Urban Conservation in Jakarta since 1968

Bambang Eryudhawan
Indonesian Architectural Documentation Centre (PDA);
Indonesian Institute of Architect (IAI)
corbusier@hotmail.com / matumona@gmail.com

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Abstract
Since independence in 1945, Jakarta transformed gradually from a colonial into a modern city. New areas and new buildings were developed to fulfil urgent needs in housing, shops, schools and other facilities as the population growing rapidly after the war. All were executed without city planning until the Outline Plan of Jakarta was published in 1957. Later on, the Outline Plan was mostly adapted into the Master Plan 1965-1985. Governor Ali Sadikin (1966-1977), with the Master Plan 1965-1985 in his hands, brought new approaches to modernize the capital city. But new developments needed strategic spaces and gave pressure to old city centre and historic buildings. Old buildings were unfortunately abandoned, ruined, or even demolished for some reasons. By 1968, Jakarta had been changed dramatically. At the very crucial time, Ali Sadikin realized that something had to be done: there should be a creative equilibrium between the old and the new. After some trips to Europe and USA he believed that Jakarta had an obligation to conserve its historical assets in the name of history and civilization. In 1968 he established Jakarta Department of Museum and History. From that moment, Jakarta’s urban conservation program is started. A version of this paper was delivered as part of SEAMEO SPAFA’s Capital’s Archaeology Lecture Series on 23 May 2017 at the Siam Society, Bangkok. The lecture can be viewed here: http://bit.ly/2zds9KS. This paper has been peer-reviewed.

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A New Beginning

When the Japanese defeated the Dutch on 9 March 1942, the colonization period in Indonesia finally ended. Batavia, the capital city, was officially renamed “Djakarta” on 9 December 1942 as stated in Osamu Seirei No.16 (Gunseikanbu 1944). At the end of Pacific War, the Japanese surrendered and had to maintain the status quo until the arrival of the Allied forces. However, on 17 August 1945 Indonesia (led by Sukarno and Hatta) took advantage of the situation and heroically proclaimed independence at Sukarno’s house in Jakarta (Vickers 2005).

During the Independence War of 1945-1949, the capital city had to move to Yogyakarta in 1946, and a year later Jakarta was again under Dutch rule until the transfer of sovereignty in late 1949 (Vickers 2005). Since then, Jakarta resumed its independence. The following years were just the right time to search for a national identity under the spirit of independence. Jakarta’s colonial charms from the past still dominate the urban landscapes, but it wasted no time transforming itself from a colonial into a modern city of Indonesia.

All the mayors of the 1950s, Suwirjo (1945-47, 1950-51), Sjamsuridjal (1951-53) and Sudiro (1953-60) tried very hard to improve the existing condition and likewise developed new areas, infrastructure and buildings as the population grew rapidly after the war (from 700,000 in 1940 to 1.17 million inhabitants in 1948, and become 2.2 million in 1957) (Gie 1958; Watts 1959). In many cases projects were done according to certain regulations, but most developments were implemented without city planning until the Outline Plan of Jakarta was published in 1957 (Watts 1959).

Some exercises were needed to test the Outline Plan before it could be adapted into a master plan. Fortunately, the exercises came as a big surprise in 1958 when Jakarta was chosen as host for Asian Games 1962.¹ The Asian Games projects proved to be a significant factor that boosted Jakarta into a new level. To continue the momentum, under President Sukarno’s slogan called “nation and character building”, more buildings and infrastructures were constructed (Melik 1964; Lembaga Penbinaan Kesatuan Bangsa 1965). Jakarta became a showcase for national landmarks that still stand today, such as National Monument (Fig.1), Istiqlal Mosque and Hotel Indonesia. All were implemented by directives from the President and to some level guided by the Outline Plan.

In 1960 Sukarno took a decisive step anticipating the challenge foreseen in the future by changing Jakarta’s status from a municipality into a province, and consequently run by a governor. And finally, after 19 years of independence, Jakarta was officially declared as the capital city of the Republic of Indonesia (Law no.19/1964) (Damais 1977).

