

FROM PLANTATION TO MILITARY STATE: The Changing of Urban Symbol of Malang from 1923 to 2000

By Reza Hudiyanto¹

Abstract

In the Historiography of Urban in Indonesia, study on architecture development, relief and inscription take on pivotal position. Nearly eighty years of research, most scholars more interest to those topics. Meanwhile, the last trending topic focused on the theme about local wisdom, local value and people interpretation meaning attached on symbol. As unit of space, city became the contest where each social group competes to place their identity on it. This indication was very clear since Dutch Indies colonial Government constructed the cities in early twentieth century. The following city-ruler shows the same pattern. They image made the city as means to show their power by creating statues, street name, and other forms.

This article was output from the field, oral-testimonies and archives research using historical methods. All finding sources were collected, interpreted and presented in written form. Symbolic approach was used to interpret meaning of this symbol. Many monuments contain a message and values which directly made by the former military major

According to this research, the city-ruler builds a monument in the urban civic centre, particularly intersection road, crossroad and the middle of the square. Most of those monuments take shape of soldiers with military uniform. The second thesis from this research is the changing of street names represented the circulation of power. The dominant-group always presents themselves in a very strategic point of the city. In the following days, it need for making city monuments as representation ob local culture, not political domination.

Introduction

(Harimau Mati Meninggalkan Belang, Gajah mati meninggalkan belang, manusia mati meninggalkan nama)²

According to Cassirer the differences between man and animal is the ability to create a symbol. So he said that man is animal that can make a symbol. Symbolism way of think and act were the main character of human being. (Cassirier: 1987, 41). Man could die once in a time, but his name was lasting forever. In order to make his existence remembered, man tried to erected monument that commemorating his merits and services to the country. That's way most monuments were created from a stone because this material were not perished through the time.

¹ Holding Doctor in History, Lecturer at Department of History, Faculty of Social Sciences. State University of Malang. This article presented at the 8th International Indonesian Forum Sebelas Maret University 2015

² "Dead Tiger left stripes, elephant died left the trunk, man died left nothing but name" This Indonesian proverb probably has the same meaning to "When the bodies turn into ashes, our name will last forever."

In some case, this scenario was not made it when a revolt occurred. For example in 2003, mobs in Baghdad destroyed the statue of Saddam Hussein that made from rock.

What is the monuments means? According to American Heritage Dictionary, monument is something venerated for its enduring historic significance or association with a notable past person or thing: the architectural monuments of ancient Rome; traditions that are monuments to an earlier era.³ The most vivid example of monument of World War II is “The Raising Flag in Iwo Jima”. That monument inspiring the monument in Jawa, particularly related to the Indonesian Dutch War from 1945 to 1949. There must be there component, soldier in uniform, flag and weapon. Statues and other physical form is not the only shape of monument. Monument could be take shape in non-physical such as an identity or label. This kind of non-physical monuments correlated with person or place that associated with historical moment. In this case, prominent person or outstanding figure from the time of revolution was placed in the most strategic point in the city. Military domination to the city symbol becomes clear since the end of 1960th when the New Order came to power. This short article tried to show the political domination play important role in the process of image building by the making of symbols.

Monument: Created and Perished

According to some archeology human had the sense to visualize the spiritual power. They believe to the spirit and power of natures were brought to realty by making picture and statue as media for ritual. They also created spell, song and offering to cult their spiritual masters. That was the beginning of culture. It is not wonder if the complex culture identical with great monument. In java, one of the most spectacular monument which become sign of complex society is Buddhism-Siwaism temple (Candi Buddha dan Siwa). Since the eight centuries, Javanese society have the ability to absorb culture that came from outside – particularly India, and were combine whith local culture to make a complex of temple, state and letters. In the

³ The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition copyright ©2000 by Houghton Mifflin Company. Updated in 2009. Published by [Houghton Mifflin Company](#). All rights reserved.

following years, Rulers build a *candi* to commemorate himself as eternal ruler of the world. The King also used Candi as a tool to conquer the heart of his people.

In following periods from fifteenth to seventeenth century, Islamic State in Java using the combination of Hindu-Javanese and Islamic Culture as based of governance and bureaucratic order. From the monument, its looks like the Islamic State inherited the former tradition such as chronogram (*Chandrasengkala*) in Mosque of Demak⁴ and the Front Gate of Yogya Royal Palace, Javanese art of writing in *Babad Tanah Jawi*; and the system of social stratification, architecture and many others cultural achievement.

