YOURS OR MINE?
——Architectural Heritage in Indonesia

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Abstract: The riddle at times seems insolvable: to whom does heritage in a former colony belong and who is responsible for it: the former coloniser or the former colonised - or maybe both?

Though governments, scholars and others seemingly endlessly discuss the use of the adjective 'colonial', questions related to the importance and value of architecture (buildings and town plans) that was designed and realized while a country was under foreign rule for a long time were dominated (or rather hindered) by discussions on political context rather than its intrinsic value and continued existence. As a result, relevant and important considerations with regard to the assessment, function, and exploitation of these buildings and plans are often ignored or pushed to the background. As are, consequently, likewise relevant and important considerations concerning meaning, maintenance, restoration and preservation. In this situation it more than once happened that buildings and town plans that were tangible remnants of a period that linked two countries seemingly inseparably, disappeared from the face of the earth without even the slightest documentation.

It was therefore that Unesco's World Heritage Centre in 2000 decided that within its project on identification and documentation of modern heritage colonial heritage needed special attention. This article is a revised and updated version of the positioning paper I wrote on request of Unesco within the framework of this project.1

1. Considerations

Time and again the application of the word 'colonial' leads to discussions. Although I sympathise with objections against this word for being extremely Eurocentric, inaccurate and discriminating I also think that despite its shortcomings it most clearly determines what it refers to: architecture and town plans commissioned and realised by a European government at the time of its reign over a foreign - mostly Asian, African or South-American - country. Replacing colonial with 'mutual' of 'overseas', although sympathetic, from my point of view is equally problematic as 'mutual' is meaningless without explaining the colonial context and 'overseas' is maybe even more Eurocentric than 'colonial'. Given these considerations the adjective 'colonial' offers the advantage that because of its built-in reference to specific political, regional and social circumstances and characteristics, it unmistakably refers to a particular kind of built heritage. Characteristics that do not necessarily qualify it as exemplary and outstanding architecture and town planning but are relevant when assessing the value and meaning of this particular heritage. Thus, despite its invalidity as a criteria to assess value and meaning of individual built heritage, I will use 'colonial' when referring to buildings and town plans (both referred to with the word 'architecture') realised in countries that were at one point ruled by a European power.

The reason(s) why countries and governments do or do not appreciate and preserve built heritage differ around the globe. As a result identification, listing, preservation and restoration of built heritage and the implementation of a policy can not be taken for granted.

With regard to architecture and town planning that was realized in countries that were formerly colonised by Western countries, the issue of appreciation and preservation is

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even more delicate as it is linked with the issue that the architecture was built by non-indigenous people who at the time ruled over the country. This situation gives rise to the question who is actually 'responsible' for this particular heritage: the country in which the artefacts are located and/or the former coloniser? Although in general it can be stated that former colonies and colonisers moved from an very emotional approach with regard to their mutual history towards a much more rational one, this question sometimes still turns out to be relevant. This for instance becomes obvious when it comes to collecting data, expertise and, last but not least, money.

Conceived and realized at a time when European nations established empires by ruling over countries that were usually far away and much more extensive than the territory Europe, the remnant of the architecture in these regions that was realised during that time bears witness of a once existing world order and its transitory character. Assuming colonialism as we once knew it will not re-occur, this architecture therefore is a tangible testimony of a world-order of a time that once existed.

This realisation leads to two questions. The first one is whether it is 'because' or 'in spite' of its political context that this specific heritage is of particular interest and importance. The second one is who is actually responsible: the former coloniser, the former colonised, or maybe both?

Despite the negative connotations that for a long time were linked to anything related to former colonial administrations, scholars, architects, politicians, and also a general audience over the last twenty years have increasingly shown an interest in colonial heritage.[2] Although the drive behind this development is not always a very positive one from an architectural point of view – namely the rapid economic developments that erased and erase buildings and sites that for decades and sometimes centuries, characterised towns, villages and landscapes – it did change many people's outlook on the significance, quality, and importance of this specific category of heritage.