Governor Sumarno (1960-64, 1965-66) and Henk Ngantung (1964-65) learned invaluable lessons from projects that scattered in Jakarta since 1950s, and used the experiences to prepare the Master Plan 1965-1985. The Master Plan projected a city

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¹ The Asian Games sport centre project (1958-62) was mostly planned and designed by Moscow’s architects and engineers in an area of 2.4 sq. km in south of Jakarta. See Sudarman (1962).
of 560 km² in 1965 into 610 km² in 1985, with an increase of 3.2 million inhabitants into 6.5 million (Pemerintah Daerah Chusus Ibukota Djakarta 1967).

![View of National Monument (Tugu Nasional), designed by Sukarno together with Sudarsono, in Independence Square (Lapangan Merdeka) from west to east. Part of Istiqlal Mosque was seen on the left (designed by F.Silaban). Source: Eryudhawan, 2015.](image)

In the midst of massive developments, Sukarno’s house (a historic house where Indonesian proclaimed its independence in 1945) was demolished in 1961 as ordered by the President himself to give space for Blueprint Building (Gedung Pola) that would display all of the central government’s projects (Fig. 2, Damais 1977:185-187). It was a big loss and absolutely became the first notable casualty in the urban conservation of Jakarta.

**A New Perspective**

Because of political turmoil in 1965, Jakarta slowed down for a couple of years. The city’s administration was in low spirits, while funds were not available as needed. At a very crucial time, Sukarno appointed Ali Sadikin as Governor of Jakarta (1966-77). In Ali Sadikin’s inaugural ceremony, Sukarno gave a speech about the future of Jakarta to the new governor. He said that Jakarta should become a pride of a nation, and Ali Sadikin was the right person to make it happen (Yayasan Idayu 1977). Governor Ali Sadikin was confident in facing the challenges ahead. He inherited a precious legacy from his predecessors: the Master Plan 1965-1985.
Fig 2  Proclamation’s house before its demolition. Blue Print’s Building was still under construction at the background. Source: Author’s collection from unknown photographer, 1961.

With the Master Plan 1965-1985 in his hand, Ali Sadikin had a huge task to finish what his predecessors and President Sukarno had started previously for Jakarta. He brought new approaches to modernize the capital city (Ramadhan 1995). But new developments obviously would put old city centre at risk and inevitably endangered old buildings. To make things worse, the Master Plan had no specific agenda for conservation other than a recommendation to redevelop the old city centre (Pemerintah Daerah Chusus Ibukota Djakarta 1967).

Ali Sadikin realized that something had to be done to develop the city without losing its historical assets. His trips to Warsaw (before 1966), Amsterdam and several American cities gave him precious lessons in urban heritage that a creative equilibrium between the old and the new could become a remarkable benefit to the city. Jakarta, therefore, had an obligation to conserve its historical assets in the name of history and civilization. To respond the situation, Ali Sadikin established Department of Museum and History (Dinas Museum dan Sejarah) in 1968. From that moment, Jakarta’s urban conservation program started (Ramadhan 1995: 160-163). In fact, it was a historic departure from all urban policies in Indonesia since independence as Jakarta was the first city in Indonesia to officially started a conservation program for the old city centre.

For the same reason, Sudiro, former mayor of Jakarta, founded the Historic Building Foundation (Yayasan Gedung-Gedung Bersejarah) in late 1960s. Its mission was to rescue significant historic buildings in Jakarta that embody Indonesia’s struggles for independence. In the early 1970s his works were taken over by Governor Ali Sadikin (Soebagijo 1981).
Conservation Areas
Before 1992, there was only one regulation regarding conservation available that had been used mostly by archaeologist since the Dutch era. In Monumenten Ordonantie Stbl. 1931 No. 238 what could be considered as a monument was a movable or immovable object at least 50 years of age, and has a significant value for prehistory, culture or palaeoanthropology. That would also include its sites and any other things closely related to that monument (Tjandrasasmita 1976:175-191). In reality, just a very few were fully aware of its existence. Hence, in many places, historical buildings were remained in poor condition, abandoned, neglected, ruined or even demolished for economic reasons.

To prevent further loss of monuments, Ministry of Interior issued an instruction to all governors to obey the law (Instruksi Menteri Dalam Negeri dan Otonomi Daerah 1960). Furthermore, on 4 December 1969 Jakarta was asked by Directorate of Archaeological Remains and History on behalf of Ministry of Education and Culture to protect important buildings and objects under the Monumenten Ordonantie Stbl. 1931 No. 238. In addition, another request (dated 15 May 1973) came from the Directorate General of Culture under Ministry of Education and Culture to protect historic objects in Jakarta.