Dutch East Indies Colonial and Post Colonial Monument

Perhaps the very early of colonization was begun in Batavia. As the centre of colonial power, Kota Tua Batavia is a groundbreaking of Colonial State. So many monuments were founded in that complex. It was the first city that imitating the old city of Amsterdam. But in the end the *Oud Stad* was abandoned. In the beginning of eighteenth century, the new part of the city was founded, namely Weltevreden. As the new space for living and Governing, Dutch colonial government make a square likes Waterlooplein and Koningsplein. The put a statue on the edge, such statue of The Founder of Batavia, Jan Pieterzoon Coen; Lion in front of Cathedral in Koningsplein and also put monument and burst of J B Van Heutz in Gondangdia. They also build General Governor Palace in the east side of Waterlooplein and North side of Koningsplein. Most building was an *indisch empire style* with a roomy space, pillars and large size. In 1890, the growing of the cities in most part of Java came to faster. There were so many Architects and Construction bureau helped the Residential Office in constructing many Government Offices, Housing and Public Infrastructures.

As the decentralization in 1930 was implemented, the role of the architects and construction bureau become more important because this new policy demand more unit of technical works to do improvement of public facility such as modernized traditional market, constructing drink water installation, building abattoir, making kampong improvement, residential area and streets repair. What happen to this urban space after the indepence? So often in post-colonial cities, it all goes on to this day architectural styles and housing standard are still

⁴ E.P Weiringa, "A Monument Making the Dawn of The Muslim Era in Java: Chronicles and Chronograms on the Grand Mosque." Gunter Blamberger and Dietrich Boschung. *Figuration of Time in Asia*. Munchen: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2002: 169-170

colonial, the by-laws are obsolete, the subsidy structure favors the upper income groups, there are almost unbelievable disparities between the standards of the rich and the poor. As the European dispatch from Malang in 1949, former European quarters in Bergenbuurt and orangebuurt was occupied by military and high echelon civilian personal. Many of them could not pay high price of tax so they sold their house to Chinese. However, the army expressed their domination over this elite-residential area by erected monument TGP, Hamid Rusdi, Surapati and Brawijaya Army Museum. They placed bust of General Soedirman, statue, tank, artillery, aircraft gun in front yard of museum and some cuboids with relief of war in each side. This was the tradition to Indonesian Municipalities to make their power milestone.

Monuments as Symbol of Political Domintaion

According to Tennekes (Peter Nas, 1993), symbols deals with the attachment of meaning, an emblem, a non explicit connection of ideas. A Bust or a portrait of the unknown person, for example, is an image and not a symbol, because it is not linked to values derived from outside the picture concerned. Statues are always symbol because they are never pure depiction. Statues always imply the association of idea, statues, painting, and label, identity and suchlike can be considered carriers of symbols. Nas has developed symbol to nine concepts namely type of symbol carriers, symbolic elements, symbolic domain, symbolic value or power, symbolic ecology, level of symbol, formal and informal meaning, dynamics symbol, function of symbols. From this concept, Nas wrote a numbers of years ago which contain and analysis of a series of old myths about Indonesian Town, looking at such things as their founding and origin of their names. Nas paid particular attention to the myth of Banyuwangi and Majapahit.(Nas: 1993, 14-16) I can mention many other names that origin form old myth such as Salatiga (Salah-tiga), Semarang, Boyolali (Bojo-lali), Malang, and Blitar. More that twenty statues and monuments large and small di Jakarta origins form old myth and histories of Jawa such as Hanuman, Gadjah Mada, Garuda, Diponegara, Kartini, Arjuna, Krisna and many other small statues. It proves that old myth, folktale also inspired many local leaders to identify place.

In his book, Abidin Kusno also used symbol as analytical tools. He started from theory that city was full of symbol where the ruling power showed their political expression. Architecture and urban planning play important role in shaping social, culture and politic of people. It also represented government interest to build national esteem. Kusno's thesis was not

too different with Peter Hall. Hall's theory assumed that State political system gave effect to number, size and character of the monument. North Korea, Vietnam and Iraq were countries that build statue of their leader with big size and strong character. Many years before, Beneditto Moussolini expressed his ambition to rediscover the glories of Rome by this speech:

