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The Survivability of Chinatown Architecture: A Study of Lasem Chinatown, Indonesia

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Abstract

One of the uniqueness of Lasem Chinatown is the phenomenon of the survivability of form and space, which is different from other Chinatowns, does not adopt shop houses but has a large residential site with a unique architecture and has survived until now. The existence of Lasem Chinatown is quite old which houses aged 150 to 200 years with a unique architecture and has survived to this day. The spatial pattern of Lasem is still maintained, in the shape of corridor construct by a fence that forms a solid and high wall on either right or left side of the road. The focus of this study is: The uniqueness of Lasem Chinatown architecture as a result of the space formation where humans survive to occupy it indicates the existence of meaning and attachment to their place that people has. To explore this uniqueness, a significant research focus is required to be proposed as a guide in extracting data and information from resident informants and community leaders in Lasem Chinatown. The focus of this central research is holistic and comprehensive, namely: Discusses a phenomenon of the survivability of Lasem Chinatown area based on activities, functions, and values. This study used a qualitative approach that was based on the naturalistic paradigm with an inductive method. The survivability of form and space of Lasem Chinatown cannot be separated from the values believed by the Lasem people who are certainly different from other regions so as to form a Chinatown that is quite unique, different from other Chinatowns.

Keywords: architecture, Chinatown, cultural heritage, Lasem, survivability

Introduction

In the global history of architecture since approximately 3500 BC in China, India and Europe there have been different architectural works (Ching, Jarzombek, & Prakash, 2017; Sopandi, 2013). There is no doubt that Indonesian architecture has had a lot of influence from Chinese architecture and Indian architecture up to the 15th century (Prijotomo in Rahardhian et.al, 2018). Chinese architecture that became part of the

history of Indonesia is an interesting topic, because of some Chinese architecture in Indonesia each carry a characteristic of its own that is quite unique to the material to adjust the local conditions that exist. One of them is the architecture of the Lasem Chinatown, Rembang Regency of Central Java. One of the uniqueness of form and space Chinatown Lasem namely the survivability phenomena of their house with a wide site typology different from other Chinatown which generally has shop typology, the typical Chinatown spatial pattern of a corridor formed of a fence on the right and left, a line of house gates with a unique Chinese architecture roof. In addition to this endurance, the Chinese people in Lasem still maintain economic, religious and socio-cultural activities related to their place of residence which functions as an economic center and residence. Like other Chinatowns, the Lasem Chinatown has physical and non-physical characteristics (economic, social and cultural activities) that have survived until now. Lasem written batik, which has become a cultural icon of the city of Lasem, is a source of livelihood that supports the economic potential of Lasem City.

The Lasem Chinatown, with all of its uniqueness above, needs to be maintained as a city identity that gives it a unique characteristic that is still surviving and rarely found outside of Lasem City. The uniqueness of form and space Lasem Chinatown as a result of the formation of form and space where humans survive to occupy it indicates the meaning and engagement in the communities of the residence. To explore the uniqueness of it takes a discussion based on activity data mining field and community information from informants and Chinese community in Lasem which discuss the survivability of form and space Lasem Chinatown based on activities, functions, and values. This paper reveals the elements that are thought to be the important basis for building the survivability of form and space of Lasem Chinatown which are able to fight and respond to shocks both internal and external and know the things that are behind the existence of this survival. The writing method used is a descriptive method based on empirical facts.

Lasem Chinatown:

In 1351 Lasem is ruled by Dewi Indu, a cousin of King Hayam Wuruk. Lasem was one of the centers of the Majapahit kingdom. From the book *Negara Kertagama* it is known that Majapahit had several vassal kingdoms in Java led by Paduka Bhattara or Bhre, and Bhre Lasem became one of the member advisory council of Majapahit King or Bhattara Saptaprabhu which consisted of seven people. The importance of Lasem for Majapahit can be seen from the fact that King Hayam Wuruk visited Lasem in 1354. Since the days of the Majapahit kingdom, Lasem has been a center for ship building. The discovery of the ship site in Lasem may also be an indication that Lasem is an ancient shipping center for Majapahit Kingdom. The main purpose of ethnic Chinese traveling to areas outside China including Indonesia is to conduct trade in 1368-1643 AD. In addition to trading, the Ming Dynasty tried to expand its protectorate territory to Southeast Asia, including Indonesia. Admiral Cheng Ho got the mandate to travel to Indonesia and made 7 voyages to Indonesia and during that time he sailed 6 times to Java including Lasem (Suliyati, 2009). At the beginning of the 16th century, after the death of Prince Wiranegara, the Kingdom of Lasem changed its status to *Kadipaten* of Lasem. *Kadipaten* of Lasem was led by Adipati Tejukusumo in 1628, the period of VOC colonialism. Year

1750 the capital of *Kadipaten* of Lasem was moved to Rembang, followed by the move of the VOC fort. Since 1751 Lasem has been a sub-district city until now.

Lasem sub-district has an area of 45 km², consisting of 20 villages and 50,000 people, while Lasem City consists of 8 villages. Of the eight villages, there are five villages which includes Lasem Chinatown, namely Soditan Village (the oldest Chinese area in Lasem which developed in the 14th century), Karangturi Village, Babagan Village, Gedongmulyo Village, and part of Sumbergirang Village (Abdullah, 2019). The map of the Lasem Chinatown can be seen in Figure 1.



Fig. 1. Map of Lasem Chinatown

Source: M. Maria Sudarwani, Edi Purwanto, R. Siti Rukhayah

Considering the vastness of the research area of Lasem Chinatown, the formation of themes is divided into five observation units. The division is based on the empirical reality in the field, that each unit of observation has the "strength" of certain character, in addition, the division will make it easier to build concepts and theorizations. The Observation Unit I is in Gedongmulyo Village. Gedongmulyo is a village located west of the Dasun River, east of the Caruban River and north of the north coast highway. Gedongmulyo is the last Chinese settlement built during the colonial period. Some of the interesting phenomena in the observation unit I are the Dasun River and Caruban River which were the means of transportation during the arrival of the Chinese for the first time in Lasem. The current condition is that the Dasun River is still passed by small boats and is used as a riverside tour, while the Caruban River is currently shallow, especially in coastal areas so that boats cannot enter it. In this observation unit, there is also a former port located around the opposite side of the Tjoe Ann Kiong Temple. Near the place there is also a fishing ground which is always crowded and becomes a place for community interaction. In this first observation unit, there are also several remaining Chinese houses, for example *Omah Londo*, the house at 54 Untung Surapati Street of Lasem, and many more. Uniquely, the houses on the north coast road are partly colonial-style houses. The facade of the house has transformed from the original Lasem architectural house to a colonial style (art deco) house. *Omah Londo* is one of the lodging places located on the north coast highway and has art deco architecture. The Observation Unit II is located in Soditan Village where there is a Tjoe Ann Kiong Temple and several ancient Chinese houses. What is interesting in this village are the many houses that have the original Lasem architecture, a combination of Chinese and Javanese, with a characteristic curved roof ridge, the tip of the roof like the tail of a