As this change occurred and more studies were conducted, more time and attention was paid to the specific (local) circumstances and demands under which the architecture was built. As a result, aspects that for a long time were not taken into consideration, finally were and consequently changed the outlook on colonial heritage – particularly in the country that used to be the coloniser. When several historical studies showed that European colonial architecture was not by definition secondary to developments – and (thus) not of inferior quality – it was gradually agreed that colonial architecture had its own merits and needed to be valuated accordingly.[3]

2. Valuating Overseas Built Heritage

The outlook, importance, and value of the architecture realised in a colony were very much determined by political, economic, social, and cultural conditions that greatly differed from those in Europe America. When assessing this heritage it is therefore of the utmost importance to incorporate and consider these circumstances in order to arrive at as objective a assessment ad possible. An illuminating example of how this can be done is given by Gwendolyn Wright in her book on the politics of design in French colonial urbanism.[4] In her book Wright describes how the French government used the colonies as a kind of experimental playground to try out new architectural- and planning concepts and ideas. Wright researches the commonality of this practice, the aims by which different administrations ruled their colony, and the differences or similarities in the practice of architecture between colonies and motherland. By

situating these achievements in their specific context and valuating them in their own right, Wright succeeds in explaining why colonial French architecture is worthwhile from both a conceptual as well as from a design point of view.

Although not very explicitly, Wright's and other studies indicate the need to revise the definition of colonial heritage, the 'contradiction' between colonial and 'non-colonial' built heritage, and the idea that colonial architecture around the world has common denominations that make it stand out as a distinct group. A revision is urgently needed for two reasons. Firstly because, unlike the sometimes surprisingly persistent idea that colonial architecture is of inferior quality to contemporary architecture in Europe and North America. Secondly because it needs to be acknowledged that colonial architecture is rooted in and a reflection of a multiethnic society. As multiethnic societies lead to cultural cross-fertilization and its products often do not fit in with Western criteria, valuating and determining the meaning and importance of these objects is often quite difficult due to lack of a proper set of criteria. As colonial societies and its artifacts by definition were a mixture of cultures and Western criteria (thus) do not apply, it goes without saying that Western criteria used to valuate architecture in Europe or North America need to be revised, adjusted or maybe even replaced. Only when we acknowledge the specific qualities and characteristics of colonial architecture will we be able to arrive at a better understanding and an objective evaluation of it position, meaning, quality, and merits. Without acknowledging its specific qualities and characteristics it is likely we continue to consider colonial architecture merely a regional derivative of Western culture.

In order to arrive at a balanced valuation system we can no longer shy away from the necessity to investigate the applicability and relevance of Western criteria to Western and colonial architecture alike. While doing this it is likely we will have to conclude that criteria that have proven to be good standards in a purely Western context are less, or even unsuitable in a colonial setting and thus a new set of criteria is needed. Such a new set of criteria from my point of view should consider and include:
- Circumstances: political, economic, social, cultural, nature (social, political);
- Assignments and objectives: volume and scale of the assignments;
- Working practice: education, professionalism, opportunities, limitations;
- Framework: institutions, legislation, journals;
- Local conditions: availability of material, building and construction methods, styles and decorations;
- External influences: Western materials, building and construction methods, styles and decorations;
- Adjustments and adaptations: mutual integration of vernacular/Western constructions, material, styles, decoration;
- Contemporary references: other colonies, Europe, United States of America;
- Characteristics of architecture and town planning: distinguish and determine similarities and/or differences between a colony, its motherland and other colonies with regard to style, technique, material etc.

Studying colonial architecture with these criteria in mind will enable researchers and other professionals to draw the objective conclusions that are necessary to establish their intrinsic architectural value. It is my assumption that when this happens we can finally begin to acknowledge that architecture realized in former European colonies was innovative, did produce styles and buildings that were particular to a region and period, was the result of a cultural cross-fertilization, and, last but not least, does have qualities that makes is definitely worthwhile to preserve a fair amount of.

