverneur Generaal Janssens ...", Dordrecht, H.J. Backer, 1811, RUL: Post 57 No. 81.
- 2) Map: "Kaart en Plan van Samarang met deszelf land end see situatie", 1/7200, ca. 1825, RUL: VI-10-19.

Figure 14
early 19th century

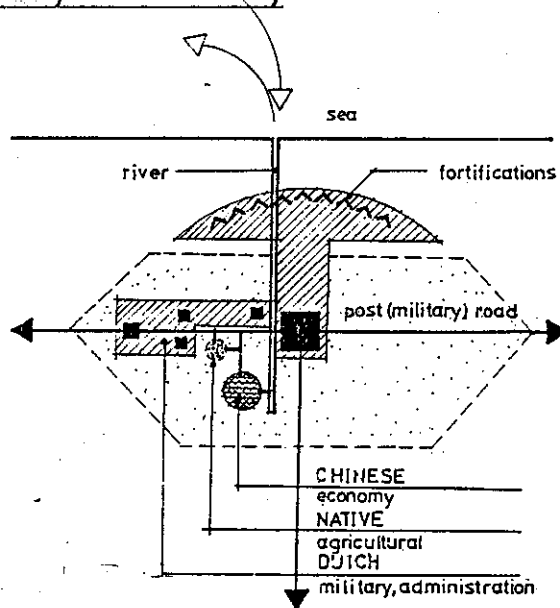


Figure 15

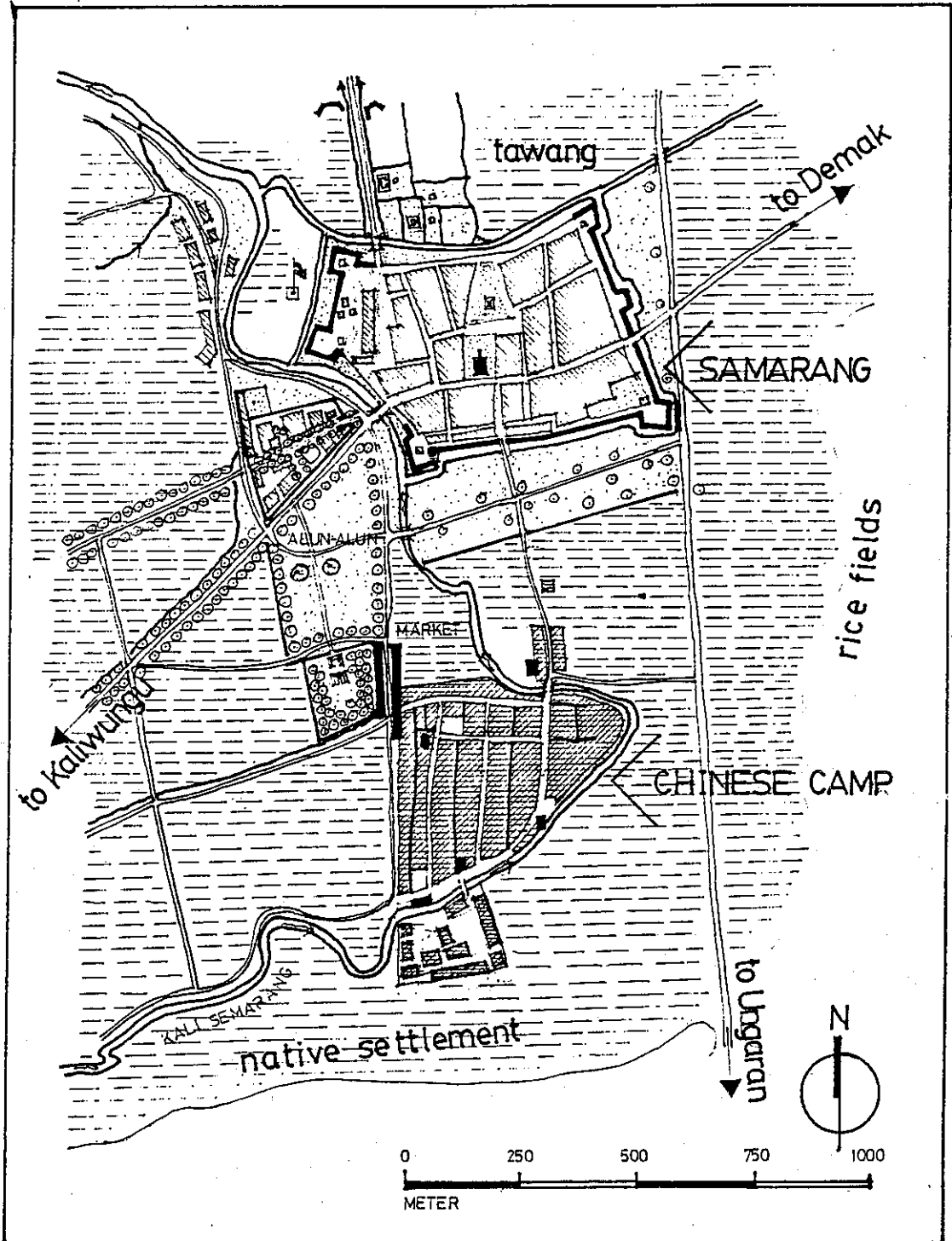
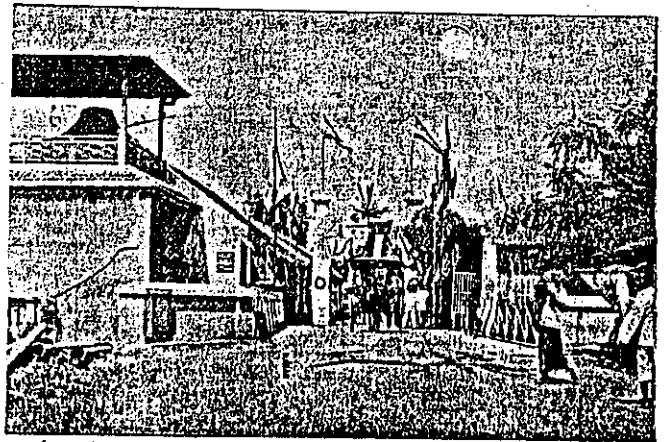


Illustration 3



Gate-house to Gedong Gula



Reproduced from LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djamannja Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, pp. 105 and 204.

THE GATES OF
THE CHINATOWN

1825 - ca. 1885

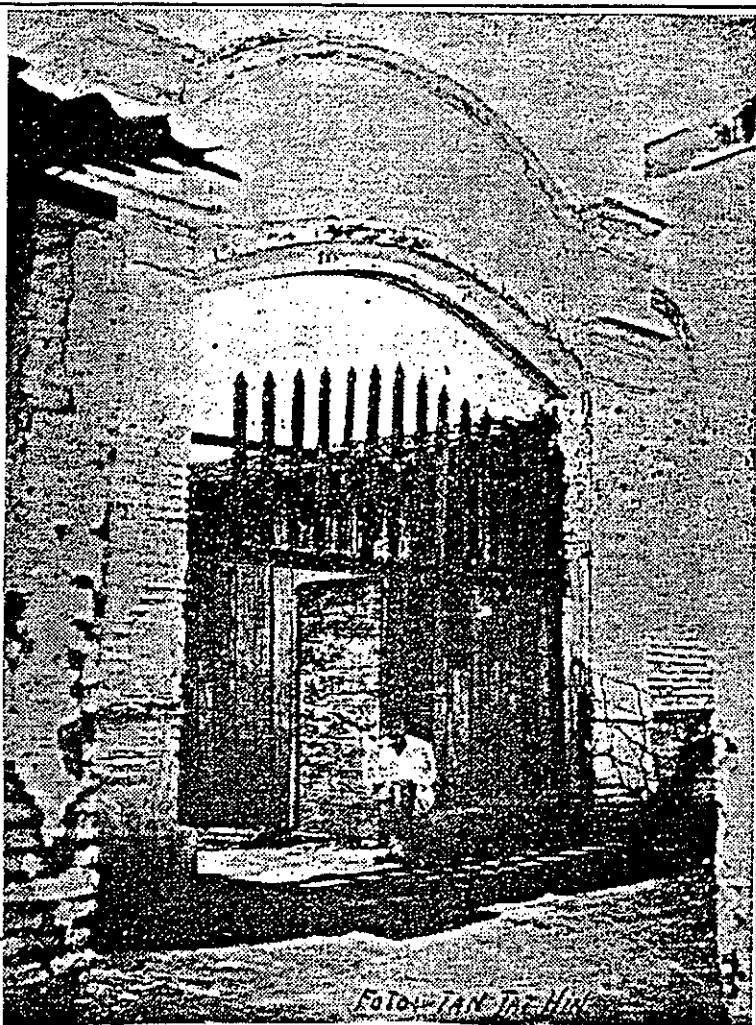
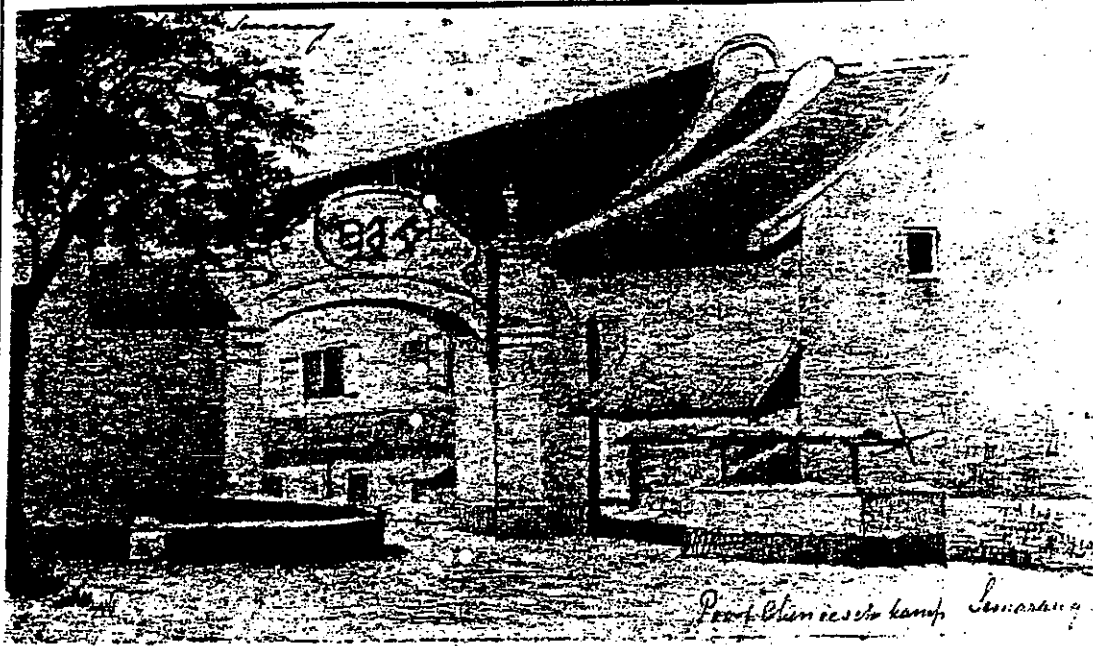


Illustration 4

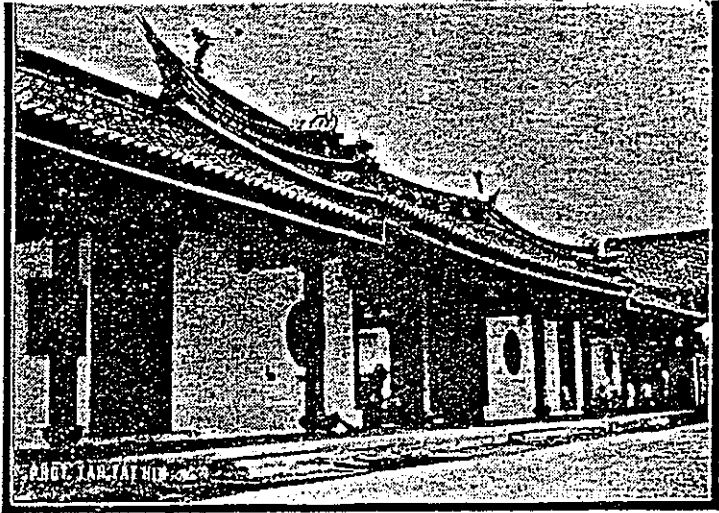
Illustration 5



Boort van Chineesch Kamp, Semarang

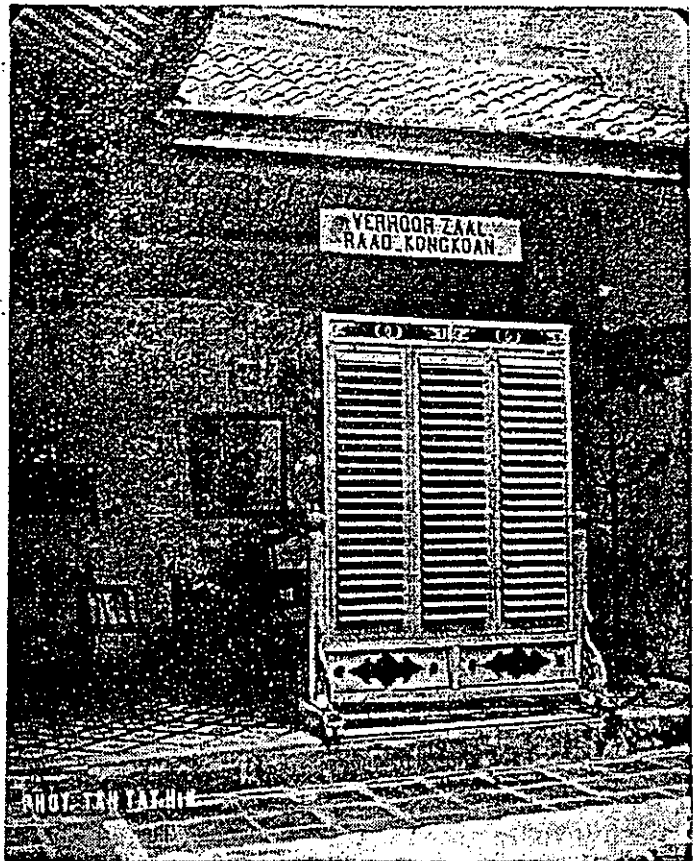
Illust. 4 was reproduced from LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwajat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoensja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, p. 93; and illust. 5 was taken from the collection of Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde, Afdeling Documentatie Geschiedenis Indonesie, Leiden, Nr. 20.791.

Illustration 6



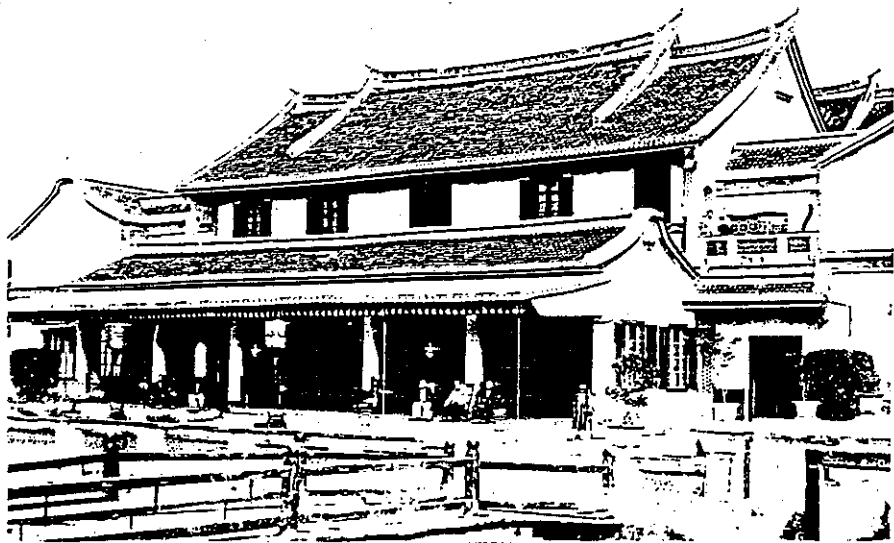
Kong Tik Soe building

Illustration 7



Kongkoan room

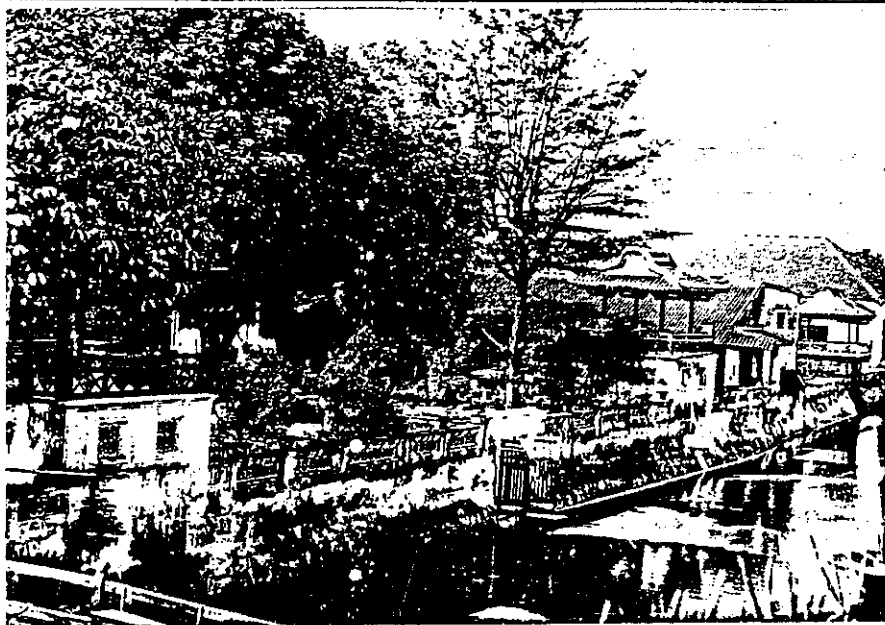
Illustration 8



Kebon Dalem - main house

From the collection of Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en
Volkenkunde, Afdeling Documentatie Geschiedenis Indonesie, Leiden, Nr.
3479.

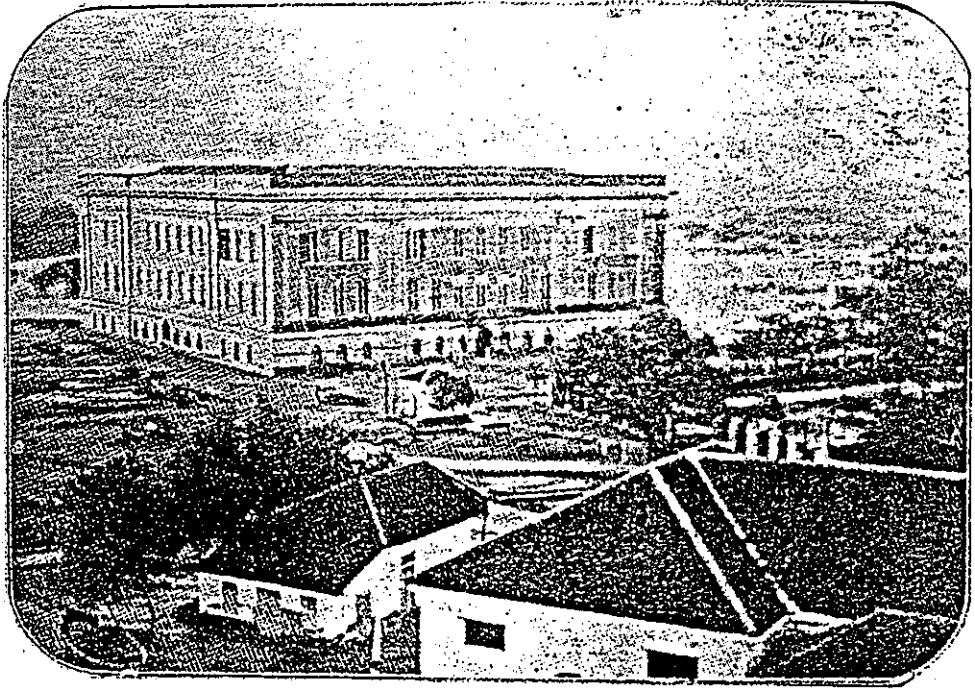
Illustration 9



Kebon Dalem - garden

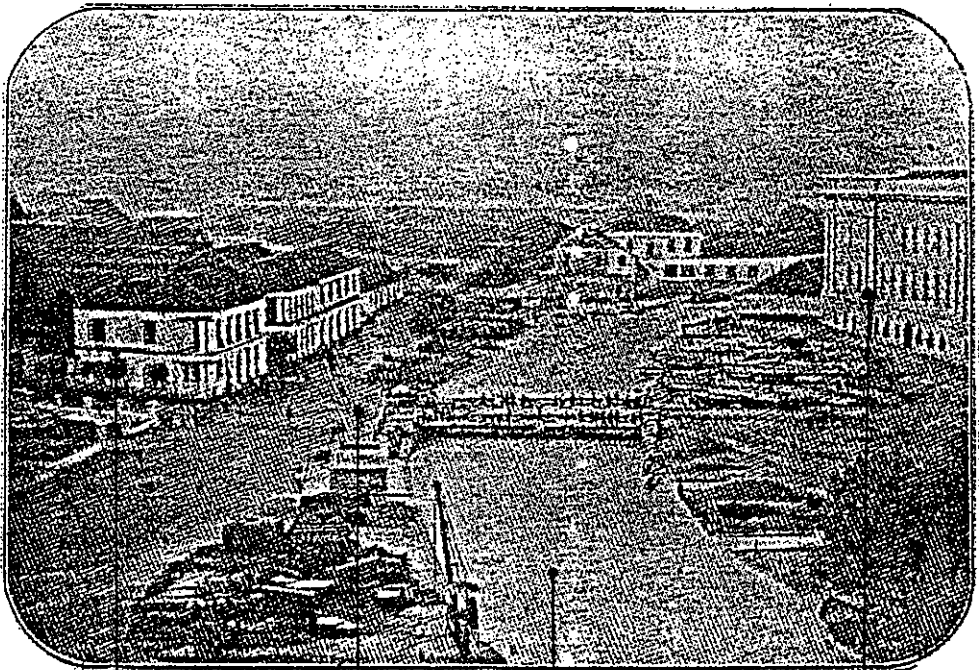
From the collection of Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en
Volkenkunde, Afdeling Documentatie Geschiedenis Indonesie, Leiden, Nr.
3478.