The establishment of the Department of Museum and History was the starting point to respond to directives from the central government. Jakarta was ready to explore the richness of its historical, archaeological, architectural and cultural assets. It was a bold step by Ali Sadikin to act fast to preserve the legacy of the past while the city was moving forward to the future with new developments. He was trying to put urban conservation activities as a complementary force instead of opposition against urban development. By 1970, the Department of Museum and History (in collaboration with the Department of Public Works) had conserved several historic buildings such as the Angke Mosque, Tambora Mosque, Kampung Bandan Mosque, Cilincing Mosque, Sion Church, Tugu Church and Kota Intan Bridge (Damais et al. 2013).

Next, Jakarta decided to show its responsibility in urban conservation at a larger scale by declaring that the Tugu Village (north-east of Jakarta) as a protected conservation area (Surat Keputusan Kepala Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta No. Cb.11/2/8/70). The Tugu Village was known as a site where archaeologists found a pillar with inscription related to canal construction in the 5th century CE by Purnawarman, King of Taruma. Tugu Village was also a historic settlement of former slaves or convicts from the Portuguese’s colony in Malacca, India and Ceylon that converted to Protestant Christianity. It was the first conservation area in Jakarta.

The following day, another Governor’s Decree was issued to protect buildings, structures and objects in and around Fatahillah Square for the sake of Jakarta’s history in particular, and archaeology and Indonesian history in general (Surat Keputusan Kepala Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta No. Cd.3/1/70). Fatahillah Square was a central square in the old city centre surrounded by the old city hall and other old buildings from Dutch era.

To support the policy, Jakarta established Agency of Conservation for Fatahillah Square Area (Badan Pelaksana Pemugaran Daerah Taman Fatahillah). The Agency
managed to restore the Square according to old drawings by Johannes Rach from 18th century and three important historic buildings around the Square: the Old Town Hall, the former Old Batavia’s Museum and former Court of Justice. The Old Town Hall was became the Jakarta Historical Museum (Fig. 3), the Old Batavia Museum became the Shadow Puppets Museum and the former Court of Justice became the Museum of Ceramics and Arts. The Agency finished all the works in time for the Pacific Asian Travel Association Conference in 1974 (Damais et al. 2013).

Surprisingly, Jakarta was enthusiastic to protect more areas. Four conservation areas were added in 1973 to 1975: the Old City and Fish Market area, Chinatown in Glodok, Menteng and Kebayoran Baru. Buildings and objects in the Old City and Fish Market, located in West and North Jakarta in that order, represent the formative period of Jakarta as a harbour city in the 17th century (Surat Keputusan Kepala Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta No. D.III-b.11/4/54/’73). Chinatown in Glodok, located in eastern part of West Jakarta, was a neighbourhood full of unique Chinese architecture heritage; some were from the mid-18th century (Surat Keputusan Kepala Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta No. D.III-b.11/4/56/’73). Menteng was a luxurious housing area in central Jakarta, planned as a tropical garden city by P. A. J. Moojen in 1911.
Fig 4. Houses in the main street of Kebayoran Baru, a satellite city planned by M. Soesilo in 1948 when Jakarta was under Dutch rule. Source: Author’s collection from Vorkink-Van Hoeve, circa early 1950s.

and later revised by F. J. Kubatz in late 1918 (Surat Keputusan Kepala Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta No. D.IV-6098/d/33/1975; see also Heuken and Pamungkas 2001). And finally, Kebayoran Baru, a satellite city for 100,000 inhabitants in South Jakarta, was planned by Mas Soesilo in 1948 when Jakarta was under the Dutch rule (Fig. 4; Surat Keputusan Kepala Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta No. D.IV-6099/d/33/1975; see also Soesilo n.d. and Hadinoto n.d.).

