THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COLONIAL HOUSE IN KUDUS, THE LOCAL CITY OF INDONESIA, DURING THE INDUSTRIALIZED PERIOD FROM THE MID 19th TO THE EARLY 20th CENTURY

19世紀中葉から20世紀初頭の産業化期における
インドネシアの地方都市クドゥスのコロニアルハウスの特質

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This study is aimed to identify the characteristic of colonial house in Kudus constructed by Dutch and native people, during the industrialized period. The study clarified three groups of colonial house based on the period of the construction. The first and second groups exclusively belonged to and were constructed by the Dutch, while the third group were constructed by the local entrepreneurs to express their wealthy. Although at a glance those colonial houses look similar, later had been clarified in this study that there were no indication the third group had imitated from the previous two groups.

Keywords : *Kudus, Java, Indonesia, Dutch, Colonial House, Tobacco Company, Industrialization*

クドゥス、ジャヴァ、インドネシア、ダッチ、コロニアルハウス、煙草会社、産業化

1.Introduction

With the colonization proceeded by the Dutch in the Java Island of Indonesia from the 17th to the first half of 20th century, the colonial posts were founded in many cities of the island, in a sense, as a municipal and military center for occupation¹. In these cities, as seen in Bandung and Semarang for example, the so-called Europeanized urban landscape was organized under the Dutch supervision, in which the colonial houses occupied within the residential district, basically as exclusive accommodations for the Dutch. However, under such an influence of the colonization, the phenomenon took place in the local city, Kudus (Fig. 1), that the wealthy natives constructed their own houses being similar in appearance to the Dutch colonial house, as an imitating trend, around the early 20th century². In fact, Kudus, as being similar to other Javanese cities, which were founded before the colonization, changed and improved into the industrial city under the Dutch governance from the 19th century. In addition, the metamorphosis seems to have taken place against the colonial culture, instead of simply transplanting and imitating the culture of the sūzerain power in the process of colonialism. This phenomenon is recognized in a sense as "creolization" in architectural and urban subject, which embraces possibility that the natives yielded original culture even under the foreign dominance. In contrast to the colonial houses for Dutch in Java³, the substance of the houses, constructed by the natives, is still left in vague in spite of one of the important subjects for clarifying the urban modernization in Indonesia. This point would be also extended universally to many other similar cities located in the Java Island, by clarifying each local phenomenon affected under the modernization. Therefore, in Kudus, it must be worth for the housing history of the Java Island to indicate how its metamorphosis took place owing to localizing or reorganizing the colonial house constructed by the Dutch in context of native creativity, besides the value of having maintained the traditional Javanese house. In this consideration, this research casts a spotlight on the colonial house in Kudus, constructed by the native. In particular, this paper clarifies its current status and architectural characteristics in relation with the Dutch colonial house in Kudus, based on the survey result⁴. At present, there are 77 colonial houses left in Kudus, including its suburb.

Generally, the colonial house in the architectural context is nothing more than being defined as a house built during the colonial days and, moreover, involving the design adopted from the colonialist origin⁵. In several studies of some scholars can be displayed the typology of colonial houses in Indonesia. Johannes Widodo had already started documenting colonial houses left in Indonesia, with a focus on big cities in Java and Sumatra⁶. His research enables schematic overview to several houses respectively in Jakarta, Bogor, Bandung, Semarang, Malang, and Medan⁷. The other effort on documenting colonial buildings is also undertaken by the Bandung Heritage, in the publication of which the location and picture of the surveyed building can be displayed⁸. From information given by those databases, we can understand about the general outline of colonial houses in Indonesia, especially in Java. Based on the past discussion, in Indonesia, the colonial house means on a conceptual basis that the house was principally designed for accommodations of the Dutch⁹. Consequently, two aspects are available for distinguishing it: first, the period of the construction; second, the appearance as physical characteristics. Although its

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concept is confined *sensu stricto* to the house for the Dutch, it is categorized under the physical characteristics in this paper for convenience sake. That is, the house that is enclosed in brick walls with European-style windows and embellished inside with European design as an imitation of Europeanized house is roughly defined as a terminology of a colonial house in this paper on the premise of proceeding the discussion. In distinction to the Dutch colonial house, exclusively constructed and occupied by the Dutch, in this paper, the house constructed with a similar style of the colonial house by the non-Dutch is called a native colonial house.