Illustration 10



Cityhall (1854)

Illustration 11



Dutch town Post-road Semarang river City hall

Reproduced from LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djanannya Sam Poo sampe terhapaesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, p. 115.

D. The Rise of the Modern City period (1859-1950)

1. The rise of a Regional Town

The year 1859 was the beginning of the new era in public life, when the first bank note was introduced as the official means of payment in the Netherlands Indies. In 1880 the Java Bank opened its first branch office in Semarang. In 1862 the public postal service was opened and the first three post offices were built in Batavia, Semarang, and Surabaya. Soon afterwards 200 branch post offices were opened throughout Java, served by their own post-carts as the main means of transportation.⁽⁵⁷⁾

In 1864 the first railroad from Semarang to Surakarta and Yogyakarta ("Vorstenlanden", the Sultanate of Mataram's territory) was constructed by the N.I.S., the public railways company. To mark this occasion the Governor General specially came from Batavia by his royal coach through the post-road, to open a big celebration in Semarang. This project had just finished in 1872, after went through a series of financial problems. The company built the first railway station in Tambak Sari northwards the old Dutch town near by the coast.⁽⁵⁸⁾ In 1882-1883 another railways company, S.J.S., opened another railroad network from Jurnatan (Central Station) to Bulu (western corner of the town) and to Jomblang (southern corner of the town), and also to Juana.⁽⁵⁹⁾ In 1894 the network was extended eastwards to Demak and Blora.⁽⁶⁰⁾ In 1908 S.C.S. opened the Semarang - Cirebon railroad, and by this the previously obstructing jungle between Semarang and Pekalongan (Alas Roban) could be passed through.⁽⁶¹⁾ In 1914 new station in Tawang was finished and the old Tambak Sari station was not used anymore.⁽⁶²⁾ (See figure 16).

During 1854-1875 an artificial river harbor was dig and thus directly connected the Semarang river from Kampung Melayu to the open sea. The embankment and the harbor authority offices were built along the east bank downstream, 2400 meters from the coast and 500 meters from the water-gate on Semarang river. That area was

(57) *ibid.*, pp. 129-131.

(58) *ibid.*, p. 133.

(59) *ibid.*, pp. 134, 146; also refer to map "Semarang-Joana Stoomtram Maatschappij: Oversichtkaart", 1/500.000, Den Haag, J.J. Broek, 1898, from the private collection of Sutrisno Murtiyoso, Bandung.

(60) *ibid.*, p. 167.

(61) *ibid.*, p. 194; and also refer to map "Semarang-Ceribon Stoomtram Maatschappij: Oversichtkaart", 1/500.000, Broek-Gravemeijer, 1918, from the private collection of Sutrisno Murtiyoso, Bandung.

(62) *ibid.*, p. 216.

known as Kleine Boom (= small harbor), while the new harbor canal was called Kali Baru (= the new river).⁽⁶³⁾ Also a lot of warehouses were built along the harbor canal.

In 1884 the first telephone networks was installed in Semarang, and connected Semarang with Batavia and Surabaya. This modern communication means was used by the Dutch government offices only. Few years before, in 1876, the first newspaper in Melayu language was published in Semarang ("Slomporet Melajoe"), gave a lot of influence to the Chinese culture (classical Chinese and Javanese literatures were presented in Javanese language and Latin alphabets).⁽⁶⁴⁾ And in 1897 the gas company ("Nederlands Indie Gas Maatschappij") offered its service in Semarang. Many wealthy Chinese then used gas for lighting, to replace their old oil lamps.⁽⁶⁵⁾

In 1885 a canal (Buyaran canal) was constructed from Semarang to Karanganyar (Demak) for irrigation and transportation. Many boats pulled by horses, buffaloes, or cows, sailed through this canal.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Also in order to prevent flood, two flood canals were dug along the western and eastern boundaries of Semarang around 1900, and were known as Banjir Kanal Barat (= western flood canal) and Banjir Kanal Timur (= eastern flood canal).⁽⁶⁷⁾ The western canal was dug some years before the eastern one.

These public communication and transportation revolution were in fact changing Semarang to become a rapidly growing regional center. Because of the excellent harbor and transportation facilities, Semarang became a very important trading town. This development was also enhanced by the opening of Suez canal, which made the journey from Europe to Asia much more faster and easier.

In 1870 the Agrarian Law was implemented in the Netherlands Indies. This law was to protect the individual and collective rights of use or possession of land occupied by the native, prevented from foreign intruders. The Chinese private estates holders with chartered rights then were able to maintain their status and continued their enterprises. Chinese who was born in

(63) *ibid.*, pp. 136, 225; also BOGAERS, Erica, "Ir. Thomas Karsten en de Ontwikkeling van de Stedebouw in Nederlands Indie 1915-1940", Amsterdam, 1983, p. 95; and also refer to map "Plattegrond der stad Samarang door G.P.F. Cronenberg, De Groot Kolff, 1/20.000, 1866, KIT: Krtz. 379.

(64) *ibid.*, p. 144.

(65) *ibid.*, p. 168.

(66) SOEKIRNO, "Semarang", Semarang, Djawatan Penerangan Kota Besar Semarang, 1956, p. 39.

(67) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, p. 170; and also refer to map "Kaart van de stad Samarang en omstreken", 1/10000, G.C.T. van Dorp & Co., ca. 1880, KITLV: L.922.213 No. 22 (E26, 334).

the Netherlands Indies or had a ten years residence in there was able to acquire land from the government on long lease (75 years), and hire land from the natives on short lease under government supervision. The common feeling among Chinese was disappointment, because they were prohibited to acquire new agricultural land.⁽⁶⁸⁾

The Agrarian Law for Java did not encourage small-scale non-native farming, but large-scale agriculture. Because of the lacked of capital, the progress of Chinese farming (which usually in small-scale) has been limited. In turn the Chinese commercial and industrial activities were progressively increasing, especially in intermediate trade by distributing imported goods and by collecting exported goods. In early nineteenth century quite a lot of Chinese's spinning mills, sugar factories and toll gates could be found all over central Java (*see figure 17*). Railway system was the main transportation means to collect and to bring goods (wood, sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo, coffee, rice) from all parts of central Java to Semarang before could be exported through Semarang harbor. This situation had increasingly accentuated the importance of Semarang as a regional economic center of central Java.

2. The need for urban modernization

Around 1860 the alun-alun of Semarang was just an empty square bordered by Bojong street in the north, the city hall and some warehouses in the east, the jail for the native and Adipati's (Regent's) house in the south, and the mosque in the west. Every morning the south-eastern corner of this square in front of the jail became a busy marketplace. This market was in fact superseding the old market nearby which had already became too small to accommodate the rapid growth of trading activities. The new market was called Pasar Johar, according to the rows of trees growing there. In 1890 pasar Johar had overcame the old Semarang market (Damaran). In 1898 a permanent building was constructed to cover pasar Johar, in which about 240 permanent traders - most of them were Chinese - had already opened their shops.⁽⁶⁹⁾ The decomposition of the alun-alun was proceeded by the opening of a city park ("Stadstuin") on its western part in 1904, complete with small buildings and gateway, to

(68) SURYADINATA, Leo, "Politik Tionghoa Peranakan di Jawa 1917-1942", Jakarta, Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1986, p. 22.; and also CHANG Tsuen-Kung, "Historical Geography of Chinese Settlement in the Malay Archipelago", a Ph.D. Thesis in the Department of Geography, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1954, pp. 218-219.

(69) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwajat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, pp. 147-148.

accommodate the need of public recreation facility for the Dutch community in Semarang.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Around 1859, to provide public healthy water the town authority made 21 public deep wells all over the city, most of them were located inside the Chinatown. A new profession - selling water - was emerged,⁽⁷¹⁾ since no network of plumbing had been installed yet. But soon this effort was proofed inadequate. A severe Cholera, Typhus and Dysentery epidemic spread in Semarang between 1901-1902, caused by the inadequacy in public clean water supply and the negligence of the public sanitation. This situation had forced the town authority to study the possibility to bring healthy water from the southern mountainous region (Ungaran) to the downtown Semarang. But since the plan was proved to be very expensive, this project was delayed.⁽⁷²⁾

In 1889 Lieutenant Oei Tiong Ham became the first Chinese in Semarang who got a special permission from the Governor General to wear Western style clothes.⁽⁷³⁾ From about 250,000 Chinese in Java (1893), only 28 of them had been given the same status as Dutch, and the rest stayed as the second class citizen.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Later the permission could be issued by the Resident, until this formality was erased in 1905 when everybody might wear any style of clothing freely. Oei Tiong Ham was a bright businessman who won the monopoly over opium of several towns in Java.

In 1863 the biggest fire in Semarang had destroyed 80 parcels (almost all were made of wood) in Ambengan and Jagalan. Many Chinese who had already settled in that areas became homeless.⁽⁷⁵⁾ In this period there were already 16 Chinese head of wards ("wijkmeester") in Semarang, 7 of them was inside the old Chinatown (Gang Pinggir, Gang Warung, Gang Besen, Gang Tengah, Gang Gambiran, Gang Baru, and Tjap-kauw-king), and the rest were in other areas (1 in Kaligawe, 2 in Ambengan, 1 in Petudungan, 2 in Pekojan, 1 in Kranggan, 1 in Kampung Melayu, and 1 in Pedamaran).⁽⁷⁶⁾ From this information we can perceive that the new Chinese areas developed around and close to the old Chinatown (except Kaligawe and

(70) *ibid.*, p. 178.

(71) *ibid.*, pp. 129-130.

(72) *ibid.*, p. 173; and also see TILLEMA, H.F., "Van Wonen en Bewonen, van Bouwen, Huis en Erf", Semarang, 1913.

(73) *ibid.*, p. 154.

(74) SURYADINATA, Leo, "Politik Tionghoa Peranakan di Jawa 1917-1942", Jakarta, Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1986, p. 21.

(75) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwajat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, pp. 132-133.

(76) *ibid.*, p. 164.

Kampung Melayu), still maintaining an entity of continuous and dense tissue type.

The ninth temple was erected in 1866 at the southern end of Gang Besen (Leng Hok Bio) by the inhabitants of that street. The tenth temple, Ma Tjouw Kiong, was constructed in 1881 for the Liem family, located near the Tan family temple in Lengkong Seong (Sebandaran).⁽⁷⁷⁾ The eleventh temple was able to be built in 1901 in Kampung Melayu, after a long struggle with the town authority and the other Arab inhabitants of that area who previously opposed the plan, and after the Governor General himself granted the permission to the Chinese community in Semarang.⁽⁷⁸⁾ In 1905 another temples were built in Gabahan (Hian Thian Siang Tee) and in Sompok (Hoei Tik Bio) as the twelfth and the thirtieth temples. The last temple was then forgotten and had just rediscovered in 1923 (see figure 11).⁽⁷⁹⁾

In 1904 the north-south road paralleled to the post-road to the highlands was reconstructed, stretched from Mlaten in the north to Peterongan in the south, crossing Karang Tempel village.⁽⁸⁰⁾ It was named Karrenweg, and along this road the Dutchs' spacious villas were developed.

Up to this point we could perceive Semarang as a town with two major domain: the economy domain and the polity domain (see figure 18). The economy domain was consisted of a double-nucleus center (the Chinese and the Dutch towns) and two major transportation elements (the river harbor and the railway station). While the polity domain was also consisted of a double-nucleus center (the Dutch bureaucratic establishments and the native traditional center) with major military equipments (the fort). It seemed that the economy domain was increasingly becoming more and more important, overcoming the polity domain. The east-west and north-south post-roads had become the morphological integrating means of these urban elements. These formal developments were enclosed by the informal peripheries sprawl of native urban villages.

3. The spirits of Modernism and Nationalism

In the beginning of the twentieth century the wind of change blew in Semarang, invoked by the rise of modernization and nationalism process in China mainland. In China Kang Yu Wei promoted the modernization process

(77) *ibid.*, p. 165.

(78) *ibid.*, pp. 170-172.

(79) *ibid.*, pp. 183, 263.

(80) *ibid.*, p. 178.

by introducing a modern educational system based on a single national language (Mandarin), and by this he tried to unified all Chinese anywhere under one Chinese nationalism.⁽⁸¹⁾ This movement was followed by the establishment of Chinese schools and by the publication of Chinese newspapers in Java. They had one aim to unify different groups of Chinese in the Netherlands Indies, and to orientate them culturally and politically into "Pan-China".⁽⁸²⁾ Kang Yu Wei visited Semarang in 1903, and in 1904 the first Chinese school ("Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan") was opened in Semarang, located in a small house in Gang Tengah.⁽⁸³⁾

According to "Encyclopaedie van Nederlands Indie" 1921 edition,⁽⁸⁴⁾ the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies could be divided into two distinctive groups: the pure Chinese ("Singkeh" = new guests, Chinese origin immigrants), and the mixed Chinese ("Peranakan", mixed blood decedents with natives, born in the Netherlands Indies). Both groups were still kept their faith on their original Chinese tradition, they also made contacts with other cultures, but they had never integrated. In Java the number of "Peranakan" was bigger than "Singkeh", as the contrary of outside Java proportion. The immigration was pushed by the poverty, political instability, and the lack of business opportunity in China. Together with the Arab settlers, they played the mediator role in trading between European importers and the popular market, especially in textile. The Chinese hold the monopolies to sell opium, to open pawnshops, and to run gambling houses. Many of them had also sugar factories and distributing goods.

Furthermore the article stated that the Chinese nationalism had already influenced the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies, and directed their orientation towards the mainland China. Courageously and openly they complained on the government's small attention in the provision of proper school or education for them, on the equalization of their status with the native in court, and on the restrictions on travel and settlements. Moreover they provided themselves with modern education system by Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan, using Mandarin as the instructional language and employing teachers who came directly from China. In 1920s there had already been 442 Chinese private schools with 19,636 students and 858 teachers in the Netherlands Indies. The Manchu government

(81) *ibid.*, p. 174.

(82) SURYADINATA, Leo, "Politik Tionghoa Peranakan di Jawa 1917-1942", Jakarta, Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1986, pp. 22-23.

(83) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, p. 174.

(84) As quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 174-178.

also opened a special school in Nanking ("Chi Nan Ta Hsioh") especially for the overseas Chinese from the Netherlands Indies who wished to continue their study. (85)

The Japanese victory over Russia in 1904 had confided the Chinese that the European was able to be defeated by the Asian, thus strengthened their nationalism and created a new sense of freedom. New sign of modernity was then started to be adopted by the Chinese group, "Westernization".

In 1907-1908 the Chinese Chamber of Commerce ("Siang Hwee") was opened in various city in Java, including Semarang. (86) This institution had an aim to amplify the Chinese group's involvement in trade and business.

It seemed that Semarang was one of the most important center for the Chinese nationalism. It was visited by two Chinese cruisers with the Manchu emperor's special delegation led by Yo Soe Kie in 1907, which were anchored in Kali Baru harbor, followed by another visits later. In that year also a special inspector for the overseas Chinese schools was arrived from China and used Semarang as his home base for his frequent inspection visits in the future. (87)

On January 1, 1911 the Republic of China was proclaimed by Dr. Sun Yat Sen. This occasion was celebrated by the Netherlands Indies Chinese by a very great enthusiasm. They erected the five colored Chinese flag, side by side with the Dutch tricolor flag. Gates with Chinese characters were erected on every streets all over Semarang (*see illustration 12*). (88)

Against the development of Chinese nationalistic movements, the Dutch government had tried several attempts in order to change their loyalty into the Netherlands Indies. In 1907 the Chinese could have European status. In 1908 the government opened the Dutch Chinese School ("Hollandsch Chinesche School"), based on the European education system, using Dutch instructional language, and taught by Dutch educated teachers. In 1914 there were 27 H.C.S. with only 5,203 students. In 1910 the Dutch citizenship law ("W.N.O." or "Wet op het Nederlandsch Onderdaanschap") was proclaimed, under which

(85) *ibid.*, p. 191.

(86) SURYADINATA, Leo, "Politik Tionghoa Peranakan di Jawa 1917-1942", Jakarta, Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1986, p. 23; and also LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoensja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, p. 191.

(87) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoensja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, pp. 191-192.

(88) *ibid.*, pp. 200-213.

the Chinese "peranakan" automatically became Dutch citizen. In 1913 the discriminating laws were formally abolished, and finally in 1917-1918 the settlement and travel restrictions were lifted.

This policy was successfully drew many Chinese "peranakan" from "Pan-China" movement, but this group would be defeated in Semarang Conference in 1917.⁽⁸⁹⁾ This first Chinese conference in Java stated that the overseas Chinese was foreigner, thus they should free themselves from any local political involvement. After this conference, a strong nationalistic Chinese political movement "Sin Po" was emerged.⁽⁹⁰⁾

4. The Regional Center

On April 1, 1906 the municipality government of Semarang was established through the Stadsblad 1906 No. 120, and L.R. Priester was appointed as the first Assistant Resident, helped by some appointed members of a town council representing Dutch, Chinese and native communities. From 1906 until 1942 the dualism system was applied in the municipality administrative system, which separated the Dutch and foreigners in one group and the native population in another group, under the Central Government in Batavia (see figure 19). Until August 1916 there was no city Major ("Burgemeester") in Semarang, and the city was governed by the city council ("Gemeenteraad") headed by its chairman ("Hoofd van Plaatselijk Bestuur"). This system was ended in March 1942 because of the Japanese occupation.⁽⁹¹⁾ In this period Semarang total administrative area was 9,940 hectare with 100,000 population.⁽⁹²⁾

Ir. de Jongh, the first Major ("Burgemeester") of Semarang (August 1916 - May 1927) in an old newspaper "Algemeen Handelsblad", April 1, 1931, gave a description on the situation of Semarang around 1905.⁽⁹³⁾ The characteristic Semarang was more as the private ("particulier") city than the public ("ambtenaar") one (or more as the economic center than as the politic or administrative one). The first general election for the

(89) SURYADINATA, Leo, "Politik Tionghoa Peranakan di Jawa 1917-1942", Jakarta, Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1986, pp. 25-26.

(90) *ibid.*, pp. 15, 26-32.

(91) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, p. 164; and also refer to SOEKIRNO, "Semarang", Semarang, Djawatan Penerangan Kota Besar Semarang, 1956, pp. 54-55.

(92) BOGAERS, Erica, "Ir. Thomas Karsten en de Ontwikkeling van de Stedebouw in Nederlands Indie 1915-1940", Amsterdam, 1983, p. 96.

(93) quoted in LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, pp. 184-187.

municipality council was held in 1909. This council was seated by young and idealistic members, who willing to improve the housing and hygiene condition of Semarang. Some prominent members of the council were Dr. de Vogel, Terburgh, Engerbard, Westerveld, Simon Thomas, Tillema, Soenarjo, and Major Tan Siau Lip. But started from 1912-1913 the municipality council was used for political movement especially by the Indo-Dutch group and the native members against the Dutch policy.

He also gave a description about some urban elements of Semarang. Bojong (the western part of the post-road) was the patricians area with their big houses and vast gardens, which was the only street hardened by asphalt in Semarang. In 1906 Petersijthoflaan, which was connected the southwest-end of Bojong street and the southern end of Mataram street crossing through Randusari area, was built and soon became an important road. Further to the south, the Candi Lama area had already become the popular and pleasant settlement area, but unfortunately the road to the town was in a very bad condition. In 1906 Semarang had also a very popular club house ("Sociteit Harmonie") situated near the harbor in the city center.

The issue of town expansion in order to cope with the rapid growth of housing need for the rapid population growth had already put forward by Dr. de Vogel in 1906. He made a suggestion to expand Semarang further to Candi area southwards, using the already existed sprawl of Chinese cemetery (*see figure 20*).⁽⁹⁴⁾ But this plan was strongly opposed by the Chinese, until a special commission was set up to end the dispute. The Chinese accepted the compromise proposal, which allocated new locations for the new burials in Kedung Mundu, Gemah, Terguwo and Sendang, and still permitted the old location to be used by the families which had already used that place. After the removal of this obstacle, the new town plan for Semarang was began to be worked out.