wallet bird. Soditan Village is the first Chinese residential village to be established in Lasem, so it is not surprising that there are still many houses with the original Lasem architecture. But some of the ancient houses that are large in size are unfortunately not used and just become a wallet bird house. The houses with the original Lasem architecture can be found at the Lawang Ombo house which is located next to the Tjoe Ann Kiong Temple which is the neighbor of this area, the house of Mr. Soen Hien, and the large houses on Dasun Street and Gambiran Street which are mostly used for wallet houses. The Observation Unit III is located in the village of Babagan, which is famous for its hand-drawn batik tourism village, where the Gie Yong Bio Temple is the landmark of this area. Here, there are many houses that are used for batik showrooms, such as Sigit Witjaksono's hand-written batik, Kidang Mas' hand-drawn batik, Boeloe's hand-drawn batik, and others. To enter the Babagan area, we have to pass through a gate that reads Lasem *Batik Tulis* Tourism Village. The Observation Unit IV is located in Karangturi Village where there are Poo Ann Bio Temple, Lasem Jami Mosque, Kauman Lasem Islamic Boarding School, Jing Hai Coffee Shop, *Nyah Lasem* Museum, *Rumah Merah* homestay, and Lasem Boutiqe Hotel. The Observation Unit V is located in Sumbergirang Village where there are several inns, Orphanage, Cafe, Shops (Batik Shop, Gold Shop, etc.), and offices. The various activities took place here because the village of Sumbergirang is bordered to the west by *Jalan Jatirogo*, the main road leading to Pancur District and to the north it is bordered by north beach street to Tuban.

The Survivability of the form and space of Lasem Chinatown

11 According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2015), survival means 5 1) the state of continuing to live or exist, often despite difficulty or danger, 2) something that has continued to exist from earlier time; and survivable 8 means able to be survived (of an accident or experience). Survivability is the ability of a system to complete its mission in 1 timely manner in presence of attacks, failures or accidents (Deshpande et al., 2014). In contrast to the very bureaucratic development process in modern times, traditional or vernacular building forms evolved to achieve a higher human comfort by using locally available building 1 and construction material, and are more responsive to geographic conditions. The construction of vernacular architectural forms is considered to be more responsive to climate. Local, traditional buildings emit less greenhouse gases, consume less energy, and maintain a high level of internal thermal comfort (Shaw & Ray, 2018). According to Juwono (2009), there are several factors that can affect the survival of an area in relation to city development: 1) a life that is based on togetherness and the concept of being in harmony and in the struggle to survive in a city, 2) local forces that are able to grow complement each other in the life of a city, 3) the ability to adjust due to external factors, the strength of city development and internal factors in the area to manage and maintain the pattern of life.

The spaces created in a city are a historical 9 production (process) that cannot be separated from society. Lefebvre (1991) in his theory of 'social production of space', states that (social) space is a (social) product. According to him, the implication of his theory is that 6 every society-and hence every mode of production with all its subvariants-produce a space, its own space. Society creates its own space with its own mode of production. Lefebvre revealed that space is a socially produced, while in architectural

and urban science we are spatially produced (we are produced spatially). Space is formed by humans and the activities in it, and humans and their activities are then also formed by that space. The city will be more accurately seen as a locus. According to the Ecistic theory, settlements are divided into two main elements, namely: first, space in the form of a physical container (the container) which accommodates activities consisting of the built physical space and the natural environment; second, the content, namely humans and society and their social and cultural life, where the two influence each other, but the basic actor is humans as anthropocosmos (Doxiadis, 1977). The concept of *genius loci* which develops spirit of place, sense of place and power of place enables survival which makes residents feel at home or tied to their space (Schulz, 1984).

Lasem Chinatown is still inhabited by the Chinese community, still survives with economic, religious, social and cultural activities. Economic activity is growing quite rapidly in this area which can be seen by the many existing business activities such as the batik industry, lodging/hotel services, and shop. The development of these facilities shows that the Chinatown area is increasingly potential and has a fairly high economic value. With busy economic activities in this area, you can still see and feel the atmosphere of Chinatown with its temples and Chinese residence with the architecture characteristics of Chinatown which is a combination of Chinese and traditional Javanese architectural forms. In addition, the Chinatown area has a strong history as one of the growth centers of Lasem City in the past which still survives with the characteristics of its economic activity. Religious activities in the form of cultural attractions are also routinely carried out in this Chinatown area which attracts the enthusiasm of the residents, surrounding the area, the people of Lasem City and even from outside the city. This is what is unique and the main attraction for Lasem Chinatown.

Spatial Themes of the Survivability of Lasem Chinatown

From the spatial themes approach in 5 observation units, 18 regional spatial themes were found, namely: space as a historical source, space as a place to seek hockey/luck, space as a place to interact, space as a place to maintain cultural heritage, space as a place to earn a living, space as a place to reminisce. services of heroes, space as a place of respect for ancestors, space as a place to maintain tradition, space as a place to struggle, space as a place of survival, space as a place of tolerance, space as a place of creation, space as a place of survival of myths, space as the birthplace of various communities, space as a place to establish kinship ties, space as a place to transmit family values, space as a place for revitalization of the Lasem Heritage District, a space as a place to worship parents. Some spatial themes of the survivability of form and space of Lasem Chinatown can be described as follows:

1. The theme of space as a place to fight and survive

The suvivability of form and space which is a unique character and becomes the identity of the Lasem Chinatown area physically undergoes changes due to trade developments and also road widening which causes the transformation of settlement structures, transformations of form or changes in the appearance of buildings due to changes in function, which ultimately threatens the survival of form, space and area function. The existence of external and internal shocks such as: the tragedy of

Angke/Yellow War that occurred in 1740-1743 which caused the Chinese community from Batavia to flee to Lasem, then the Sabil War of 1751 in which Lasem troops led by Widyadiningrat (Oei Ing Kiat) and Reden Panji Margono along with Kiai Baidawi invaded the position of the VOC in Rembang, repeatedly bringing great influence to the Lasem Chinese community. The war that was carried out after Friday prayers was called the Sabil War of 1751. Panji Margono and Oei Ing Kiat were killed repeatedly, bringing great influence to the Lasem Chinese community. In 1959 the Indonesian government issued government regulation no. 10 closed all Chinese trading sectors in rural and small towns. The regulation made the Lasem Chinese leave the retail trade, they left Lasem and Lasem suffered a setback. Until now there is a small part of the Lasem Chinese community who still survive. The district has moved to Rembang. Following later, Indonesian Political Regulations and Economic Policies, especially during the Era from 1967 to 1998, were also not in favor of the Chinese people at that time. According to Mr. Sie Hwie Djan in an interview at the Tjoe Ann Kiong Temple on January 24, 2020, since 1965, all the activities of the Lasem Chinese have been monitored. There are no activities at the temple. Cleaning activities are also not allowed.

“.....Since 1965 the Chinese people have all their activities monitored. Then the temple should not have any activities, let a lot of people get together like this and a lot of lights are not allowed, cleaning activities is done secretly because the one who supervises is not from the police, during the 1965 era there was a Social and Political Department. All the regulations that were applied during the 1965 era were extremely oppressive. At the temple, we have to ask for permission from the social and political department, you know, we should ask for permission to pray at the temple and wait for hours while giving them an envelope filled with money. Is there any country, where people want to worship, they have to ask permission from the socio-political department to ask for permission from the government? If they want to worship they must ask for permission, if they don't worship, they are said to be communists... If I remembered that my blood pressure went up immediately” (Mr. Sie Hwie Djan, temple supervisor, at Tjoe Ann Kiong Temple, interview on January 24th, 2020, 5:00 PM)

Many Chinese people also converted from Kong Hu Chu to Christian because Kong Hu Chu was prohibited at that time, so that the role of the Temple for the Chinese community in Lasem Chinatown was decreasing. According to Bu Jarum, a secretarial employee of the Tjoe Ann Kiong Temple, during this era the temple did not have any prayer activities but only took care of renting furniture/goods for people to use for work, such as marriage, by renting tables and chairs, renting plates, spoons, and so on. Rent furniture/temple items not only for consumption in the Lasem area but also for Rembang.