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3. The Dutch East Indies: Late-Colonial Society (1870-1949)

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, characterless buildings and higher demands of clients regarding the appearance of their buildings forced architects to create an architecture that would not only suit the climate technically but would be aesthetically pleasing and an impetus to the booming business sector.[5] The demand for appropriate architecture coincides with administrative and socio-economic changes marked by the introduction of the Agrarian Act in 1870.[6]

Whether the move towards a more liberal administration stemmed from self-interest (economic profit) or altruism (a conscious effort to build up a colony that would eventually be self-sustaining), the overall result was a gradual shift from an initially completely centralised control by the national government to an increasingly decentralised administrative system. This was taken a step further during the early twentieth century with the introduction of the Ethical Policy. This new policy opened the way for more political and socio-economic changes, marked by the passing of the Decentralisation Act (1903), the Local Councils Ordinance (1904) and the Government Reform Act (1922). These developments also mark the start of and run parallel to (a debate on) the need for an appropriate 'Indische' architecture and town planning.

The Japanese occupation (1942-1945) abruptly ended these ongoing developments. Following Japan's surrender, the Netherlands ignored Indonesia's unilateral declaration of independence and re-claimed power over the archipelago. The unbending Dutch attitude plunged the country in a guerrilla-war with Indonesia that only ended because of heavy international pressure on the Netherlands and Indonesia's agreement to establish a federal administration over the archipelago.[7] Following the official transfer of sovereignty (1948) business continued more or less as usual until well into the 1950's. The final blow for the Dutch came in 1955 when they could not reach an agreement with Indonesia on the status of Papua and as a result the Dutch became *persona non grata* in the Republic until the 1970's. Despite some political hiccups the relationship from then on has been more or less stable.

The implementation of the Agrarian Act and Ethical Policy in many areas brought about considerable changes. One of the physically most noticeable - and relevant regarding architecture - was the increase of citizens. Due to an influx of Europeans who, unlike before, often had no intention to return to the Netherlands, and Indonesians from rural areas, cities became overcrowded and a housing shortage emerged. It was the architects' task to address these issues.

While working on extension and improvement plans and housing schemes, the architects faced a specific problem, being the multiracial and segregated character of colonial society. Whereas the various ethnicities initially lived desegregated, the arrival of increased numbers of Western immigrants after 1870 gradually created a segregated society. In the field of architecture and town planning this implied the emergence of European, Indonesian, Chinese, and Arab quarters each with their own specific economic, social and formal characteristics.

Professionalization of the Business

During the nineteenth century engineers in the Netherlands united and initiated professional architectural organisations. For educational purposes the Royal Academy for Artillery and Military in Delft was established in 1815. A department for the civil engineering was added to this academy in 1842. Only six year later, in 1848 architects

established the *Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst* in Amsterdam. Alongside these developments a range of specialized professional journals (*Bouwkundige Bijdragen*, *De Ingenieur*) came into being.

These initiatives by and large also covered the situation in the colony. During the nineteenth the century the need for full-fledged institutes and journals was increasingly felt and complied with. In 1898 the Vereeniging van Bouwkundigen in Nederlandsch-Indië and it's periodical *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* were established as well as other 'Indische' journals. Institutes and journals served as an outlet and a platform for architects and engineers to exchange ideas and publish developments. Although the journals in the Dutch East Indies were mainly dedicated to local colonial affairs, they did pay attention to developments overseas, whether in the Netherlands, Germany, the United States of America or India.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Nederlands-Indische Architecten Kring (NIAK, 1923), the counterpart of the by then re-named Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst/Bond van Nederlandse Architecten, was established. In 1920 engineer R.L.A. Schoemaker was the first professor to be inaugurated at the faculty of civil engineering at the Polytechnic in Bandung that had recently opened.