In 1909 the new settlement area in southern hilly area, Candi Baru, was opened. In 1914, after being worked out for 6 years, as a result of Dr. de Vogel tireless pressure on the municipality council, the first comprehensive network of clean water supply was laid in Semarang.⁽⁹⁵⁾ By the end of 1909 the electricity company A.N.I.E.M. was established, and electricity for Semarang

(94) *ibid.*, p. 190; and also refer to map "Schetskaart van Samarang en Omstreken", van Geuns, 1910; and also BOGAERS, Erica, "Ir. Thomas Karsten en de Ontwikkeling van de Stedebouw in Nederlands Indie 1915-1940", Amsterdam, 1983.

(95) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, p. 194.

was available after 1913, using the hydroelectric power built in Tuntang river.⁽⁹⁶⁾

The biggest trade fair in the Netherlands Indies ("Koloniale Tentoonstelling") to celebrate 100 years of Dutch independence was held for 4 months in Semarang. This fair was located in Randusari, on Oei Tiong Ham's land. The biggest financial support came from the Chinese traders in Semarang, since they saw this event was a very important opportunity to promote their business. Many new hotels were opened to accommodate the visitors from outside Semarang. But unfortunately the eruption of the first World War had caused economic and social insecurity and instability everywhere, and this negative atmosphere had made this trade fair unsuccessful.⁽⁹⁷⁾

In this period Semarang had already played a central role in export and import activities for central Java region. The number of ships anchored in the harbor of Semarang during 1905-1928 (23 years) had multiplied by four times. It had already been connected by the networks of railroads with Batavia, Surabaya, Yogyakarta and Surakarta.⁽⁹⁸⁾ It had also been the regional center of commerce, traffic and export for the market of about 9 million population of Semarang, Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Pekalongan, Kedu, Madiun, Rembang, and Banyumas.⁽⁹⁹⁾

Semarang total population was rapidly increased from 100,000 in 1905 up to 158,036 in 1920 (the growth rate was 3.8% per-annum). The Chinese population increment was even steeper, that was from 9,000 in 1900 up to 19,727 in 1920 (the growth rate was almost 6% per-annum).⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ The peak of new arrival of immigrants from China was reached in the mid-1920s, and continuing at a slower rate during 1930s. The problem of overcrowding began to emerge, especially within the Chinatown where the problems of over-densification, and the functional and transportation mixture, were occurred. Semarang was known as the most unhealthy town with a very big rate of mortality (see figure 21 and illustration 13).⁽¹⁰¹⁾

(96) *ibid.*, p. 196.

(97) *ibid.*, pp. 216-221.

(98) BOGAERS, Erica, "Ir. Thomas Karsten en de Ontwikkeling van de Stedebouw in Nederlands Indie 1915-1940", Amsterdam, 1983, p. 93-96.

(99) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, pp. 222-223.

(100) WILLMOTT, Donald Earl, "The Chinese of Semarang: A Changing Minority Community in Indonesia", New York, Cornell University Press, 1960, p. 8; and also BOGAERS, Erica, "Ir. Thomas Karsten en de Ontwikkeling van de Stedebouw in Nederlands Indie 1915-1940", Amsterdam, 1983, p. 96.

(101) TILLEMA, H.F., "Van Wonen en Bewonen, van Bouwen, Huis en Erf", Semarang, 1913.

Semarang in the early twentieth century had already had the characteristics of a modern city with various separated functions, interconnected by an internal tramways system. To another regions, Semarang was connected by the harbor, the post-road, and three different railroad systems (N.I.S., S.J.S., and S.C.S.). Two canals bordered the western and eastern limits of the town. The Dutch administrative center (governmental offices and military establishments) stretched along the western part of the post-road. The large industrial establishments were located on the eastern side of the post-road, related to the railway station and the harbor. The town center consisted of the Dutch business center, the native civic center (the Adipati palace, alun-alun, and the mosque), and the Chinatown. The new Dutch villas area was developed along the parallel road of the post-road to the south. Two significant military functions were the fort in the north and the shooting and exercise field in the east. A horse race track was built nearby the fort, served as one of the town's major leisure facility. Encircling these formal developments, the informal native settlement haphazardly developed in the periphery and enclave areas within the town. (See figure 22).

The first World War had not only disrupted the world trade system, but had also created monetary instability in the Netherlands Indies. Everybody was troubled by the rising prices of basic goods, and central Java was threatened by the danger of famine.⁽¹⁰²⁾ Even though there were problems in the rice provisions, the sugar production was reaching its peak, generating big profit for the Dutch and Chinese owners. Meanwhile the government had taken over the control over the rice market to beat speculations, black market and smuggling, but the price was rising uncontrollably.

This economic problem had also generated social and political frictions among the already divided population. In 1918 a native anti-Chinese riot was exploded in Kudus, the Chinatown in Kudus was burned and some were killed. Many Chinese fled to Semarang, but the riot could be ceased by police force.⁽¹⁰³⁾ It was not a coincidence if the Communism could grow easily in this situation. Around 1920s the bureaucracy and some organizations had already infiltrated by the Communist ideology, and some strikes provoked by them had begun to emerge. The strikes were consistently spreading and disrupting almost all public services and economic activities in Semarang. Parallel with the world economic recession in 1922, the

(102) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwajat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, pp. 237-245.

(103) *ibid.*, p. 239.

underground Communist movements were increasing their actions. On August 29, 1923 two bombs were exploded in the middle of the city park, injuring the attendants of the 25th sovereignty years of Queen Wilhelmina celebration. This terrorist action was continued by several bombing around the city.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ In the 1920s Semarang was really became the center of Communist movement in the Netherlands Indies. The Communist Party of Indonesia (P.K.I.) which was proclaimed in 1920 chose Semarang as the location of its head office. The first congress of P.K.I. was also held in Semarang on December 1921.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

During this tumultuous years the Johar market was rebuilt in 1920 (after being taken over by the municipality government in 1917⁽¹⁰⁶⁾), so the shopkeepers and vendors could keep their goods inside when the market was closed.

The artificial inland harbor of Semarang was build on the eastern side of the mouth of Kali Baru, stretched for about 1.6 kilometer inland from the coast, with many dockyards, warehouses, factories and a large spinning mill within its domain.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ The large ships had to anchor in the outer bay, where they were tended by tugs and barges.

5. The Modern Urban Development Plan

In 1930 Java was divided into three provinces, and Semarang became the capital of Central Java province (based on "Wet op de Bestuurshervorming"). At this period Semarang had already been the third biggest town in Java⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ with 217,000 inhabitants, 27,432 (12.5%) of them was Chinese.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

To cope with the chronic housing shortage problem, Ir. Thomas Karsten,⁽¹¹⁰⁾ the advisor of the municipality,

(104) *ibid.*, p. 246-267.

(105) SOEKIRNO, "Semarang", Semarang, Djawatan Penerangan Kota Besar Semarang, 1956, pp. 44-46.

(106) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djamannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, p. 236.

(107) BOGAERS, Erica, "Ir. Thomas Karsten en de Ontwikkeling van de Stedebouw in Nederlands Indie 1915-1940", Amsterdam, 1983, p. 7; and also WILLMOTT, Donald Earl, "The Chinese of Semarang: A Changing Minority Community in Indonesia", New York, Cornell University Press, 1960, p. 9; and also refer to map "Semarang", 1/20000, Technisch-Reproductiebureau en Lichtdrukkerij, s'Gravenhage, 1922, KIT: Java/4060/808.3=541.

(108) BOGAERS, Erica, "Ir. Thomas Karsten en de Ontwikkeling van de Stedebouw in Nederlands Indie 1915-1940", Amsterdam, 1983, p. 93.

(109) WILLMOTT, Donald Earl, "The Chinese of Semarang: A Changing Minority Community in Indonesia", New York, Cornell University Press, 1960, p. 8.

(110) The discussion over Thomas Karsten is based on BOGAERS, Erica, and DE RUIJTER, Peter, "Ir.

drew a development plan for Semarang which was finished in 1930. This plan concerned with the re-development of four parts of the city: the hilly terrain ("Heuvelterrein"), the private lands (Pekunden, Batan, Peterongan, and Wonodri), Sompok and east Semarang. Through him the ideas of Garden City Movement and International character were brought into the housing improvement and town planning projects in the Netherlands Indies. (See figures 23 and 24).

His idea was based on his concept entitled "Indiese Stedebouw" (1920). He believed that the urban society is formed by a multitude of different groups each with their own conflicting interests, based on collectivist ideas with Communist and reformist-pacifist tendencies. The city was disorderly divided, but in the same moment it was also a coherent organism. The role of the town planning is to shape the town and the village in such a way as to ensure the formation of a dynamic organic whole. Planning must not principally be viewed as technical work but as organizing effort.

For the colonial society with three major races (Dutch, Chinese, native), Karsten used a town planning approach based on economic class division (the differences in the people's income, development and requirements), and not to follow the traditional division of neighborhoods according to race. And because of climatic necessities, the town should be characterized by extensive low-level building and excessive planting. The layout of town is a unity and organic coherence, consists of three elements: the detail (buildings, road systems, squares, point of interests, planting, and urban utilities), the townscape (the aesthetic side of town layout, the combination of the built form and the layout of the surrounding), and the town plan (the totality which takes into account the dynamic character of the town). The implementation of the town plan is through the detail plans and building regulations.

Karsten's plans for Semarang was the implementation of those principles. The division of neighborhoods, each with its particular housing type, was based on economic class (upper, middle, lower). In the development plan for the hilly terrain, the higher ground was completely taken up by housing for the rich European and Chinese, while in the lower areas a number of local authority kampungs were planned. In the layout he adapted roads, squares and building sites to follow natural contours as far as

Thomas Karsten and Indonesian Town Planning, 1915-1940", in NAS, Peter J.M. (ed.), "The Indonesian City: Studies in Urban Development and Planning", Verhandelingen van Het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde No. 117, Dordrecht, Foris Publications, 1986, pp. 73-88.

possible. In order to make the development financially feasible, he created as many large plots as possible with a view over the town and the sea to the north for the more expensive housing, and elsewhere smaller and cheaper plots were developed.

The development plan for the private land estates, which lay between the old town and the hilly terrain, together with two other expansion plan for Sompok and east Semarang, was revised and unified with the previous plan in 1919. The revised plans also introduced the idea of differences in economic class as the basis for division of building types. Only the plan for the hilly terrain which was fully implemented, and the other plans were partially implemented, even until the end of the war period.

In 1925 the city hospital (the former military hospital) which was situated northwards of alun-alun was being moved further to the south to Kalisari. The new hospital was named C.B.Z. ("Centrale Burgerlijke Ziekeninrichting"). Also the first Chinese clinic was opened in Gang Besen. ⁽¹¹¹⁾

In 1926 the Republic of China opened its consulate in Semarang. Firstly it was located in Gergaji, but then was moved to Prindrikan, and at last was moved to Petersijthoflaan. In July 1931, because the Chinese government run out of money to finance it, the consulate was closed. ⁽¹¹²⁾

In 1928 the municipality authority began to upgrade the roads in Semarang by laying asphalt. The town's sanitary networks were also improved. On November 1, 1928 the first flight service in Java connecting Batavia - Bandung - Semarang - Surabaya was opened by the K.N.I.L.M. The regional transportation system which connected Semarang with another southern regions (Kedu, Yogyakarta) was also improved after the upgrading project in Tempuran pass was finished in 1928. ⁽¹¹³⁾

Within the Chinatown an incident happened at the end of this period, when a big fire destroyed 5 shop-houses in Pekojan Kidul near the bridge in 1930. The town authority then prohibited anybody to rebuilt those plots, in order to smooth the traffic passing through the wider street passage. ⁽¹¹⁴⁾

(111) LIEM Thian Joe, "Riwayat Semarang: dari djaannya Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan", Semarang, Boekhandel Ho Kim Yoe, 1933, p. 270.

(112) *ibid.*, p. 274.

(113) *ibid.*, p. 280.

(114) *ibid.*, p. 307.

On January 8, 1931 the institution of Chinese officials (Kongkoan) was erased by the Assistant Resident of Semarang, soon after Major Tan Siau Lip resigned and Captain Liem Kiok Liam passed away. The Chinese community in Semarang would then be represented by several Chinese district heads, who should work under the Assistant Resident control. From March 1, 1931 there were only three Chinese district heads in Semarang: one was for Kranggan, Gang Belakang and Gang Gambiran, one was for Gang Pinggir, Gang Warung and Pekojan, and another one was for Ambengan.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Again from this description we can learn that the majority of Chinese in Semarang settled and concentrated almost within the same area of the old Chinatown, and some insignificant number settled anywhere outside this area.

In 1937 Gedong Batu temple was renovated by Lie Hoo Soen, the director of "Oei Tiong Ham Concern". A wooden gate and a sacred garden were added to the complex. The main temple was connected by a covered alley with the grave of Ong King Hong. After renovation this place was soon became a very popular pilgrimage destination. The annual procession from Tay Kak Sie temple to Gedong Batu was held again. But during the war period (1945-1950) this place was again being neglected and decaying.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ After the war, in 1950 the renovation work was done again. A stone gate replaced the wooded one, and some permanent buildings were erected, fully supported financially by rich Semarang's merchants and factory owners.

In 1942 the Pacific War exploded. On March 1, 1942 the Japanese force landed in Java and on March 8, 1942 the Dutch surrendered to the Japanese. During the Japanese short occupation period (1942-1945) Semarang was fully controlled by military government (*see figure 25*).⁽¹¹⁷⁾ On August 17, 1945 the independence on the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed by Soekarno and Hatta, but the revolutionary war was continued. On October 15-20, 1945 the Five Days Battle between the Indonesian and the Japanese army was exploded in Semarang. Until the end of 1945 continuous and extensive battles and bombings broke in Semarang and its hinterland between the Indonesian army and the Allied forces (the British army, the Dutch army, and the Japanese prisoners of war which was being used by the Allied forces in order to re-install the Dutch control over Indonesia after the second World War).

(115) *ibid.*, pp. 286-288.

(116) "Buku Peringatan 240 Tahun (1746-1986) Kelenteng Tay Kak Sie", Panitia Peringatan 240 Tahun Tay Kak Sie, Semarang, 1986.

(117) SOEKIRNO, "Semarang", Semarang, Djawatan Penerangan Kota Besar Semarang, 1956, pp. 54-55.

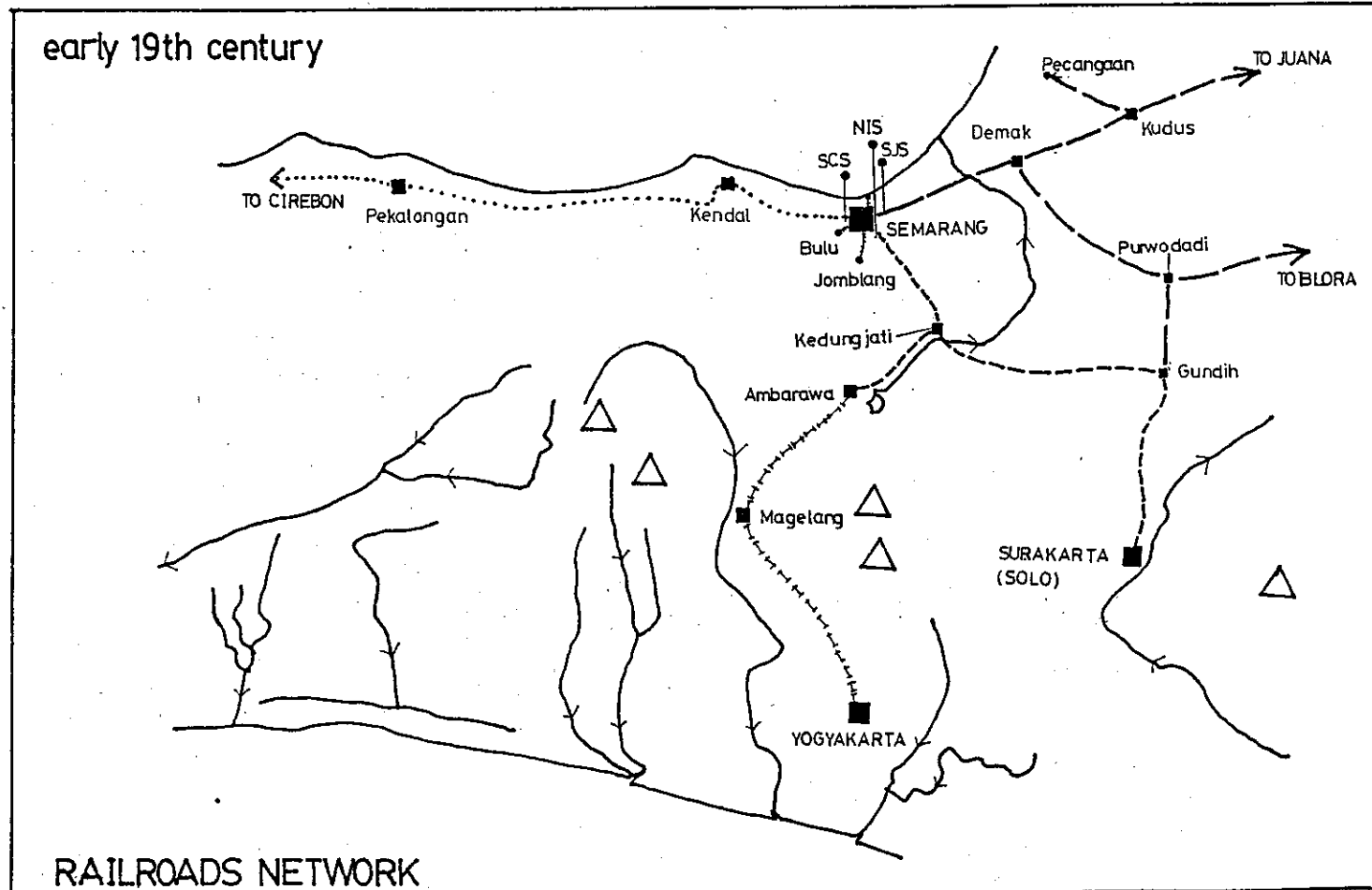
During this chaotic period of occupations and wars, a large number of Chinese from surrounding areas sought refuge in Semarang, and many of them remained there afterwards. Also a large number of pro-Kuo Min Tang (the Nationalist Party of China) refugees came to Semarang between 1946 and 1950, after the successful Communist revolution in China. At this period the Chinese population in Semarang was about 60,000, which about 46,000 of them (77%) were born in Indonesia.()

On April 1, 1950 the Indonesian municipality government of Semarang ("Pemerintah Daerah Kota Besar Semarang") was officially established, with Mr. R. Koesoebijono as its first Major ("Walikota"). This office was handed to R.M. Hadisoebeno Sosrowardojo on August 4, 1951.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ By this the chaotic situation of the war for independence and the Dutch occupation in Semarang was over and the city entered a new era of rapid development.

(118) WILLMOTT, Donald Earl, "The Chinese of Semarang: A Changing Minority Community in Indonesia", New York, Cornell University Press, 1960, p. 8.