“....In the 1965 era, the temple did not have any activities, so his work at that time was taking care of the rental of the furniture/temple items for people to use, such as marriage, such as renting tables, chairs, renting plates, spoons, etc., not only for only consume the area here but some are from Rembang...so there is no prayer activity at the temple as it is now...only worshiped individually...” (Mrs. Jarum, Tjoe Ann Kiong Temple secretariat employee, interview on November 25th, 2021, 3.00 PM)

Mr. Rudy Hartono revealed that the politics of 1965-1968 had quite disrupted the Kong Hu Chu religion, especially when it was coupled with the development of Catholicism and Christian. For certain Christians, there is a prohibition on eating food that has been used by Kong Hu Chu's prayers, because of the doctrine of a priest. Chinese society at that time was afraid of politic, including Chinese writings at that time were also prohibited. If there is an activity, you must ask permission first.

“...Politics in 1965-1968 d was all messed up....especially the influence of Christian later if those who finished praying in Kong Hu Chu didn't want to eat, afraid, it was all because of the doctrine of a priest that praying in Kong Hu Chu was considered worshipping the devil...”(Mr. Rudy Hartono, owner of Rumah Merah, interview on January 24th, 2020, 1.00 PM)

According to Mr. Santoso Hartono, during Gus Dur Era in Lasem, there was a lot of looting, Mr. Santoso's teak house above the ceiling was lost, many thugs asked for money from shops, and many wallet houses were robbed. Mr. Sie Hwie Djan stated, the Chinese population, especially those who embrace the Kong Hu Chu religion, is shrinking to only 10% or even 5%. This is due to several factors, namely: 1) The first factor is that all the regulations applied during the 1965 era were impartiality to the Chinese community, twice a month they had to ask for permission from the Social and Political Society to ask for permission if they wanted to worship at the temple, if they did not worship, they were considered communists; 2) The second factor, the development of Christian religion. Incidentally the development of Christian could not get along with the Chinese community who worshiped is in Chinese temples, a priest during his sermons always vilified the Kong Hu Chu religion; 3). The third factor, human resources are the elders and many have died. Mr. Sie Hwie Djan expressed his concern that in the next three to five years this temple could be handed over to the government because no one would take care of it.

According to one of the *Kesengsem Lasem* activists, Lasem is strong in Javanese, strong in Islam, and strong in Chinese. The Jami Mosque complex was built using a Javanese pillar that is hundreds of years old, the crown of the mosque also uses a typical crown or mustoko from the Majapahit kingdom, although now the mustoko has been in a museum, then in the mosque there are also relics of Javanese honcoroko writings made of wood. Currently, the *Pendopo Tejokusumo* is also being built behind the mosque for a meeting place with Lasem residents. For example: a celebration to commemorate the anniversary of the City of Lasem. The demographics of the Lasem population in the 1700s used to be 90% Chinese 10% Javanese, but now it's reversed 90% Javanese and only 10% Chinese, because no one has returned to Lasem after school or college outside the city.

“...There was no Chinatown in Lasem before because in all the villages and in all corners of the river banks were all Chinese, so when the temple held a Shampo parade, all Kongco Makco went out around Lasem, there was no need to look for paid workers because Chinese people is enough even more than enough.....”(Mr. Sie Hwie Djan, temple supervisor, at Tjoe Ann Kiong Temple, interview on January 24th, 2020, 5:00 PM)

According to Mr. Sie Hwie Djan, in 1965 many Lasem Chinese people carried out an exodus from Lasem to Surabaya and other big cities such as Jakarta on the grounds that Lasem's security was not guaranteed, but for Mr. Sie Hwie Djan it was not a problem because he preferred to stay in Lasem. Since then, young people now study at least up to junior high school in Lasem, the high school has gone out of town let alone went to college. After graduating from college, he did not choose to return to Lasem because of the absence of job opportunities. So the Lasem people were running out every day, the houses occupied by the owner compared to the houses that were awaited, more were being waited for.

"...In my opinion, Lasem was almost destroyed..in what way... in terms of the Chinese people..." (Mr. Santoso Hartono, entrepreneur of Batik Pusaka Bear, interview at Batik Pusaka Beruang showroom, September 26, 2021, 09.30)

The ability of urban space as a place to struggle and survive occurs because there is a bond between space actors and spatial settings supported by the strong traditional and religious values adopted by space actors so that they are able to face all shocks, both internal and external. In the context of space as a place to struggle and survive, there are underlying values, namely: a sense of community and a sense of togetherness in defending the place they live in.

2. The theme of space as a place to maintain cultural heritage

The Three Chinese Temples of Lasem, the first time I did research in the Lasem Chinatown, the first objects I visited were the three Lasem temples, first of all Dasun/Tjoe Ann Kiong Temple, second Karangturi/Poo An Bio Temple, and the last is Babagan/Gie Yong Bio Temple. Without realizing it, I was entering the three temples according to the number of years they were founded, from the oldest to the youngest. Tjoe Ann Kiong Temple is located at Jalan Dasun No. 19 Lasem, Poo An Bio Temple is located at Jalan Karangturi VII No. 33 Lasem and Gie Yong Bio Temple are located at Jalan Babagan No. 7 Lasem. See Figure 2.



Fig. 2. Tjoe Ann Kiong Temple, Poo An Bio Temple and Gie Yong Bio Temple
Source: M. Maria Sudarwani, Edi Purwanto, R. Siti Rukhayah

Tjoe Ann Kiong Temple is a temple for the Goddess of the Sea which is quite old and the oldest on the island of Java. The carvings on the roof and walls of the temple are the carvings of the Chinese Guandong people who were deliberately imported to Java. On the upper terrace of Tjoe Ann Kiong Temple there is a carved console structure in the form of the Hong/Feng Huang/Phoenix Bird which is believed to be the Queen of all birds, bringing of Peace, Happiness, and Luck. This Hong Bird ornament is also found on the roof ridge of the temple. Then at the top of the roof, you can see a Chilin/Unicorn statue as a symbol of virtue, descent and luck with the hope that the Chinese people of Lasem will get blessings and good luck. Tjoe Ann

Kiong Temple has more detailed ornaments than the other two temples because Tjoe Ann Kiong carries more architectural characteristics from its original area in South China. The Chinese people tried to express their identity by building a temple and bringing in constructors from China to help build the first temple in Lasem. Meanwhile, over time the second and third temples have begun to reduce their ornaments according to local conditions and materials. The second temple that stands, namely Karangturi Temple, has a multipurpose building on the right which is often used for Chinese New Year celebrations for the three temples. Gie Yong Bio Temple was originally a house of worship to commemorate the services of the heroes of Lasem, but over time the house of worship was turned into a temple. In the courtyard of the Tjoe Ann Kiong Temple, there is a Monument to commemorate the struggle of the Chinese and Javanese against the VOC. According to Mr. Sie Hwie Djan (interview, January 24, 2020), the placement of the monument is not appropriate if it is placed in the courtyard of the Tjoe Ann Kiong Temple, but is forced. According to history, the monument should have been more appropriately placed in the Gie Yong Bio temple because that is where the three heroes of Lasem are worshiped, namely: Raden Mas Panji Margono, Tan Phan Ciang and Oei Ing Kiat. All three died against the Dutch so that the Lasem people built a house of worship to commemorate their services. On the monument there is an inscription entitled: Monument to the Struggle of the Chinese and Javanese Warriors against the VOC 1740-1743.