Emergence and Characteristics of 'Indische' Architecture and Town Planning

Climatologic and geographical conditions in the colony from the start prompted constructive adaptations. During the eighteenth century, elevated buildings were increasingly erected with steep roofs with ridges that ran parallel to the street in order to create an overhang that would protect the building from sun and rain. Much later, during the first half of the twentieth century, flat roofs and so-called 'double front'-walls were applied as well.[8]

Around the turn of the nineteenth century country estates at considerable distance from the initial settlement started to emerge for those who could afford to leave the densely built-up and rather unsanitary city centres. The houses occupied large parcels, were usually low-rise, frequently built on stilts, surrounded with galleries on the outside to create natural ventilation, large overhangs, a more or less standard ground plan, and had the kitchen and sleeping quarters of the attendants separated from the main house at the back of the estate. The materials used for buildings usually consisted of wood for the construction, river stones, brick and plaster for the walls, and tiles or *atap* for the roofs.[9] Gradually new residential areas developed around these estates, spaciously laid out with wide unimproved streets, extensive green areas and spacious parcels with wide drives and lush gardens. The only difference with the initial estates was the (largely) reduced size of the parcels and the consequently more condensed building capacity.

While the need for climatic adaptations was recognized, the engineers responsible for the designs of buildings were unable to create a really suitable architecture because their architectural education was very shallow: academies usually instructed students on the application of classical European architectural styles without paying much attention to the function of the building.[10] After nearly two centuries this resulted in an architecture that lacked style and character. Engineers that were increasingly annoyed by the low architectural quality criticized the building 'ethics' in the colony and, stimulated by a growing awareness and increasing demand for quality in architecture and town planning, generated a debate on the significance and need of a contemporary *Indische* architecture that would be physically suitable to the region and aesthetically pleasing to the eye.[11] The debate on the importance and possibilities of architecture focussed on various aspects such as use of materials, construction methods, style, decoration, and last - but certainly not least - the applicability of indigenous motives.

The architectural debate was at its peak in the early 1920's when two distinctive 'schools' emerged. There were those who felt the only objective was to create good architecture: architecture that would meet the needs of their users and physical conditions and would aesthetically be pleasing. To these architects the application of Western or Eastern constructions, materials and motives was irrelevant as long as they were applied with a full understanding of their meaning or function. On the opposite side were those who felt that indigenous architecture was to lead the way to arrive at an appropriate architecture. They were of the opinion that buildings throughout the archipelago offered beautiful examples of suitable architecture and could easily be used as sources of inspiration to create a contemporary architecture for the Dutch colony.

One of the hallmarks of the 'Indische' architecture that emerged - apart from the adaptations to meet the climatic requirements as described above - was an experimental, loose, and eclectic application of a wide variety of constructions methods and architectural styles varying from Art-Deco to Expressionist, and from Modern to vernacular. Within the restricted choice in building and finishing materials architects managed to create a variety of buildings and spaces with unpretentious but refined detailing and decoration. The overall result a experimental, vibrant, daring, and hybrid architecture that resembled world architecture but would add a little twist. Presumably due to the fact that the building and housing inspection department mainly focussed on technical matters and building regulations were not very strict, buildings seem more daring and extravagant.

In order to be able to meet the demand for large numbers of various kinds of new buildings (schools, hospitals, post-offices, prisons, etc.) that were needed after 1900, the governmental Department of Public Works often relied on and applied so-called *normaalontwerpen* (normative designs). Though interesting from a production point of view, these designs often lack a specific kind of architectural quality. Representative, unique governmental buildings (offices for governors, city councils, departments) on the other hand were (naturally) given more attention and were usually of outstanding quality.

The same goes for dwelling houses of middle-income civil servants. Though from an architectural point of view not very interesting, it is the production methods that lends governmental housing an interesting aspect because they were produced *en masse* and were part of larger planning schemes such as city extension plans or improvements of existing areas.

More outspoken and daring architecture is found amongst buildings commissioned by private entrepreneurs. With an eye for business and increasing awareness to how an appropriate location and building (c.q. architecture) could contribute to and reflect commercial success, private entrepreneurs frequently went into great lengths to realize their dreams in architecture. The houses for the high echelons of administration and business sometimes displayed the same sense of distinction, character and remarkable architectural features ranging from an eclectic application of various styles and decorations as well as situations.