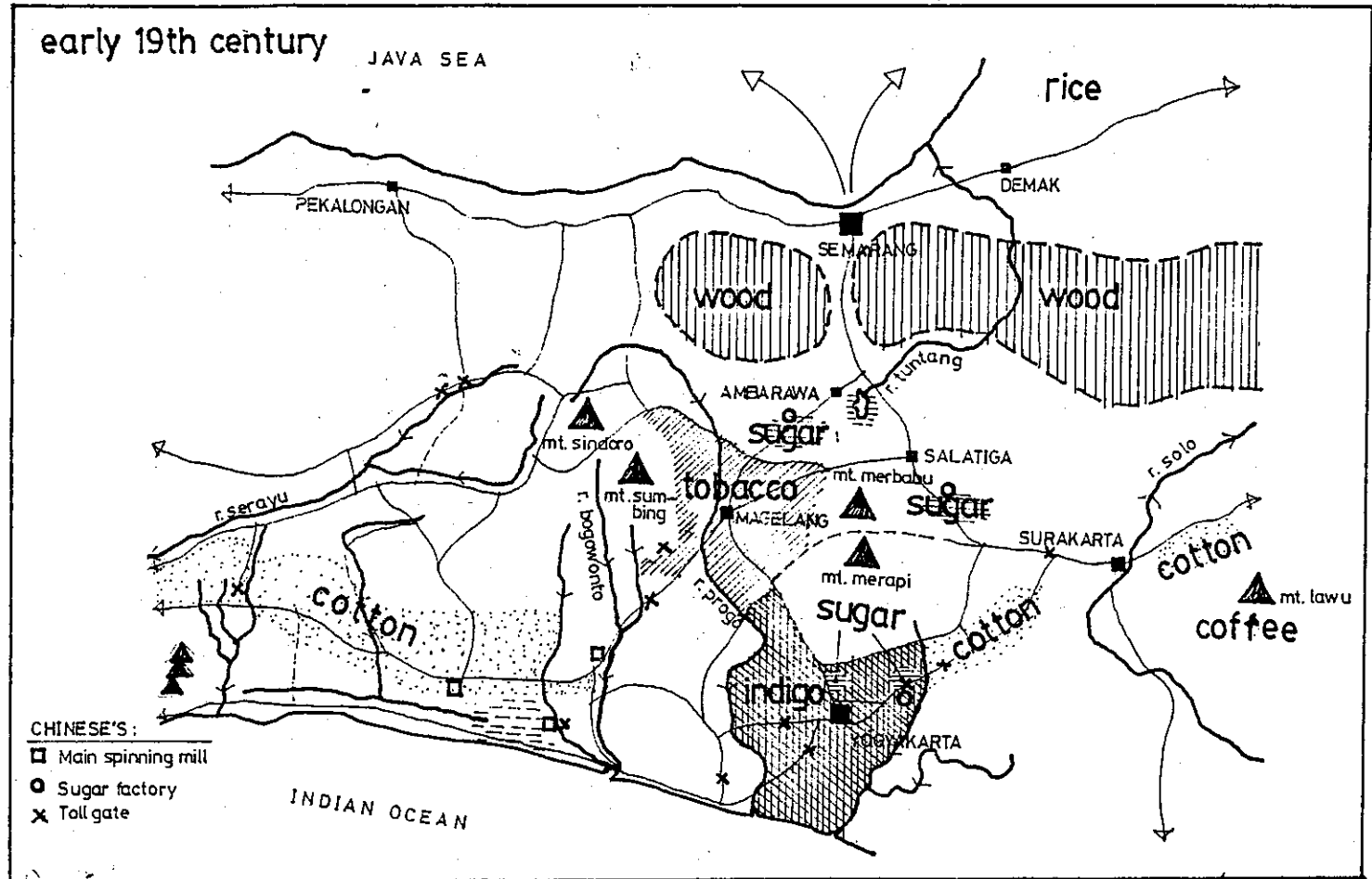
(119) SOEKIRNO, "Semarang", Semarang, Djawatan Penerangan Kota Besar Semarang, 1956, p. 56.

Figure 16



- 1) Map: "Semarang-Joana Stoomtram Maatschappij: Overzichtkaart", 1/500000, Den Haag, J.J. Broek, 1899, private collection of Sutrisno Murtiyoso (Bandung).
- 2) Map: "Semarang-Cirebon Stoomtram Maatschappij: Overzichtkaart", 1/500000, Broek-Gravenhagen, 1919, private collection of Sutrisno Murtiyoso (Bandung).
- 3) Map: "Schets van een gedeelte van Midden-Java", 1/400000, J.D. Steuerwald, ca. 1863, private collection of Sutrisno Murtiyoso (Bandung).

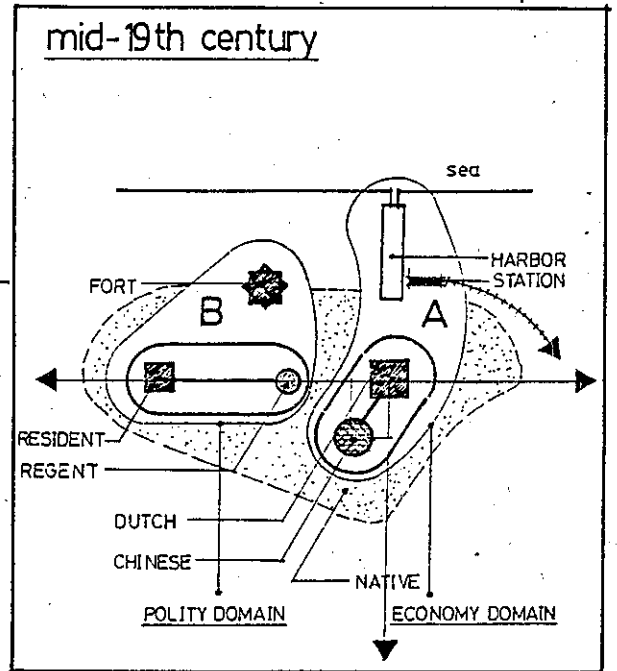
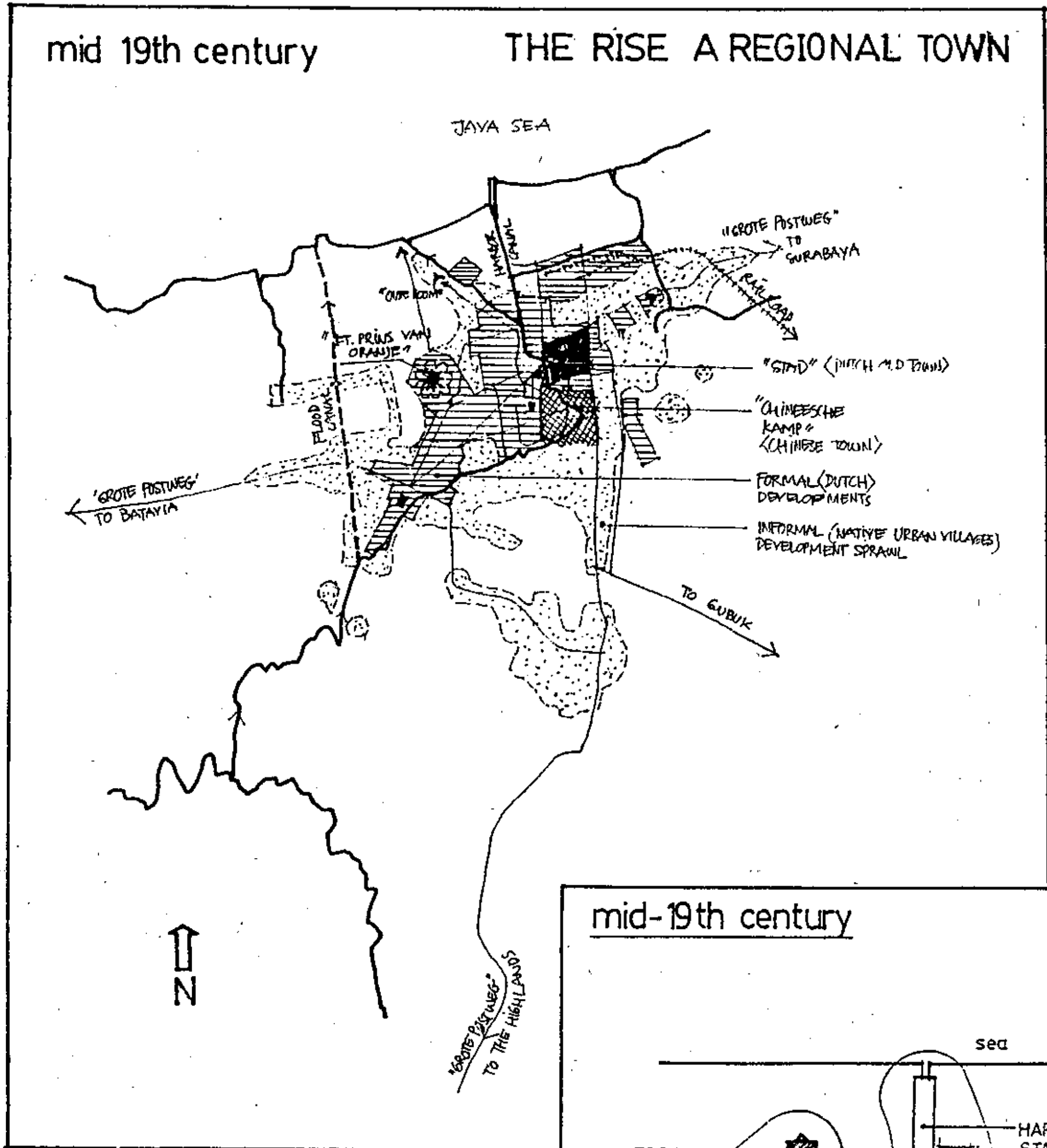
Figure 17



1) Map: "Schets van een gedeelte van Midden-Java", 1/400000, J.D. Steurwald, ca. 1963, private collection of Sutrisno Murtiyoso (Bandung).

2) LOUW, "De Java Oorlog - Perang Jawa, Jilid 2", quoted in CASEY, Peter, "Orang Jawa dan Masyarakat Cina (1755-1925)", Jakarta, Pustaka Azet, 1986, p. 115.

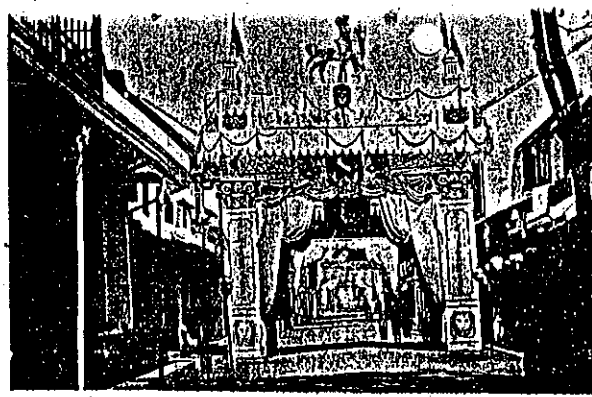
Figure 18



- 1) Map: "Plattegrond der stad Samarang door G.P.F. Cronenberg, 1/20000, De Groot Kolff, 1866, KIT: Krtz, 379.
- 2) Map: "Kaart van de stad Samarang en omstreken", 1/10000, G.C.T. van Dorp & Co., ca. 1890, KITLV: L.922.213 No. 22 (E26, 334).
- 3) Map: "Kaart van de hoofdplaats Samarang en omstreken", 1/10000, Topographisch Bureau Batavia, 1892, KITLV.
- 4) Map: "Stad Samarang", 1/50000, 1898, private collection of Sutrisno Murtiyoso (Sandung).



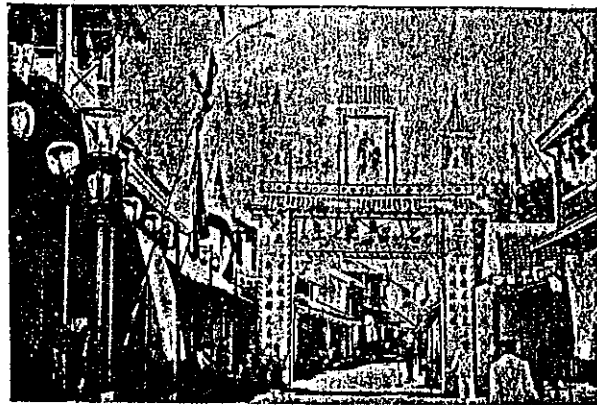
Sekeleng Petoedangan (Wetan) jang menemboes ka Pandean.



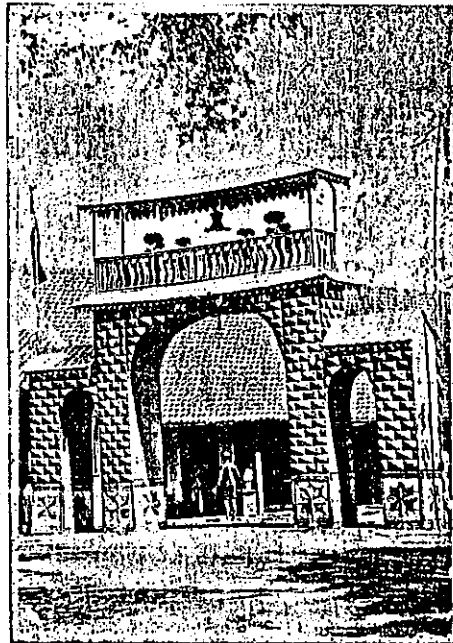
Pintoe gerbang di Gang Tengah, bagian tengah.



Pintoe gerbang di Gang Besen Kidol.



Poort di Gang Baroe.



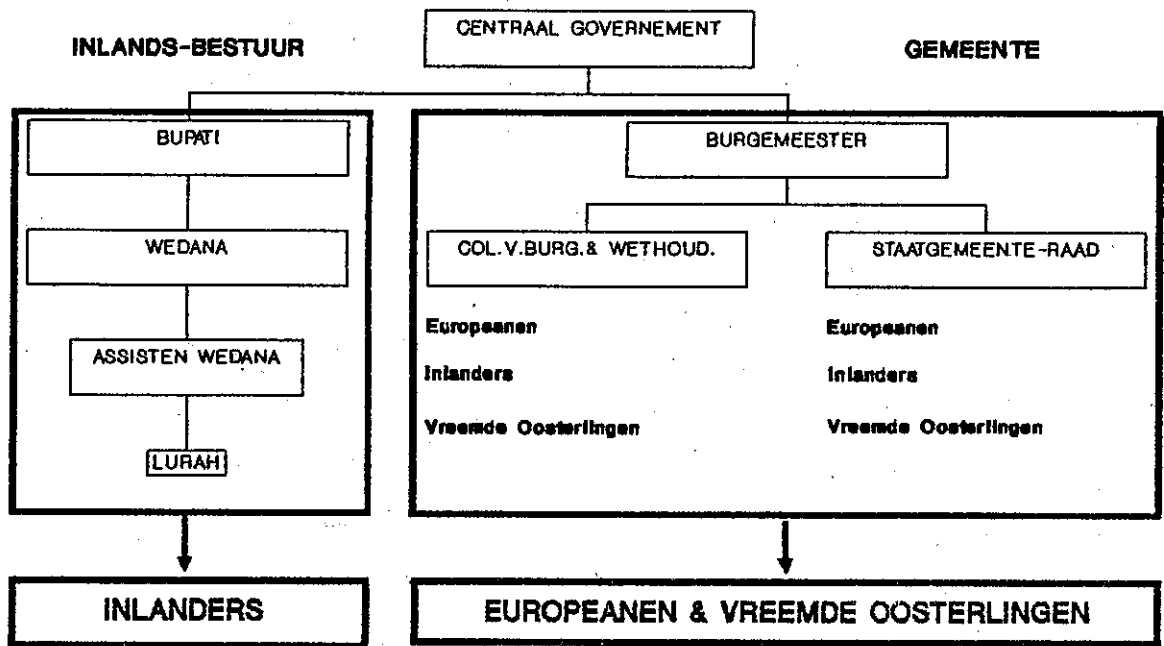
Poort di Beleng.



Gang Besen bagian tengah.

Figure 19

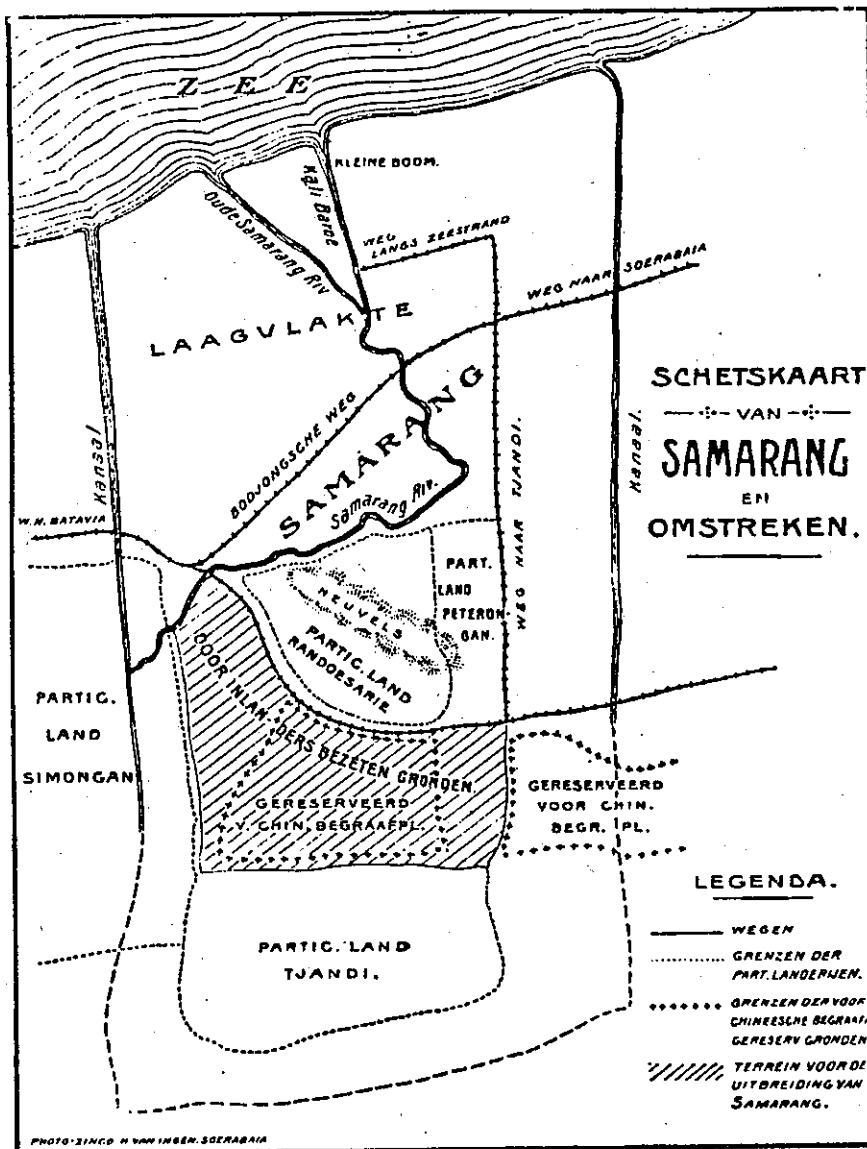
MUNICIPALITY GOVERNMENT (1906-1942)



Drawn by Johannes WIDODO

Refer to SOEKIRNO, "Semarang", Semarang, Djawatan Penerangan Kota Besar Semarang, 1956, pp. 54-55.

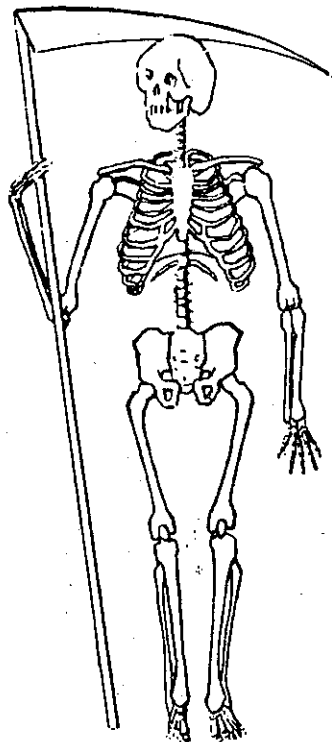
Figure 20



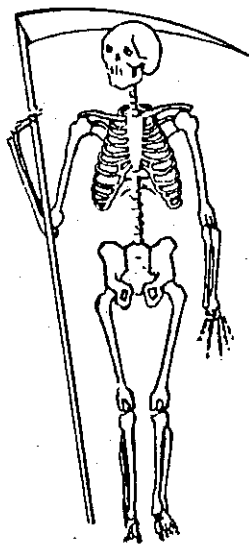
VAN GEUNS, M., "Koloniaal-staatkundige vlugschriften: De nooden van Semarang en de werking der decentralisatie", Surabaya, Soerabajasch Handelsblad, 1910.

DE STERFTE IN SAMARANG
VERGELEKEN MET DIE VAN VERSCHILLENDE
EUROPEESCHE LANDEN

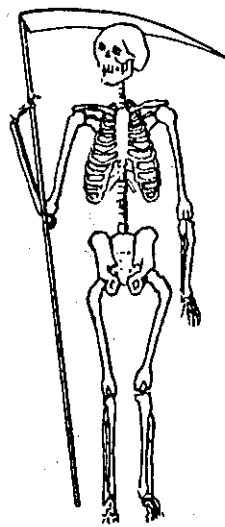
ONTLEEND AAN:
BEZAULT, ASSAINISSEMENT DES VILLES.



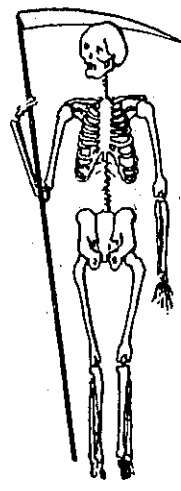
Rusland.



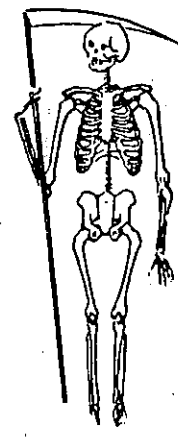
Spanje.