The Chinese Residence of Lasem, when entering Lasem City the atmosphere of a Chinatown is very impressive and draws us to the 16th century. Lasem city, which is often referred to as Little China, besides having the remains of three temples, also has unique Chinese houses. Lasem's Chinatown area is an old settlement that has about 240 cultural heritage buildings with an age of 150 to 200 years. Chinese settlements existed in the Majapahit era, namely from 1294-1527 (N.J. Krom in Unjiya, 2014). The houses are large and have an average site of 1000 m² to 5500m². The architecture of this house originally had a mix of Chinese and Javanese architectural styles. The Chinese architectural style can be seen in the curved ridge of the roof, the tip of the ridge is tapered like a wallet bird's tail and on the wall below the ridge there are carvings of Chinese characters. The element of local culture, namely Java, is more reflected in its symmetrical layout and the presence of a pavilion in front of the house. See Figure 3.



Fig. 3. Early Chinese House Architecture in Soditan Village
Source: M. Maria Sudarwani, Edi Purwanto, R. Siti Rukhayah

“...The houses of Chinatown residents are very unique and beautiful, even though they are not visible from the outside and are covered by a fairly high wall fence. Several old houses in Babagan Village are often used for filming, such as the house of Mr. Sigit Witjaksono on Jl. Babagan IV No.4 and house Jl. Babagan III No.3 is often used

for setting film locations. In addition, many immigrants both from within and from abroad who come to Babagan to just take photos of the ancient houses in Babagan Village....." (Pak SE, owner of a rice stall at Jalan Babagan, interview at the stall, on November 20th, 2018, 1.00 PM).

According to Mr. Djunaedi Rusli, the unique of Lasem's old house is that there is always a beautiful painting carved on the right and left of the top of the column on the terrace of the main house and the terrace of the gate, a decorative element in the form of a painting on ceramics with a picture of Chi Lin (See Figure 4) while pointing at the decorative painting in his house Jalan Babagan III/3. Chi Lin is a divine being with the head of a Dragon, the body of a Horse, and the scales of a Goldfish. Chi Lin is generally associated with bringing strong and protective Feng Shui energy with blessings of health, prosperity, and good luck to people. Apart from that, it is also known as a benevolent protector against relationship problems by bringing harmony and fertility luck into the household.

"....There are Three houses which are the oldest in Lasem, the first is Lawang Ombo, the second is my house, and the third is Rumah Merah...So the old house has a symbol if you want to know... if there is a painting on either side of the house, it means it is an old house... (Pak Djunaedi Rusli, resident of the house on Jalan Babagan III/3, interview on Jl Babagan III/3, November 26th, 2021, 10.00 AM)



Fig. 4. Painting Symbols at the top of the column of Houses and Gates
Source: M. Maria Sudarwani, Edi Purwanto, R. Siti Rukhayah

Besides the chi lin painting, the Tou kung construction also marks the old house in Lasem (See Figure 5).



Fig. 5. Tou Kung to support some houses
Source: M. Maria Sudarwani, Edi Purwanto, R. Siti Rukhayah

Above the door of Lasem house, a vent is often found which has a circle decoration with 12 arrows which is a symbol of Budiism which symbolizes the ease of fortune. This symbolizes the owner's desire to get fortune from all directions. See Figure 6.



Fig. 6. Doors and Ventilations of Lasem houses

Source: M. Maria Sudarwani, Edi Purwanto, R. Siti Rukhayah

On the gate or the main house door, you can often find a Chinese inscription which means: health as wide as the ocean, fortune as high as the mountain (See Figure 7). The decorative elements of this lettering are meant to invite health and good luck.

“...The writing on my door means health as wide as the ocean, fortune as high as mountain...” (Mr. Sie Hwie Djan, temple supervisor, interview at his house, on November 25th, 2020, 4:00 PM)



Fig. 7. Decorative elements of writing on the door of the house and the gate

Source: M. Maria Sudarwani, Edi Purwanto, R. Siti Rukhayah

On the walls of some Chinese houses in Lasem and on the roofs of the gates there are carved images of the lotus flower (lotus) which symbolizes purity and is a symbol of resilience, honesty/sincerity, purity, peace, tranquility and increased spiritual awareness (see Figure 8). In addition, there are other carvings, such as: the curve of the Chou Dynasty (1122-256 BC) which for farmers in South China means rain which is very important for agriculture, the image of the beetle (shou) which symbolizes long life (Pratiwo, 2010). This symbol is believed to protect the house from misfortune brought by the neighboring roof ridge which is straight towards another house.



Fig. 8. Decorative elements of carvings on the walls of houses and gates
Source: M. Maria Sudarwani, Edi Purwanto, R. Siti Rukhayah

On December 5, 1967 President issued Instruction No. 14/1967 which limited Chinese New Year celebrations, and others behind closed doors with the support of the Total Assimilation Group which urged the Chinese to abandon all culture and change names and religions and marry mixed with local residents. As a result, many Lasem Chinese ethnic houses are no longer intact. The height of the fence should not exceed 2 meters. The height of the fence must be reduced, at least the situation inside the fence can be seen from outside the fence. The houses that are on the edge of the highway, the fence must be replaced with bars. The prohibition on building high fences is because the government is worried that if there are groups holding clandestine meetings to overthrow the government, they cannot be seen or monitored from the outside. Therefore, for homeowners who are unable to cut the fence, it is enough to make a hole in the fence so that activities inside the fence can be monitored from the outside, while the writing on the door must be covered with paint even with zinc so that the writing is not visible. All these prohibitions are related to regulations issued by the government through Presidential Instruction No. 14 of 1967 mentioned above.

Most Chinese houses in Lasem combine elements of white, green, blue and brown. This color combination can be found in the color of the door leaf, frame, floor, roof structure, etc. There is a difference in the value of the room door. Brown color is used on the door leading to the altar because the value of the room is higher, green doors are used in other rooms that do not have a high sacred value, and blue doors symbolize intelligence and prosperity.

In the 20th century, there was a major transformation of Chinese residential homes, although the transformation was only in facade, decoration, and style. This transformation tends to identify itself through European architecture. At the end of the 19th century Lasem City experienced a golden age. The Chinese officers were able to build a house in a different style from the previous Lasem original house. They began to apply the Dutch East Indies architectural style which was developing at that time. One example of the typology of the house in question is the typology of Omah Londo, the house on Jalan Babagan and the house on Jalan Untung Surapati. The architecture of this house is unique, because it has undergone a transformation from the original Lasem architecture (a blend of Chinese and Javanese styles) to an architecture with several architectural styles at once, namely Chinese, Javanese, and Colonial architecture. All these architectural styles are combined in the form of architectural acculturation by adjusting the local natural conditions so as to create a beautiful and magnificent building. The use of Chinese architecture in this building, to

reflect his identity as a Chinese, can be seen in the symmetrical organization of the space and in the middle of the building there is a prayer altar room. The element of local culture, namely Java, reflects the owner's efforts to become part of the local culture where he lives, as can be seen from the pavilion which is applied as a terrace, and the door on the right and left of the terrace is like a *pringgitan* room in a Javanese house. While the Colonial element is used because it gives the impression of being majestic, sturdy, and reflects the level of social and economic status of the owner of the house, as can be seen from the facade of the house with geometric windows with color stained glass (art deco). There are several houses that have elements of classical European architecture, such as using Ionic, Doric, and Tuscan columns on the veranda. The roof of *Omah Londo* is also transformed from a Chinese architectural roof to a pyramid shape. But what's interesting is that they still maintain a way of life with strong Confucian beliefs by not changing the house plan and still putting the altar in the middle of the house (See Figure 9).