Listed Buildings
Four years after its establishment, Department of History and Museum finally produced a list of buildings to be protected in Jakarta, and issued by Governor’s Decree on 10 January 1972 (Dinas Tata Kota Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta 1972). The list consists of 35 properties in Central Jakarta, 15 in North Jakarta, 33 in West Jakarta, 5 in South Jakarta and 6 in East Jakarta. Some lists contain of several buildings, particularly applied for a row of buildings with similar architectural style in the same street. The above lists was bolstered by another Governor’s Decree on 14 April 1972 regarding the protection of buildings and objects (forts, old buildings, the remaining sea wall and old shipyards from the 17th century by Dutch East Indies Company) located on a number of islands within the Thousands Islands (Pulau Seribu) in the Bay of Jakarta.

The listed buildings of 1972 and six conservation areas can be considered as a hallmark for urban conservation in Jakarta. Ali Sadikin laid down a strong foundation for urban conservation in his first term as governor. But somehow, illegal demolition
of buildings in conservation areas still occurred here and there, and negatively impacted the beautiful cityscape. Another Governor’s Decree (No. D.IV-5429/a/13/1974) was issued on 14 November 1974 so that no demolition could occur unless permitted by Governor. Finally, another Governor’s Decree was issued on 13 August 1975 to regulate all conservation activities in Jakarta. Buildings were distinguished according to its significance as Type A, B, C and D (Surat Keputusan Gubernur Kepala Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta No. D.IV-6097/d/33/1975).

Type A buildings had to be protected by all means. No changes were allowed whatsoever. Type B building was less significant than Type A, and limited changes were permitted. Type C was a building that had been changed, or had an appearance that did not fit with the surrounding area, or had lost its original character and downgraded from Type B. Type D can be demolished for new development as required. More suggestions were mentioned to guarantee good practices. But some landmark buildings still missed the list and sadly were demolished to give space for new buildings, such as Hotel Des Indes (Fig. 5) and former Parliament’s House (Militaire Societeit Concordia).

In the end of Ali Sadikin’s second term, some notable historic buildings were restored to its glory such as National Awakening’s Building (Gedung Kebangkitan Nasional) and Youth’s Pledge Building (Gedung Sumpah Pemuda) (Damais et al. 2013). During Governor Tjokropranolo’s term, (1977-1982) those historic buildings were transferred to the central government.

Despite all efforts to protect historic buildings in Jakarta, prominent listed buildings could also be destroyed without further consideration. In April 1985, the Harmonie in Central Jakarta had to be demolished as suggested by traffic engineers in order to ease the north-south traffic from old city centre to Central Jakarta (Fig. 6; Heuken 1997). It was a fourth notable casualty in the name of progress. Today, in a place where a beautiful Empire Style building from the 18th century once stood elegantly, we inherited an ordinary road, car parking spaces and mediocre one storey service buildings for Secretary of State.

New Cultural Heritage Law
In 1984 Governor Suprapto (1982-1987) launched the Master Plan 1985-2005, overseeing an area of 644.46 km² and 6.5 million inhabitants according to the census in 1980 (Fig. 7; Pemerintah Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta 1987). It was a time of delight because for the first time conservation areas were finally included in the map. Condet, a traditional village southeast of Jakarta, was added to accompany Kebayoran Baru, Menteng and Jakarta Kota (Old City). The Plan was revised to only recognize four conservation areas, instead of six. Chinatown in Glodok and Tugu Village were taken out, while Fatahilla Square and Old City (without the Fish Market) were joined together.
Fig 5. Hotel Des Indes missed the list of 1972 and was demolished for new building in mid-1970s. Source: Author’s collection from Indonesian Color View, circa mid-1950s.

Fig 6. The Harmonie at the upper left, demolished in April 1985 as suggested by traffic engineers in order to ease the north-south traffic from the old city centre to Central Jakarta. Source: Author’s collection, circa mid-1930s.

Entering the 1990s, after years in waiting, the first Indonesian law on heritage was published to replace the old and obsolete Monumenten Ordonantie Stbl. 1931 No. 238. The Law No.5/1992 on Cultural Heritage recognizes two categories: cultural heritage objects and sites. Cultural heritage object consist of two types: man-made objects, and natural objects. Cultural heritage object should be at least 50 years of age, and has an important value for history, science and culture (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia 1992).