Many architects that arrived in the Dutch East Indies were students from the Polytechnic in Delft, but they were not town planners by training. As the practice of town planning in the colony around 1900 was virtually non-existent, these newly arrived architects faced the complex and sizeable task to address technical and design aspects (uncontrolled town extensions, the need for urban improvement, housing shortage, insufficient infrastructure and sewerage) as well as aspects of legislation,

regulation, and organisation. The town planning method they developed was characterized by the establishment of various municipal services, systematic execution procedures and simultaneous implementation of legislative matters.

An element that characterizes the 'Indische' town was the application of functional and ethnic zoning with buildings that were appropriate according to their location, function, and status. As a result of the increasing process of Westernisation this physical segregation, although already in existence before the twentieth century, became more succinct after the turn of the century.[12] The majority of the extension plans were mainly designed for European inhabitants at a considerable but bridgeable distance between the new and the existing built-up area. They covered vast areas, had a wide, open and green lay-out with detached or semi-detached houses, and limited employment opportunities for the Europeans. Chinese areas were usually in the old quarters of the city, dazzling with commercial activities, densely built up and people living above their shops or businesses. The Indonesian areas were usually built in between and around these areas as the majority of the Indonesian labour force worked as employees for European companies or as housekeepers. The Indonesian areas (*kampungs*) mainly consisted of a jumble of low rise, semi-permanent houses, with little or otherwise only communal hygienic facilities, unpaved roads and bad connections to the main infra-structural network.

Although a detailed description of the various town plans is outside the scope of this paper, the extensions for Semarang (New Candi, 1909) and Batavia (Menteng, New Gondangdia 1918) should be mentioned because they were the first extension plans in the Dutch East Indies and, with regard to aesthetics as well as methodology, more or less set a standard for developments throughout the archipelago. On account of the remarkable growth and unity of design, the town plan for Bandung also needs to be mentioned. Bandung, an almost non-existent provincial village by the late nineteenth century, developed into a full-grown city with almost European allure that provided accommodation for various governmental departments and leading educational institutes over less than twenty years.[13] The short development period of the city resulted in a coherent development plan of the city with specific functions, inhabitants and building for each of the eleven districts.

Due to the work of a relatively small group of architects, civil servants, and legislators within a period of twenty years a large number of municipal extension and improvement plans were designed and executed, and several local ordinances and a draft on planning ordinance were drawn up and implemented.[14] The reason for this pace could be the fact that colonial society was very hierarchic, only a limited number of people was involved in the process and lines were short. Consequently decisions could be made relatively quick.

Indonesia Today: Changes and Risks

Until some twenty years ago a general inertia of both Indonesia and the Netherlands towards their mutual heritage of the late-colonial period - an era that witnessed great political, economic, social and architectural changes - prevailed. But in 1985 the indifferent attitude changed for the better when a historic landmark building in Jakarta was demolished due to increased traffic and the need to widen a main connection. 'De Harmonie' (1810-1814, architect J.C. Schultze) was a society building and built to persuade Europeans to move from the old city centre to the more southern located new area of Weltevreden. The building, built in Empire style, was generally considered one

of the most vital in early nineteenth century buildings in Jakarta. The fact that the building originated from colonial times seemed not at all relevant when architects and general public expressed their disbelief, anger, and frustration over the loss of this building. Its importance as a landmark was (and is!) signified by the fact that this particular area in the city is referred to as 'Harmoni'.

Ever since the destruction of 'De Harmonie' various people and organizations document, study, discuss, publish and create awareness for Indonesia's colonial heritage. In Indonesia governmental and non-governmental organizations such as the Indonesian Institute of Architects, the National Heritage Trust, the Documentation Centre for Architecture, local heritage societies and sometimes even newspapers are active.[15] Core business of all these organization is to create awareness among Indonesian inhabitants and policy-makers with regard to the cultural (and implicitly financial) value of built heritage and the irreversibility of its destruction. Occasionally restoration projects are initiated and executed.[16] Similar organizations in the Netherlands are increasingly interested and involved in various small- and large scale projects and in exchanging knowledge and expertise. The Dutch National Department for Conservation advises on historical projects, the Bond van Nederlandse Architecten, the Netherlands Architecture Institute and the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies organize programs that introduce foreigners to the Dutch practice of architecture, town planning, restoration and policymaking. Non-governmental organizations (Stichting Oud Jakarta, Stichting National Cadeau, Association of Dutch Friends of the Sumatra Heritage Trust, to name a few) usually focus on a particular project such as the restoration of the Reinier de Klerk-mansion in Jakarta or the town hall in Medan. Several Indonesian and Dutch students have conducted or are working on M.A.-papers and dissertations.