Fig. 9. The transformation type of Lasem House to Colonial architecture
Source: M. Maria Sudarwani, Edi Purwanto, R. Siti Rukhayah

In the Sumbergirang area, there are several buildings that have the potential to become cultural heritage, including: Puteri Marganingsih Orphanage, Rumah Ijo, Monkey House, where the building has a colonial design with a tower on one side of the house and windows made of colored glass in geometric shapes. See Figure 10.



Fig. 10. The transformation type of Lasem house to Colonial architecture
Source: M. Maria Sudarwani, Edi Purwanto, R. Siti Rukhayah

But unfortunately, some of these Chinese houses are not getting enough care. Especially for the houses in the first Chinese settlements in Soditan Village, they look abandoned and left empty only to be used as wallet houses. Regarding the large Chinese-architecture houses on Jalan Dasun, according to Mr. Santoso Hartono, the houses were already owned by outsiders, all of which was bought by Mrs. Hendro, the owner of the Krupuk Lasem Factory. The big Dasun houses are the first Chinese houses in Lasem, unfortunately the current condition is only used for wallet houses and is not well maintained. On the other hand, many homeowners with unique architecture use it as lodging houses, coffee shops or batik houses/showrooms to increase their income, while others make a living by selling antiques and selling

Lasem's unique house as an asset which is then sold, dismantled and moved to another city so that the houses that should become cultural heritage gradually decrease. See Figure 11.



Fig. 11. Karangturi IV/16 Residence Before and after being demolished in 2019

Source: M. Maria Sudarwani, Edi Purwanto, R. Siti Rukhayah

"...Frankly my father is a seller of antiques, including the house where Lasem is also being traded. The price is quite promising because Lasem teak is a pretty good type of wood on the island of Java...." (Mr. F, resident of Karangturi, interview at Kelenteng Tjoe Ann Kiong, on March 14th, 2019, 11 AM).

"...The houses of Lasem's Chinatown residents are very spacious, beautiful and rich in ornaments, myself as an indigenous citizen for the first time in early 2019 had the opportunity to enter one of the Chinatown houses in Karangturi Village when I had to accompany the Rembang BCB Team to look closely at the Chinatown residents' houses which includes BCB but disassembled. So far, the size of the lot and the beauty of the house are not visible from the outside because it is behind a high fence wall..." (Mrs. Sriyati, Head of the Welfare Section of Lasem District, interview at Sub-District Office, on February 13th, 2019, 1.00 PM).

According to Mr. Agik, the entrepreneur of the Nyah Lasem Museum café on Jl. Karangturi V No. 2 Lasem, there are still many Lasem houses that have survived until now. According to Mr. Sie Hwie Djan, what is seems to have survived to this day in Lasem are the buildings, because even though the owners are out of town, the children and grandchildren of the owners still take care of them. Like Pak Tjoe Boen Hong's Lawang Ombo House, the house is cleaned twice a year, the roof tiles are dismantled, taken down and washed one by one and painted after that they are raised again. According to Pak Sie Hwie Djan, this is a very extraordinary thing because it is expensive to maintain a house like he did. It was done because of Pak Tjoe Boen Hong's love for Lasem. Mr. Sie Hwie Djan himself felt the friendly atmosphere in Lasem which made him feel at home in Lasem, moreover, his tolerance was high and there were no differences in skin.

"...The perspective of building a house is different, if I build a red house that is strong and looks luxurious so it is easy to maintain, there is a house that gives the impression of an old house even though it has just been renovated. the concrete is then wrapped like wood, then kneaded it looks like if it's not steel, then concrete is then wrapped like wood...this is very different from the red house but we both have guests because it's all fun...Only if it's a matter of details and knick-knacks I'm not detailed because I prefer minimalism without a lot of knick-knacks so it's easy to maintain...the perspective is different..." (Mr. Rudy Hartono, owner of Rumah Merah, interview at Roemah Oei, November 7th, 2021, 10:00)

Mr. Tjoe Boen Hong, the owner of Lawang Ombo House and Omah Londo, said that Lawang Ombo and Omah Londo's architectural character is still relatively enduring. Mr. Tjoe Boen Hong likes old houses and bought an old house in Karangturi Lasem which was later used for Hotel Boutique Lasem. Mr. Tjoe Boen Hong revealed that because he was born in Lasem and originally from Lasem, he had been in Lasem for 59 years and it was impossible to move from Lasem, especially since he had many friends in Lasem. In fact, he does not feel at home when living in another city.

“...You see, this *Rumah Merah* is just all the new materials...if I have Lawang Ombo, it wasn't renovated since 2000...that's how it is...Lawang Ombo is still original. I also have Boutique Hotel Lasem, an ancient house too, my collaboration with Mr. Udaya. Then there is the former Rembang monastery on the side of the road Jl. Gambiran bought it for 7.5 billion rupiah with Pak Udaya as well... it was 4 years ago until now the construction has not been completed. We want to make a Cultural Museum... If you want to stay at Lawang Ombo, please or at Omah Londo, the house is still original...” (Mr. Tjoe Boen Hong, a resident of Sumbergirang, owner of Lawang Ombo, interview at cafe Kongkow Tjiak Rumah Merah, September 25th, 2021, 16.00)

Some Lasem Chinese people think that the ancient houses in Lasem's Chinatown need to be preserved and they also believe that there is bad luck for those who demolish old houses. It doesn't matter if anyone buys it but don't disassemble it, meaning that it will remain in Lasem. Change owners may but not dismantle. According to Mr. Sie Hwie Djan regarding the preservation of buildings, he often reminds the local government to make local regulations regarding the sale and purchase of ancient Lasem houses so that these ancient houses can be maintained and become tourist destinations for the surrounding community. According to him, the thing that still survives in Lasem's Chinatown is the building. Even though the residential building in Lasem has been abandoned, there are still housekeepers who are paid to take care of it so that it has survived to this day. For those who love old houses like Mr. Tjoe Boen Hong, he doesn't hesitate to spend money to dismantle, unload, wash, and paint the roof tiles of Lawang Ombo's house.

When we enter the old houses of Lasem Chinese residents, we still find various 19th century antiques ranging from wooden furniture, household utensils, decorations and pictures/paintings which are ancient items as part of the culture and memories of the Lasem Chinatown residents. One of the buildings that have the potential of cultural heritage is *Rumah Tegel LZ* which is located at Jl. Raya Kragan-Rembang-Surabaya No. 83 Lasem. The LZ tile factory used to be very famous and some of its products were marketed in big cities on the island of Java. This tile house has a beautiful, shady atmosphere because of the large garden. This colonial architecture house used to belong to a Lasem captain named Lie Thiam Kwie who was a tile businessman. This house is hundreds of years old and inside the LZ tile house there are antiques and ancient items (See Figure 11.). The Lasem Tile Factory used to be very famous and often sent tiles to the areas of Rembang, Pati, Blora, Surabaya, Semarang, and Kudus. This factory uses machines imported directly from Leipzig, Germany. Therefore the trademark of the Lie Thiam Kwie factory is LZ. As time goes by, the demand for tiles are decreasing, the condition of the factory is getting worse. Now this legendary tile

factory from Lasem has to change its function to become a paving block factory because it lost the competition.

