

# **REVITALIZATION MODEL OF ETHNIC SETTLEMENT TO PRESERVE CULTURAL HERITAGE AND SUPPORT TOURISM IN SURAKARTA**

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## **ABSTRACT**

*The main aim of this research is to formulate a revitalizing model of ethnic settlement through the effort of preserving cultural heritage and supporting community-based tourism in Surakarta. It is a qualitative research which uses primary and secondary sources. The research data is gathered through in-depth interviews, guided group discussions, field observations, and the close reading method [metode simak]. The data was obtained through the triangulation method. The data is then analyzed by using the interactive analysis technique. The results of the research are as follows: First, the kinds of ethnic settlements which still survive are Baluwarti, Kauman, Laweyan, Pecinan in Balong and Kampung Arab Pasar Kliwon. Second, writings on the variety of ethnic settlements in Surakarta are still limited. Therefore, it is necessary to enhance this community-based ethnic settlement through writings so that the community would be better known and be able to benefit from the existing tourism settlement projects. Third, the final model is formulated, i.e. the final Interpretation-Based and Benefit-Oriented Model which is shortened as IBaBOM. This means that what is being constructed is a revitalizing model based on interpretative writings. The objective is to secure benefits for Surakarta.*

*The elements to formulate this model are the potentials, problems, and stakeholders. The potentials refer to the attractions, accessibilities, amenities, and activities. Problems cover matters related to diversifications, collaborations, human resource, thought patterns, and promotion. Stakeholders comprise of the community, the government, higher learning institutions, private enterprises, non-governmental organizations, and associations or “paguyuban.” The benefits are the various outcomes which can be enjoyed by all the stakeholders vis-a-vis the process of the empowerment of ethnic communities and the development of culture based tourism in Surakarta.*

*According to the Interpretation-Based and Benefit-Oriented Model or (IBaBOM), both the community and the tourists will have knowledge of the history and culture of the ethnic community. The ethnic community as well as the surrounding communities will derive benefits or profits from the undertaking.*

**Key words:** *Revitalisation, Interpretation, Ethnic Community,*

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## Introduction

As a town which is approaching 250 years old, Surakarta has a lot of sites with old historical buildings scattered within it. Besides, there are those which form clusters in several places in the old parts of the town, each with their own social-cultural backgrounds. The Kasunanan Palace of Surakarta is definitely the most important building in the entire Sala town.

Sala is the first of the many towns built with the modern concept of town in Indonesia. The palace or “*Kraton*” being built close to the River Sala, or [Bengawan Sala](#), has always been threatened by flood. Therefore, high embankments had been constructed along the river banks and they are visible up till now from the southern part of Jurug up to the Solo Baru area. The boulevard runs straight from the southeast to the west and south towards the palace square (now Jalan Slamet Riyadi). It was designed so as to enable pedestrians to directly see Mount Merbabu or “*Gunung Merbabu*.” (Kusumastuti, 2004)

Since the colonial period, there had been clusters of settlements for the newcomers in Surakarta. The *Pasar Gede* (or [Pasar Gedhe Hardjonagoro](#)) enclave and *Pasar Balong* are the Chinese villages or *kampungs*, but the Arabic enclave (with the original residents mostly from [Hadramaut](#)) is located in *Pasar Kliwon*. Many Javanese batik merchants at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century ran stores and lived in the *Laweyan* enclave (now covering *Kampung Laweyan, Tegalsari, Tegalayu, Tegalrejo, Sondakan, Batikan, and Jongke*). In this very enclave, an Islamic-national organization [Syarikat Dagang Islam](#) was established for the first time in Indonesia by Haji [Samanhudi](#). The traces of the past glory of the native batik merchants or *tempo doeloe* batik traders are still visible in a number of remaining luxurious houses in Dr. Rajiman Street. In this area, the original residents had openly displayed or flaunted their success by building big luxurious houses with beautiful architecture. The houses were protected with high walls and equipped with the big traditional gates or “*regol*.”

Inside the palace there is a *kampung* called “*Kauman*” which was used for the residences of the royal *ulemas* and their families. The complex is located to the west of the Royal Grand Mosque or “*Masjid Agung Keraton*.” Several *kampungs*’ names in this area still show clear historical traces, for example *Pengulon* (from the word “*penghulu*”) *Trayeman, Sememen, Kinongan, Modinan, and Gontoran*. These *kampungs* are full of a variety of architectural designs derived from a mixture of European, Javanese and Chinese house models. Initially, Kampung Kauman on the front of the western side of Kasunanan Palace was reserved for the dwellings of the royal *ulemas*’ and their families. The Surakarta Palace has left artefacts, and cultural symbols which have been turned into tourism objects with cultural and historical values. They are capable of attracting both domestic and foreign tourists. These features are similar to those found in other sites or places in town, such as Mangkunegaran, Radya Pustaka, Sriwedari, Balekambang and

Taman Taru Satwa Jurug [Jurug Park Zoo]. With such a rich cultural historical background, it is easy to develop the potentials of Surakarta town's tourism. In this connection the authorities have coined the slogan "Surakarta ke Depan, Surakarta Tempo Dulu" [or "Surakarta's Future is Surakarta's Past"]. This concept and endeavour have been adopted in anticipation of the increasing number of tourists travelling in the pursuit of certain specific objective: to comprehend the cultural wealth of a country and to enjoy the country's natural beauty.

The present changes in the patterns of tourism are caused by the concentration or over-concentration of tourists in the various traditional places of tourism destinations (or *Daerah Tujuan Wisata*), such as the beaches, amusement parks, and supermarkets. The number of tourists making trips with a certain or specific aim of gaining knowledge is increasing. The inclination on the part of the tourists to enjoy natural and historical sites imposes certain demands on the hosts. The hosts are obliged to have a sufficient knowledge of the places to be visited (*sense of place*). Thus, the knowledge and interpretations of tourism objects have important roles in shaping tourists' experiences (Bromley, 1994). Many parts of the town which have certain historical characteristics and elements related mythologies (folklores) will be able to attract tourists. Ethnic settlements have many such sites.