My ideas are clear. My orders are precise. Within five years, Rome must appear marvelous to all people of the world – vast, orderly, and powerful, as in the time of empire of Augustus ...you shall create vast spaces around theater of Marcellus, the capitoline Hill and the Pantheon. All that grown around them I centuries of decadence must disappear.(Hall, 2002, 197)

The Indonesian Leader produced two kind of monument. Old Order monuments brought the message to uproot colonial heritage, to crush Western expansion and to uplift National Culture. The new Order monument gave the message to revive glorious of ancestor, to crush communism and to depict army superiority over civilian. We found this monumen in the Monumen Crocodile Pit in Jakarta, Serangan Umum, General Soedirman and Monument Slamet Rijadi in Surakarta. The different is General Soeharto never expressed his will explicitly in constructing the image of Jakarta through statues and monuments even he never made statue of him self.

Using of urban space as means of expression was subject of Colombijn works, Under Construction. He said that symbol has two meaning, formal and informal. Formal is the meaning attached by the symbol makers meanwhile, informal meaning is the meaning that came from outside the symbol.(Colombijn: 1994, 303) As the second largest city in East Java Provinces, Malang is home of people from different ethnic, religion and social class. Each group competes for a place to show their identity.

Most monument were correlated to Dutch-Indonesia war from 1945-1949. It also emphasized role of army in the struggle for defending this country from foreign invader. We can differentiate monuments into three categories. First category is monument as symbolic of memorial historical moment such as Tugu. The monument Tugu sited in the middle of Circle Square (alun-alun) bunder. It shape resembled of six bamboo spears (bambu runcing), symbol of Revolution War in 1945 to 1949. The relief downside depicted five main islands in Indonesia, and figure of Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta. Actually, this monument was build in 1946 as commemoration of August 17th Indonesian Proclaimed. When the Dutch Military capture the City in end of July 1947, this monument was demolished. Dutch put a miniature of Queen Crown

in the top of the monument instead. In 1951, Kotapradja Malang rebuild the monument with financial support as much 25.000 gulden from Dutch as a charge for destruction they made to this monument. Finally in Mei 1953, the monument was finished. Presiden Soekarno made a official speech in the opening ceremony that this monument is a symbol of eternal struggle. Soekarno said that our revolution is not over yet, because Papua still under Dutch Colonization. (Java Pos, 16 Mei 1953)



Bamboospear-shape monument in the centrepont of City Square. Set up on 1953. On the right side is monument figured Colonel Hamid Rusdi set up on 1992. Known as Chief Command of Divisi Surapati sub region Malang-Besuki 1945-1948. He passed away when Dutch Troops detect his operation moved and ambushed his groups.



Monument commemorating the first plenary session of Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat March 1947. On the right, Monumen *Usaha Kesehatan Sekolah*, reminding everyone to one Health Program design by Presiden Soeharto to cope the health problem amongst School children.

Table 1

List of monuments in Malang according some informants. Many of them are from outside Malang.

Official Name	Meaning from Informan	Other meaning
Monumen Hamid Rusi	Honor to the serve of Major Hamid Rusdi to the country as Commandant in Indonesian-Dutch War	Hero Traffic sign Icon of struggle in Independence war
Monumen UKS	Education based on Healthy life	Traffic sign Malang is healthy city
Monumen Pahlawan TRIP	To honor and remembered serve of Indonesia Student Troop in defending the city at first Dutch military aggression	Malang the city of Soldier To honor and remembered serve of Indonesia Student Troop in defending the city at first military aggression
Monumen Tentara Genie Peladjar	To honor and remembered the struggle of Indonesia Student Troop in defending the city at first Dutch military aggression	Traffic sign
Monumen KNIP	Diplomatic Struggle to defend Nation Independence National Commite of Centre Indonesian assembly and soldiers with weapons	City decorated
Monumen Kadet Suropati	Coat of Arms kota malang City of Flowers	Green city City of education Beautiful urban design
Monumen Adipura	Malang, clean city	Appreciation Traffic controller
Monumen Chairil Anwar	Tribute to Chairil Anwar as his merit	Street furniture
Monumen Tugu Malang	Bamboo spears as weapon symbol in confronting Dutch Coat of arms	Centre of Local Government Traffic controller City decoration Axis of the City
Monumen Juang 45	Struggle of people against Dutch	Decorated the cities Symbol of people courage
Monumen ABRI Manunggal	United of Armed Forces and People	Military head quarter Cooperation and Unity
Monumen Jendral Soedirman	Pay respect to general Soedirman and his merits National struggle to defend Independence of Indonesia.	Traffic control

(It was the feedback from list of quetions that being distribute to 50 informan on August 2014)



On left: Monumen Pahlawan TRIP. One of semi military regiment consist from students. They voluntary join to army to fought Dutch Military Offensive 1947. To remind everyone to their sacrifice, Municipal build monument, and carved their all dead TRIP members on the wall, not far from these statue. **Right side;** the only monument not correlated to Army and Independence War. Statue of three Lion strengthened the icon of local football team AREMA which used lion as their coat of arm. Lion also find on the Dutch made coat of Arms.