“...This house is hundreds of years old, yes and what's interesting about this LZ tile house, when we entered the house there was a lot of antique furniture that was estimated to be almost hundreds of years old...” (Mr. N, an employee of *Rumah Merah*, interview at *Rumah Tegel LZ*, on November 25th, 2020, 13.00 o'clock)



Fig. 11. Karangturi IV/16 Residence Before and After being demolished in 2019
Source: M. Maria Sudarwani, Edi Purwanto, R. Siti Rukhayah

“...Mom, if you need to buy antiques furniture, antique stuff, etc., I will introduce the person later...there is a Lasem person who likes buying and selling antiques...” (Mr. Santoso Hartono, entrepreneur Batik Pusaka Beruang, interview at Nyah Lasem café, September 27, 2021, 10.30 a.m.)

When we visit Lasem's Chinatown area, the first impression that arises is the atmosphere of the corridor bounded by high walls which is quite arrogant and the impression of being lonely in the corridor. The monotonous impression of residential corridors is slightly lost with the emergence of models of beautiful Chinese roofed gates. See Figure 12.



Fig. 12. One of the gate models from various angles
Source: M. Maria Sudarwani, Edi Purwanto, R. Siti Rukhayah

The monotonous impression of the corridor was also neutralized by several house boundaries that began to open due to many factors, due to government instructions during the 1965 era which prohibited the existence of high wall fences, because of the business activities of residents who pushed for the opening of wall fences, and so on. Various kinds of activities in an effort to make a living that have sprung up have opened several fence walls such as cafe activities, and others, making this Chinatown area more dynamic. There are efforts from residential owners so that all available

spaces are empowered so that they are truly productive and utilized for various activities.

"...In the *Kongkow Tjiak Rumah Merah* café, I deliberately opened the wall, I broke it because it could be used for parking, especially since there are a lot of guests who are now parked in the corridor or on the street, instead disturbing ... so I opened the wall. I want to buy another property across from *Rumah Merah*, I originally wanted to use it for parking and the corridor was opened but it turns out that there is a rule that you can't break down the fence... even though I need parking because I anticipate visitors taking the bus..." (Mr. Rudy Hartono, owner of *Rumah Merah*, interview on January 24th, 2020, 1.00 PM)

"...At the Hotel Boutique Lasem, I opened the guardrail, how come the hotel needs parking, it's impossible if you don't open it because the road is too narrow..." (Mr. Tjoe Boen Hong, owner of Hotel Boutique Lasem, interview at cafe *Kongkow Tjiak Rumah Merah*, September 25th, 2021, 16.00)

"...I didn't break a fence barriers, I just gave a garage hole to enter the car because the fleet was important for loading and unloading batik businesses..." (Mr. H, resident of Babagan Village, interview on February 13th, 2019, 1.00 PM).

In the context of the spatial theme of space as a place to maintain cultural heritage, there are several important things, namely: 1) there is an inner bond between the actors of space and the spatial setting so that it is very regretful if the occupied space setting is damaged or lost even though to maintain the physical setting of this space it has to spend a lot of money, 2) the many symbols in the process of forming a unique spatial setting, and 3) the activity of taking refuge and earning a living by space actors to gain health as well as luck in the spatial setting. The theme of space as a place to maintain cultural heritage is influenced by: 1) The inner bond of space actors with spatial settings, 2) space actors' recognition of the uniqueness and historical value of spatial settings, 3) space has a protection function and economic potential. In the spatial context as a place to maintain cultural heritage, there are underlying values, namely: 1) a sense of community / harmony, 2) a sense of comfort living in Lasem, 3) a sense of attachment to space, 4) a sense of togetherness in maintaining the place they live in.

3. **The theme of space as a place to earn a living**

Space as a place to earn a living is an indicator of economic empowerment of citizens based on the values of neighboring and socio-cultural relations. Space as a place to earn a living is based on the ability to adjust productivity, the values of togetherness among residents as a unitary settlement. Lasem's hand-drawn batik, which has become a cultural icon, is the dominant source of livelihood that supports the economic potential of Lasem City. One of the socio-cultural potentials of the Lasem region is the presence of Chinese community settlements and the existence of cultural arts typical of the Lasem region in the form of the Lasem batik craft industry. Batik is an intangible cultural heritage of Indonesia that has been recognized by UNESCO on October 2, 2009. At the beginning, batik was produced on the island of Java, especially on the coast of the north coast of Java and the interior of Java, especially in Yogyakarta and Surakarta. The Chinatown area of Lasem is one of the

areas formed by most of the people who make a living as batik, especially in Babagan village. The production process of this business is still able to support them, including for batik craftsmen, even though it is not like it was still victorious in the past. The survival of this business shows that the preservation of activities is due to efforts to utilize the potential of the environment as a resource. For example, they still use houses, especially old houses, to produce batik. The batik production is able to survive not because there is still local market demand but outside the environment. There is also recognition from outside, especially about the quality of Lasem's batik. According to Mr. Santoso Hartono, in 2022 Lasem was made a fashion city by the Governor of Central Java Mr. Ganjar Pranowo, the plan is that in August 2022 the fashion city will be launched simultaneously with the launching of the City of Heritage, this adds to Lasem's strength as a batik center .

The economic potential of Lasem hand-drawn batik can be described as follows: 1) Although the batik industry experiences ups and downs due to political situations and others, it is still able to survive and is unique, 2) Lasem hand-drawn batik production centers are located in almost all areas of Lasem sub-district and even extend to Pancur sub-district (workshops, showrooms), 3) Product image of Lasem batik is still strong, has characteristics and is more special than other batik so that it has high competitiveness in the batik market, supported by Indonesian batik being recognized as a world cultural heritage by UNESCO on October 2, 2009, 4) The existence of a Batik Tourism Village which includes Babagan Village-Karasgede Village-Karaskepoh Village-Tuyuhan Village-Pancur Village, and 5) The existence of an association community of Lasem Batik Village.

In the context of urban space as a place to earn a living, it is influenced by the following factors: 1) the spatial setting is shaped by history; 2) is an activity based on togetherness; 3) there is a bond between the actors of space and the space. The theme of space as a place to earn a living is based on the values: 1) togetherness 2) maintaining harmony 3) mutual respect.

4. The theme of space as a Place to Maintain Tradition

Most of the Chinese married Javanese Muslims and makes a strong cultural assimilation. There is a sense of belonging to the Lasem culture built by Muslim and Chinese figures in history that resides in their memories. Therefore, the Muslim community highly respects Chinese culture in Lasem and vice versa. This fact shows a sense of shared ownership and has implications for preserving and caring for shared cultures and traditions. The Chinese also love the Javanese way of life. It is evident that the Lasem Chinese people like *gamelan*, *wayang*, and *keris*. And the relationship with indigenous officials during the *cultuurstelsel* period (1830-1870) and afterward made the Lasem Chinese people also influenced by Javanese culture. This can be seen from the architecture of the house which is a mixture of Chinese and Javanese architecture, the interior which still smells of Chinese (prayer room) and Javanese art items such as Gamelan, Wayang, and Keris. This is also because in general the Lasem Chinese is *peranakan* Chinese who are integrated with the Javanese way of life. They also love the Javanese way of life. Mr. Sie Hwie Djan, for example, admitted that when he had listened to gamelan and songs with music he liked, he could sleep on a mat close to where the gamelan musicians were.