Therefore, in this paper, the process of formation on the colonial house in local Javanese city is described in conformity of the urban development at first, and then the specific characteristics of the colonial house are clarified, based on the survey results. At the last, the conspicuous characteristics are pointed out on the native colonial house.

2. Formation of the Colonial House in the Urban Development

Historically Kudus was founded by Dja'far Shadiq in the mid 16th century, as typified by the construction of Al-Quds Mosque in 1549¹⁰. Since then the city is said to have been enlarged around the mosque in the west side against the Gelis river¹¹. The urban area at the contemporary is inferred to have been limited to the western side against the river, without any definite urban planning¹². When the VOC (*Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie*/The Dutch East Indies Company) firstly came to Indonesia in the 17th century, Kudus had already become one of the most important city for its agricultural activities and Islamic studying¹³. The Dutch controlled over Kudus region in 1743 during the Pakubuwono II dynasty (1726-1749)¹⁴, while having already dominated Semarang, the neighboring city, in 1678¹⁵. The Dutch East Indies Government started to develop cities in Java after the fall of the VOC in 1799¹⁶. And since then the urban development was promoted under the Dutch control and seems to have been concentrated to the eastern side of the river. The Dutch had developed completely the new *alun-alun* (town square) in the eastern part of the city, combined with a big mosque and a neighboring market more eastern side¹⁷, in the beginning of the 19th century. As the result, Kudus was constituted from two parts, the old town in the west side and the new in the east. Generally, the Javanese were inclined to live in the west while the Dutch and the Chinese in the east¹⁸. The eastern town square was developed to accommodate governmental area and other facilities¹⁹. In the map published in 1915 (Fig. 2)²⁰, two parallel broad roads, corresponding to a boulevard, extends from the square to the city-outside. In addition, the road-network proliferated inside the east side, in which an elongated rectangle city-block appeared, on the map dated 1936 (Fig. 3)²¹. As compared with these several maps, the west side of the city seems to have been left untouched from the estate development by the colonialist.

The Dutch made Kudus develop under the sugar production²², as an essential industry, with its factory on the east fringe of the city, to which raw material was brought from the surrounding. It was the period of *cultuurstelsel*²³. For the Dutch employees, the company provided the residences within the enclave next to the factory and the sugar plantation²⁴. With the development of the sugar industry²⁵, the railway laid on the east side of the city, through the city center passing the new square, was connected to Semarang in 1881²⁶, and at the same time

Figure 1. Map of Kudus at the present & Map of Java (inset) (Source: Digital Map of Kudus, Badan Koordinasi Survei dan Pemetaan Nasional, 2002)

Figure 2. Map of Kudus in 1913 (Source: Hermeten in 1907-1911. *Topographische Inrichting*, Batavia 1915, Blad XXXIII A, Java Res. Semarang, scale 1:50,000)

Figure 3. Map of Kudus in 1930 (Source: *Java & Madura* 1:50,000, Hind 1090 Sheet 49/XXXIX-A, First Edition 1946, Bilingual, Published by Survey Directorate H.Q.ALFSEA, copy of a Dutch map dated 1936)

the consuming region for the local product was extended along the railway all over the island²⁷. Around 1881, the railway company also provided the residences for the employees around the railway station in the eastern Kudus²⁸. Owing to an improvement of a transportation system, obviously, an economical uplift in Kudus seems to have promoted the local enterprise, the tobacco industry, owned by the Javanese, then followed also by the Chinese, around the beginning of the 20th century. The product, in spite of the import of raw material from the foreign country²⁹, was circulated within the domestic markets while the sugar was predominantly produced for export through Semarang³⁰. Its enterprise was generally operated as a family business, including the relatives³¹. In particular, based on the demographic statistics in Table 1³², the economical condition seems to have been dramatically improved between 1905 and 1915, and to keep increased until 1930, as well as the increase of the tobacco companies (Table 2³³). Around this period, in contrast to the mild increase of Chinese and European population, the fact would allude the industrial development in Kudus that the population composed of the Javanese, probably as a labor force, drastically increased³⁴. This is hard to explain unless the tobacco industry as a local enterprise achieved the amazing prosperity to the urban society. In such circumstances, the entrepreneur had a chance to invest its profit into his life style for the emblem of wealth. He was inclined to renovate his house, that must have been mostly traditional wooden houses, to the new one, usually by imitating the colonial. It is easily imagined that the colonial house represented the wealth and the social status since it was an accommodation for the ruling class in Kudus.