The second monument was located in Ijen-Semeru streets. Those monuments stand in the middle of boulevard so everyone can see. It consists of statue with of man wearing military uniform, with weapon in his shoulder, and offended performance. There was inscription at the bottom of statue, contain list of 61 persons who died in the combat between TRIP and Dutch Marines from November 1945 to 1949. But as modernization going through in every corner of the city, only tiny part of people gave attention when the pass those monuments. Rarely did people use this place to commemorate their merits since they made ceremony in their own school or Office. The same context also found in Monument Juang 45, Kadet Suropati, Tentera Genie Peladjar and Jendral Soedirman, which all refers to pivotal role of Army in defend the Country from foreign invasion.

Second type was the monument that has function as sign of historical moment or important event occurred in that placed. Monumen *Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat* was build to memorized the Plenary Session of KNIP in March 1947 which took place on *Societeit Concordia*. In July 1947, as the Dutch troops approach the city, TNI made scorched earth

strategy that cost very expensive. As the result, most of the buildings, bridge and homes in the city were badly damage and burn to the ground, including *Societeit Concordia*. This memorial building was not rebuilt until the Shopping Centre “Sarinah” stand right on the placed of Societeit Concordia. In order to remember that KNIP plenary session ever took placed on that location, government builds Monumen KNIP. Why did after-independent local Government set aside the important of heritage for example not to restore the *Societeit Concordia* eventhough first plenary season of Indonesia Parliament took placed in this place?

Third type is monument correlated with image building. In this type, the meaning of monument not associated with political domination or historical moment but decoration. Monument UKS (*Unit Kesehatan Sekolah*= health unit of School), gave the message to public that Malang is the good place for Education. In more detail, health is the fundament for making better generation. Monument as city decoration also be found in the northern part of the city, that is “Welcome Monument “ or *Tri Bina Cita* and MIG 21 Fresco. The Welcome monument was built in 1983 and has messages to the public that Malang was an industrial city, education city and tourist city. Meanwhile the MIG 21 Monument was represented of Air Force although Abrurahman Saleh Air Force based located 8 km East of the monument. Beside its formal meaning, this soviet manufacture aircraft also become a symbol of very closed relation between Republic Indonesia and Soviet Union on Irian Conflict 1961-1963. Rarely we find representation of Soviet across this country but this aircraft could be a symbol represent the important role of this country. It seems that distribution space of monuments in Malang from 1980 to 1992 indicated superior of Army in controlling public open space.

The end of military domination was begun on periods of Muhammad Anton in 2014. He was elected in the third Local Election since reformation 1998. In the second years of his rule, he built monument took shape of Lion in front of Malang Train way Station. It is symbol of “AREMA”, a Football Club home based in Malang. That was the first monument represented symbol of people, not the elite rules. Despite of their civilian politic background and others politic motives to get people sympathies, this monument was change the tradition in using monument as media to expressed their identity.

Renaming the Streets: Political Construction by Identity

Since the Dutch Indies Colonial periods, city was place for symbol competition. One of many city symbols is street name. According to Kees Grijns, street names not only functioned as identity but also reflected local value and characteristic of neighboring people. (Grijns 2007: 230) These names was existed since the colonial periods but vanished in 1969. The city was transformed from plantation, plural city to military state. Yeoh state that the changing of street names not simply linguistic matter but it was a competition over symbolic reproduction in creating urban environment. (Yeoh: 1996, 221) In the Dutch East Indies periods, *Gemeente Malang* labeling the streets in European quarter with name of Governor General, member of Duct Royal Family and mount in all archipelago. But after the coming of Japans that brought the colonial to the end, all streets name correlated with Dutch were changed to Indonesian person. This is the example of streets named that were changed by Japanese Municipal (Si Tyo)