For the Chinese tradition itself, the activities carried out at the temple are held regularly and every year Mr. Sie Hwie Djan as the supervisor and Mr. Tjoe Boen Hong as the general chairman of the temple receive a report from the administration regarding the list of prayers at the Lasem Chinese Temples for a year. For Mr. Sie Hwie Djan who is the supervisor or police officer of the three Lasem temple, especially the Tjoe Ann Kiong Temple as the oldest temple of Lasem, the temple is a place to maintain culture, both Chinese culture and Javanese culture. Regarding Javanese culture, it is related to the desire to respect ancestors. Mr. Sie Hwie Djan said that of the eleven brothers, only Mr. Sie Hwie Djan worshiped at the temple, while the other brothers were Christians and worshiped in the church. One of Mr. Sie Hwie Djan's brothers told Pak Sie Hwie Djan to convert to Christianity in exchange for a house, but Pak Sie Hwie Djan has a principle not to sell religion and prefers to maintain Chinese culture. Mr. Rudy stated that when his parents died there was also a priest who came with the intention of leading Christian prayers but according to the family agreement, Mr. Rudy finally insisted on leading Confucian prayers because Mr. Rudy has the principle to maintain tradition. Mr. Sie Hwie Djan has a belief that where the earth is stepped on, the sky is upheld and there are things that have to do with Javanese culture. It was his attitude because he wanted to respect his grandfather's advice. Mr. Sie Hwie Djan's grandfather, whose mother is a Javanese, and advised Mr. Sie Hwie Djan to make friends with Javanese people, if neighbors, especially Javanese people, have a celebration though they are busy, they must take the time to come. According to Mr. Sie Hwie Djan, although he is not a native Javanese, every time he is asked for an opinion at any university, he always entrusts Javanese culture so that it will not be removed because he feels that he does not have the power to do so. At the Lasem temple, Pak Sie Hwie Djan still maintains *gamelan* and as a person who is considered an elder in the temple, he is followed by many other young people.

On the birthday of the god of the earth, a shadow puppet show is also held at the temple. According to Mr. Sie Hwie Djan, as long as he is alive, wayang and gamelan will still be played in the temple, because based on the teachings of his ancestors, the Javanese in Lasem are considered as elder brothers who should not be forgotten, come together and work together. If there is an event at the temple, gamelan music and gongs must be used (See Figure 13.). Even though young people want a single organ, Pak Sie Hwie Djan still allows it but not at the front of the temple. This is also because in general the Lasem Chinese is *peranakan* Chinese who are integrated with the Javanese way of life. They also love the Javanese way of life. Mr. Sie Hwie Djan, for example, admitted that when he had listened to *gamelan* and songs with music he liked, he could sleep on a mat close to where the *gamelan* musicians were.



Fig. 13. *Gamelan* and Singer of Tjoe Ann Kiong Temple

Source: M. Maria Sudarwani, Edi Purwanto, R. Siti Rukhayah

The Lasem Chinese also held festivities at their homes following the usual Javanese rituals, especially for family rituals such as births, marriages and deaths. According to Mr. Sie Hwie Djan, the acculturation between Javanese culture and Chinese culture has indeed become a tradition in Lasem. So what distinguishes the Lasem native Chinese from those who are not Lasem Chinese is the Lasem Chinese if they have a work for celebrating something, whether it's a wedding, birthday, or death always calculate the day according to the calculation of the Javanese calendar.

Until now, both the temple and the houses of several Lasem Chinatown residents have *gamelan* as a form of the social status of the owners, as well as the way of life of the Lasem Chinatown residents has been integrated with the Javanese way of life. They also love *gamelan* music. *Kyai Nggower Gamelan*, for example, is a *gamelan* belonging to Mr. Tjoe Boen Hong (the owner of *Lawang Ombo*), which according to Mr. Sie Hwie Djan the receipt is dated 1919 and the *gamelan* was ordered from Yogyakarta and made long before that. *Kyai Nggower Gamelan* has a typical Chinese-Javanese fusion carving. There is an engraving of a bird (Hong) which indicates acculturation and in the middle is the initial H of the maker. *Kyai Nggower Gamelan* is currently not being used in the temple, because it is the *pelog gamelan*, Mr. Sie Hwie Djan usually uses the *slendro gamelan* for Tjoe Ann Kiong temple. Mr. Rudy Hartono (owner of the *Rumah Merah*) has *pelog* and *slendro gamelan*. According to Mr. Rudy, the Lasem people used to have the *gamelan* for their prestige. The *gamelan* belonging to Pak Rudy's grandfather and grandmother was ordered in Solo (Solo palace), because according to the old people's opinion, if you have a close relationship with the palace, you have high self-esteem.

What is unique is that the Lasem Chinese loves the *gamelan* more than the Javanese in general. Moreover, on December 15, 2021, the UNESCO headquarters in Paris, the United Nations agency in charge of education, science, and culture has designated *gamelan* as a UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage. We should be proud of this determination. *Gamelan* has long been a part of the daily life of people in various regions in Indonesia, continues to be studied, developed, and passed down from generation to generation. *Gamelan* also inspires and influences world music.

In the spatial context as a place to maintain tradition, it is based on values: respect for parents and ancestors, respect for elders, tolerance.

The Concept and Meaning of Survivability of Form and Space of Lasem Chinatown

The theme of regional space that persists and is always present in every unit of observation is space as a place to maintain cultural heritage. The existence of this space shows that at the micro level of the area there are actions and behaviors to maintain the existence of the space. In order to know the role of space in maintaining the existence of the Chinatown area, further exploration is needed on the space that represents the existence of the Chinatown area. The next analysis is the concept of the spatial meaning of the Chinatown area of Lasem. From the 18 regional spatial themes, they were grouped again into major themes based on the characteristics and uniqueness of each and three unique themes were found and have characteristics that build concepts. The three spatial concepts are: 1) Space Concept of Understanding: Understanding between adherents of the Confucian/Buddhist religion; Understanding between batik entrepreneurs; Understanding between batik entrepreneurs and batik craftsmen; Understanding between inn keepers; Understanding between innkeepers, batik entrepreneurs, and cafe entrepreneurs; Understanding between the Superintendent of the Temple/Monastery and the Kyai; Understanding between the Chinese community and the Javanese Muslim; 2) Space Concept for Local Strength: Local Strength of Cultural Heritage Building; Local Strength of Space History and Tradition; Local Strength of Economic Space (The Strength of Batik Space, Developing New Business, Fulfilling the Needs of Regional Neighbors); Local Strength of the Ancestral Reverence Space; Local Strength of Social Community Space; and 3) Space Concept for Adaptation: External Factor Adaptation Space and Internal Factor Adaptation Space. From the concept of the meaning of the space for the survivability of the Lasem Chinatown of three groups of spaces, namely: the concept space of understanding, the concept space for local strengths and the concept space for adaptation, the factors that influence the survival of the Lasem Chinatown area are formulated as follows: 1) The persistence of the Chinese community in Lasem to survive since the 14th century when they arrived from China until now; 2) The survival of the Chinese community and the existence of *pesantren* in Chinatown have supported the historical ties that link them; 3) Most of the Chinese married Javanese Muslims which eventually made strong cultural assimilation; 4) There is a sense of belonging to the Lasem culture that was built by Muslim and Chinese figures in history that is in their memories. Therefore, the Muslims respect Chinese culture in Lasem and vice versa. This fact shows a sense of shared ownership and has implications for preserving and caring for shared cultures and traditions. The Chinese also love the Javanese way of life. It is evident that the Lasem Chinese people like *gamelan*, *wayang*, and *keris*; 5) Various urban spaces (eg *Pendopo Tejukusumo*, village guard post, Jing Hai coffee shop, etc.) and the many social communities that bring students with the Chinese community always sitting together and conducting effective dialogue so as to create a harmonious life. So, these people are not easily provoked by conflict. Furthermore, this strengthens the tolerance between them.