In the world of tourism, interpretation means explaining to tourists the important meanings associated with the places, communities that they visit or the objects that they see. After having gained such knowledge it is hoped that the tourists would like to visit the places again in order to better understand the cultural heritage of these places. It is also hoped that it will instill in them the caring attitude and get them involved in any endeavour directed towards preserving such attractions. Educational writings can help to reveal the historical meanings and build relations between the sites and the visitors. Interpretation is a part of the tourism 'language' or "*language of tourism*" (Dann, 1996). Edwards explains that through the interpretations, the visitors will be able to better know the object of tourism. To Fawcett (1997: 1) interpretation also plays a role in supporting the effort to build sustainable tourism development that emphasizes the importance of preserving the natural functions of the cultural resources. This is to educate the community as the hosts and the tourists as guests. Thus in tourism, the process of interpretation is closely related to the task of promoting *educational travel* (Kalinowski & Weiler, 1992).

From the above background, the researcher formulates the problems as follows: (1). What ethnic settlements are there in Surakarta? (2). How is the interpretation-based revitalizing model formulated and how can the benefit-oriented ethnic settlements be developed? Based on the model, the research is aimed at identifying the kinds of ethnic settlements that exist in Surakarta and formulating a revitalizing model of interpretation-based and benefit-oriented ethnic settlements.

## Discussion

### 1. Kinds of Ethnic residences in Surakarta

Surakarta which has become an important trading town (Islamic Trade Association or “*Syarikat Dagang Islam*”) was founded in 1911. It has also become a tourism town (“*kota pelesir*”), with a rather negative connotation and a cultural town. Historical buildings, works of arts, special or exotic foods, and entertainment outlets are easily found in Surakarta, and in several places around it. This town was once the centre of government during the late period of the Mataram Sultanate. After the split of the Mataram Kingdom, Surakarta became the centre of Kasunanan Surakarta and Praja Mangkunagaran. Tracing further back to the past, these two centers of Javanese feudalism were related to Majapahit Kingdom. This was so because the Mataram Dynasty was the descendant of the royal Demak Sultanate, which was also the successor of Wijaya’s Dynasty, the founder of the Majapahit Kingdom.

When Pakoe Boewana II proclaimed “*Surakarta Hadiningrat*” as the capital of the Kingdom in 1746, the palace complex was still very simple. Even after 150 years later, the Royal Court or “*Pagelaran*” was still “a large temporary tent made of intertwined bamboo” or “*tratag rambat*” in the Javanese language. Step by step, Surakartan kings developed the Palace and the southern area. Since 1757, the northern sphere of the town had become Mangkunegaran. The development of Surakarta town reached its highest point during the reign of Pakoe Boewana X (1893-1939) and Mangkunegoro VII (1916-1944). During this period, Surakarta town developed fast because the overall situation in Kasunanan and the Mangkunegaran was dynamic with their prosperous economy. Besides, PB X and MN VII were figures who had great and modern insights (Kuntowijoyo, 2001).

Up till the 1980s, the growth of new buildings was still fairly under control, because the citizens of Surakarta were afraid to build their houses higher than the royal tower “*Panggung Sanggabuwana*.” There were only four-story buildings. Their fear faded away when economic and property booms occurred in the early 1990s. New hotels and banks started being constructed. There were built up to eight floors. Several buildings then were regarded as “humiliating” the power-that-be because they were built in an area at the back of the Palace. Traditional markets were built in the style of the mall. There remained no trace of the beautiful market called “*Pasar Legi*.” Vastenburg Fort is just but the remains, the ruins of the old buildings. Historical buildings are now in danger of being destroyed and replaced by new buildings. But, since 2004, Surakarta Municipality has begun launching the development of Surakarta town with the concept of the past Surakarta with the slogan: **Surakarta is my town, Javanese is my culture**” or “*Surakarta tempo doeloe dengan slogan Surakarta kotaku jawa budayaku*”.

For this concept to endure, it is necessary to preserve the cultural heirlooms (Adishakti, 1999). The aims are to keep the resources and identity of the heirloom environment, and to build certain features for future needs without destroying the quality of life; instead enhancing it further. Local communities also have very important roles in attaining those aims. The local communities' care is not enough because it is necessary to have support from various parties, including mediators and social practitioners in transforming ideas into preserving actions (Adishakti, 1999). One of the Surakarta's assets which is also the identity of Surakarta as a cultural town is the existence of a variety of ethnic settlements. The follows is an account of the various settlements.

#### a. Laweyan

*Laweyan* has been known as a batik center since the early twentieth century. It is located about 4 kilometers from Surakarta's downtown. It is on the main street connecting Surakarta with Kartasura. The size of Laweyan (in 1980) is about 29,267 hectares, inhabited by 2,004 people. During the early traditional kingdom, Laweyan was divided into two areas, namely: *Laweyan Barat* and *Laweyan Timur*. The social-cultural life of Laweyan Barat had been shaped in a dominant way by the facilities provided by the king for the funeral. On the other hand, most people living in Laweyan Timur worked in the market and most of them were traders and batik producers. There market was the centre of commerce, but now it is already defunct and it has been turned into two *kampungs*, Kampung Lor (North) and Kampung Kidul (South) (Soedarmono, 2004).

In his book *Radikalisasi Petani* [or Farmers' Radicalization], Kuntowijoyo has discussed the dominant culture as well as the counter culture in Surakarta in the early twentieth century. It was Laweyan which became the base for the counter culture in opposition to Surakarta Palace. Laweyan was a "*kematren*" in the most western part of Surakarta. This *kampung* was said to have existed since the Pajang Kingdom. During the Pajang and Kartasura era, Laweyan was on the eastern border of the royal town, but during the era of Surakarta Palace it was the on the western border of the royal town. Situated on the edge of the kingdom, it was very important for the development of the people and culture.

The name of "*Laweyan*" was not only used as a local name, but also for describing a group of people in the Surakarta region. The group was known as a group of the haves (*wonngLaweyan*), who had an excess (*keluwih-luwih*) of everything, especially with regard to the needs of the worldly life (wealth or "*harta kekayaan*"). The local people were rich because *Laweyan* was the center of the batik trade and the residential area of the Javanese hand written batik producers. There are two ways to write the name Laweyan: "*Laweyan*" and "*Lawiyan*." Based on the traditional information, the name "*Laweyan*" was found on the tomb of Sunan Lawiyan in the Astana Laweyan Cemetery in the southern part of Laweyan.