These initiatives, although sympathetic, should not obliterate the political, economic, scientific, and pragmatic implications and problems of the task laying ahead when dealing with conservation of built heritage. An important obstacle to consider in the Indonesian context is the political and economic status quo. Although the political and economic instability that dominates the country since 1997 has proven to be a 'blessing in disguise' - because of the temporary halt it has caused to the devastating effect of the booming economy through the rapid demolition of monuments in the older parts of cities - it is not hard to imagine this trend will once again continue when politics and economics are back on their feet again. For architecture and town planning this would mean a return to a situation where despite the Act on Monuments and additional regulations, historic buildings and whole city areas fall victim to real estate and infrastructure developments that primarily serve the middle and upper-class income groups.

This situation automatically leads to another problem, being Indonesia's general attitude towards heritage, which is at the same time indifferent and of a smothering nature. The indifference is clear from the fact that despite the existence of a national act on the conservation of monuments the implementation and enforcement of this legal measure is almost constantly violated by real-estate developers, building- and land-owners.[17] Because demolition of a building is considered easier and cheaper, hence more economic, this in general is preferred to renovation or restoration. Historical resentment is hardly ever an argument.

When on the other hand people do pay attention to a historic object it does not necessarily create a positive situation either. The general tendency to over-emphasize the cultural and historical value of the object, combined with the limited range of design and functional changes that are allowed when handling a registered monument,

limits the possibilities for adaptive re-use and (radical), conversions.[18] The result is that restored heritage buildings are often put on a metaphorical pedestal and turned into a gem - only to be admired from an appropriate distance, thus losing connection and interaction with its physical and social surroundings.[19] The same goes for town planning: protective measures usually freeze the existing situation and do not allow any visual or functional alterations - thus creating lifeless and economically miserable areas.[20]

A last but no less essential problem is a lack of sufficient knowledge and effective policy in both the Netherlands and Indonesia on preservation, conservation and restoration of nineteenth and twentieth century colonial heritage. For a considerable period of time, the Netherlands had practically ignored its overseas heritage on both a scientific a political level. Universities in general greatly overlooked and ignored this particular part of the Netherlands' architectural heritage. Politics, if there was any attention at all usually focussed on earlier periods: sixteenth century fortresses on the Moluccas, an eighteenth mansion in Jakarta, the palace of a local king, and a Buddhist temple in Central-Java. Nineteenth and twentieth century architecture and town planning never seemed able to allocate the same amount of enthusiasm; and money. As a result their restoration has only been carried out haphazardly.
In Indonesia the situation is not much different. Despite an increased interest in colonial cultural heritage the national policy's priority to economic growth and development has created a situation where there is almost no need or want for architects to specialize in the field of preservation, restoration and conservation. Simultaneously it is obvious that the teaching methods are not adequate and up to date to address design issues in a contemporary, innovating and challenging way.

To end on a happy note it is important to mention that there are plenty of architects and Indonesians genuinely interested in the colonial heritage of the country. For them, the coming about of an 'Indische' architecture and town planning is, though not flawless, particular to the spirit of time and region of the late-colonial period. It is at the same time a source of inspiration in their quest for a suitable contemporary Indonesian architecture today and a guiding principle in their daily confrontation with current design issues.