Therefore, in Kudus, three periods are recognized for building the colonial house: as the first period, the residence for the Dutch colonialist who played a leading role, as an administrative officer, for construction of the new town in the middle of the 18th century during the VOC period, and the beginning of 19th century under the Dutch East Indies Government, although it is completely lost at present; as the second, the one is also attributed to the Dutch who lived there as a labor force as seen in the residences of the sugar and the railway company in the later half of the 19th century while the other, as the third, to the Javanese and Chinese entrepreneurs, imitating the colonial house in the early 20th century, when it is possible to say that there existed already the so-called prototype of the colonial houses in Kudus, provided by the Dutch.

3. Present Condition of the Colonial House and Its Compound

At present, from the appearance, the available house-style in Kudus can be categorized into four: the first is the wooden traditional house; the second is the traditional house mixed with wooden and brick in its material; the third is the colonial house and the last is the modern house constructed recently (Fig. 4). According to this category, 77 colonial houses are discovered still at present by surveying the Kudus administrative district: 53 houses owned by non-Dutch company in the urban area; 20 houses by the sugar company (SC³⁵) outside the urban area; four houses to the Railway Company (RC³⁶) in the urban area. Among those 53 private houses, 27 houses currently belong to the tobacco company's owners and their descendants (TC³⁷), both Javanese and Chinese³⁸. And the other 26 houses were owned privately, which were mostly merchants (PH³⁹). Table 3 shows the presumed constructed date, and the location in Fig. 1. From the location, the houses of the tobacco company were inclined to be located in the old town while the sugar and the railway company's in the new town. Therefore, the houses of the tobacco company are highly presumed to have been renovated from the old one which must have occupied its compound before.

The 20 houses owned by the sugar company are still left at present: 11 houses are located in Rendeng district near the factory: five, two and other two houses are respectively located near the sugarcane plantation, in Tanjung Rejo, Dawe and Besito, distant east, north and north-west from the city. In Rendeng, three houses had been already split into two houses each, as a result of modification to the present requirement, by inserting a wall to separate it. Meanwhile, we do not know exactly how many houses of the railway company originally existed in Kudus, since there is no authentic document which mentions on a building record⁴⁰. At the time of our survey there were only four houses left⁴¹. However, according to the testimony by the local people, there existed about 20 or more in the area about 20 years ago although now the compounds are occupied by new houses and modern shops.

Among the 27 houses that formerly belonged to tobacco company owners, 18 houses all owned by local Javanese entrepreneurs are located in the west side while nine houses in the east side of Kudus. In the east side, two houses are owned by Javanese, one house by Arab, and the other six houses by Chinese. Although the documents concerned with the exact date of the construction is unknown, the current owners gave testimony that the date of construction was approximately attributed around 1930, based on the number of generations living in the house⁴². This construction-date corresponds to the flourished period of the tobacco company in Kudus. Table 3 shows the specific data on the 77 colonial houses in the Kudus administrative district, among which 51 houses were managed to be allowed to take measurement at the survey: twelve houses for the Javanese tobacco company, two houses for the Chinese tobacco company, one house for the Arab tobacco company, twenty houses for the sugar company⁴³, two couples of mirrored type houses for the railway company⁴⁴ and twelve houses for the natives irrelevant to the tobacco business.

3-1. Characteristics of the Colonial House Owned by the Sugar Company (SC01-SC20 in Table 3 & Fig. 5)

The houses owned by the sugar company, irrespective of their location, generally show resemblance on a housing composition. The house, built approximately in the center of a fair rectangle compound with one story, prepares the terrace or the veranda at the front although the entrance-orientation varies, doubtless depending on a location of a road. Its compound is surrounded with a low fence⁴⁵. This means that the veranda or the terrace communicates with a road through a front garden or yard. Although a variation is recognized relatively in a roof style, it is roughly classified into two types, a pavilion-hipped and a gabled roof. And double-leaf windows are fixed on the bald brick wall.

In contrast to the monotony of its appearance, the interior is to some extent embellished with building materials, as seen in colored tiles and ceiling elements⁴⁶, although having been considerably modified from the original. In four houses surveyed, the service facilities, presumably for Javanese servants, are constructed behind the main residence inside the compound. In

Table 1. Demography of Kudus (1861-1953)

	1861	1905	1915*	1930	1953
Javanese	***	***	***	***	297445
European (Dutch)	***	270	380	***	8
Chinese and Arab	***	4100	4300	***	11700
Other foreigner	***	30	40	***	3
Urban	14000	***	***	54524	***
Suburban	90000	***	***	280294	***
Total	104000*	90000**	278000**	334818*	309156*

* Calculated based on numbers in the document.