According to Nyi Lurah Hanggasukma, the female guard of Astana Laweyan, the story of Laweyan could not be separated from the figure Ki Ageng Enis, the son of Ki Ageng Sela. Ki Ageng Enis had a son called Ki Ageng Pamanahan and Ki Ageng Pamanahan had a son named Sutawijaya or Mas Ngabei Loring Pasar or Senopati, the founder of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom. In the history of Pajang Kingdom, Pamanahan, Sutawijaya, Ki Juru Martani and Ki Panjawi were very useful and of great value to Sultan Pajang Hadiwijaya (who was also called Jaka Tingkir or Mas Karebet) because they could kill Arya Penangsang, an enemy from Jipang. Due to their great service, Sultan Hadiwijaya awarded the Pati region to Ki Panjawi and the Mataram region to Ki Ageng Pamanahan, and a piece of Perdikan land in Laweyan to Ki Ageng Enis (Aryadipura, 1984).

In ***Babad Tanah Jawi*** (or “Javanese Chronicle”), one comes across the following: “*saking karsanipun Sultan Pajang, Ki Ageng Enis kaaturan gegriya ing Laweyan inggih nderek. Nalika sedanipun inggih kakubur ing Laweyang mriku.*” (“Sultan Pajang decided that Ki Ageng Enis was awarded a house in Laweyan and he respectfully accepted it. When he died, he was buried in Laweyang”). Due to the faithfulness of his people, Ki Ageng Enis had also been bestowed with an honorary name “Ki Ageng Luwih,” and he was buried in Astana Laweyan. The term “*Laweyan*” is derived from the word “*luwih*” (meaning “*sakti*” or “unvanquished”). The term “*Laweyan*” is also found in the murder case of Raden Pabelan (Jaka Pabelan or in the story of Ki Gede Surakarta in which he was called Kyai Batang). He was murdered because he had an affair with the Sultan’s youngest daughter, Raden Ayu Sekar Kedaton. The body of Jaka Pabelan was thrown away into the River Laweyan (“*sungai jenes*” or “dirty river”) (Aryadipura, 1984).

Furthermore, the word “*Laweyan*” is, etymologically, from the word “*lawe*” that is yarn of fabric. In Sanskrit, the word “*laway*” means “body without head.” If this is really true, then Laweyan, or “*Lawayan*” refers to the place to punish people by using “*lawe*.” This case can be correlated to the case of Kingdom of Mataram Kartasura. It is said that Raden Ayu Lembah, the daughter of Prince Puger (Pakoe Boewono I), a concubine who got married to Sunan Mangkurat Mas (Mangkurat III), had an affair with Raden Sukra, the son of Patih Raden Arya Sindureja. Both of them were caught red-handed and then sentenced to death using “*lawe*.” Their bodies were buried in Astana Laweyan. Thus, the name of “*Laweyan*” is newer than “*Lawiyan*.”

Moreover, the name “*Laweyan*” is also mentioned in the story about Sunan Pakoe Bowono II who fled to Ponorogo during the Chinese Rebellion or “*Geger Pacinan*” (or “*pemberontakan Tiong Hoa*”). This area was used as a resting and hiding place where Sunan asked for blessing in Astana Laweyan (the grave of Ki Ageng Enis). So, Sunan Paku Buwono II was also called Sunan nglaweyan, and when he died he was buried in Astana Nglaweyan too.

Some people said that Laweyan is originated from the word “*alih-alih*” (or “moving”), when pronounced it becomes “*ngalihan*” or “*ngalihan*,” and later it

became “*Laweyan*,” that is a transitory place for people moving out from Desa Nusupan (a port in the River Nusupan Bandar during Pajang-Kartasura Era). Desa Nusupan (which is now part of Kelurahan Semanggi) during the Pajang and Kartasura era became an important port. But, due to frequent flooding, the merchants in Nusupan then followed the streams of Wingka and Jenes and moved to Laweyan. Up till now “*wong NgLaweyan*” (the people in Nglaweyan) are the group of rich people belonging to the Surakarta’s communities. Later, for the first time, there emerged an association of batik producers known as ***Sarekat Dagang Islam*** which was pioneered by Kyai Haji Samanhudi in 1911 (Korver, 1985).

Kelurahan Laweyan consists of several *kampungs*, namely Kampung Lor Pasar (where Sutajaya lived under the name of Mas Ngabei Loring Pasar), Kampung Kidul Pasar (its boundaries are now not clear), Kampung Setono (or “*sentono*”) the place of the servants of Mas Ngabei Kartahastono; Kampung Sayangan Wetan and Kampung Sayangan Kilen, where the servant Saying lived and whose daily work as servant involved the making of copper wares for Pajang Palace (Kampung Pajang), Kampung Kwanggan, Kampung Kramat (because Astana Nglaweyan was regarded as being sacred or *kramat*) and Kampung Kelaseman, where they processed batik in such a way that the batik’s colour would not be glaring but remain soft and pleasant to the eyes (Soedarmono, 1987).

Laweyan reached its glory as a commercial centre during the Pajang Sultanate. During that period, Laweyan was the center of traditional looms and cotton trade. The raw items came from Wedi, Tembayat and Klaten, that is before these places in turn became the centers of the batik industry. The economic power of Laweyan was held by the merchants. In the sight of Javanese feudal lords, the position of the merchants was parallel to that of the common people although the merchants had wealth as much as the aristocrats. The progressive characteristics also belonged to the Laweyan merchants and this was due to the demand of the age. This brought more benefits rather than harm to the merchants in their business, although certain conservative characteristics of the aristocrats did impair their activities. Batik industry experienced rapid development in the early twentieth century after the invention of batik stamps, replacing “*canting*.” This method was brought into Laweyan in the early twentieth century. Modernization in the batik industry had taken place since this period. The orientation of their batik products were marked by the productions of *batik* to wear or “*batik sandang*” in 1925 and *batik* Tedjo in 1956 (Daubanton, 1992. Philip Kitley, 1991).

In 1987, Kelurahan Laweyan was included in Kecamatan Laweyan. This *kampung*, after having been occupied by batik producers, became better known as “*kampung dagang*” or “Trade Kampung.” It is bordered by River Jenes, River Batangan, and River Kabanaran. The patterns of settlement still followed the original one. Geographically, Laweyan is not located in the market alongside River Laweyan anymore. It is now located on the main street of Laweyan, to the west of the town.