In a very short time, Jakarta gave a positive response by issuing a revised Listed Buildings (Surat keputusan Gubernur Kepala Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta No. 475). Since 1972, some buildings had been changed, badly damaged or demolished. On the other hand, a lot of historic buildings had not been listed for their protection. The new listed buildings consist of 67 properties in Central Jakarta, 16 properties in North Jakarta, 35 properties in West Jakarta, 7 properties in South Jakarta and 7 properties in East Jakarta. As in the list of 1972, some properties contain of several buildings, particularly applied for a row of buildings with similar architectural style in the same street. It is important to notice that in the new list some buildings were not even 50 years of age yet, but considered to be significance for Indonesian history, such as sport buildings for Asian Games 1962 (Fig. 8), National Monument and Istiqlal Mosque (national landmarks from the 1960s), and houses of National Hero (victims of political turmoil in 1965), just to mention a few.
One landmark building that missed the list of 1972 and had been demolished in the early 1990s was the Menteng Theater (Bioskop Menteng). A modern architecture on its own, it was a rarity in Jakarta (Fig. 9). Designed in late 1939 by J. M. Groenewegen, Menteng Theater has a landmark quality and one of the famous cinemas in Jakarta (Segaar-Howeler 1998). But unfortunately Jakarta under Governor Wijogo (1987-92) had another plan about the utilization of its site, and it became a fifth significant loss for Jakarta.

Fig 9. Menteng Theater missed the list of 1972 and demolished in early 1990s prior to the issued of new listed building in 1993. Its International Style architecture was a rarity in Jakarta. Source: Author’s collection from unknown photographer, circa 1952.
After years without significant progress since its inception in the early 1970s, Jakarta was again in the good mood to continue its interest in Old City area. In 1996, a project supported by Governor Soerjadi Soedirdja (1992-97) was launched to revitalize promenade along the canal of Kali Besar, and at the same time celebrating a new bulky Omni Batavia Hotel at West Kali Besar. For some, it was a good start to give new life to the old city. But the new oversized hotel that funded the new promenade in cross-subsidization scheme had destroyed the delicate old urban fabric that characterized the area. Jakarta learnt an invaluable lesson in urban conservation with a price.

As listed buildings increased in numbers, the Department of History and Museum decided to establish an independent body to review any conservation project in Jakarta. The Heritage Review Board of Jakarta (Tim Sidang Pemugaran) was founded in the late 1990s to give recommendation on any conservation project related to listed buildings and conservation areas, as well as any new building adjacent to a listed building or in conservation areas.

Before the end of the 1990s, regulations from 1975 that controlled urban activities in Jakarta was revised in accordance with The Cultural Heritage Law No.5/1992. The Regional Regulation No.9/1999 on Conservation and Utilization of Cultural Heritage Area and Building recognizes three different types of cultural heritage area and also three different types of cultural heritage building. Cultural heritage area Type I mostly meets the criteria of historical value, ages, originality and rarity. Type II is a cultural heritage area that only meets three out of four criteria, while still retaining some of its originality. Type III is similar but less in its originality. In the case of cultural heritage buildings, there are three types as well, similar to types in the 1975’s regulation, but with different criteria. Cultural Heritage Buildings Type A should meet criteria of historical significance and originality. Type B should meet criteria of originality, rarity, landmark quality, architectural merit and age, while Type C focuses on age and architectural merit only (Peraturan Daerah Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta No. 9 1999).

A New Century
Entering the 2000s, Jakarta had three important regulations regarding urban conservation: a) Master Plan 1985-2005, b) Governor’s Decree No.475/1993 on Listed Buildings in Jakarta, and c) Regional Regulation No.9/1999 on Conservation and Utilization of Cultural Heritage Area and Building. In addition to the above mentioned regulations, a new Master Plan was issued, called Jakarta 2010 (for the period of 1999-2010 with a projection of 12.5 million inhabitants) (Pemerintah Daerah DKI Jakarta 1999). Conservation areas were not included in the map, but the Plan gave some directions regarding building conservation in accordance with existing regulations. In 2011, the Master Plan 2011-2030 for Jakarta, issued by Governor Fauzi Bowo (2007-12) brought back the conservation areas into the map (Master Plan 2011-2030 for Jakarta). Later, the Detailed Plan 2014 recognized conservation areas as follow: a) Kota Tua (Old City), b) Menteng, c) Kebayoran Baru, and d) Onrust, Cipir, Kelor and Bidadari Islands (Dinas PM and PTSP DKI Jakarta 2017).
The Heritage Review Board of Jakarta is gradually increasing its role of protecting listed buildings and conservation areas. At the beginning the Board was advisor to Head of Department of History and Museum, but later in the early 2010s all members were appointed as advisor to the Governor. It holds a weekly meeting to review all projects related to conservation of listed buildings as well as all buildings (old and new) inside conservation area. The Board also has to maintain the listed buildings in the register or delisted from the register as required.