** Total numbers mentioned in the document.

*** Not mentioned in the document.

Table 2. Numbers of Tobacco Company in Kudus (1924-1933)

Ethnic	Scale	Number of cigarette company in Kudus									
		1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Javanese	Large	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	5	4	7
	Medium	12	14	15	17	18	16	19	19	19	16
	Small	7	8	8	9	10	14	17	20	79	115
	Total	25	28	29	32	34	37	43	44	102	138
Chinese	Large	6	6	7	7	7	8	6	4	4	3
	Medium	4	4	6	6	8	8	10	9	7	6
	Small	0	0	0	1	1	2	3	11	13	14
	Total	10	10	13	14	16	18	19	24	24	23
Arab	Large	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Medium	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Small	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
	Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3
TOTAL	Large	12	12	13	13	13	15	13	9	8	11
	Medium	16	18	21	23	26	24	29	28	27	22
	Small	7	8	8	10	11	16	20	32	92	131
Total general		35	38	42	46	50	55	62	69	127	164

Large enterprise : produced more than 50 million cigarettes per year

Medium enterprise : produced 10 million to 50 million cigarettes per year

Small enterprise : produced less than 10 million cigarettes per year

Figure 4. Houses in Kudus.

Note:

SC = Sugar company house
RC = Railway company house
TC = Tobacco company house
PH = Private house