The legend about the relations between Laweyan and the Palace can be traced historically to the period when Pakubuwono II fled Kartasura after his palace was taken over by the Chinese rebels. Although there are many versions of this story, there is one worthy of mentioning. According to this version, three hundred years ago, Desa Laweyan was already known as the place of rich merchants engaged in the business of yarns or “*lawe*” for weaving cloths and *batik*. The high walls enclosing their houses were everywhere. Their spacious yards were surrounded by strong, thick, high brick walls like the ones surrounding the Palace. There exist many opinions about the Laweyan community. For example, they were perceived as being associated with a strong trading image; they were also seen as working for their own interests and this was related to their strong opinions about trade and their desire of wanting to become merchants. All this was remote from the pursuit of honour and prestige of being loyal servants to the king or kingdom. Their greatness, glory, and pompous status, regardless of whether they were traders or labourers, could be gleaned through their wealth.

One story stated that on 30 June 1742, Kartasura Palace was attacked by the Chinese rebels. Raja Pakubuwono II and the first son who later would succeed the father, together with their escorts fled from the palace towards the east. Passing Pajang in the eastern part of the River Premulung, they took a break because their horses were tired. While having a rest there, the king sent a messenger to Desa Laweyan to borrow fresh horses for them to ride on and to carry the equipment, but none of the Laweyan people was willing to offer their horses because their horses were being used for carrying their own merchandise. Business in the market at that time was flourishing.

Upon hearing the report, Pakoe Boewono II became very angry. However, after a few minutes he soothed his feelings and thought that the Laweyan people did not belong to ‘*kelompok priyayi tinggi*’ or highly refined rich people. They had simply grown up to become traders who counted profits and losses, striving for wealth and richness,” above everything else. The words of Pakoe Boewono II reflected the reality of that time. Many Laweyan people were traders. Many of them became large scale merchants and *batik* producers. They were very rich and amount of their merchandise was accumulating. But, a few of them did become really refined rich people or servants for the kingdom and country.

## **b. Pecinaan**

The Dutch Colonial authorities had created special enclaves for Chinese so that they could easily watch over or monitored the activities and actions of the community. The measure was then followed by the appointments of Chinese officers taken from the community and they were formally endorsed by the VOC government. These Chinese officers were responsible for the community’s entire needs and they reported matters of concern to the VOC. They were also given the task of relaying the VOC’s decisions on the community affairs to their own



community. However, the officers in *kampung pecinaan* or the Chinese *kampung* could not be regarded as executives or officials in the Dutch bureaucracy because they were not given any salary and they were not authorized to govern their own community. They were aptly called co-ordinators (Yuwono, 2000).

The application of the Dutch authority in Vorstenlanden, particularly in Surakarta, was rather differently enacted. Considering this to be a Javanese area, the Dutch did not exercise their authority directly. Their authority then was still limited to matters relating to political contracts. They avoided direct interference in the internal affairs of the Surakartan kings. Therefore, for the sake of maintaining social mobility, particularly that of the Chinese community, the VOC could not force the regulations used in the towns that it governed to be applied in Surakarta. After the Chinese rebellion was over, the Chinese community was allowed to dwell in Surakarta. By then Surakarta had become the new capital town. It had replaced the old administration town of Kartasura. The Chinese were given permission by Susuhunan (King of Surakarta Palace) to live in the northern part of River Pepe near Pasar Gede where they were permitted to do their daily social-economic activities. The allotted area for the Chinese community in a location of economic centre could be tied to the interests of the native ruler to develop a self-sufficient economic system (Yuwono:2000).

Within the elite circles, the Chinese people were also closely connected with the aristocrats and the royal families in Surakarta. The aristocrats did not possess unlimited wealth. The aristocratic life style often demanded higher expenses, more than that what their income could sustain. Therefore they turned to some wealthy Chinese who lived in Surakarta to help them overcome the shortfall. Several princes and many royal high officers were trapped in debts to these wealthy Chinese. Thus they had to forego their lands to the Chinese, or requested Susuhunan, king of Surakarta, for assistance to pay off their debts. Some reports in 1819 mentioned that Tumenggung Sumodiningrat and Mas Ngabehi Rio Janingrat were in debts of 350 and 300 ringgits respectively to a rich Chinese, Tan Boen Thiet in Surakarta. He was one of those Chinese who had lent money to several Javanese aristocrats who had placed their lands as the warranty (Sariyatun, 2004).

There were shared inter-ethnic deals among native kings and Chinese businessmen in Surakarta in 1871. This was done according to the *kampung* system (*wijkstelsel*) as applied by the government. First the Chinese were given place for dwellings. Previously, they had already occupied the central location around Pasar Gede extending eastward to Ketandan and up to Limalasan, northward to Balong and up to Warung Pelem. Then, they were also given an area next to Kraton, between Coyudan and Keprabon. New *kampungs* were opened up and the heads of *kampungs* (*wijkmeester*) were appointed by the Regent (*Residen Surakarta*). In 1896 the Mangkunegaran ruler followed these steps by forming Chinese community around Keprabon. The limitation set by the Colonial government at the end of the nineteenth century could not fully contain or

restrict the Chinese community's activities, particularly their economic activities (Sariyatun, 2004).

After repeated demands, the Colonial Dutch finally consented that the Chinese did not need permits to dwell in the areas allotted to them. They were also free to observe their ancestors' rigid traditions, such as the keeping of long hair for men (or "*kuncir*"), and observing their way of dressings and other matters relating to the Chinese funeral rites. However, based on the Dutch Common Laws, the Chinese could not be categorised as being on the same level as the Westerners. Their dwellings for instance, could not be separated from one another, but grouped together in one place. They lived around Pasar Gede, eastward up to Balong, northward up to Warung Pelem. These places were then called "*Kampung Pacinaan*" and their leader was Babah Mayor .