Idenburgstraat	Suropati	Wilhelminastraat	dr. Cipto
Van Heutzstraat	Pajajaran	Willemstraat	Diponegoro
Van den Boschstraat	Sultan Agung	Julianastraat	Kartini
Van der cappelenstraat	Ronggowarsito	Emmastraat	Dr. Sutomo
Speelman Straat	Majapahit	Sophiastraat	Trunojoyo

There were many others changing name, but just in linguistic terms such as *meubelmakerstraat*⁵ to Jalan Pertukangan, Pandhuisstraat to Jalan Pegadaian and Jagalanstraat to Jalan Jagalan. Apparently anti-Dutch sentiment was main cause in the changing of streets names. Let me quote Suharjo speech in front of City Hall in 5 January 1952. “Bahasa Belanda (Hollands) just produces *overheersing geestelijk* (spirit of superiority) that in the end will put down Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia). Futhermore, he ask government to ban using Dutch language, and refused the Bahasa Belanda in all subject learning.” (Djava Pos, 8 January 1952) Even though so many streets name were change, it did not make people confused. Newcomers’ guest in Malang, could imagine of situation of surrounding place looks like in the past yet. For example, men could guess that in the past, that places must be the center of craftsman from the streets name Jalan Petukangan. It also take place in other quarter such as Jalan Gelanggang, Jalan Bingkil and Jalan Perusahaan. These name memorized history of the city because its name depicted the character of environment. Street name also represented plurality of the citizens such as, Jalan Pecinan, Jalan Klenteng, Jalan Tan Bo Liang, Jalan Embong Arab, and Jalan Pecinan Cilik.

⁵ *Craftman* =Dutch

Those characters were disappeared in moment when Orde Baru Government made dramatic changed. They renamed almost all streets with name of military person particularly from army. This policy was based on City Council Decree No 12, May 28th 1969. The changing of Street names can be illustrated in the list below.

Streetsname before 1969	Streetsname after 1969	Streetsname before 1969	Streetsname after 1969
Betek	May Jend Pandjaitan	Lowokwaru	LetJend Sutojo
Celaket	Jak Agung Suprpto	Oro-oro Dowo	BrigJend Slamet Riyadi
Dinoyo	May Jend MT Haryono	Petukangan-Tumenggungan Kulon	Jend Gatot Subroto
Glintang	Let Jend Suparman	Rampal	Panglima Sudirman
Jagalan	Kapt Pierre Tendean	Sawahana	Julius Usman
Kasin Kulon	Brigjend Katamsa	Sukun Klayatan	S Suprijadi
Kulon Pasar	Sersan Harun	Wetan pasar	Kopral Usman
Klenteng-Kotalama	Laks RE Martadinata	Blakang Loji-Tongan	Ade Irma Surjani (anak dari Jend AH Nasution)
Kayu Tangan	Brigjend Basuki Rahmat	Kasin Kidul	Arif Margono (anggota laskar 66)
Kutobedah	Kol Muharto	Klojen Kidul	Aris Munandar

Sumber : Tjamboek Berdoeri, *Indonesia Dalem Api dan Bara*. (Jakarta: ELKASA, 2004) hlm 343

Since 1931, Malang has known as city of School, Sport and Soldier. There were many schools from elementary to high level of education; there were a huge military headquarter in Eastern part and base camp and so many sport facilities in Western part of the city. By this renaming, the image of Malang as *Garnizoen Stad* (City of Soldier) became strong. The anti-communist message attach on this new street names since name of seventh *Pahlawan Revolusi* were attach in main axis road of the city. It cannot be questioned that the army was play important role. Since 1968, Majors of Malang were come from military middle rank person for example Kolonel Indra Soedarmadji (1968-1973), and Kolonel Soegiono or known as *ebes* (1973-1983). The city council also dominated by military.

Even though this decision was contra-productive because the renaming has put the interest of army and erased character and collective memories of the city, nobody even dare to protest against this decision because the consequences were very hard to bear. The circumstances under new order did not permit anyone to speak freely. If someone speaks something against to government policy, he could be arrested or accused as communist. This consequence not only

falls to himself but also his descendant. But from the DPRGR side, the renaming was tu effort to give respect and honor to our National Heroes. But the fact is the character of name absolutely disconnected with the environment. Secondly, the nationalization of streets name has banished local identity. There were no longer kampong identities since Dinoyo street renamed as Let Jend M T Haryono street. People scared to the Power of Army, never proposed to postpone the execution Local Parliament Decree because afraid to be accused as PKI descent. The result was all main road were represent the Army and no Chinese name enlist in the street names in Malang. This was the end of symbol of plural society and the beginning of uniform city.