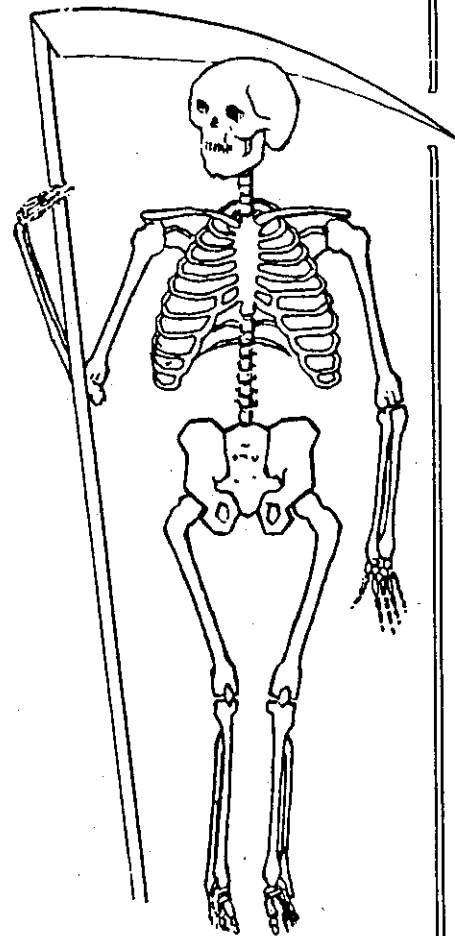
Oostenrijk-
Hongarije.



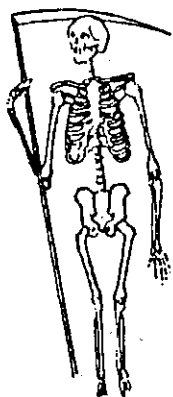
Italië.



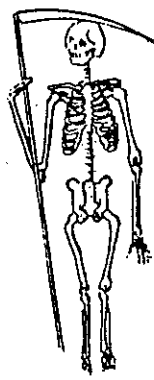
Frankrijk.



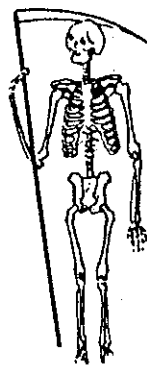
Samarang.



Duitsland.



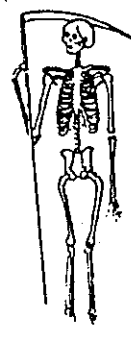
Zwitserland.



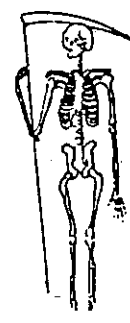
België.



Engeland.



Nederland.



Denemarken.

early 20th century

REGIONAL CENTER

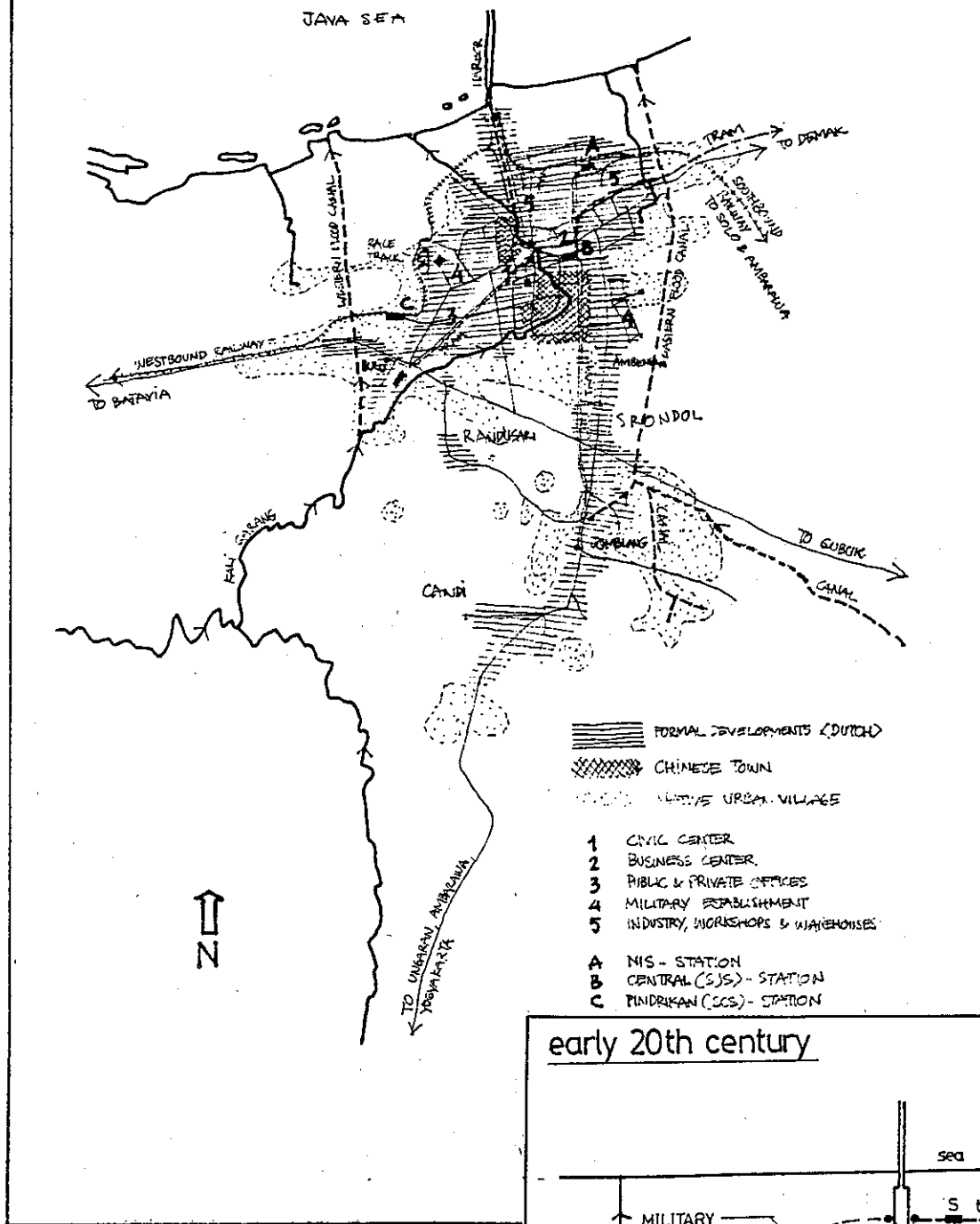
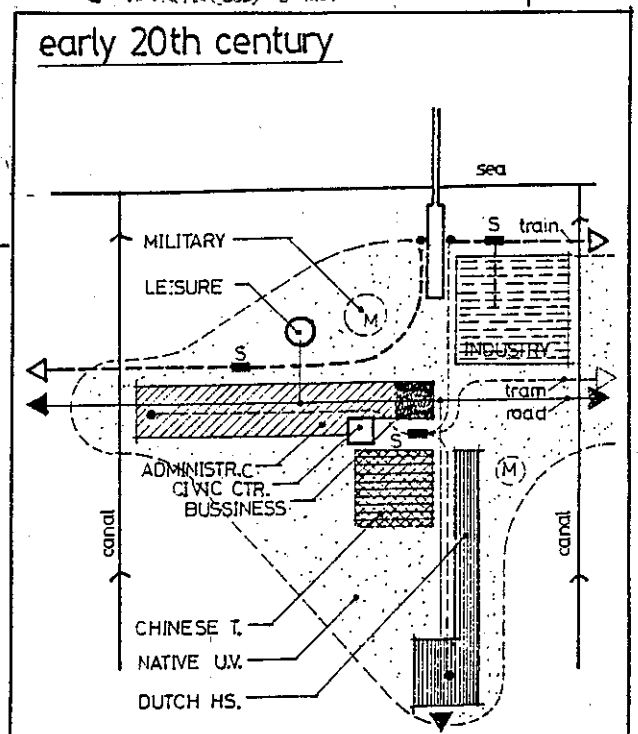


Figure 22



- 1) Map: "Stad Samarang", 1/50000, 1898, private collection of Sutrisno Murtiyoso (Bandung).
- 2) Map: "Semarang en Omstreken", 1/10000, Topographische Inrichting Batavia, 1909, RUL: PORT 297 No. 11.
- 3) Map: "Semarang", 1/20000, Broek en van Ghesl, 1914, private collection of Sutrisno Murtiyoso (Bandung).

mid 20th century MODERN URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLAN

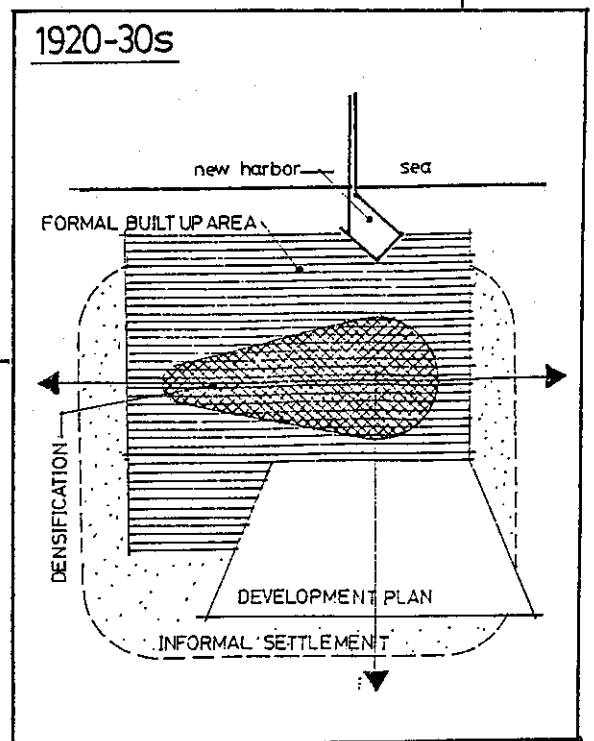
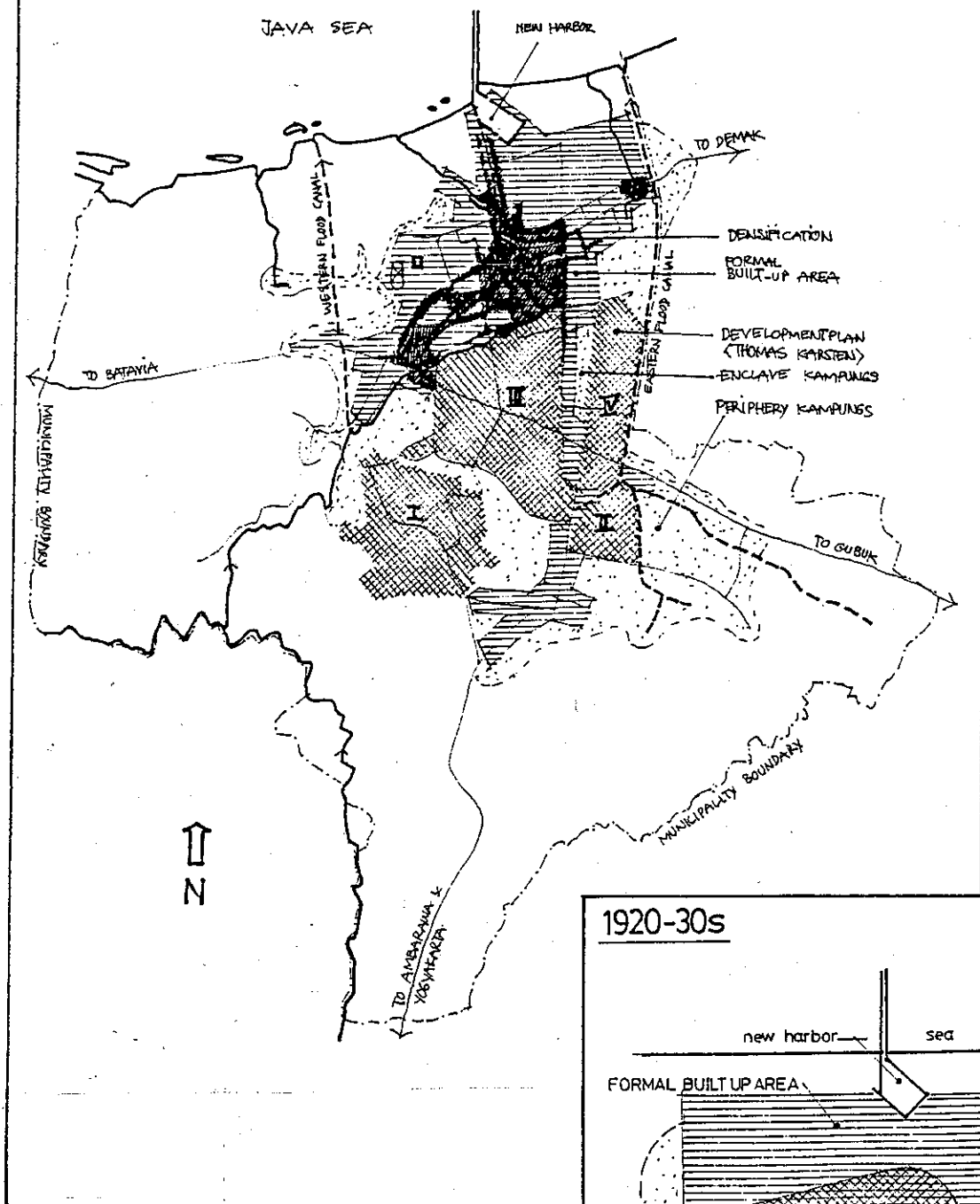
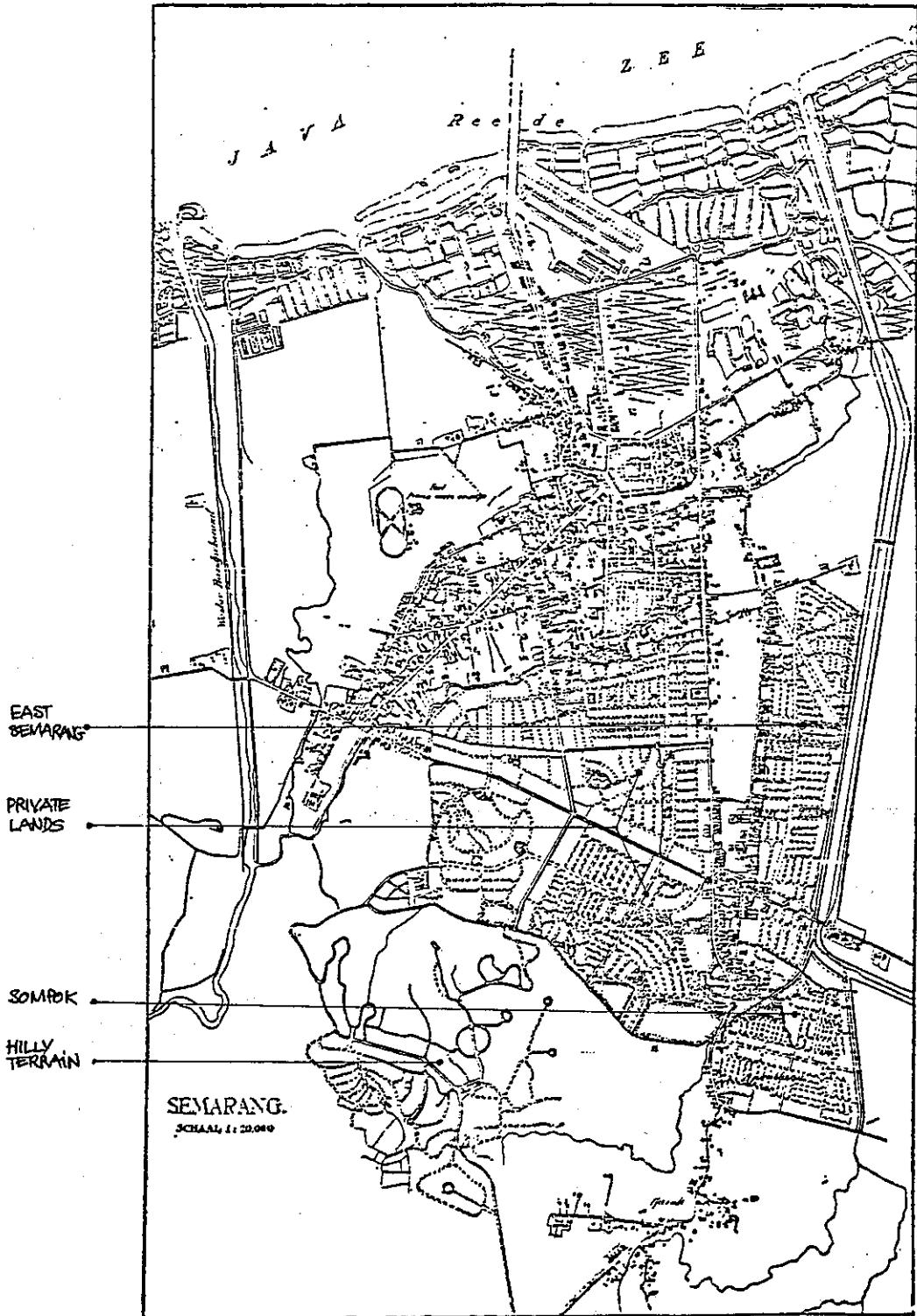


Figure 23

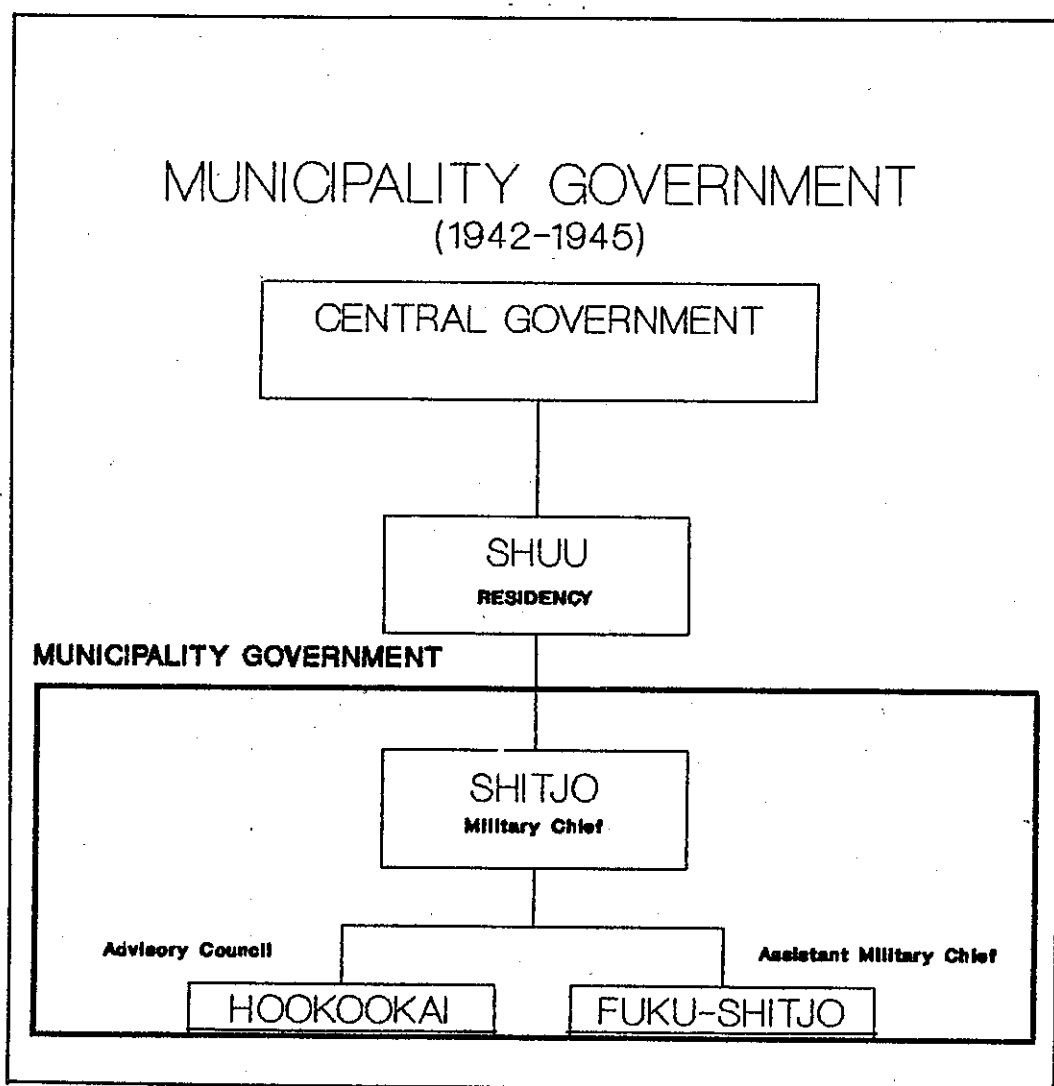
- 1) BOGAERS, Erica. "Fr. Thomas Karsten en de ontwikkeling van de Stedebouw in Nederlands India 1915-1940". Amsterdam, 1993.
- 2) Map: "Semarang", 1/20000, Technisch-Reproductie Bureau, 1922, KIT: java/4060/908.3=541.
- 3) Map: "Semarang", A.C. van Pernis, 1941, private collection of Sutrisno Murtiyoso (Bandung).
- 4) Map: "Kaart van Semarang", 1/10000, Survey Directorate ANFEI, 1946, KITLV.

Figure 24



BOGAERS, Erica, "Ir. Thomas Karsten en de Ontwikkeling van de Stedebouw in Nederlands Indie 1915-1940", Amsterdam, 1983.