The research carried out in this dissertation is the survivability of form and space of the Lasem Chinatown. According to the purpose of the study, namely to determine the phenomenon of the resilience of the Lasem Chinatown area. The existence of several buildings (approximately 240 buildings according to the cultural mapping data of

Kesengsem Lasem) which are objects of alleged cultural heritage strengthens that the research area has a survival phenomenon. The phenomenon of survivability that has developed in the Chinatown area of Lasem can be seen in the following nine strengths: 1) The Strength of Tolerance, the Chinese community and Javanese Santri always sit together and carry out effective dialogue so as to create a harmonious life. So, these people are not easily provoked by conflict; 2) Strength of Cultural Conservation, based on Rembang Regent Decree Number 432/2013/2020 dated 24 September 2020 concerning the Determination of the Plawangan Site, Bonang Site, and the Lasem Ancient City Cultural Heritage Area, the Lasem Ancient City Geographical Space Unit has been designated as the Rembang Regency Cultural Conservation Area. The Lasem Ancient City Cultural Heritage Area includes parts of the city that are evidence of the growth of settlements from the 14th century to the 20th century. The government's support for managing the Chinatown area of the Heritage City of Lasem, which has begun in early 2021, adds to the potential strength of this cultural heritage; 3) The Strength of History, the arrival of the Chinese community in the 14th century and the union of the Chinese community with the santri community in Lasem who together fought against the Dutch had supported the ancient historical bond that connected them; 4) The strength of kinship ties, most of the Chinese married Javanese Muslims who eventually became affiliated with Muslim-based *pesantren*. Then, it creates a strong kinship bond. The existence of Islamic boarding schools and kampong Kauman in the middle of the Chinatown area and the resilience of the Chinese community there became the driving force for the occurrence of this kinship bond; 5) The Strength of Tradition, there is a sense of belonging to the Lasem culture built by Muslim and Chinese figures in history that are in their memories. Therefore, the santri community highly respects Chinese culture in Lasem and vice versa. This fact shows a sense of shared ownership and has implications for preserving and caring for shared cultures and traditions. The Chinese also love the Javanese way of life. It is evident that the Lasem Chinese people like gamelan, wayang, and kris. On December 15, 2021, UNESCO's headquarters in Paris, the United Nations agency in charge of education, science, and culture, has designated gamelan as a UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage; 6) The Strength of Religion, for Chinese people according to the beliefs of Confucian teachings, respect for gods, ancestors and heroes who are considered important is the main thing. They believe that devotion to parents and ancestors will bring good luck; 7) Economic Strength, the economic potential of the Lasem area, one of which is the presence of Chinese community settlements and the existence of cultural arts typical of the Lasem region in the form of the Lasem batik handicraft industry. Batik is an intangible cultural heritage of Indonesia which has been recognized by UNESCO on October 2, 2009. The government's support in establishing Lasem City as a Fashion City in 2022 also adds to the potential strength of Lasem's batik; 8) Strength of Social Community, the various uniqueness offered by the City of Lasem make this city has its own charm for visitors who come. The city of Lasem is known as the funnel of opium, Little China, the City of Batik, the City of Santri, the City of Salt, and the City of Maritime. With the potential of Lasem City which is quite a lot to encourage the emergence or birth of various communities including: *Kopi Lelet* Community, *Kesengsem Lasem* Community, Lasem Heritage Culture Community, Communication Forum of Lasem, Lasem Community Association (Pawala), *Batik Lasem* Community, *Batik Tiga Negeri* Community, and

others; 9) Adaptability, several events and political situations occurred in Lasem either in the form of external or internal shocks, which had a great influence on the Chinese community. However, with the ability to adapt to the political situation, although some left Lasem, a small number were still able to adapt and survive.

So there are three elements of the survivability concept of Lasem Chinatown: The Power of Tolerance, the Power of Adaptation and The survivability of Form and Space of the Lasem Chinatown. The three elements is support by the sixth power of local strength in the middle of the figure (See Figure 14), namely: history power, economy power, tradition power, religion power, social community power, kinship power. And the center of all there is the values believed by the Lasem people who are certainly different from other regions so as to form a Chinatown that is quite unique, different from other Chinatowns. These Values are based on: Yin-Yang School (Feng Shui), Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Respect for ancestors (Ji Zhu), Kinship (Jia Zhu), Food (She Er), Togetherness (He Gong), Devotion and Faithfulness (Xiaoa Zhong), Harmony (Zhong Yong).

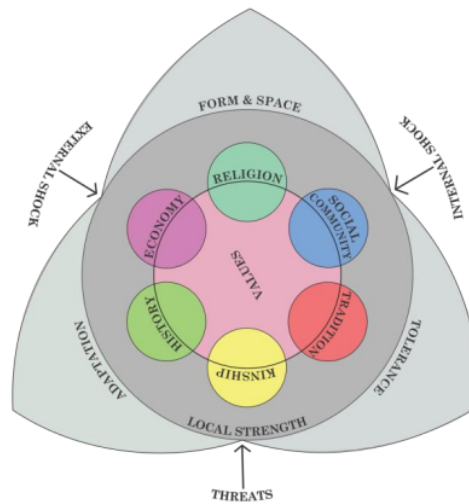


Fig. 14. Theoretical Structure of Survivability of Form and Space of Lasem Chinatown
Source: M. Maria Sudarwani, Edi Purwanto, R. Siti Rukhayah

Conclusion

The survivability of forms and spaces that constitute the unique character and the identity of Lasem Chinatown physically changing due to the growing trade and also widening the road that led to the transformation of the structure of settlements, transformation of form or change the facade of the building due to changes in functionality, which threatens survivability of form and space on one side. On the other side, there are supporting factors that allow the Lasem Chinatown to survive until now, including the following: 1) The existence of Chinatown figures who indulges in Javanese culture, pioneered Chinese-Javanese tolerance, and supports the preservation of tradition; 2) There are entrepreneurs who have a passion for maintaining ancient houses, caring for them and having the creativity to use the heritage building as a hotel/inn, as well as a cafe and batik showroom ; 3) There are batik entrepreneurs who

have a passion for carrying out Lasem batik even in the midst of a pandemic and defending Chinese houses as batik workshops; 4) Rembang Regent Decree Number 432/2013/2020 dated September 24th, 2020 concerning the Determination of the Lasem Ancient City Cultural Heritage Area; and 5) Government's plan to organize Lasem Chinatown in the master plan for Lasem Heritage City in 2021 until 2022. The Chinatown area is an asset of the city of Lasem, therefore the chinatown with the heritage building which is now a living monument must be preserved in order to sustain its original form and space.

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