### c. **Baluwarti**

In the concept of Kraton Surakarta Design, Baluwarti was in the second ring, next to Kedhaton. The first ring was directly under Susuhunan's authority with the centre of power based in a room called "**Kedhaton.**" Kedhaton was the representation of power. There was "**Prabasuyasa,**" a building which had several rooms. These royal rooms and place served as venues where all sons and daughters of the king came before his presence. There was also a storage room to keep the various glorious symbols of the kingdom. Besides the royal rooms, Kedhaton also had several rooms with different functions. In the centre of palace, besides "**Prabusaya,**" there were "**Sasana Parasdya**" (where Susuhunan sat while watching the *wayang* performance) and "**Sasana Sewaka**" (where Susuhunan sat when the domestic servants came to pay respect to him). Then there were also "**Sasana Handrawina,**" "**Paningrat**" and "**Maligi.**" Susuhunan reigned over his kingdom from Kedhaton, to be exact in Sasana Prabu, i.e. where Susuhunan presided over matters related to his kingdom. Helped by the servants working on the various management agenda, Susuhunan handled the financial administration through *sasana wilapa* (the secretariat), *panti wardaya* (the treasury), *reksa handana* (the royal audit department) and *bale kretarta* (the inventory department).

Besides, there was a building called ***Panggung Sanggabuwana.*** It was a 30 meter tall four-story tower with a hexagonal shape. It was built in 1782 as a meeting place between Susuhunan and Ratu Selatan. It was symbolically used as a unifying element that combined Susuhunan's power and the mystical power of the magical world, i.e. *Kerajaan Laut Selatan* (the South Sea Kingdom). In Susuhunan, there was also an expression of the belief in the power of "*jumbuhing kawula gusti*". According to this belief, Susuhunan had the capability of executing the parallel authorities derived from the macrocosmos. The concept was a part of a cultural character inherited from Hindu-Buddhist teachings. It was later influenced by Islam that came through the Mataram power and the descendants.

With different patterns, the spirit of the belief had been continually woven into the life of the traditional community.

Within the second ring, there was the complex of **Baluwarti**. Baluwarti (which means “*Fort*”) was the second biggest ring to enhance the existence of Kedhaton. It was simultaneously functioned as a form of protection. With the basic wall structure of two meters thick, 3 – 6 meters high, Baluwarti was a spacious place that catered for all the individuals who were close to the power centre. These individuals might have been part of Susuhunan’s descendants (family tree). They could have been the descendents through marriages between members of the royal household with those of past kings, or with the royal servants who were entangled in the traditional power system. (Akhmad Ramdhon, 2007).

Properly functioning, Baluwarti consisted of various spaces, each with its own basic functions. There were spaces for residences of the Susuhunan’s royal family and for the king’s servants. Besides, Baluwarti also functioned to cater for the various needs of the palace. It had a quarter for Susuhunan’s horse-drawn carriages and another for the sentries. However, not all the royal servants lived in Baluwarti; many lived outside it. To enter the Baluwarti compound located between the two squares, i.e. Alun-Alun Utara and Alun-Alun Selatan, one had to pass through a gate. One gate (or “*kori*”) was called “*Kori Brajanala Utara*” and another “*Kori Brajanala Selatan*.” In addition, there were two small gates, one on the left side and the other on the right side of the compound. This form and concept was known as *mancapat*.

Outside Kedhaton (with the walls surrounding the Palace) of Kasunanan Surakarta, there was a compound dwelled by the princesses, royal families, male and female servants, as well as free people working as traders. This compound called Baluwarti (derived from the Portuguese word “*Baluarte*” which means “*fort*”), was also within the second ring. It was located between two big walls, 2 meters thick and 6 meters high. It had two gates, i.e. *Kori Brajanala Lor* (or *Gapit* in the North) and *Kori Brajanala* (or *Gapit* in the South), and they were connected with two streets running parallel to each other and also to the walls of Kedhaton. In early 1900, Susuhunan Pakubuwana X extended the Baluwarti compound by adding to it two other gates, i.e. *Butulan* in the south-east, and *Butulan* in the south-west. One was formally opened in 1906 and another in 1907. With these additional gates, people living in Baluwarti were able to conduct relations much more easily with the community outside the Kedhaton complex (Hariyani, 2005).

To identify the status of a dweller’s house in Baluwarti, one would have to pay attention to the form of the house and the equipment stored inside it. Generally, houses in Baluwarti could have been classified into one of at least three groups. **First**, the complete Javanese-type house comprising of “*Joglo*” with “*pendapa*” (inside court), “*peringgitan*” (ajoining parts of *joglo*), “*dalem ageng*” (the host’s main rooms), plus a series of houses along the left and right sides of it, sometimes even on the front side of the main building. This type of house

was usually equipped with spacious yard, surrounded with high walls with a gate in the middle of it. **Second**, there was the Javanese-type house in the form of “*Limasan*.” **Third**, there was a type of house in the form of a *Kampung* house; besides that there were other simpler types. Most houses in Baluwarti belonged to the common house type. There were several houses of the first type in the northern, western, and southern parts of Baluwarti. They were occupied by those who belonged to the high strata of the community (the aristocrats).

People living in Baluwarti had to observe several specific regulations. For example, the relation between them and the community outside *Kori Brajanala*, which was also called *Kori (lawang) Gapit*, was rather limited. This was because the compound was closed from 23.00 p.m. till 05.30 a.m. everyday. Besides, they also had to obey certain other regulations. Until the twentieth century, for instance, the inhabitants of Baluwarti were not allowed to sit on chairs, even though they were in their own houses. The inhabitants had to wear formal dresses befitting their own respective positions when going out, even for small errands or business matters. They were not permitted to play *gamelan* either.

Not all buildings in Baluwarti were used for private residences. There were some houses that were used by the Palace for its own needs. For example, there was a sentry house which the people called *Dragorder*, on the western side of *Kori Brajanala Lor*, next to the *Mesjid Suranata* (mosque) and a house for the king's carriages. On the eastern side of *Kori Brajanala Lor* there was *Paseban Kadipaten*, another sentry house for soldiers, and on the eastern side of it there was *Sekolah Ksatriyan* (a school). In front of this school, there was *Gedung Sidikara*. On the right and left sides of *Kori Kemandhungan* there were, respectively, a place for carriages and a front yard, called *Balerata* or *Maderata*. The latter served as a place where people could get on and off their carriages (Akhmad Ramdhon, 2007).