Figure 25



Refer to SOEKIRNO, "Semarang", Semarang, Djawatan Penerangan Kota Besar Semarang, 1956, pp. 54-55.

E. The Modernistic City Period (1950 - present)

Being Modern in the early Modernists sense is to believe the technological progress, the role of the avant-garde, the social progressivism, the idea of social engineering through architecture. ⁽¹²⁰⁾ Reacting against the mentality of backwardness and the deterioration of urban living condition, Architecture is considered as a medium of transformation towards a better and new social and cultural state.

The Modernistic tendency is the negative effects caused by the careless and segmented implementation of the Modernists' ideals which resulted in the worsening of the urban living conditions, such as fragmented society, an increase of specialization, a further erosion of spiritual values, a decline of quality in all areas, and increment of unemployment. ⁽¹²¹⁾ The basics of modernistic attitude is both non-historical and non-cultural. History is considered as conservatism (against progression) and as romanticism (nostalgic or dream), and replaced by the concept of "zeitgeist" (the new Spirit of the Modern age). Culture is associated with etiquette, power, and the ruling class, not based on rationality, and related to the culture of poverty; and then is replaced by the theory of "basic needs" characterized by rationality and universality. The urban context is rejected and decomposed in order to escape from the conservatism, the culture of power and the culture of poverty. But the re-composition of new reality of modern city has never taken place in a coherent way. Formalism and its complex functions have been deliberately forgotten, and the new mono-functionalism based on money has been created. ⁽¹²²⁾

In Semarang case, we could also see that after the independence of Indonesia the modernistic attitude has been progressively taken place, in accordance with the ambition of the new nation to jump into the better future.

1. The "Old-Order" period

In 1950 the Indonesian government established diplomatic relationship with the People's Republic of China. Since then the relation between them have

(120) JENKS, Charles. "Modern Movements in Architecture", 2nd edition, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books Ltd, 1985, p. 371.

(121) *ibid.*, p. 371.

(122) Similar statements were given in the "Theory of Architecture" course by LOECKX, Andre. The Post Graduate Center Human Settlements, K.U. Leuven, academic year 1987/1988.

fluctuated wildly, reached the highest point in 1965. Soekarno's anti-colonialist policy had also brought Indonesia into close alignment with China. Meanwhile the Communist Party of Indonesia (P.K.I.) had also gained more and more power, took advantage from the deteriorating national economic condition. The Chinese became inevitable scapegoat for economic decline, and as a result of the political polarization, the Chinese was identified with Beijing, and thus with Communism.

Their loyalty to Indonesia was widely doubted, because of their strong cultural orientation towards China, and because of the Chinese nationalistic attitude of their sub-group. Another factors, which were amplified the prejudice towards the Chinese minority, were their economic strength and social exclusiveness. The Chinese group as whole remained distinct from other population groups, and reached its peak during the colonial period when the Chinese held a legal and social advantageous position between the Dutch ruler and the indigenous majority. Within this mood the customary antipathy towards the Chinese was growing.

Between December 27, 1949 and December 27, 1951 the Chinese who was born in Indonesia were given a chance to choose Indonesian or Chinese citizenships, like to the Dutch as well, ⁽¹²³⁾ as a logical condition of formal Dutch withdrawal from Indonesia. Out of approximately 46,000 Indonesian-born Chinese residents of Semarang, about 5,000 chose Chinese citizenship. The remainder (89%) had adopted Indonesian nationality. In 1955 these number slightly changed. The municipal statistical records indicated that from a total of about 60,000 Chinese in Semarang (16.7% of Semarang's total population), 17,000 (28%) held Chinese nationality, while 43,000 (72%) of them had Indonesian nationality. ⁽¹²⁴⁾ In this period the city of Semarang had 114 wards, and about 40 of them had no Chinese residents, but the Chinese constitute the majority of the population in about 20 of them. ⁽¹²⁵⁾

The Dual Nationality Agreement between Indonesia and China was concluded in 1955, but had not been made effective until 1960. Between 1960-1962 about 800,000 Chinese in Indonesia had declared themselves to adopt Indonesian citizenship. After 1969 Chinese nationals may become Indonesian citizens only by way of naturalization.

(123) WILLMOTT, Donald Earl, "The Chinese of Semarang: A Changing Minority Community in Indonesia", New York, Cornell University Press, 1960, p. 8-9.

(124) *ibid.*, p. 9.

(125) *ibid.*, p. 14.

In 1959 the Indonesian government introduced a regulation outlawing retail trade by aliens living in rural areas. This oppressive policy had resulted in an exodus back to China of more than 100,000 Chinese from Indonesia the following year.

Within the Chinese group itself two conflicting groups were emerging. One sub-group insisted assimilation for Chinese into Indonesian culture, the other one arguing about the right of the Chinese to have cultural distinctiveness as another groups had. The argument of the second group was supported by the Communist Party of Indonesia and President Soekarno, which caused the influence of the assimilationist diminishing. This situation inevitable led to a new wave of anti-Chinese feeling when Indonesian politics swung sharply right after the abortive Communist coup attempt in 1965 and the subsequent destruction of the Communist Party in Indonesia.

2. The Problems of the Business City

In 1955 an American scholar, Donald Earl Willmott, had made an extensive sociological study over the Chinese community in Semarang. He had also made some descriptions on some morphological aspects of Semarang. At that moment the total population of Semarang was 360,000 and 60,000 of them (16.7%) was Chinese.⁽¹²⁶⁾ In 1953 there were still about 5,300 Dutch population stayed in Semarang.

Bojong street,⁽¹²⁷⁾ previously the western part of the post-road, had already become the main street of Semarang, stretched for about 2 kilometer to the southwest from the commercial district. At its northern end were situated the provincial government building (the Governor office), the city's largest market, the alun-alun, a theater, the central mosque, a major hotel, the post office, and several government's buildings. In 1954 the Governor office (Stadhuis, or Gedung Papak) was burned, and later another cubic building with a new function as the provincial Treasurer office was built on the same site.⁽¹²⁸⁾ Along the second half of Bojong street were located the automobile garages and dealers, the headquarter of the Dutch Shell oil company, the next city hall and other government buildings, some theaters, schools, and pensions. A monument to the Heroes (Tugu Muda) to commemorate the Five Days Battle of Semarang (October 15-20, 1945) was erected in 1952 and finished on May 20, 1953, located in front of the ex-Resident palace.

(126) The following descriptions can be found on *ibid.*, pp. 9-14.

(127) *ibid.*, p. 10.

(128) SOEKIRNO, "Semarang", Semarang, Djawatan Penerangan Kota Besar Semarang, 1956, p. 27.

The Mataram street, ⁽¹²⁹⁾ previously the post-road to the "Vorstenlanden", runs to the south for over 3.2 kilometer from the eastern side of the old Dutch town (the commercial district). Along it were located several clubs, theaters, schools and churches. But for the most part of it was closely bordered by a great number of Chinese shop-houses. He had also tried to make a typological description of this Chinese shop-house. These Chinese shop-houses were built side by side in long rows, each one having a series of three or four small rooms along one side of a hallway reaching back from the street. The front room, the shop, is usually completely open to the street, though it was boarded up at night. The walls separating one house from another were usually a single thickness of woven bamboo plastered on both sides, but were sometimes made of wood or brick.

Along the streets of the old Dutch town ⁽¹³⁰⁾ were to be found the major banks, insurance companies, newspaper and printing offices, office buildings and trading companies, as well as a number of government buildings and small factories. Between business buildings we could find many tightly fitted very old residences. These were once occupied by the wealthy Dutch, but were now the homes of middle-class and poor Chinese and Indonesian families. In this section, as in others, many Chinese families lived in parts of their shops, factories, or warehouses.

The old Chinatown ⁽¹³¹⁾ was still one of the most crowded area of the city. The streets and the houses were very narrow, with no spaces between them. There was hardly spaces for a tree or a patch of grass in the whole district. At least 20,000 Chinese residents and 5,000 natives lived in this area. There were 50 textile traders within the Chinatown, which formed a Textile Trading Union: 45 of them located in Gang Warung, 4 in Gang Pinggir, and 1 in Gang Besen (1954). ⁽¹³²⁾ There are also ten Chinese temples within this area. According to his perception the Chinatown had all the appearance of an old Chinese city in the China mainland. The houses and buildings were usually very old and were built in Chinese architectural style. The sign over shops and doorways were almost all in Chinese characters.

(129) WILLMOTT, Donald Earl, "The Chinese of Semarang: A Changing Minority Community in Indonesia" New York, Cornell University Press, 1960, p. 11-12.

(130) *ibid.*, p. 10.

(131) *ibid.*, p. 12.

(132) SOEKIRNO, "Semarang", Semarang, Djawatan Penerangan Kota Besar Semarang, 1956, p. 175.

The modern housing areas⁽¹³³⁾ were located just south of the old Chinese quarter and in several other parts of the city. It seemed that he pointed at the housing areas built according to Karsten's plans. These houses were much more attractive and comfortable than the grand old Dutch residences of Karang Tempel street (previously Karrenweg). Most of these houses were occupied by Chinese, but especially in several pre-war municipal housing areas, there were also a fair number of Eurasian and native settlers. Running east and west between the main part of the city and the hilly terrain there was a low density residential area, where the municipal stadium and swimming pool, the major secondary schools, a large navigation school, the zoo, several churches, the local radio station, and the military, municipal, and Chinese hospitals, were located.

Candi Lama area⁽¹³⁴⁾ lies on top of a low range of southern hilly terrain. The houses in this residential area were very old and their grandeur had faded considerably. Some houses were still occupied by a few Dutch, but mostly were occupied by Chinese, Eurasians, and Indonesian government and military officials. Several Dutch buildings could still be found here, that is the Dutch social club, the Dutch sport club, and the residence of the Dutch Commissioner.

Candi Baru area⁽¹³⁵⁾ lies to the west of Candi Lama, that is the hilly terrain firstly planned by Karsten, still on top of a low range of hills in the south. This area was not built until 1905. It was now a beautiful residential area of luxurious homes and gardens. Almost the entire Dutch population of the city lived in this area, in addition to a small number of wealthy Chinese and Indonesian high government officials. The fine private Catholic Hospital St. Elizabeth was also located there.

Industrial establishments⁽¹³⁶⁾ were scattered throughout the city, as the shops and markets were. The modern cigarette factory of the British American Tobacco company was an imposing landmark located at the extreme northeast corner of the city. A few traces of the traditional Chinese block specialization were still to be found in some parts of the town, as: three-quarters of the forty Chinese gold shops located on one relatively short street, hardware and household supplies stores and shoe stores disproportionately numerous on three streets,

(133) WILLMOTT, Donald Earl, "The Chinese of Semarang: A Changing Minority Community in Indonesia" New York, Cornell University Press, 1960, p. 12-13.

(134) *ibid.*, p. 13.

(135) *ibid.*, p. 13.

(136) *ibid.*, pp. 13-44.

cluster of Batik textile shops and furniture stores, and cluster of big garages and car dealers.

The kampung areas⁽¹³⁷⁾ were the place where the majority of Semarang population lived. The kampungs can be found in the back of the buildings along the main streets (the enclave areas) and in the outskirts of the city. A network of narrow streets and alleys which were only wide enough for bicycles and pedestrians could be found in this area. The houses, which consist of two or three tiny rooms, usually had wooden walls and tile roofs. They were smaller than the typical Chinese shop-houses or the old houses in the Chinese quarter, but they frequently had a tiny yard and a tree or two, and quite often were built as separate houses with narrow spaces between. A large number of Chinese also lived in the native-style houses in kampung areas, which were therefore referred to as "kampung Chinese". As in the higher class areas, they might occupy almost a whole street, or their homes might be scattered among native homes. The Chinese lived in the kampung areas usually had a closer contact with their native neighbors than they who lived in the "better" areas, not only because of their physical proximity, but also of their more frequent interlocking activities and a similar way of life.

The growing economic activities within a relatively constant built-up area seemed had generated many problems for Semarang. The southern hilly area (the upper town) was suitable and had already planned for high-class housing development, and topographically limited the city development southwards. The two flood canals on western and eastern end of the city had formed physical barriers for westwards and eastwards development. Northwards development was prevented by swamps, ponds and the bad soil condition. (See figures 26 and 27). Overcrowding and chaotic mixture of functions were logical consequences of the urban growth within a physically limited area, without any underlying coherent and up to date urban development plan.

3. The "New-Order" period

On September 30, 1965 the Communist Party of Indonesia launched a coup attempt, but this attempt could be collapsed very soon by the right-wing Indonesian National Army. The period before October 1, 1965 thus was called the "Old-Order" period, while in turn the period afterwards was called "New-Order" period to express the aim of the new government to establish a progressive and anti-Communist policy.

(137) *ibid.*, p. 14.

After the coup some Chinese, among a great number of ethnic Indonesians, were murdered in the Army's attempt to uproot completely the Communist ideology and organizations. Since the Chinese population was generally assumed to be sympathetic to Communism (because of the People's Republic of China's support to the coup attempt, and because of the explicit Chinese nationalism spirit previously shown by the Chinese population sub-group in Indonesia), the Chinese in Indonesia had to suffer a lot of social and political discriminations and prejudice afterwards. Chinese schools were closed, Chinese nationals and stateless Chinese were banned from trade above the retail level and forbidden to change their place of residence or to communicate to each other using Chinese language.⁽¹³⁸⁾ After a violence in Jakarta in April 1967, the diplomatic relationship between Indonesia and Communist China was frozen.

On August 16, 1967, President Soeharto told the Parliament that a clear line had to be drawn between Chinese non-citizens and Indonesians of Chinese origins. He stated that the Indonesian citizens of Chinese origins have the same position, rights, and responsibilities as other Indonesians, and discriminations against them must be prevented. He also call on them not to delay further process of integration and assimilation with the native Indonesians.⁽¹³⁹⁾ This important speech lead to further change in the Chinese community in Indonesia. The movement towards a separate cultural identity was seem to be over. But the assimilation process will be slow because of at least two reasons: their economic strength is leading to distinctiveness,⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ and the legal process to adopt Indonesian citizenship (naturalization) must follow an extraordinary control procedures and very expensive. But some factors that could contribute to make races boundary more indistinct are: by name changing, which quite often accompanied the adoption of Indonesian citizenship, and the firm restriction over the use of Chinese language in Indonesia.

According to an American sociologist, Dr. Peter Weldon,⁽¹⁴¹⁾ in 1980s in some Indonesian big cities a higher proportion of Chinese households used Indonesian

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- (138) COPPEL, Charles A., and MABBETT, Hugh and Ping-ching, "The Chinese in Indonesia, The Philippines and Malaysia", Report No. 10, revised edition, London, Minority Rights Group, 1982, pp. 10-16.
- (139) *ibid.*, p. 12.
- (140) An article by RICHBURG, Keith B., "Asia's Overseas Chinese: Often a Distrusted Elite", in International Herald Tribune, Monday, March 21, 1988, described that the Indonesian Chinese owns half the private assets in Indonesia.
- (141) Quoted in COPPEL, Charles A., and MABBETT, Hugh and Ping-ching, "The Chinese in Indonesia, The Philippines and Malaysia", Report No. 10, revised edition, London, Minority Rights Group, 1982, p. 13.

as their everyday language (81% in Jakarta for example), more than the ethnic Indonesian households. At least from one criterion it can be said that the Chinese in Java as a whole may be said to have gone even further towards Indonesianization process than most Indonesians do.

After 1965 the majority of Indonesian Chinese adopted Christianity (either Catholic or Protestant), but nevertheless the "Chinese religion" (which now is crudely put under the group of Hinduism, one of the five formally recognized religions in Indonesia) still has many devout followers, especially in Semarang.

In Semarang the annual procession from Tay Kak Sie temple to Gedong Batu, which was banned after 1965, after a decade has gradually been permitted again with a change. Between the Chinatown and Gedong Batu complex no procession is allowed (everything should be moved by trucks and cars), but in both locations the celebrations (prayers, puppet show, dragon dance) can be performed freely, and also became one of the major tourist events in Semarang. Thus the current Indonesian Chinese should maintain a delicate balance between keeping their original or traditional identity and to develop a new cultural identity, within the delicate system of ethnical relation in Indonesia.

Anti-Chinese rioting still occurs from time to time in many parts of Indonesia. In Semarang a fighting between Chinese and non-Chinese students broke out in mid 1971, followed by the destruction of Chinese properties by the native population. The more serious riot broke out in Central Java in November 1980, started from Surakarta and spreading rapidly to other towns, including Semarang. Many Chinese houses, shops and enterprises were damaged. In all cases the officials response has been quick and firm in order to prevent trouble spreading, in line with the policy of encouraging the Chinese to continue to invest their money and skills in Indonesia's economic recovery.

4. The Modernistic Decomposition of the city

According to the national statistical figure, the total population of Semarang has rapidly increased from 647,000 in 1971 to 1,026,671 in 1980 (59% increase in just 9 years). This situation is underlaid by the fact that the area of Semarang has been enormously expanded

from just 99.4 sq.km.⁽¹⁴²⁾ up to 364.81 sq.km.⁽¹⁴³⁾ in 1976 (see figure 28).

The enormous expansion of Semarang cannot be separated from the Regional Development Plan, which bears the government's ambition to launch Semarang to become the modern, prosperous, and prestigious regional center of Central Java. Before the rise of the twenty-first century Semarang should become not only regional and local administrative center, but also the education and tourism centers with regional and national scopes, and the trade, industry and transportation centers with regional, national and international scopes.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Central Java is divided into several development areas with different priorities, all of them oriented towards Semarang as the main development center (see figure 29).

The expanded area of Semarang is divided into 4 development zones with different functions and population density regulations, which is also divided into several development priorities and phases within 25 years period. The first zone is the center area consists of central activities with the highest population density 51-175 p./ha., the second zone is planned for industrial functions with a low population density 15-30 p./ha., the third zone is planned for settlements and services activities with a medium population density 31-50 p./ha., and the fourth zone is intended for agrarian activities and natural conservation area with a low population density 15-30 p./ha. (see figure 30). These zones and activities are connected with a series of circular ring-roads with some radial roads system (see figure 31). The urban infrastructure systems (electricity, water, public transportation) are also planned to serve its expanded service area.

The central development zone is planned to be decomposed into different functional sub-zones (see figures 32 and 33). The city center will be consisted of three different central functions: the administrative center (provincial and municipal), business center (encompassing the Chinatown, the ex-Dutch town, Bojong, Mataram, and their previous expansion areas), and the cultural center (developed around the new nodes, Simpang Lima square). These functions are internally inter-connected by the inner ring road system, and externally are related to the regional radial-roads (ex-post-road). The railroad has not yet played an important role in the

(142) BOGAERS, Erica, "Ir. Thomas Karsten en de Ontwikkeling van de Stedebouw in Nederlands Indie 1915-1940", Amsterdam, 1983, p. 96.

(143) Pemerintah Kotamadya Daerah Tingkat II Semarang, "Rencana Kota Semarang 1975-2000" (Master Plan of Semarang 1975-2000).

(144) *ibid.*, p. IV-10.

inter-regional transportation system, because of its mismanagement problems. Tawang station is the only railway station used currently, while the other stations have not fully used anymore. The Central station in Jurnatan, after being used as the main bus station, has already been demolished and a new shopping center complex was built there. The train's role has been generally replaced by bus and domestic flight services. A big regional bus terminal is built outskirts the city eastward, near the junction of the middle ring road with the main road to Demak. The harbor, which is also planned to be drastically extended, is still playing a very important role as a regional, national, and international economic port.

Along the middle ring road system are placed the urban sub-centers (each consists of administrative and commercial, sport, and lower educational facilities), the airport, the recreation center near the sea, the harbor facilities, the industrial estates, and major higher education establishments, and green belt enclosure with small recreation facilities within. Morphologically both of the flood canals have not anymore define the city's boundaries. The city's structure is now defined by the major roads system and separated functional zoning.

Thus it is not too difficult to understand that Semarang is put under a great pressure of the ambitious development plan, and some common problems to this kind of development has soon appeared. At the general level, the main problem is concerning the enormous cost of development and its possible financial sources. Since the government (either the central, provincial, or local governments) has the full responsibility to sustain the public infrastructure costs and the development costs of currently undeveloped perimeter areas, and the amount of public money in the government's disposal is very limited because of the current national economic problems, so it is very difficult to implement the plan as it is intended. Short terms and poorly coordinated segmented projects, haphazardly executed all over the city, are the common characteristic to be found in Semarang today.

Another problem is created by the over-extensive development of private economic activities (most of them are still controlled by Chinese) and its physical establishments. The alun-alun has completely been used for covered market, as the extension of the already overcrowded Johar market. The Kabupaten (ex-Adipati house) was gone and replaced by the modern shopping and cinema complex Kanjengan. Even around the Simpang Lima square (which is intended for cultural center) some commercial establishments (shopping centers, cinemas) have also already intervened. Shopping centers are built

haphazardly almost in any part of the city, ignoring the planned zoning, and freely following the business instinct and economic logic.