Since its inception, the Heritage Review Board of Jakarta has been dealing with a variety of conservation problems on various types of buildings, and different kind of owners or users. All members agree that the main task of the Board is to find a win-win solution on any situations. Conservation and development are two sides of the same coin. It is all about managing the change for the benefit of all. There are two projects worth to mention as examples of urban conservation managed by the Board with a success.

First example is Hotel Indonesia. It was designed by Abel Sorensen for Asian Games 1962. Since then the state-owned hotel were operated by different operators. In mid 2000s, new developer signed a long-term deal with central government and plan to make a big mixed use development. The Board and the architect worked together to find a solution that benefited both sides. After nine months of meetings, the plan and design regarding the protection of historic building was approved by the Board with some compromises. The Board had to let the old swimming pool area being demolished for new rental office buildings. The Bali Room auditorium was also demolished but then reconstructed later on the same spot on top of new basement floors. The outcome was not ideal, but today Hotel Indonesia is still one of the best landmarks in Jakarta that represent architectural style from the late 1950s (Fig. 10).

Fig 10. Hotel Indonesia (on the foreground) was designed by Abel Sorensen for Asian Games 1962, and designated as listed building in 1993 by Governor’s Decree. Now it was part of mixed-use development, and still one of the best landmarks in Jakarta. Source: Eryudhawan, 2014.
The second example is the Metropole Theatre in Central Jakarta. At the beginning the cinema was planned to be demolished totally or partially by the owner to maximize the possible floor area as suggested by city planning for new developments. But fortunately, the situation was changed in favour of conservation when the new owner arrived in the scene. After months of discussion, the Board approved the conservation plan prepared by the appointed architect. The Metropole Theatre (formerly Bioskop Megaria) is now one of the best landmarks that represent architectural style from the early 1950s, and also one of its only kinds in Jakarta (Fig. 11).

![Metropole Theater](https://example.com/metropole.jpg)

**Fig 11** Metropole Theater (formerly Bioskop Megaria) is now one of the best landmarks that represent architectural style from early 1950s. Source: Eryudhawan, 2016.

As in mid-1990s, the pendulum swung back to the Old City in mid-2000s. Fatahillah Square was redesigned by a philanthropic group called Jakarta Oldtown-Kotaku and supported by Governor Sutiyoso (1997-2002, 2002-2007). Later in 2014 another philanthropic group supported by Governor Djoko Widodo (2012-2014) called Jakarta Old Town Revitalization Corps (JOTRC) was trying to continue the effort to revitalize the Old City with different methods, including some adaptive use on several abandoned historical buildings.

Meanwhile, after years of its existence, the Board had to be divided into two different bodies as a result of new cultural heritage law. Cultural Heritage Law No.11/2010 is suggesting a body called Cultural Heritage Team (Tim Ahli Cagar Budaya) to provide recommendation on stipulation, ranking and removal of cultural heritage (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nr. 11 2010). Thus, in 2014 Jakarta created two boards: Cultural Conservation Expert Team (Tim Ahli Cagar Budaya) and the Heritage Review Board (Tim Sidang Pemugaran). Both teams were appointed as advisors to the Governor and managed by Department of Tourism and Culture.
Recent Events

Just at the time when more people interested in historical buildings, several tragedies happened. In 2015, a beautiful Buddhist temple in Glodok from mid-18th century was burned by neglected burning candles inside the prayer’s hall in the middle of the night. Most of its wooden structures were badly damaged beyond repair. Miraculously the statue of Avalokitesvara inside the prayer’s hall was saved with just minor damages. It would take years to restore such a unique Chinese architecture nowadays (Fig.12). The temple was not a listed building, but was in the Glodok conservation area.

