

PILGRIMAGE OF URBAN KAMPUNG

Sacred *Maqoms* Ritual and Space Structure of
Kampung Luar Batang North Jakarta and
Kampung Ampel Surabaya

POPI PUSPITASARI
ACHMAD DJUNAEDI
SUDARYONO AND

HEDDY SHRI AHIMSA PUTRA

*Doctoral Study Program, Architectural Engineering and Planning,
Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia*

E-mail: popi_puspitasari@yahoo.co.uk

Introduction

Historic kampungs were important part in the formation of northern-coastal cities of Java cities in the past. This urban settlement has different characteristic in term of physical setting, building styles, uniqueness of tradition. Similar researches on historic kampungs have been performed on various cases, and it has been found that many historic kampungs have been undergoing transformation process which caused changes and even radical demolitions, mostly because of political intervention for the sake of urban development. Historical kampungs were often considered as an investment potential within the context of the city's economic sector development. For instance, government carried out a kampungs improvement program to revitalize the deteriorating kampung's physical quality to make it a better place to live and to be utilized as tourism object.

According to previous studies, culturally kampungs in Indonesian context were easily influenced by political aspect, especially after the early modernization era followed by the post war period in early 20th century, which extremely cut across the ideological sight of the social stratification of ordinary (for the kampung's residents) and political elite classes (executive regulators) because

of colonialism process (Seng, 2009: 643). In the term of social stratification, the common terms of *kampungan* (kampung/countrified ways) and *kekotaan* (urban ways) are cultural identification of the modern intellectual level of people's thinking (Setiawan, 2010).

In the midst of modernization process and expansion of contemporary life style, some indigenous kampung culture of the old kampungs has been commoditized as a heritage tourism place like Kampung Glam in Singapore and it should be calculated as the essential aspect for improving management and economic viability of the historic district (Hill, 2008; Ismail, 2006: 243-256). In the contrary, in -the case of Brunei's water villages, the government efforts for maintaining the legacy of traditional richness looked to be meaningless. Some inhabitants began to leave their floating village and moved to other hopeful land for the reasons of economic benefit and the physical safety of the landed houses (Jones, 1997: 457-475).

With these cases as reference, kampung's inhabitants in Jakarta migrated from one location to others within the city (intra-city migration), because their kampungs were demolished by the government in order to accommodate the extension of commercial development. Consequently they should adapt themselves into a new settlement and at lost their original culture (Somantri, 2007). Kampung Luar Batang and Kampung Ampel are the two historical kampungs located at the midst of the earliest port cities of Jakarta and Surabaya. These are two worthy cases to be studied for the benefit of the discourse on local knowledge, since they are relatively still able to retain its original tradition amidst cosmopolitan socio-cultural changes. The communities of both cases were saved from evictions because of the spiritual entity which could not be abolished since this entity is actually embedded in their public realm.

Compared to the previous cases mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the last two historic kampungs have more complex problems in term of public space intervention, space and public utilities/sanitation commercialism, property right of land and population density resulted from their attractive local tradition activities and their strategic location relative to the urban economic centers. These two aspects were intensive generators of the local commercial activities, which attracted migrant-merchants. Moreover, both kampungs became main destination for the migrants to increase their revenue, but in the

contrary the local inhabitants tend to move out from the kampungs because they rented their houses within the kampung for investments. This paper is intended to reveal phenomena which closely related to pilgrimage activities and its impact to social stratification, the space structure as well.

Constitutive Phenomenology of Edmund Husserl is adopted as the basic paradigm for this empirical study. In this research the rules of that paradigm is employed to uncover the intangible aspects behind the tangible objects. The term Phenomenology is originated from *phenomenon* (Late Latin), derived from *phanein* (to show, to appear), and *-logy/-logia* (science). Phenomenological method employs language as the main mean to uncover the intangible aspects by interviews, observation, and experience, directly conducted by the researcher. The accuracy of knowledge in this method depends on the meaning given to match what is seen, thought, and experienced. Therefore descriptive explanation and reflective action are essential in revealing the truth.

The data and information are collected purposively without involving the researcher's subjective views. Data validity is obtained through exhaustive cross-checking process of the information collected from the informants and resource persons. The degree of exhaustiveness is measured by the similarity of answers to the same questions. Technically, the collected similar information units, which spread over a number of notes, are classified into several categories of phenomena. The model of explained phenomena below, as presented in the final result, was conceptualized as a form of abstraction of the concepts that emerge from the constellation of each category (Embree, 1997 :9-11, 205; Partridge, 2009: 416; Kuswarno, 2009: 29-32, 47-48; Haryadi, 2010: 22-23; Norberg-Schulz, 1963).