4. Conclusion

Appreciation and assessment of cultural artifacts is determined by qualification criteria. Without arguing the significance and value of Western research- and valuation methods for Western architecture and town planning, their ambiguity, inadequacy and deficiency outside the Western hemisphere c.q. in a colonial setting is obvious as it hinders and even cripples an objective evaluation of the objects' intrinsic quality and importance. Therefore an inevitable stipulation when studying and evaluating built heritage in former colonies is an adaptation of the Western, predominantly Eurocentric methodology, criteria and standards.

To understand and appreciate the specific character, meaning and relevance of built heritage in former colonies a study and analysis of colonial society is inevitable because the architecture and town planning is intrinsically linked to the needs, demands and possibilities of that society. As political and economic circumstances played a decisive role in determining the outlook of this particular heritage it is inevitable to not only

review and study formal and technical characteristics but include these circumstances when assessing the value of this particular heritage.

With regard to the Dutch East Indies a combined study and analysis of architecture and town planning built between 1870 and 1949 is interesting, because it covers a period of political, economic, social and architectural transition that runs more or less parallel to and is closely linked with social and architectural developments in the motherland. It is the combination of these aspects, together with the climatic, geographic, political, economical, sociological and cultural circumstances that generated a moderate but flourishing architecture and town planning practice during the last period of Dutch rule over the archipelago. Its specific colonial as well as formal and technical characteristics make it worthwhile to evaluate and study this particular heritage - in Indonesia as well as in other former colonies.

As colonial heritage is – or rather, should be – an integral part of the architectural history of both former colony and coloniser and of irrefutable importance to the architectural make-up of the now independent former colonies, it is necessary to objectively acknowledge the value of colonial heritage and strive for wider and better awareness and appreciation of this category of architecture.

Notes

[1] Roosmalen, Pauline van: 2003, 'Changing Views of Colonial Heritage' in R. van Oers, S. Haraguchi, *World Heritage Papers* 5, Unesco, Parijs, 121-128.

[2] Akihary, Huib: 1988, *Architectuur en Stedebouw in Indonesië 1840-1940*, Walburg Pers, Zutphen; Gresleri, G., P.G. Massaretti and S. Zagnoni (eds): 1993, *Architettura Italiana d'oltremare 1870-1940*, Marsilio Editori, Venezia; Home, R.: 1996, *Of Planting and Planning. The Making of British Colonial Cities*, E&FN Spon, London; Jessup, Helen: 1988, *Netherlandish Architecture in Indonesia 1900-1942*, University of London, London; Wim Ravesteijn, Jan Kop (eds), *Bouwen in de Archipel. Burgelijke openbare werken in Nederlands-Indië en Indonesië 1800-2000*, Walburg Pers, Zwolle; Warner, Torsten: 1994, *German Architecture in China. Architectural Transfer,* Ernst & Sohn, Berlin; Wright, Gwendolyn: 1991, *Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*, University of Chicago, Chicago.

[3] Despite various attempts Western awareness and recognition of different values outside the Western hemisphere only gradually seem to sink in. Though a small number of studies tries to give prove of the contrary, many art- and architectural historians today still argue that contemporary art and architecture is merely a provincial derivative of Western developments. See for a discussion on contemporary Indonesian art: Spanjaard, Helena: 2004, *Het ideaal van een moderne Indonesische schilderkunst 1900-1995. De creatie van een nationale culturele identiteit*, ?; Wright, Astri: 1993, *Soul, Spirit and Mountain. Preoccupation of Contemporary Indonesian Painters*, Oxford University Press.

[4] Wright, Gwendolyn: 1991, *Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*, University of Chicago, Chicago.

[5] All through the nineteenth century the problem that occupied architects throughout Europe was the need to create an appropriate contemporary architectural style that would reflect the spirit of the time: new machines, new professions, new building materials, new building types, etc. A proper debate on the need for a proper architecture in the Dutch East Indies did not start until around 1880.

[6] The Agrarian Act replaced the much more repressive Culture System that was put into effect in 1831.

[7] The question whether the assumption of power by the Indonesian republicans generated a rupture in the architecture and town planning practice is interesting and might be included in research activities.

[8] A double wall is an extensively pierced façade in order to create natural ventilation and shade.