Y = Yes

N = No

US = Un-survey

F = Fair

I = Irregular

V = Veranda

T = Terrace

PvHp = Pavilion-hipped

SdGb = Side-gabled

FrGb = Front-gabled

Hp = Hipped

Bn = Bonnet

Gb = Gabled

Tw = Tower

Sp = Simple

C = Combination

CC = Complicated combination

A = Attached

D = Detached

Table 3. List of colonial house in Kudus at present

No.	Code	Con- struction Time	Location	Lot Fair/ Irregular	Story	Entrance		Roof			Window and Door								Wall Ventilation	Service Cottage	
						Main Entrance	Terrace/ Veranda	Type	Combination	Detail	Double Leaves	Triple Leaves	Multi Leaves	Bay Window	Stained Glass	Jalousie	Door Vent.	Orna- ments			
1	SC01	Mid19thC	East	F	1	South	V	PvHp	C	Tw	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
2	SC02	Mid19thC	East	F	1	South	T	PvHp	C	FrGb	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
3	SC03	Mid19thC	East	F	1	South	T	PvHp	C	FrGb	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
4	SC04	Mid19thC	East	F	1	West	T	PvHp	C	SdGb	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
5	SC05	Mid19thC	East	F	1	North	T	PvHp	C	Hp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
6	SC06	Mid19thC	East	F	1	North	T	PvHp	C	Hp	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
7	SC07	Mid19thC	East	F	1	West	T	PvHp	C	FrGb	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
8	SC08	Mid19thC	East	F	1	North	N	SdGb	Sp	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	D	
9	SC09	Mid19thC	East	F	1	West	T	FrGb	Sp	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	D	
10	SC10	Mid19thC	East	F	1	West	V	PvHp	C	SdGb	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
11	SC11	Mid19thC	East	F	1	West	V	PvHp	C	SdGb	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
12	SC12	Mid19thC	East	F	1	North	V	Hp	Sp	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	D	
13	SC13	Mid19thC	East	F	1	North	V	Hp	Sp	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	D	
14	SC14	Mid19thC	East	F	1	West	V	PvHp	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	D	
15	SC15	Mid19thC	East	F	1	West	V	PvHp	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
16	SC16	Mid19thC	East	F	1	West	V	PvHp	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
17	SC17	Mid19thC	East	F	1	South	N	FrGb	Sp	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
18	SC18	Mid19thC	East	F	1	South	N	FrGb	Sp	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
19	SC19	Mid19thC	West	F	1	East	V	SdGb	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
20	SC20	Mid19thC	West	F	1	East	V	PvHp	C	FrGb	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	D	
21	RC01	End19thC	East	F	1	South	T	Bn	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	D	
22	RC02	End19thC	East	F	1	South	T	Bn	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	D	
23	RC03	End19thC	East	F	1	South	V	PvHp	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
24	RC04	End19thC	East	F	1	South	V	PvHp	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
25	TC01	1930's	West	F	2	Un-identified	Un-identified	Un-identified	Un-identified	Un-identified	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
26	TC02	1930's	West	F	1	West	V	PvHp	C	Tw	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A	
27	TC03	1930's	West	F	2	North	V	PvHp	CC	Tw	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	D	
28	TC04	1930's	West	F	1	North	T	PvHp	CC	Hp	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	D	
29	TC05	1930's	West	F	1	East	Un-identified	PvHp	C	Tw	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
30	TC06	1930's	West	I	1	Un-identified	Un-identified	Un-identified	Un-identified	Un-identified	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
31	TC07	1832	West	I	1	West	V	Bn	C	FrGb	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
32	TC08	1920's	West	I	2	South	N	PvHp	Sp	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	A	
33	TC09	1919	West	F	1	West	N	PvHp	C	FrGb	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
34	TC10	1930's	West	I	1	West	Un-identified	PvHp	CC	Hp	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
35	TC11	1920's	West	I	1	East	V	Bn	C	Tw	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	D	
36	TC12	1920's	West	I	1	East	V	SdGb	Sp	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	A	
37	TC13	1927-31	West	I	1	West	T	Bn	CC	Hp	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	D	
38	TC14	1930's	West	F	1	West	T	Bn	C	PvHp	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
39	TC15	1930's	West	F	1	West	V	SdGb	Sp	N	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
40	TC16	1920's	West	I	1	North	T	Hp	CC	Hp	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	A	
41	TC17	1930's	West	F	1	North	V	Hp	C	Gb	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	D	
42	TC18	1930's	West	I	1	North	Un-identified	PvHp	C	Tw	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
43	TC19	1930's	East	F	1	East	V	PvHp	C	Tw	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	D	
44	TC20	1930's	East	F	1	North	V	Hp	C	Gb	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	D	
45	TC21	1924	East	F	1	East	V	PvHp	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	D	
46	TC22	1920's	East	F	1	East	V	PvHp	C	Tw	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	A	
47	TC23	1920's	East	F	2	West	V	PvHp	C	Tw	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	D	
48	TC24	1930's	East	F	1	North	V	PvHp	Sp	N	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
49	TC25	1912	East	F	2	South	V	PvHp	C	Tw	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
50	TC26	1931	East	F	1	East	V	PvHp	C	FrGb	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
51	TC27	1930's	East	F	1	West	Un-identified	PvHp	CC	FrGb	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
52	PH01	1930's	West	F	1	South	V	Bn	C	Tw	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
53	PH02	1900's	East	F	1	North	V	PvHp	C	Tw	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	D	
54	PH03	1917	East	F	1	East	V	PvHp	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	D	
55	PH04	1900's	East	F	1	West	V	PvHp	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	D	
56	PH05	1930's	East	F	1	West	V	PvHp	Sp	N	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
57	PH06	1929	East	F	1	West	V	PvHp	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	D	
58	PH07	1930's	East	F	1	West	V	PvHp	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	D	
59	PH08	1926	East	F	1	East	V	PvHp	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	D
60	PH09	1930's	West	F	1	North	V	PvHp	C	PvHp	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
61	PH10	1901	East	F	1	West	V	PvHp	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	A	
62	PH11	1930's	East	F	1	West	V	PvHp	C	FrGb	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
63	PH12	1925	East	F	1	East	V	PvHp	C	FrGb	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
64	PH13	1927	East	F	1	East	V	PvHp	C	FrGb	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
65	PH14	1930's	East	F	1	East	V	FrGb	C	FrGb	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
66	PH15	1920's	East	F	1	West	V	PvHp	Sp	N	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
67	PH16	1920's	East	F	1	East	V	PvHp	Sp	N	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
68	PH17	1930's	East	F	1	East	V	PvHp	C	FrGb	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
69	PH18	1920's	East	F	1	East	V	PvHp	Sp	N	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
70	PH19	1930's	East	F	1	N	T	PvHp	Sp	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	D	
71	PH20	1924	East	F	1	North	V	PvHp	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	D	
72	PH21	1920's	East	F	1	West	V	PvHp	Sp	N	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
73	PH22	1900's	East	F	1	West	V	SdGb	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	A	
74	PH23	1920's	East	F	1	North	V	PvHp	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	D	
75	PH24	1930's	East	F	2	North	N	FrGb	Sp	N	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
76	PH25	1920's	East	F	1	North	V	PvHp	C	Tw	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	
77	PH26	1895	East	F	1	South	V	PvHp	Sp	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	D

so far as judging from the plan in Fig. 5, the main residence is composed of a double row of rooms and faces the oblong side to the front. Obviously, the vestibule is prepared as an entrance room and each room is communicated through a door. It does not generally provide a kitchen and a sanitary facilities within the house⁴⁷.