Both historic kampungs resemble each other in the term of geographical features, the uniqueness of local tradition and its impact to the local commercial activities. Geographically, both of kampungs relatively close to the main rivers passing through the oldest core of the two coastal cities of Surabaya and Jakarta. Kampung Ampel is situated inland and in-between two important rivers Kali Mas and Pegirian River which flow through the city of Surabaya. At present, administratively Kampung Ampel is located within Kelurahan Ampel, Kecamatan Semampir, in the city of Surabaya. On the other hand, Kampung Luar Batang is situated at the estuary of Ciliwung River near Sunda Kelapa harbor, the main

access to city of Batavia (the former Jayakarta and later became Jakarta). This kampung is now under the administrative area of Kelurahan Penjaringan, North Jakarta.

Both kampungs have developed into high-density settlements with good accessibilities to the harbor and trading centers. The activities of two Islamic missionaries in the 15th century in Surabaya and in the 18th century in Batavia had been contributing into the formation of local tradition through pilgrimage. They were Al Habib Husein bin Abubakar Alaydrus in Kampung Luar Batang, and Sunan Ampel (Raden Rakhmat) in Kampung Ampel.

Al Habib Husein bin Abubakar bin Alaydrus is a Yemeni, who was landed in Sunda Kelapa (the harbor of Batavia) in 1736, and spread Islamic teaching until he died in Batavia. He was given a piece of land, later recognized as *Kampung Loewar Batang*, by a Dutch general from Batavia after he correctly foretold the general's fortune. He built a prayer hall (*musholla*, developed into mosque later), which was used as a place for him to informally taught Islam to the local community and migrants who visited Sunda Kelapa harbor. The locals related the name of kampung with the myth of Alhabib Husein. According to myth he passed away (June 27, 1756) and when the body was to be buried at other location, it miraculously gets out from the coffin (*kurung batang*) and returned to the kampung. The locals call it 'Luar Batang' or out of the coffin (Interview the native, 2009).

After Al Habib Husein passed away, the mosque and its surrounding area became a graveyard complex surrounded by plantation and settlement.



Figure 1: Morphology of Kampung Luar Batang

Source: Dinas Kebudayaan dan Permuseuman Provinsi DKI Jakarta, 2007: 13, 17; ARA, VEL-1189 quoted by Peter in Nas, 2007: .67. Reconstructed map of 2008 from Google Earth

At present the tomb of Al Habib Hussein is referred as pilgrimage object, because according to genealogy, Al Habib Husein is considered as the Saint, the oldest trustee in Jabotabek (Jakarta-Bogor-Bekasi) (Sayyid Abdullah, 1998: 4-5, Heuken, 2003: 47-48 in van der, 1994). On the meantime, the mosque has been conserved and renovated by the government, and the surrounding area has developed into high-density multi-ethnics settlements of people from Padang, Java, Bugis, Makassar, Sunda, etc.

Sunan Ampel was born in Champa in 1401. He is one of the nine “walis” (Walisanga) or the Muslim missionaries in Java at the fifteenth century). There is still a disagreement among scholars regarding Champa, whether it is a place in Cambodia, or a place in Aceh called Jeumpa. He was given a piece of land in Ampel Denta by the King of Majapahit, Prabu Brawijaya V, because of his role as religious teacher for the King’s subjects. He lived in one of the three main early Islamic regions at the northern coast of Java (Surabaya-Gresik-Lamongan in eastern Java, Demak-Kudus-Muria in central Java, and Cirebon in western Java), and built a mosque and a religious school (*Pesantren*) as Islamic mission centre in 1421.

After he died (1481) the land became the graveyard complex for Sunan Ampel, his loyal followers, and his students. The graveyard complex is surrounded by multi-ethnic settlement, occupied by Arabs, Madurese, Javanese, Sundanese, etc. Sunan Ampel’s and his followers’ tombs became pilgrimage destination especially since 1972. Muslim pilgrims came from all over regions in Indonesia and even abroad. Sunan Ampel has been considered as Waliyullah (*Wali Allah*) and as a close relative of the Prophet Muhammad. Today, government conserved the earliest Ampel mosque and simultaneously built an extension building.