The environmental disruption especially in the slums and illegal developments along the Semarang river, and the rapid river sedimentation process which threatened the harbor, have triggered the plan to normalize the river. The issue of the Semarang river normalization project has created a long controversies, because of the government's plan to clear 10 meter width of land along the river to build a parallel inspection roads, has forced the illegal settlers (most of them are the poor majority of the population) along the river to move elsewhere without adequate compensation, has caused the destruction of many old building especially in the old Chinatown, and because of the practical inconsistencies in the implementation process by the city bureaucrats and authorities. (145)

Some physical changes have also occurred in the old Chinatown area, transforming the original architectural style, or transplanting a completely new typology by demolishing the actual building. The poorer inhabitants let their building decaying and remain there or move elsewhere. Many plots were sold to another businessman to be converted into modern office building and banks (especially along Gang Tengah and Gang Besen). More and more financially capable descendants of the original inhabitants move out from their family houses to the more attractive and comfortable new housing estates outskirts the town. The previously impressive big family houses (Gedong Gula and Kebon Dalem) has also diminishing. Gedong Gula has been completely changed into kampung, and Kebon Dalem (which is used for Catholic church, cloister, polyclinic and schools) has also been drastically improved. But still a great deal of houses, warehouses, temples and streets are still perceivable as their original condition in the past.

The following study, based on the current urban tissue condition and its historical changes, will try to

(145) Some national and local newspapers published this controversies, such as:

1. "Walau Normalisasi Dilakukan Sungai Semarang Tetap Terancam Pendangkalan" (Even though Semarang river is normalized, it will continually be threatened by sedimentation), KOMPAS, Wednesday, December 2, 1987;
2. "Diperdebatkan, Penggusuran yang Gencar di Semarang" (Settlement clearance is being debated in Semarang), KOMPAS, Friday, December 4, 1987.
3. "Normalisasi Kali Semarang: Ratusan Rumah di Kapuran - Tugu Muda Dibongkar" (Semarang river normalization: Hundreds of houses in Kapuran - Tugu Muda was demolished), SUARA MERDEKA, Wednesday, January 6, 1988.
4. "Normalisasi Tahap I Terhambat" (Normalization stage I was interrupted), SUARA MERDEKA, Wednesday, January 6, 1988.

find out a coherent typological and morphological understanding over a limited area of Semarang (the old Chinatown segment). This study is based on a firm belief that the functional decomposition (as being directed by the current Development Plan) of Semarang will not lead to a better Metropolis, but certainly will dehumanize its social life and will destroy its architectural quality, as has already been experienced by many cities in the developed countries. To avoid this bad fate, it is really necessary to direct our attitude and professionalism towards the re-composition of the city efforts, by reintroducing the previously ignored Architectural dimension to the Development Plan, based on its specific culture, history, and context.

Figure 26

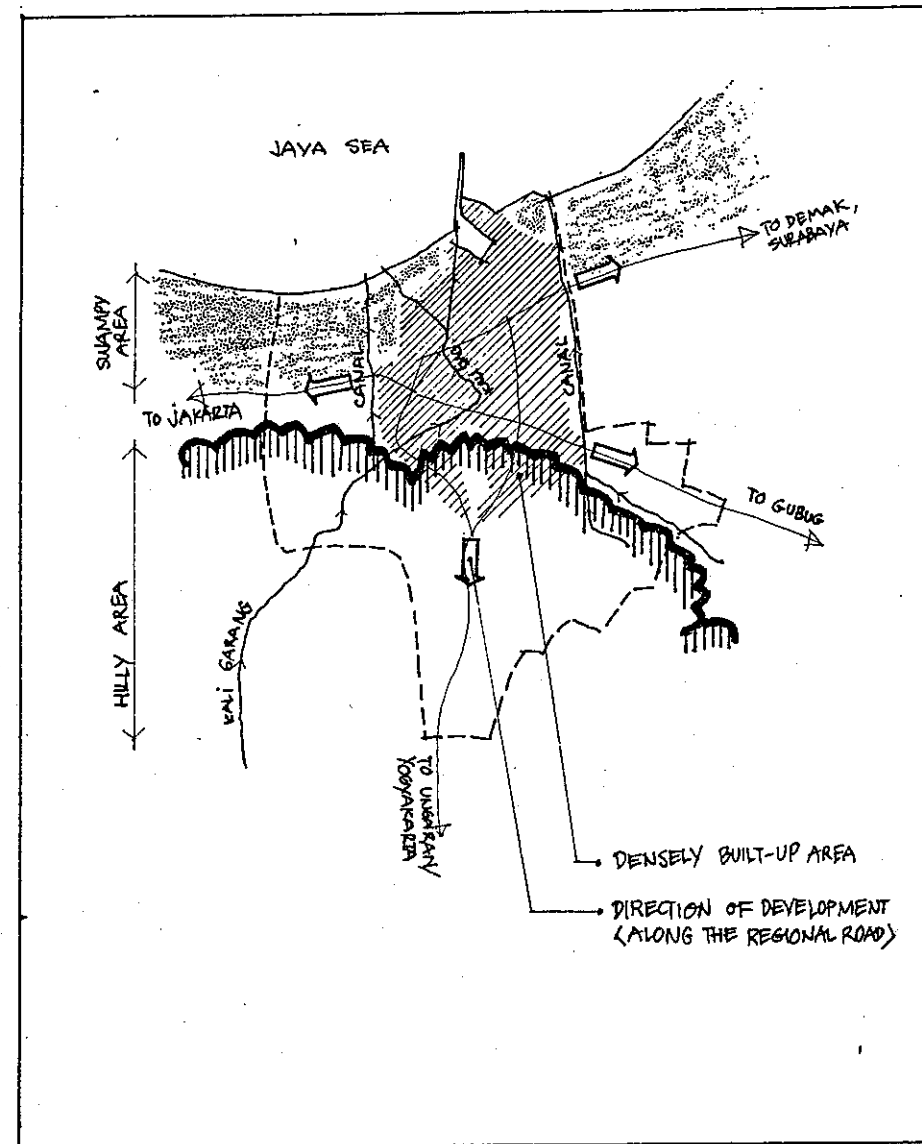
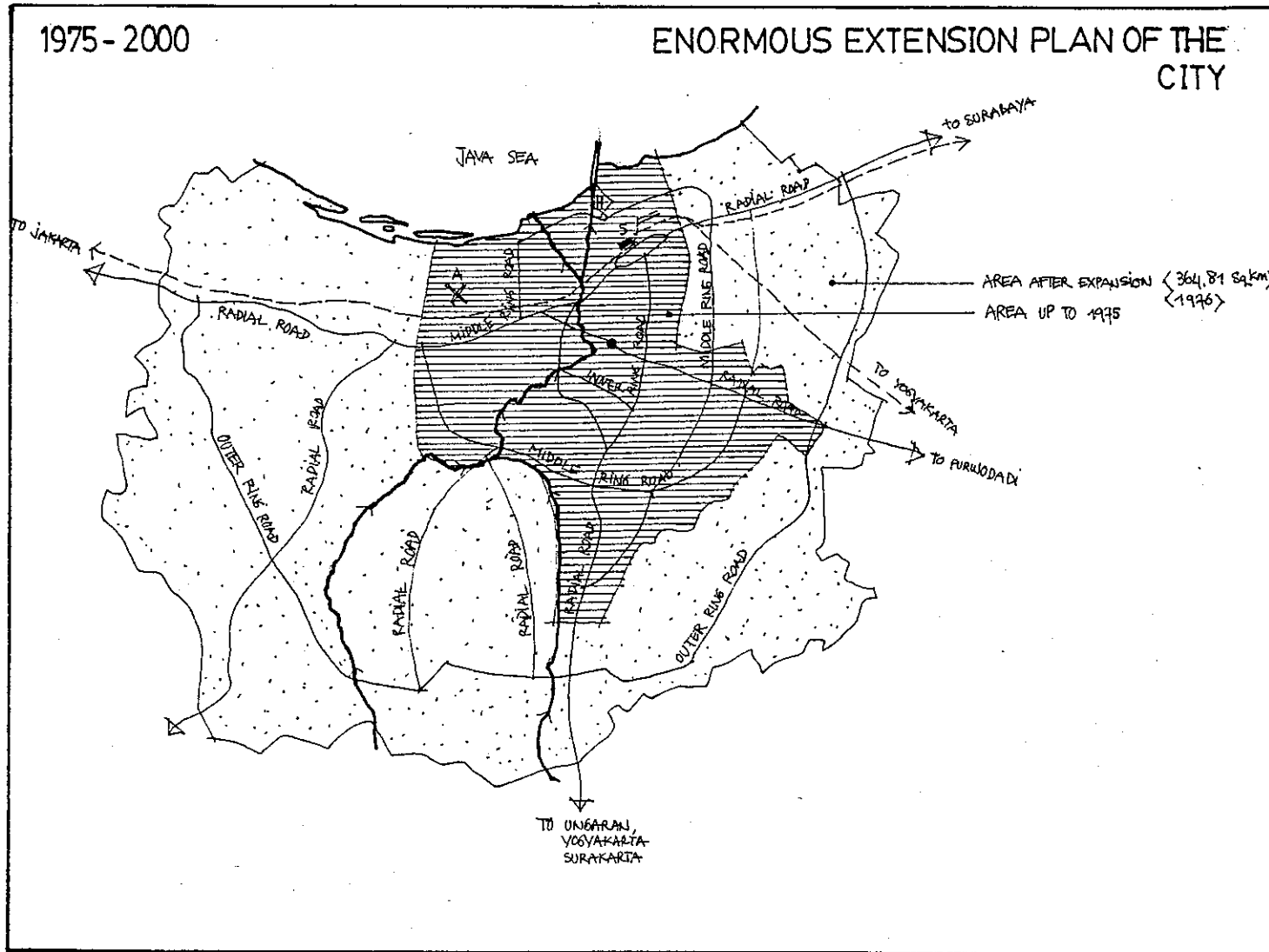
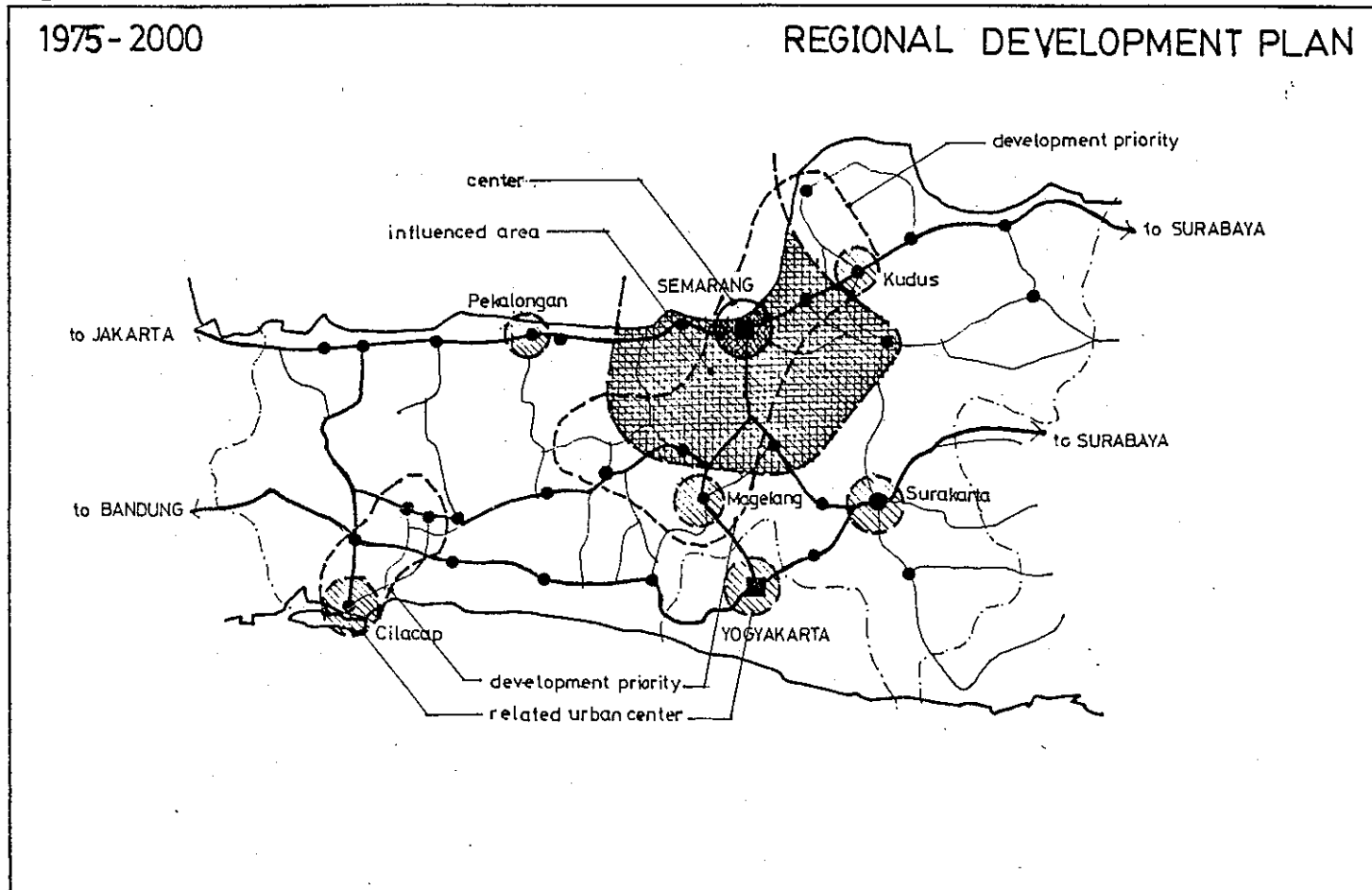


Figure 28



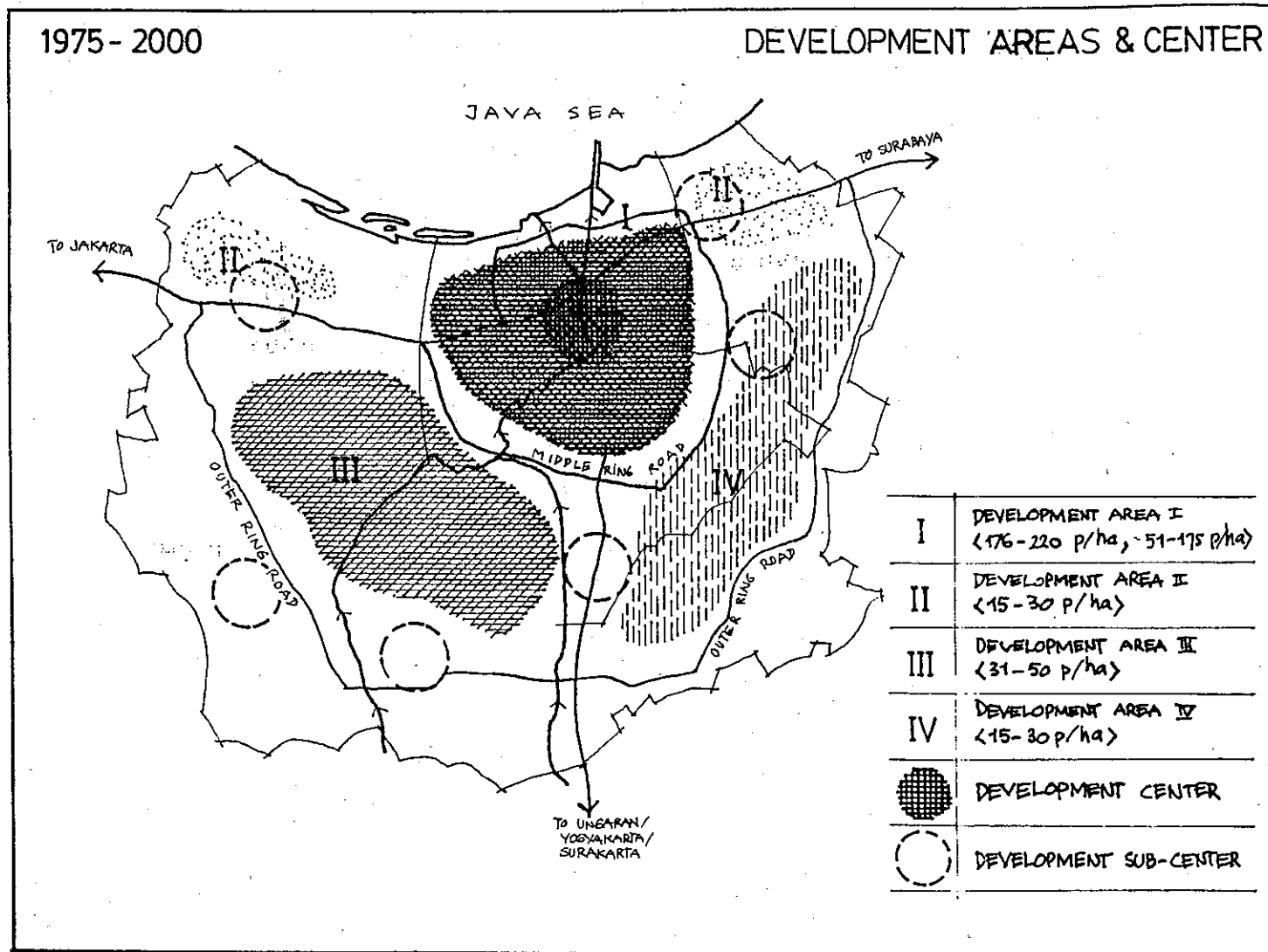
Map: "Rencana Kota Semarang 1975-2000" (Master Plan of Semarang 1975-2000), Pemerintah Kotamadya, Daerah Tingkat II Semarang.

Figure 29



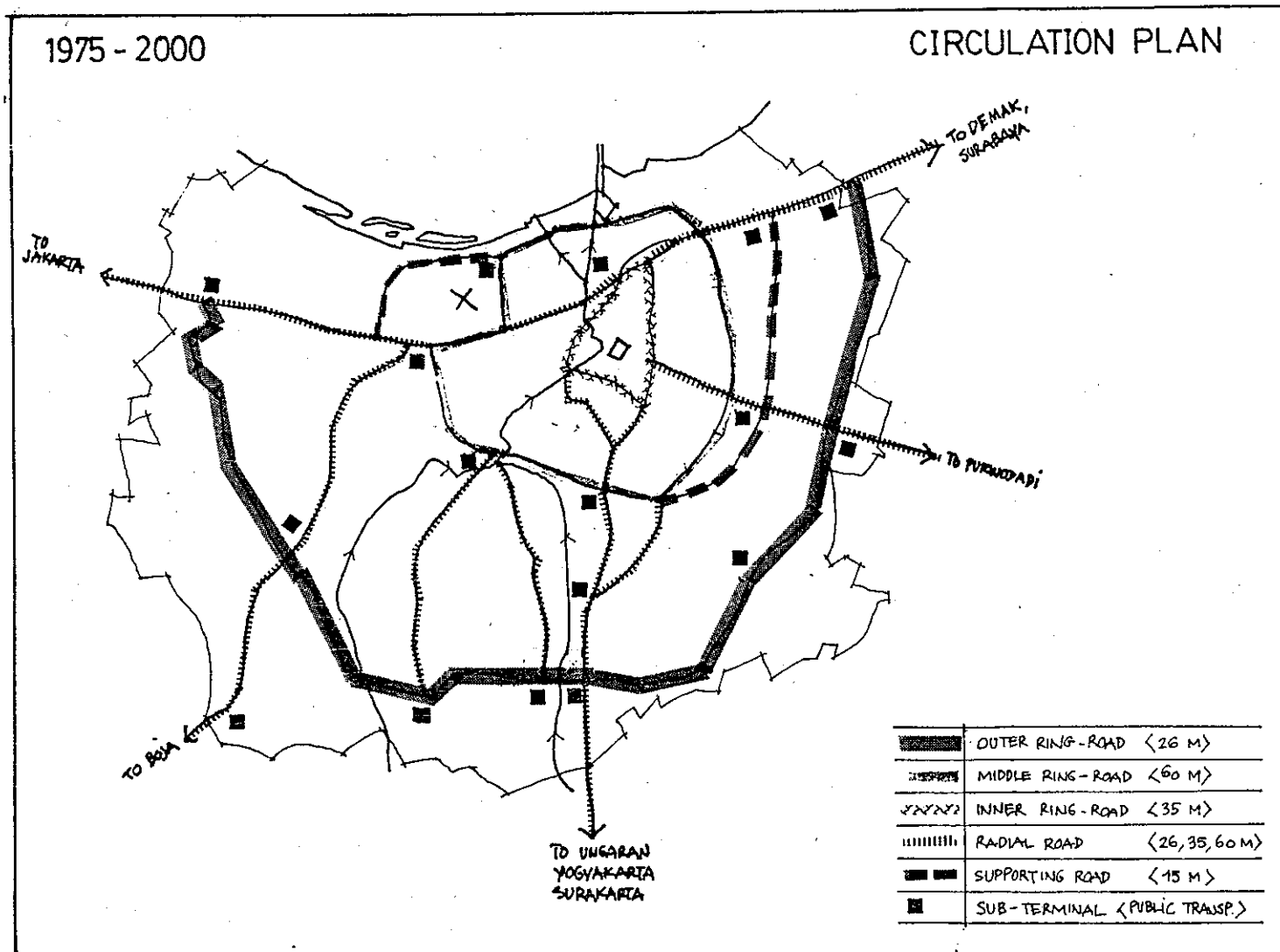
Maps: "Rencana Kota Semarang 1975-2000" (Master Plan of Semarang 1975-2000), Pemerintah Kotamadya Daerah Tingkat II Semarang.