Generally, the names of dwelling places in Baluwarti's compound fitted in well with the names of the aristocrats living there. The names would also carry a suffix “*an*”, for example, “*Ngabean*”, was used for houses around the residence of Pangeran Hangabei, “*Mlayasuman*,” was derived from Pangeran Mlayakusuma, “*Widaningratan*” was derived from the regent Hurdenas Widaningrat; “*Purwadingratan*” was derived from the regent or bupati nayaka Purwadingrat; “*Mangkuyudan*” was derived from the Architect Regent Mangkuyuda; “*Suryaningratan*” was derived from the Regent of *Gedhong Tengen* Suryaningrat; “*Sindusenana*” was derived from Pangeran Sindusena, “*sentana*” or a grandson of Pakubuwana IX; “*Prajamijayan*” was derived from R.M. A. Prajahamijaya, a grandson of Pakubuwana IX.

Besides becoming the residences of princes, royal families and other aristocrats belonging to the royal families, the Baluwarti compound also housed several regents *nayaka*, soldiers and servants, both male and female ones. The heads of the female servants was Nyai Lurah Gandarasa and Nyai Lurah Sekul Langgi, each of them lived in different *kampungs* in the eastern and southern part of the palace called *Gondorasan*.

The soldiers of “Tamtama” and “Carangan” lived in a *kampung* on the eastern side called *Tamtaman*, while those of “Wirengan” live on the south-western part side of the palace. The servants of “Palawija,” were those who were handicapped, such as being blind, deaf, hunched, etc. also dwelt in Baluwarti, because the king wanted them always to be close to him. Such servants were supposed to add magical power to the king. Therefore, they lived within the second ring, not far from the palace. The groups of *Tamtama* and *Carangan* soldiers had duties to safeguard the king and the palace. This was to ensure that cases of attack against the palace, such as had already occurred in Kartosuro, would not happen again. *Wirengan* soldiers had special duties to keep the procession of “gunungan” safe. This became especially important during the Garebeg ceremony in the Great Mosque (*Mesjid Ageng*). They guarded the procession by walking on both sides of the “Gunungan”. On certain occasions they would also perform the “tayungan” dance along the way.

#### d. Kauman

Kauman was built in conjunction with the building of the Great Mosque (*Masjid Gedhe*) in 1767 by the order of Paku Buwono III (1749 – 1788) and it functioned as the centre for religious activities of Kraton Kasunanan Surakarta. Kauman which was situated outside the palace fort became the intermediary space between the palace, the squares and *Masjid Gedhe*. The great mosque of Kauman besides being the centre for religious activities, was also at the same the dwelling place of the “*santri*” community. Those servants living in Kauman became part of the organizational structure of the Surakarta Palace; they were: “*Reh Pengulon*,” whose functions included the taking care of the religious affairs, subsumed under the leadership of the Head or “Pimpinan Penghulu Tafsir Anom”. Officers who helped the institution “*Reh Pengulon*” were called the servants of “*Pamethakan*” which means “the white group” (or “*mutihan*” meaning “holy”). *Reh Pengulon* was headed by a Head of Tafsir Anom (“*tafsir*” means “explain” and “*anom*” means ‘the wider society’ or “*masyarakat luas*”) who was responsible for religious affairs, including executing justice in settling disputes related to Islamic laws. In relations to the Palace, they were given the tasks of heading religious ceremonies, leading prayers for Susuhunan’s safety, and conducting the teachings of Islamic religion to Susuhunan’s families. Politically they ought to be the supporters of the Surakarta Palace (with *Masjid Gedhe Surakarta* as part of the cultural entity). These religious leaders had the right to live on and make use of the land around the mosque, *Masjid Gedhe*. This right was known as the *anggaduh* right. They carried out their daily functions in accordance with the structure of “*Reh Pengulon*.”

The prevailing structure was an inheritance from the Islamic tradition of Demak. The idea was to instill Islam-based cultural values so that it would become part and parcel of the community’s daily and annual rituals, such the daily prayers



as well as the *Grebeg*. *Grebeg* was held in conjunction with a number of religious occasions. *Grebeg Poso* was held during Iedul Fitri Day. *Grebeg Besar* was observed on the Iedul Qurban Day and *Grebeg Mulud* was celebrated to commemorate the birth of Prophet Muhammad. The interpretations of these Islamic traditions become the spiritual basis for such cultural events. When Islam penetrated the hinterland of Java it developed through the adaptation process in the context of the religious and cultural values of the in-land community. The harmonious development of the Islamic religion in inland Java can be traced back to their interactions with the various local forms of the community's social, cultural and political norms. In particular, this had to do with the specific interaction between the place and the religious preachers (*ulemas*) or "*walis*" or "*kyais*" (*warosatul ambiya*) at the top structural level in the daily life of the community. The process provided an insight into syncretism that dealt with "the revelation of unification of the Lord and the subjects" or "*wahdat al-wujud*" or "*terbukanya manunggaling kawula lan Gusti*" (Ramdhon, 2007). Later, along with the weakening power of the Kasunanan Palace in facing the colonial penetration, other spheres of life were also affected by the colonial onslaught. The roles of the *ulemas* were uprooted and isolated. They then no longer participated in the process of decision making. They were eased out of the political domain. The *ulemas* were then only given roles in religious matters, but not in other affairs. Kauman and their leaders could not prevent such a development.

The role of Kauman was then transformed: it was developed into one responsible for supporting the existence of Masjid Gedhe (as the symbol of religious traditions). This in turn gave birth to the emergence of various authoritative devices charged with handling all religious activities in accordance with the regulations and the welfare function of Masjid Gedhe. Under the leadership of Penghulu Tafsir Anom, all servants in Pamethakan had duties and functions as *Ketibs*. A *Ketib* was responsible for delivering sermons on Friday prayers in Masjid Gedhe. There were seven, *Ketibs*: *Ketib Winong*, *Trayem*, *Sememi*, *Cendana*, *Arum*, *Imam* and *Anom*. All *Ketibs* were directly under the jurisdiction of their *Penghulu*. Then, there was the *Modin*. The term *Modin* was derived from the Arabic term *Muadzlin* whose job was to call the faithful to prayer. The call to prayer or "lafal adzan" was made five times a day. The *Modin* also took care of the marital and funeral rites. Next, there were the *Marbots* whose work was to take care of the activities in Masjid Gedhe. They were also assigned to take care of the environment. The last functionary was the *Qoyyim*. He would shoulder the responsibility and work of the *Modin* whenever the latter was absent.