Figure 2: Morphology of Kampung Ampel; 1. Mas River, 2.K.H.Mas Mansyur street, 3. Pegirian River, 4. Kampung Ampel

Source: Algemeen Rijkarchief, Gravenhage, Netherland quoted by Rimadewi, 2004: attachments

Pilgrimage Ritual at the Sacred 'Maqom' of Al Habib Husein bin Abubakar bin Alaydrus

Kampung Luar Batang is located in Jakarta old city area. It is accessible from landside from Jalan Pakin, Jalan Muara Baru, and from canal alongside Sunda Kelapa harbor. This northern coast area has been developing into maritime warehouses, trading, and waterfront housing area. Private warehouses complex is located right on the kampung's northern side. The old Batavia town and trading centres (Mangga Dua and Grogol) is right on its southern side. Bahari apartment, shop-houses, and Muara Baru fish market area is right on its western side.

Kampung Luar Batang is therefore surrounded by functions related to maritime and trading activities and middle-upper class housing. The *Maqom* mosque (*Maqom* refers to the level degree of somebody's knowledge about Islam faith or someone who is considered as a close relative of the Prophet Muhammad) which is located inside the kampong can be accessed on foot from the traditional market on the northern side of the fish market and maritime museum, or through neighborhood road from the Muara Baru main road.

Physically the position of the mosque in relation to the kampong is not at the centre, but functionally it is the centre of intensity of pilgrimage activities. In general the kampong can be divided into three zones: the mosque area, the dwelling area, and the illegal settlement area. This last zone is located on the kampong outermost side which is directly touching the canal water margin. The mosque zone is divided into two parts: the mosque building within the wall, and the open space which is infiltrated by pilgrimage activities (such as the streets around the mosque, and parking space, which were also used for market or bazaar activities). Within the inner wall, there are mosque main building, mosque's yard, administration room, pilgrims' lodging, kiosks, public kitchen, *Habib's* house, and ablution place. The mosque is accessible through the main gate/oldest gate and side entrance.

The *Habib's* house is connected to a group of people from Hadramaut who claimed the legitimacy as Al Habib Husein relatives, although according to legend, Al Habib Husein did not have any relative. After they won the right to manage the *Maqom* land, this *Habib* group (*Mutawali*) was given a place

within the mosque complex. On the other hand the management of the mosque is handed to the mosque caretakers who are from the local population. *Mutawali* claimed their responsibility as the caretaker of the sacred *Maqom*. Several donation boxes are placed within the mosque complex, and the allocation of the money taken from those boxes is decided by *Mutawali* (e.g. for maintenance of *Maqom*, for the poor and widows, for mosque maintenance, etc.). The way the donation is used is often perceived unfavorably by the local, because the *Maqom* is located inside their kampung. This source of income became a sensitive issue; therefore the economic activities in between religious activities are loosely controlled.

In fact a number of hawkers, peddlers, beggars, and scavengers can operate freely within the mosque wall. Occasionally the management issued verbal warning whenever those activities were considered as disturbing. There is no written warning to regulate the ethics of activities within and around the mosque.



Figure 3. Organization of space and circulation of ritual pilgrimage in *Maqom* Mosque of Luar Batang

Source: Grand Tour, 2009

In relation to pilgrimage activities, the rituals in Ampel and Luar Batang occurs almost every day, and this activity culminated in the Islamic celebration days such as: the birthday of the Prophet, the days before fasting month, and the *Haul* (day of death) Al Habib Husein bin Abubakar Al-Aydrus. But especially in Hajj period, the activity intensity in Luar Batang is not as intensive as in

Ampel. Although this is not a standard procedure, the first thing the pilgrims to do is to *sodaqoh* (donation) into a charity box which is kept by the Yemenis person, called Habib (known as a close relative of Al-Aydrus) in one corner of the mosque area. After that they will do several things: kissing the Habib's hands to ask for permission, taking water for ablution, entering the mosque, leading to sacred *maqom* or performing prayer first.

When the pilgrimage *maqom* is performed in the room of *maqom*, the pilgrims read prayer with or without a bottle of water, a bucket of *kembang payung*, a piece of burned incense and a small bottle of perfume. The water and incense can be bought in some kiosks or on the sidewalk toward the mosque at front verandah of the mosque, closed to the old well. According to the pilgrims, the blessed water is believed to have sacred power that may be taken as a medicine, to calm the mind, to increase prosperity, to smooth all matters, and so on.