Figure 30



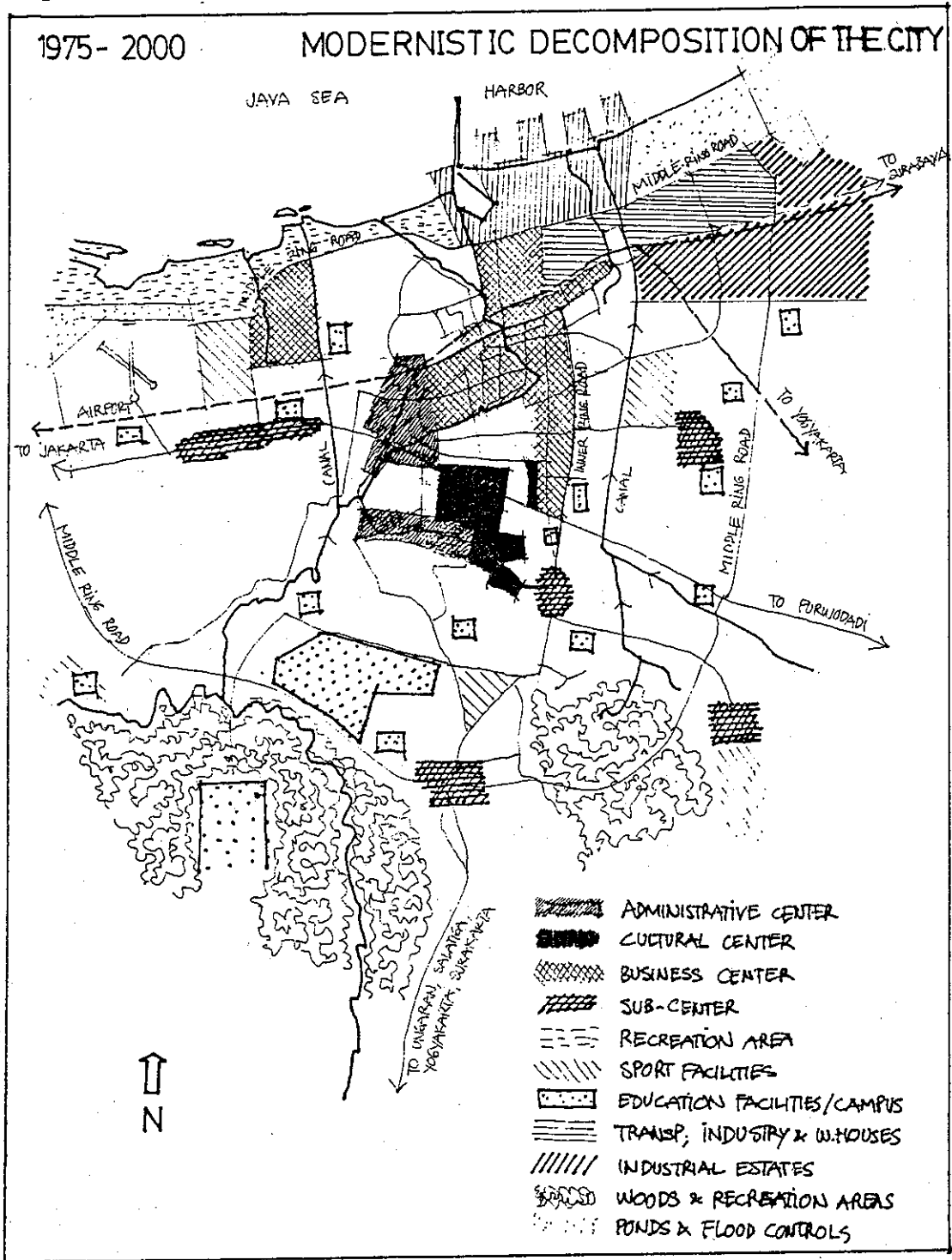
Refer to maps: "Rencana Kota Semarang 1975-2000" (Master Plan of Semarang 1975-2000),
Pemerintah Kotamadya Daerah Tingkat II Semarang.

Figure 31



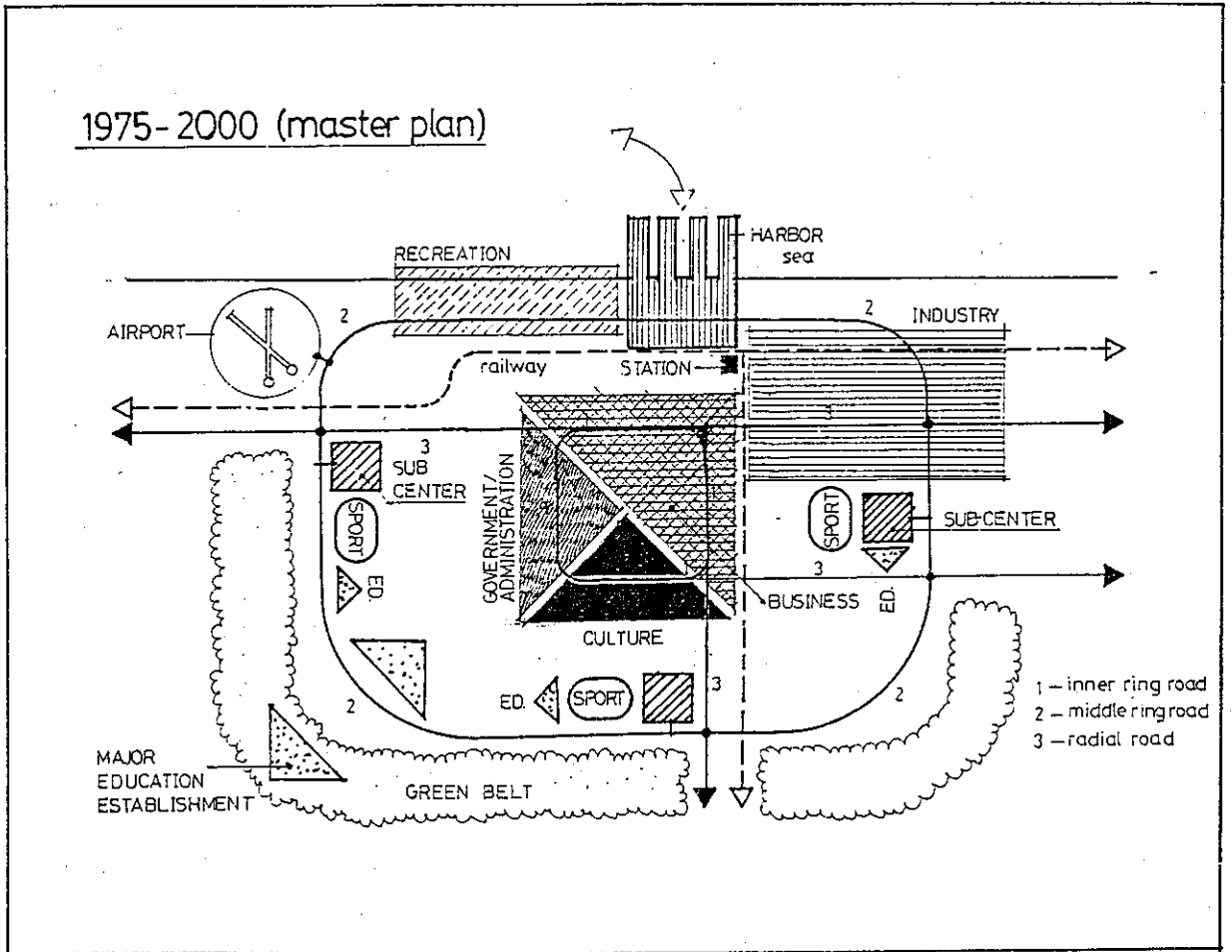
Refer to maps: "Rencana Kota Semarang 1975-2000" (Master Plan of Semarang 1975-2000),
Pemerintah Kotamadya Daerah Tingkat II Semarang.

Figure 32



- 1) Map: "Rencana Kota Semarang 1975-2000" (Master Plan of Semarang 1975-2000), Pemerintah Kotamadya Daerah Tingkat II Semarang.
- 2) Map: "Semarang & Jawa Tengah", 1/33500, Prima Indonesia, ca. 1997.

Figure 33



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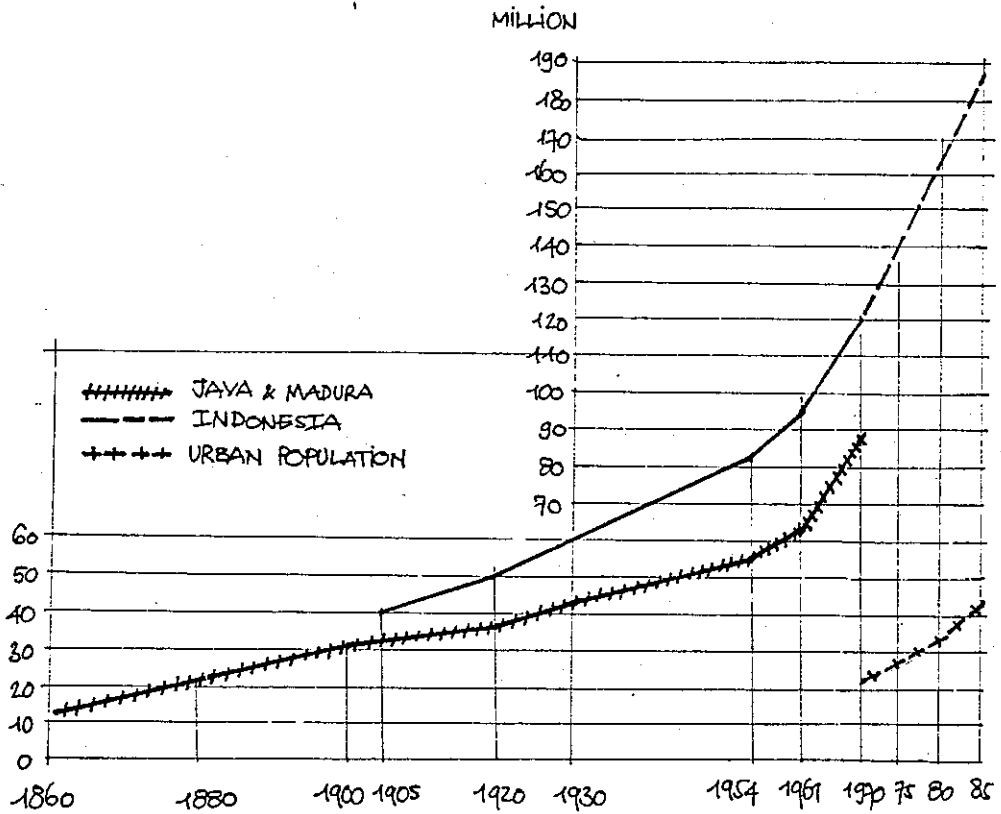
Wotgandul Timur 8

Yo Soe Kie 23

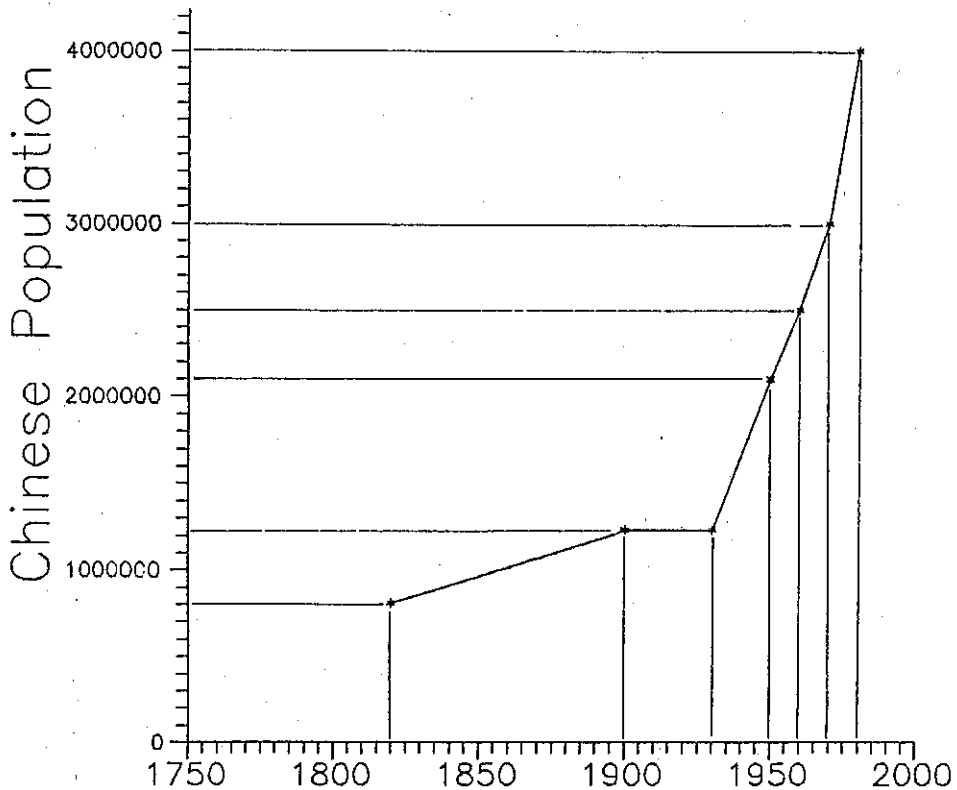
Yogyakarta 17, 26, 30

Zeitgeist 33

Appendix 1: INDONESIA POPULATION

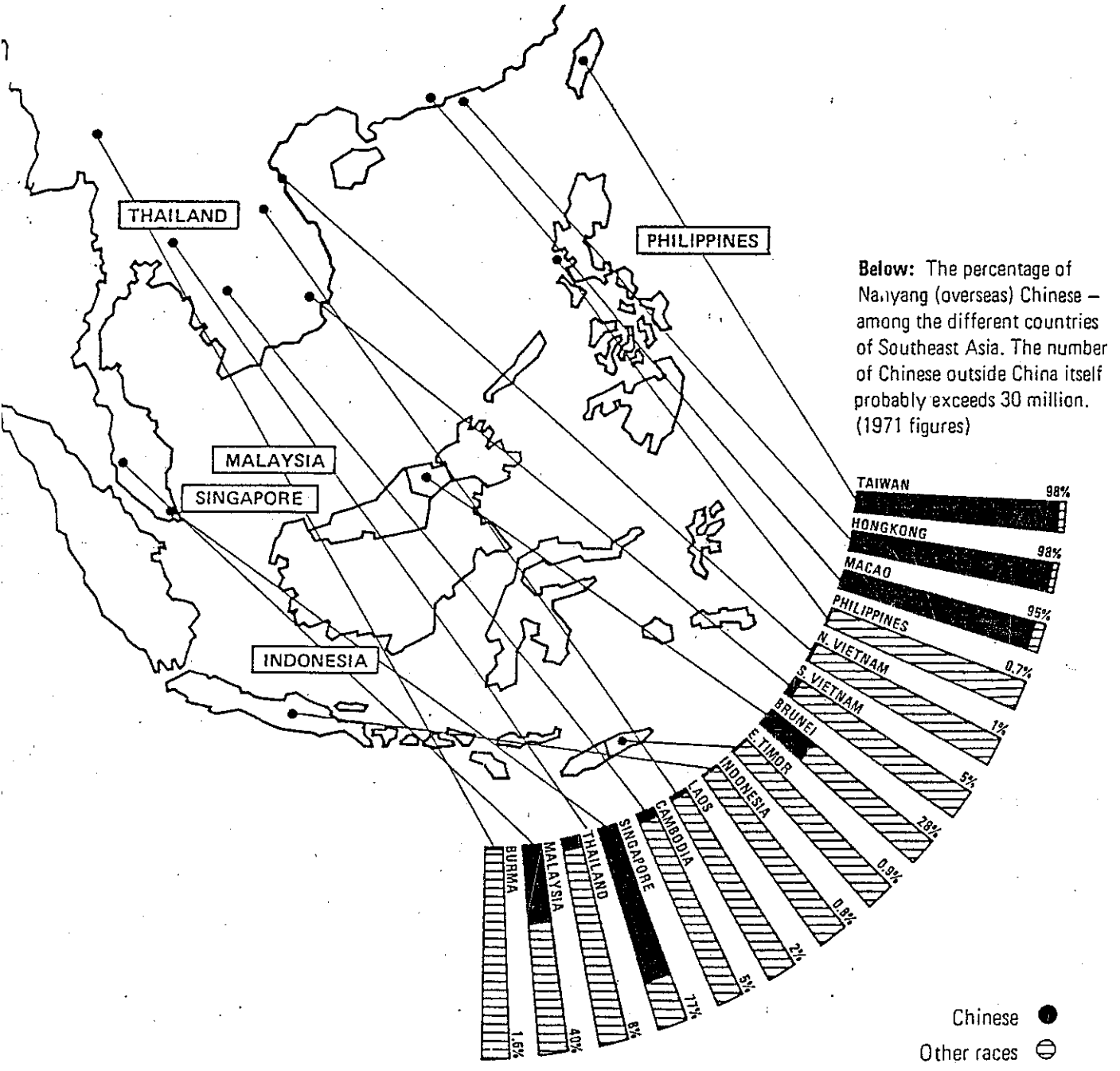


Appendix 2: CHINESE POPULATION IN INDONESIA



Appendix 3:

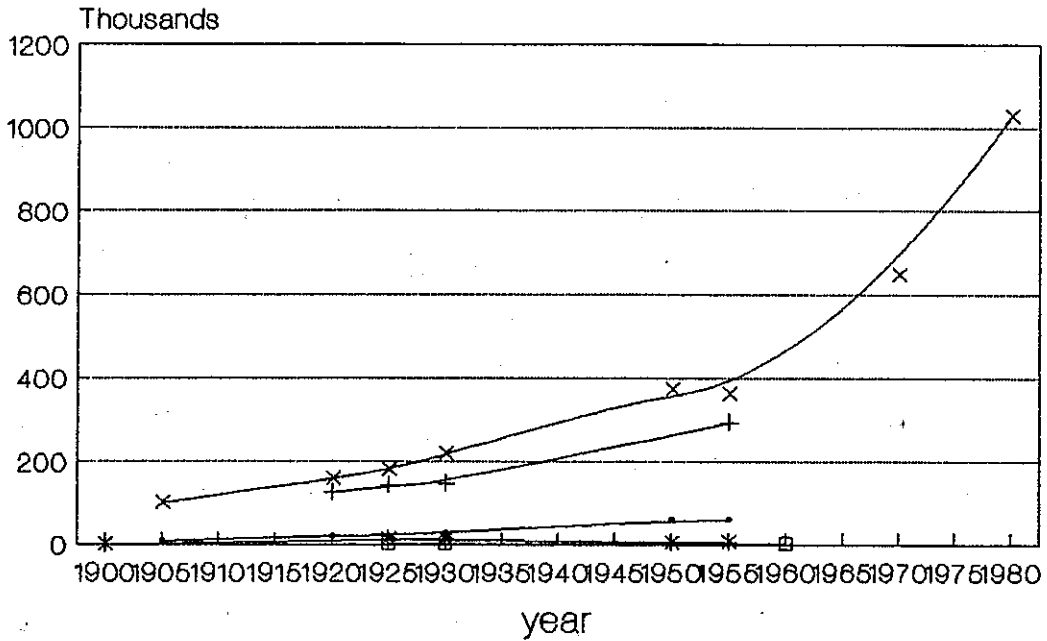
THE CHINESE IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA



"THE OBSERVER ATLAS OF WORLD AFFAIRS", PHILIP, 1971; TAKEN FROM COPPEL, CHARLES A. & HABBET, HUGH & PING-CHING, "THE CHINESE IN INDONESIA, THE PHILIPPINES & MALAYSIA, LONDON, MINORITY RIGHTS GROUP, 1982.

Appendix 4

SEMARANG POPULATION (1900-1980)

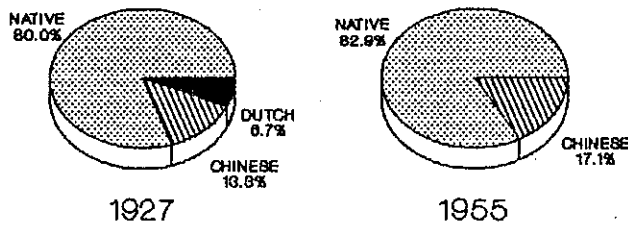


—•— Chinese
—+— Native
—*— Dutch
—□— Others
—x— Total

Compiled from different sources (Widodo)

Appendix 5

SEMARANG Population Distribution



(Wilmsott, Flierings)

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All figures (except figure 4) and samples were drawn by Johannes Widodo.

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