The social system had its own uniqueness. In the recruitment exercise for the employment of royal servants, *pamethakan*, for instance, a good knowledge of the Islamic, religion was demanded of the candidates. This was to ensure that religious elements like the value system, behavioral pattern and other social etiquettes were maintained. All this was seen as essential to the very existence of the Kauman itself. As a consequence of all this a closed family system

(endogamy) comes into being. The servants in Pamethakan developed their own closed marriage pattern. In other words the *mutihan* people married among themselves. In some cases when the religious pre-requisites or conditions could not be fulfilled, they extend their relationship to an outside community. They fell back on the “*pesantren*” or the religious education system. The *pesantren* became an alternative mechanism through which they could still maintain their religious values (Musyawaroh, 2004).

#### e. **Kampung Arab Pasar Kliwon**

The name “*Pasar Kliwon*” was based on the fact that it was used as a market centre by the town population. It was also based on the fact the market was conducted on the Javanese market day of “*Kliwon*.” There were five Javanese market days: *Pon, Wage, Kliwon, Legi* and *Pahing*. So, in Surakarta, besides Pasar Kliwon, other markets had also emerged, such as: “*Pasar Legi*,” “*Pasar Pon*” and so on. The decision of which market day to choose was based on the merchandise sold on the very day, i.e. the merchandise available from the surrounding areas. Market days were rotated in turn from village to village.

With regard to “*Pasar Kliwon*,” R.M. Said (1980: 55) described it as follows: *Pasar Kliwon* was formerly a cattle market, but one noted as a place for selling and buying goats. The market was very crowded on every Javanese market day or “*Kliwon*.” Thus it was then also known as “*Pasar Kliwon*”. It was located in *Kampung Arab*

The growth of *Kampung Arab* or *Arab kampung* in Pasar Kliwon can be seen through two aspects, namely (1) as a consequence of a politically motivated dwelling arrangement in the past, and (2) as a result of the natural development of the town itself. First, the dwelling or residential policy of the past was intertwined with the emergence of *Arab kampung*. Its origin could not be separated from both the king’s policy and the Colonial Dutch government’s policy. The patterns of settlement in the traditional Javanese kingdoms, like this one in Surakarta, followed the concentric pattern style in which the king occupied the center. The further the settlement was from the center or king, or palace, the lower would be its quality. (Benedict Anderson, 1985: 25). Thus, the pattern of settlement during the kingdom’s era was still based on the social divisions: *sentono dalem* (the royal families), *abdi dalem* (the royal servants) and *kawulo dalem* (the subjects or common people). The Arab community then was regarded as a group of strangers outside the Javanese social system; so the settlement was located in a place away from the other population.

The emergence of Arab people in Pasar Kliwon was scrutinized again during the Colonial Dutch’s rule over Java. The Dutch wanted to separate the Arab people from the social life of the Javanese. They also wished to prevent any or minimize contact between the Arab community and Javanese people. After Snouck Hurgronje became the Colonial Dutch government’s adviser, various

regulations were enacted to limit the influx of Arab immigrants into Java. Those who were already in Indonesia were required to have permits to stay, and they were only allowed to live in a certain part of a town.

The second point to be noted relates to the natural development of the town itself. This can be explained in the context of the growth of towns in Indonesia in general. Each of the tribe or ethnic group in Indonesia had tended in the past to establish its own settlement. The emergence of villages or *kampungs* based on ethnic origins had been encouraged by the Dutch rulers in Batavia in the seventeenth century. As a result there existed Javanese, Chinese, Arab villages as well others based on different ethnicities. The Dutch Colonial power had the aim of creating settlements based on the exclusive characteristics of the various ethnic groups. This kind of distinctive settlements had been built by their predecessors based on the different ethnic groups that had already migrated to Batavia (Warto 1985: 105). Thus, the later Dutch Colonial power was not the first authority to have established such kinds of *kampungs*. However, clearly they had made use of the policy to ensure that they succeeded in limiting Arab migration to Indonesia. That was the reason behind the policy of *Wijken Stelsel*.

The process of developing the Arab *kampung* in Pasar Kliwon Surakarta can be compared to the elements found within the emerging settlement patterns in towns at the present time. Nowadays there is an increasing urbanization process (or "*urbanisme*") with people moving from villages to towns. This "*urbanisme*" or urbanization process has encouraged individuals to seek for friends, brothers, sisters, families, or relatives who had migrated before them and had already adapted themselves to urban situations. Ultimately these old and new immigrants would be united together in the same "*social space*" and "*physical space*". In other words, they had recreated the entity that they had earlier formed in their *kampung*. Therefore in the town's social structure a process of pulling migrants into one's own group with the same background of language, religion, and traditions ("*primordial sentiments*") had obviously taken place. Thus the earlier and later migrants had connected themselves within the newly formed social network (Warto, 1985: 106).

Seen from their spatial spread, the Arab settlement in Kelurahan Pasar Kliwon had a pattern of spreading out among the natives. Viewed from the integration angle, this geographical factor, or the spread of settlement is very meaningful. It is so because it will help influence interactions between the Arabs and the natives.

## **2. Revitalization Model of Ethnic Settlement in Surakarta to support Community-Based Tourism Development**

Based on an explorative research, a model of revitalization of interpretation-based and benefit-oriented ethnic settlement or Model of IBaBOM is formulated ("*Interpretation-Based and Benefit-Oriented*"). In the model, there are several