Similar to the blessed water, the pilgrims bought *kembang payung* (a package of various types of flowers wrapped by banana's leafs and an umbrella toy) sold by hawkers at the parking area, around the gate, and within the mosque wall. According to the seller, this object is to complete and to conclude the Luar Batang pilgrimage activity. Meanwhile the incense seller explained that the fragrance from the incense and oil will be able help to fulfill the prayer based on the assumption that the usage of fragrance is according to Islam teaching. *Kebuli rice* was believed also as a kind of *karomah* (blessing) of Al Habib which was consumed by pilgrims in groups on Islamic day celebration and Haul (commemoration day of Al Habib passed away). *Kebuli rice* is Arabic rice seasoned with spices and mixed with goat meat which prayed by the pilgrims in the hope of God's blessing.

However, not every pilgrim subscribed to these practice, because the objects might carry non-Islamic believe. An informant said that the choice depends on individuals. Often some people used supernatural alternatives to gain profit or to solve problems. On the Islamic celebration days, the pilgrims often do *saweran* (throwing coins as thanksgiving for deeds they did) or to distribute money arranged by mosque officials at the open space, in front of the mosque. That is the reason for, a number of child coins scavengers, vendors and incense traders that can always be found every day in the neighborhood around the mosque, especially on celebration days. The intensity of pilgrimage

hand, the pilgrimage economically affected to the local revenue. It has changed the house function into shops, stalls, laundry, phone kiosk, beauty salon, public lavatories, tailors, rental house or other domestic services.

Pilgrimage Ritual at the Ampel Graveyard Complex

The mosque and Sunan Ampel graveyard complex is located within the old city of Surabaya. The complex is mainly accessible by public transport from Jalan Salak and Jalan Nyamplungan, which are parallel to Pegirian river. The outermost gate to the complex is located at Jalan Salak. The design of the outer main gate of the Sunan Ampel mosque and graveyard complex is an ornamented gate with Arabic motives. Many vendors occupied the pedestrian ways or on the two sides of road leading into the main gate, *Munggah* gate (*Gapura Munggah*), with *becaks* (tri-cycles or pedicabs) parked around it. The term *Gapura Munggah* is to remind every Muslim that going for Hajj pilgrimage (“*munggah*”) is an obligation for those who can afford.

Groups of people wearing Muslim attires walked through the gate and entered the covered narrow path, known as *jalan Nyamplungan Kuburan*, flanked by stalls in the left and right side. According to one of the vendors most of the pilgrims used this covered path to enter the Sunan Ampel mosque and graveyard complex, and some of them used the four entrances from other directions around mosque and graveyard (Rimadewi, 2004).

Parallel to the main covered path there is another path known as *Seng* market or *Pasar Gubah Ampel Suci*. One of Yemenis local traders said that the term *Seng* was associated to the traditional market around Masjidil Haram in Mecca. The stall owners in this market are the indigenous residents who have inhabited this place for more than 20 years. The stalls stand on the extension space in front of the house and along the right and left side of the lane.

Therefore, *jalan Nyamplungan Kuburan* is actually a public open space which then transformed into public-private space because space uses flexibility, which is determined by strict convention of the stalls owners alongside the covered path. All access coming to the covered path is secured by iron gates, and information on the opening and closing time schedule is hanged on the gates. One seller revealed that the gates help to protect the Arabic middle-

upper houses located at the rear of *Seng* market. The inhabitants of these houses are the owners of the big shops along the neighborhood roads, and the office employees.

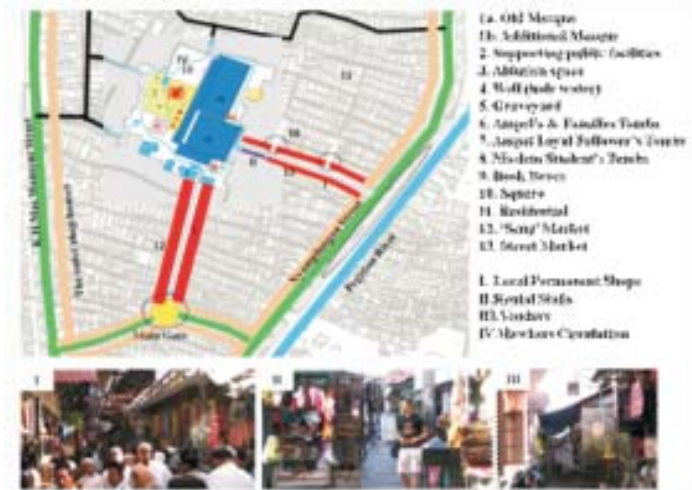


Figure 5: Space organization of Ampel Mosque, graveyard and commercial spaces (Source : Grand Tour, July 2011)