![Darma Bhakti Vihara in Glodok was burned down in 2015. It was one of finest temples in Jakarta, dated circa mid-18th century. Source: Eryudhawan, 2015.](image)

In recent years problems are increasing in most conservation areas as well as listed buildings because of infrastructures projects. In the name of progress, infrastructures projects have a tendency to pay no attention to anything from the past. One good example happened in 2008 when an underpass project for pedestrians destroyed historical wooden piles underneath the open spaces at the front of Kota Station and Bank Mandiri Museum. The wooden piles were the bottom part of foundation for city wall of Batavia that was destroyed by Governor General Daendels in 1808-1809 (Kompas.com, 25 Nov 2008).

Lately, Jakarta had started a project to solve traffic problem in 2015 by building an elevated bus way track from west to east that would cross above Kebayoran Baru, a protected conservation area. The elevated concrete structure deliberately destroyed the urban scale of Kebayoran Baru. It was indeed decreasing the quality of space as originally designed by M. Soesilo in 1948. Similar to the demolition of the Harmonie for traffic reason in 1980s, now Kebayoran Baru was damaged by infrastructures in the name of a public transportation project that eventually spoiled the cityscape forever (Fig. 13).
A similar case happened in 2016 when a levee project for flood protection at Fish Market’s area north of the Old City ignored the existence of cultural heritage and caused heavy damage to the Zeeburg Bastion (part of Batavia’s remaining city wall) beyond repair. No architects or archaeologist were involved in the project to protect historical structures. When it finally stopped by the authority, it was already too late. Another lesson learned, but the price was too high (Fig.14).

Fig 13. Kebayoran Baru was damaged by huge elevated structures for busway that spoiled the cityscape. Source: Eryudhawan, 2017.

Fig 14 A levee project that ignored cultural heritage had caused Zeeburg bastion (an old bastion of Batavia’s city wall) heavily damaged beyond repair. Source: Eryudhawan, 2016.
Conclusion
Governor Ali Sadikin, his partners and staffs laid down the foundation for urban conservation in late 1960s and shown some best practices in conserving listed buildings and managing conservation areas. Later, challenges were increasing as urban problems became more complex. In 2015, the long-waited incentive scheme of land and building tax for listed buildings was issued by Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (2014-2017) (Peraturan Daerah 168 2015). It would be interesting to see the response from listed building owners and the outcome of the scheme in the near future.

Nevertheless, laws and regulations were not a guarantee for best result in protecting old buildings and keeping the good quality of conservation areas. The presence of the Heritage Review Board and the Cultural Conservation Expert Team would solved some obstacles, but actually more actions had to be done, especially in law enforcement policy.

There is increasing evidence to suggest that some elements in decision making system have not really focus on supporting the idea of making urban conservation as a complimentary force in relation to new developments. In Jakarta’s case, sometimes it seems that the government itself was standing in the wrong side of the river. When traffic problems has to be solved, or when flood problems also has to be solved, listed buildings and conservation areas were always in weaker position to negotiate for better solutions that secure its existence. Conservation-based development has to be introduced to all parties related to urban development, in particular to public agencies as well as private organisations.

The future of urban conservation in Jakarta is still a positive trend and going strong in many directions. Today, more young generations are showing their interest in cultural heritage. Fatahillah Square is always crowded with people of different ages and different social background in 24/7 (Fig. 15). A lot of historic buildings were restored.
or repaired for new uses as an office, a bed-and-breakfast hotel or a restaurant. Hundreds of historical buildings and structures were waiting to be included in the lists. It has been almost 50 years since Ali Sadikin started his dream to create historical attraction for a capital city that has no Borobudur Temple. The works on urban conservation are still in progress, and Jakarta already learnt a lot of lessons in the past.

So the future of the past in Jakarta will remain a long commitment not just between government and the rest of society (privates and individuals), but also among the governments itself. After all, urban conservation activities in Jakarta were not a process to create dead monuments but to support living monuments which bring joy, happiness and prosperity in a vibrant and liveable city. If the concept was agreed by all stakeholders through mutual understanding, then it seems that the journey ahead to protect, develop and use cultural heritage for the benefit of all, as mandate by the Law, would be much easier.

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