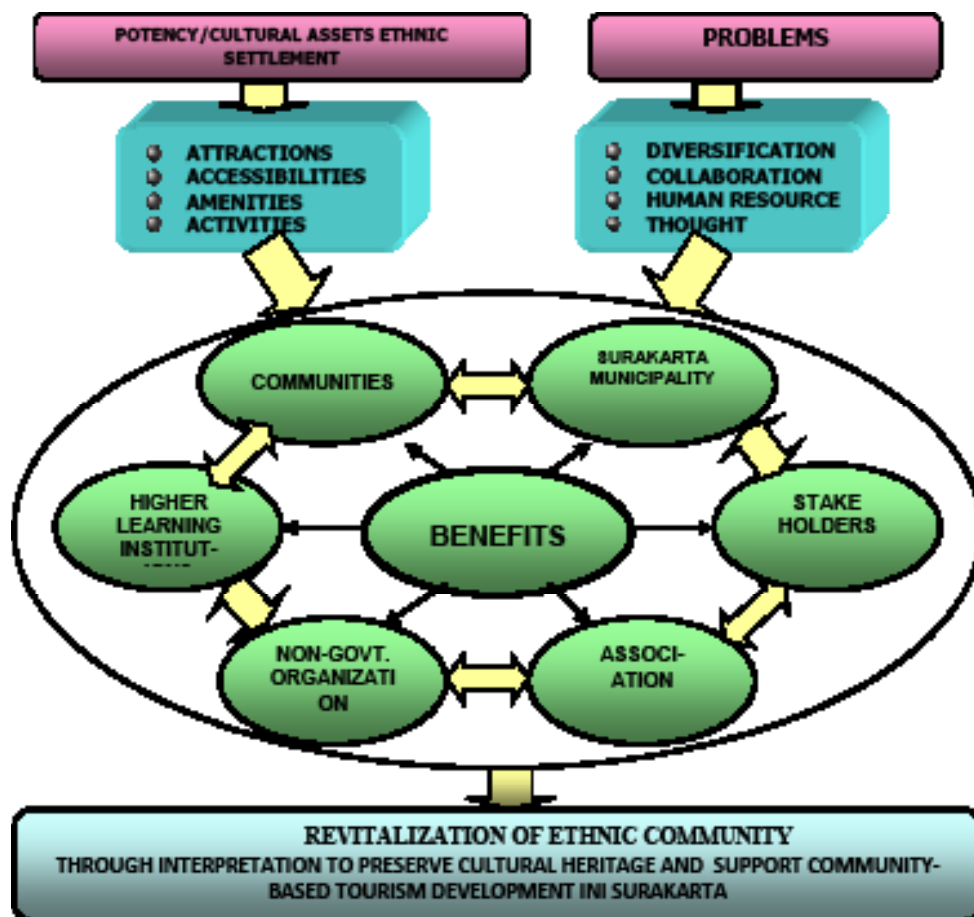
elements which, with the right 'synergy', can form a model of IBaBOM. These elements are the potentials, problems, stakeholders, or elements which hold interests and benefits. The potentials are related to the attractions, accessibilities, amenities and activities. The problems cover matters related to diversification, collaboration, human resource, patterns of thought, and promotion. The stakeholders comprise of the community, government, higher learning institutions, private and non-governmental organizations, and associations or "*paguyuban*." The benefits that consist of various things which can be enjoyed by all stakeholders can become attractions of cultural tourism in Surakarta town. This can also result in the empowerment of ethnic settlement as a whole.

In connection with the revitalization of ethnic settlement project, there are various potentials that can be realized. For instance the ethnic settlement has the potential to become an attraction to tourists and it can even become a cultural icon of Surakarta town. In the contextual, potency can be seen from four aspects which are called "**4-A approach**," which cover attractions, accessibilities, amenities, and activities. These various aspects are very much related to the tourism sector, and when an ethnic settlement is developed then there will be mutual benefit (symbiosis) to both the ethnic settlement and the local community. In the development of the community-based tourism, the local community is given a chance to undertake or promote the interpretation of the ethnic settlement to the visitors or tourists.

There are problems related to the basic arrangement in the model of revitalization of the ethnic settlement in Surakarta town. These consist of several matters related to efforts at diversification, collaboration, human resource, thought patterns and promotion. Diversification refers to the ability of each ethnic settlement to create a variety of products as attractions of Surakarta town. This is relevant to the slogan which has been coined about Surakarta town being a Cultural and Tourism Town. Collaboration in the revitalization model for ethnic settlement in Surakarta town is based on the assumption that efforts towards preserving and developing or revitalizing ethnic settlements will be successful when there are collaborations between the related parties. This in turn would constitute the interest of the stakeholders. Human resource is a key element in ensuring the success of the revitalization model for ethnic settlements in Surakarta town. This is because the task of interpreting the various aspects of the ethnic settlement is a specialized job. It involves a special technique undertaken by a human being (i.e. the interpreter). In this case, the interpretation hopefully can be done by members of the local community (or *the local people*) because the members of local community are assumed to have sufficient knowledge regarding the existence and development of their own ethnic settlements with all the relevant characteristics and attributes. Therefore, the question of human resource becomes an important issue in working out the model of IBaBOM. It involves the thought pattern of the local community as the *owners* of the settlement. Thought pattern in the framework model of revitalizing ethnic settlement refers to the

efforts undertaken to make the local community comprehend the revitalization policy of the ethnic settlement. Promotion, which is one of the vital elements in the construction of the revitalization model, refers to efforts to publish materials related to the potentials of the ethnic settlement. The promotion is directed particularly to the target market or intended market, noting that each attraction has relevance to different segmented markets. Stakeholders are one of the key elements in the revitalization model of the ethnic settlement. Any important issue which becomes a part of the revitalizing model of ethnic settlement in Surakarta town can be of benefit to the ethnic community living there. For instance, it ought to be noted that most of the houses in the settlement are private ones, although several of which are already categorized as being part of the cultural protection zone. The assumption is that when the community that has ethnic settlement gets real benefit from the development of an ethnic settlement, the owners of these houses will be motivated to take care, protect, keep and preserve their houses. But, if what happens is the contrary, then the efforts to preserve and develop for revitalization will meet a lot of obstacles.

**Picture 1:** Revitalization of Interpretation-Based and Benefit-Oriented Ethnic Settlement Model (IBaBOM).





## Conclusion

The different ethnic settlements in Surakarta are: Laweyan, Kauman, Baluwarti, Pecinaan and Kampung Arab Pasar Kliwon. Each ethnic settlement has its own unique history and culture with regard to physical and cultural buildings.

Various elements are coordinated in a synergic manner to form the IBaBOM or Interpretation-Based and Benefit-Oriented Revitalisation Model. Those elements are the potentials, problems, stakeholders, and benefits. The potentials consist of attractions, accessibilities, amenities and activities. Problems cover things related to diversification, collaboration, human resource, thought patterns, and promotion. Stakeholders comprise of community, government, higher-learning institutions, private and non-governmental organizations and associations. Benefits consist of various things which can be enjoyed by all stakeholders. They are also related to the empowerment of the ethnic settlement which becomes tourism cultural attractions in Surakarta town.

To implement the model IBaBOM, it is necessary to have a coordinated and comprehensive strategy so that the implementation can harmonize well with nature and its own objective. Thus it will give much benefit to both the members of the ethnic community themselves as well as the related stakeholders.

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