[9] *Atap* is a roof covering made of wooden plates and applied like slates.

[10] Two frequently applied styles were Neo-classical and Empire. See for studies on this: Deckers, Jeanine R.M.: 1992, *Architectuur in Batavia tussen 1800 en 1900*, M.A.-paper Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam; Wynia, Dieuwke: 1993, *De Indisch Overheidsarchitectuur tussen 1908 en 1928*, M.A.-paper Universiteit van Amsterdam, Amsterdam.

[11] This development echoes simultaneous developments in Europe and the United States of America.

[12] The initially segregated but economically and socially communal mixed way of life gradually gave way to a much an increased (physical) segregation, thus sharpening social, economic and ethnical differences. Jong, J.J.P. de: 1998, *De waaier van het Fortuin. Van handelscompagnie tot koloniaal imperium. De Nederlanders in Azië en de Indonesische archipel 1595-1950*, Sdu Uitgevers, Den Haag, 387, 391, 483.

[13] The rapid development of Bandung was caused by the decision of governor-general earl J.P. van Limburg Stirum in 1916 to move the administrative departments from Batavia to Bandung. Due to its appearance and outstanding facilities Bandung around 1930 was referred to as 'Paris of Java'.

[14] Not long after the town planning issue came to the fore architect Thomas Karsten wrote an important article on town planning in 1920 called 'Indiese stedebouw'. Until 1942 Karsten published on issues related to architecture and planning ranging from social to legal, and from technical to aesthetic. Karsten, Thomas: 1920, Indiese stedebouw, *Locale Belangen Mededeeling* 40, 145-250.

[15] In 1999 and 2000 *The Jakarta Post* 2000 published a series of 54 articles on buildings in Jakarta that are of Arab, Chinese, Dutch, Indonesian, and Portuguese origin.

[16] Projects that attracted a lot of attention were the restoration of the eighteenth century mansion of governor-general Reinier de Klerk at Jl. Gadjah Mada in Jakarta (1995) and an early twentieth century house C.P. Wolff Schoemaker at Jl. Sawunggaling in Bandung (1999). The first project was financed by Dutch private enterprise. Both projects were awarded by Unesco Asia-Pacific Heritage Awards. With financial and practical supported from the Dutch government and a Dutch private company, the Documentation Centre for Architecture currently works on a restoration-scheme for the Department of Finance (1809) in Jakarta.

[17] The first Act on Monuments was drawn up and passed by the Dutch government in 1931 and revised in 1934. The Indonesian government translated and revised this act in 1992. In October 2004 an *International Conference on Heritage Law* was organised in Bandung. The purpose of the conference was to expose the Indonesian Ministry of Culture and Tourism who is responsible for re-writing heritage laws for Indonesia with developments abroad. Examples used were the Philippines, South Africa, and the Netherlands.

Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië: 1931, 238; *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*: 1934, 515; *Undang-undang Republik Indonesia*: 1992, 5.
Real-estates developers, building- and land owners time and again seem to be above this law.
[18] Because of the restrictive laws on restoration restoration-projects usually propose to turn monuments into cultural centres, exclusive restaurants, etc. Because of the inflexibility of the legal regulations inconsistent situations arise: while dozens of spacious and desolated buildings from the 1930's are scattered throughout pre-war neighbourhoods of Jakarta, some years ago a new building that imitates the atmosphere of the jazz-era was built in an southern area of Jakarta, loaded with entertainment. Another fine example is the entire removal of a nineteenth century villa from one area of Jakarta to the same southern area, just so that it could be exploited as a Italian restaurant.
[19] This observation applies to many executed conservation-projects in Indonesia. Roosmalen, Pauline van: 2001, Lagi-lagi museum, *Kompas* (14-1-2001)
[20] As stipulated by law Indonesian cities draw up new town plans every ten years. Studies on the revitalisation of old city centres and/or buildings have been done for Bandung, Den Pasar, Jakarta, Medan, Padang, Semarang, Solo, Surabaya, Jogyakarta. Whether or not and to what extent these studies are included in or influence future town planning remains to be seen.