Concluding Remarks

In course of time, the ruler always hesitated to make their named lasting forever. City, as the node of man, capital, goods and ideas flow, was important placed for the ruler to place their identity. Different kinds of rulers produced so many kinds of monuments with their own characters. Dutch colonial government monuments made, characterized by discrimination, superiority of white man over color people. Urban symbol carried to European, occupied the best location in the city. It comprises not only in physical symbol such as monument, statue and building but also in non-physical symbol such as street names. Apparently, this tradition was continued by Indonesian Municipality. In Malang, the former position of European symbol was placed by Indonesian, not long after the decolonization. In term of location preference, municipality did not made a breakthrough by placing their symbol of identity in the same place as the former master.

The distinction between the Dutch made monument and Indonesian made monument were on the shape. The first one tends to show their identity as conqueror and royal palace. The second one tends to show superiority of military over civilian. The domination not only appeared on uniform, weapon, symbol, relief or image, but names of placed and streets. Military symbols always placed in main axis streets and the most strategic point in the cities. It was ended in 2014 when the monument “Singo Edan” (brave Lion) a symbol of famous Malang football club was set up in the center point of the city nearby Circle Square (*Alun-alun Bunder*) and Malang Train way Station. So the change of urban symbol represent the dynamic of political *zeitgeist* (spirit of time).

Reference

- Anderson, B. 1985. *Revolusi Pemoeda*. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan.
- Arthur van Schaik, *Malang. Beeld van een Stads*. (Purmerend: Asia Maior, 1996), 159
- Berduri, Tjamboek. 2004. *Indonesia Dalam Api dan Bara*. Jakarta: Elkasa.
- Cassirer, Ernest. *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*
- Colombijn, F., Paco-Paco Kota Padang. 1994. *Sejarah Sebuah Kota di Indonesia Pada Abad Kedua Puluh dan Penggunaan Ruang Kota*. diterjemahkan oleh tim BWSB. Leiden: Research School NWS.
- _____, 2010, *Under Construction. The Politics of Urban Space and Housing During the Decolonization of Indonesia, 1930-1960*. Leiden: KITLV.
- Dictionary of the English Language*, Fourth Edition copyright ©2000 by Houghton Mifflin Company. Updated in 2009. Published by [Houghton Mifflin Company](#). All rights reserved.
- Grijn, K & Nas, J.M. Peter (et. al.) 2007. *Jakarta Batavia Esay: Sosio-Cultural*. Jakarta: KITLV-Jakarta.
- Hall, Peter. 1993. *Cities of Tomorrow*. Oxford: Blackwell Publisher.
- Hartono, D. 1999 . “Indonesian Architecture in the Colonial Period”. *Monuments and Sites Indonesia*. International Council of Monuments and Sites: Bandung.
- Husaini, S. 2004. *Sepanjang Jalan Kenangan*. Makalah Untuk Urban Conference Kerjasama UNAIR dan NIOD: Surabaya.
- Kusno, Abidin. 2000. *Behind the Postcolonial. Architecture, urban space and political cultures in Indonesia*. London: Routledge.
- Lakeman, F.J.M. 1924. *Stadsgemeente Malang 1914-1924*. Soerabaia: Uitkolff.
- Marsudi. 2013. Studi Keberadaan Monumen Sebagai Sumber Informasi Sejarah di Kota Malang. *Laporan Penelitian Pendukung Unggulan*. Universitas Negeri Malang.
- Monografi Kota Malang: Pemerintah Kota Malang 1995*.
- Munandar, Aris.A. 2013. ”Artefak di Ruang Geografi: Kajian Artefak dalam Geografi Sejarah.” *Sejarah dan Budaya: Jurnal Sejarah, Budaya dan Pengajarannya*. Tahun ketujuh No 2 Desember 2013
- Nas, Peter (ed), *Urban Symbolism*. London: Brill.
- Weiringa, E.P. 2002 . “A Monument Making the Dawn of The Muslim Era in Java: Chronicles and Chronograms on the Grand Mosque.” Gunter Blamberger and Dietrich Boschung. *Figuration of Time in Asia*. Munchen: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.
- Yeoh, Brenda.S.A. 1966. *Contesting Space: Power Relation and Urban Built Environment in Colonial Singapore*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Djava Pos*, 21 Juni 1953