Another market place is a street along *jalan Ampel Masjid*. This street type is slightly different from the previous one in term of the space use status. The shop house owners said that generally the owners of the shops along the street are local residents, but there are also some sellers who come from other regions who rented one or more space alongside the street. Some vendors said that they may occupy a space beside or at the rear of certain shop house because they got permission from the owner based on humanitarian and religious reasons. The street can be accessed by other paths which directly connected to the lower-middle income houses. Some vendors occupy the spaces around the crossings.

The oldest gate to the mosque and graveyard, *Gerbang Poso*, is situated at the end of *Seng* market. *Gerbang Poso* is a reminder that fasting (“*poso*”) is an obligation for a Muslim. Within the walls one can find a small security post, an administration office, an ablution space a *musholla* (small prayer hall) for women, the old mosque (renovated), the new addition to the mosque, groups of tombs with the name of the deceased and/or the family members, and a spring well that is believed by the pilgrims as the source of a holy water.

Based on the observation of the physical features of the gravestone style and the pilgrimage ritual procession, the graveyard seems to be classified into three zones. First zone is the Sunan Ampel and his family's tombs. This zone consists of the gravestones wrapped in gold-colored cloths. The entrance is marked by a monumental ornamented gate adored with two ceremonial umbrellas at both sides, and the complex is enclosed by stainless-steel fence ornamented with flickering lamps.

The second zone is the tombs of the loyal followers of Sunan Ampel and their families, as indicated by the gravestones wrapped in white cloths and enclosed by the stainless-steel or iron fence. The third zone is the tombs of the students (*Santri*) complex with modest gravestones similar to the commoner.

Since the arrival of Sunan Ampel, Kampung Ampel has been functioning as the centre of Islamic teaching and then as a pilgrimage centre after he and his loyal followers passed away.



Figure 6: Pilgrimage circulation and the roles for pilgrims

Source: Grand Tour, July 2011

The pilgrimage activities were carried out mainly in the graveyard, located in the backside of the mosque. The graveyard complex has approximately 100 tombs. Sunan Ampel and his family tombs cluster are considered as the main feature in the complex. The intensity of the pilgrimage activities increased on Thursday nights, the main Islamic holidays celebrations (the fasting month of Ramadhan, *Haul* of Sunan Ampel, Idhul Fitri, Idhul Adha) and the months of *Hajj* pilgrimage. Around 1000 pilgrims come daily, 2000 pilgrims on Thursday

nights, and the number was increased during the Hajj pilgrimage months, because in addition to pilgrimage they also purchased gifts in *Pasar Seng* for neighbors at their hometown to signify that they have become a *Haji*. On daily basis, the pilgrim number increased during the afternoon around 03.00 pm until the evening around 09.00 pm. This is because the air temperature is more comfort for contemplation in the mosque and the graveyard complex. Thursday night is considered as the sacred night with the highest weekly pilgrim numbers. They performed a night long solemn praying ritual called *Tawassul*. In this ritual, the pilgrims recite *dzikirs* and reading Al Qur'an together assisted by some famous *Habibs* all night long. They stayed in the mosque from the evening and went home in the morning carrying the bottles of blessed water. (Rimadewi, 2004: 110-111).

In daily visit, the pilgrims, whether they came individually or in groups, went first to the graveyard right after they performed the ablution. With the help of the mosque caretakers, they registered their visit first in a small post located in the front of the graveyard. It is up to them whether to fill the donation box or ask the caretaker to pray through a bucket of flowers. The *Habib* said that the flower is not a blessing flower but just for adoring the tombs with fragrance. Officially that believing in something other than Allah is prohibited, and the caretaker would inform the pilgrim about this.

After the pilgrims stepped into the graveyard complex they put off their footwear and chose a place among the students' (*Santri*) tombs, sitting facing towards the Sunan Ampel's tomb direction. They began to read Al Qur'an taken from one of the boxes scattered at several points around the graveyard. When they came as a guided group, the group leader would ask the members to follow his steps. Shortly after exiting from the tombs area, they went to next area where big containers placed. They drank a glass of holy water from the pipe channels that are connected to a historic well.

The next steps would be moving to the Sunan Ampel loyal followers' tombs (such as Mbah Soleh's 9 tombs, Sonhaji, Mas Mansyur etc.) to recite Al Qur'an. According to legend, Mbah Soleh passed away nine times, therefore he has 9 tombs. There are also the tombs of Mbah Bolong or Sonhaji, an expert in determining the directions, especially to determine the *Qiblat* direction, while Mas Mansyur considered as a patriot.

Conclusion

Both the above cases have the same function as a place of pilgrimage, but spatially have differences in terms of vertical and horizontal spatial structure due to that function. Vertical spatial structure related to the intangible social space structure associated with placement of individuals or groups to a certain level based on the assumption of the degree of spirituality. Horizontal spatial structure related to the tangible social space structure as result of traditions ritual and its impact to other activities in the background of commercial motives. The following model illustrates the differences.

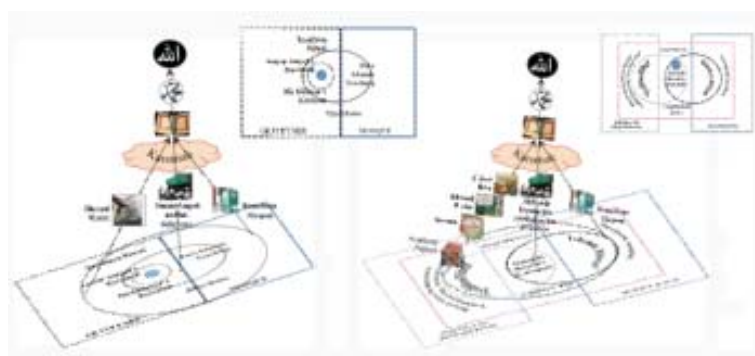


Figure 7. Models of Intangible Vertical Social Structure related to the pilgrimage tradition in Sunan Ampel Mosque (left) and Luar Batang Mosque (Right)

Models of Intangible Vertical Social Structure in Ampel mosque can be regarded as a manifestation of pure Islamic teachings. A number of strict rules that are socialized in some places had a profound effect on the concentration of the use of space for religious activities in the mosque and the graveyard areas. While the pilgrimage activities tend to be syncretism in Luar Batang mosque. Materials that are perceived as a spiritual medium have provided an opportunity for the mixing of religious and commercial activities. Model of tangible horizontal social structure in the both cases basically describes a spectrum of private-public values that consists of three layers: religious- tradition values layer, tradition-commercial values layer, and commercial values layer.

Mosque and graveyard area of Ampel mosque are relatively more protected from the intervention of migrants. Restrictions on the use of worship space and the path of *Seng* market / street market have indirectly minimized

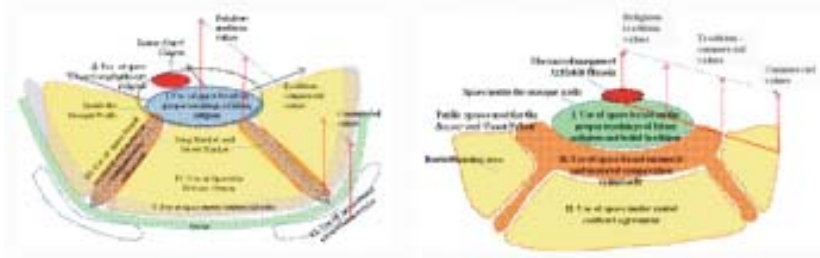


Figure 8. Models of Tangible Horizontal Social Structure in using spaces and its values in Ampel Mosque (left) and Luar Batang (right)

the chance of public space utilization by migrants. In contrast to Luar Batang mosque, conditional rules have given great opportunities to migrants in the intervention of public space for commercial activities. In these cases, utilization of the tradition as a commercialized material is thus closely linked to the regulations and does not depend on the level of accessibility. Access to the Ampel mosque area is easier than to the Luar Batang mosque but the chances of public space commercialization in the Luar Batang mosque are more dominant because of the less intensive of regulation.

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