3-2. Characteristics of the Colonial House Owned by the Railway Company (RC01-RC04 in Table 3 & Fig. 5)

Only four colonial houses are left for the railway company in the east side of the city at present, with each rigid rectangle compound. In RC01 and RC02, a terrace protrudes in front of the house, covered with an eaves, while the veranda under the roof occupies at the corner of the house in front of the main entrance in RC03 and RC04.

However, from the similarity of plans in Fig. 5, the present living room in RC01 and RC02 was possibly provided by enclosing once the space as a veranda in later period⁴⁸. If this presumption is right, only one type of the plan is recognized in the house of the railway company. The first room from the entrance seems to have corresponded to a vestibule although used as a living room at present. The house size, if compared with ones of the sugar company, is rather small although a service building, in which a kitchen, sanitary facilities, and servant-rooms are presumably involved, is attached on the side of the main residence. The house is composed of one storey and a double row of rooms, each of which is directly communicated with through a door. The house is covered with a simple roof style, a bonnet or a pavillion-hipped roof. At any rate, even though the present remains are in humble condition as a colonial house, the other type once existing would not be able to be denied for the different social status in the railway company, in so far as the testimony on 20 and more houses once built are acceptable.

3-3. Characteristics of the Colonial Houses Owned by the Tobacco Company (TC01-TC20 in Table 3 & Fig. 5)

The houses of the tobacco company vary in their appearance. Concerned with the housing compound, its irregular shape is observed relatively in large number, nine compounds within

Figure 5. Plans of Colonial House in Kudus (These drawings are displayed in presumed original plan, by putting out later additions)

18, on the houses located in the west side of the city, the old town, while a rather fair rectangle shape in the east side. The orientation of the main entrance, seemingly depending on a relation with an access road or alley, is inclined to be approached through a terrace or a veranda in front. Among 27 houses, five carry a second floor even if it is limited to partial section, in three of which a second floor is set up within the tower located at the corner of the house. Above the relatively low edge of the eaves, the high roof dominates a total appearance in rather complicated roof style (Fig. 6). In particular, the house is inclined to be embellished at openings. Bay and a multi-leaf windows are employed, in some cases with stained glass and attached ornaments.

From plans taken at the survey, two types of the composition are recognized principally: a double and a triple row of rooms. In both cases, each bed room is accessed only from a living room, which sometimes looks like a large corridor penetrating from the front to the back although a door is not generally fixed on a wall between bed rooms. In a double row type, the living room has an access to a side yard or garden through a double leaf door or, once, directly communicated with outside without a separating wall⁴⁹. In every house, the kitchen and the sanitary facilities are prepared in a separate building within a compound.

3-4. Characteristics of the Colonial Houses Owned by the Natives Irrelevant to the Tobacco Company (PH01-PH26 in Table 3 & Fig. 5)

The owner of these houses seems to have been generally engaged in being commercial except the cigarette production. Every house, set within a fair rectangle compound, is placed in the east side of the city, the new town. Their appearance has variation, but the veranda is disposed in most cases at the main entrance side. The house is generally composed of a single storey with a pavillion-hipped roof and is relatively embellished with ornament at opening. In two houses, a stained glass is employed and two houses adopt a multi-leaf window.

The triple row type on room's disposition is discovered in the houses surveyed. In this type, the veranda, rather big in size, occupies along the whole length of the house-front and a

Figure 6. Elevation of Delima Tobacco Company's House (TC13)

corridor-like space intervenes between bed rooms at the both sides. Since the government officers, the *Asisten Wedana*⁵⁰ and the *Kapitan Cina*⁵¹, once owned respectively the house PH10 and PH22, these might well indicate a high social status in design and are pointed out as being affected as well from the Chinese style architecture⁵². Meanwhile, the house PH05, which has been owned by a clove merchant⁵³, shows very similarity with the house TC22, located in the east side of the city.

4. Distinctions between the Categories of the Colonial House in Kudus

From the characteristics of each category discussed above, some distinctions are recognized between categories. In particular, each category corresponds to the specific period of the urban development. The houses of the sugar company were constructed around the mid 19th century when Kudus was first industrialized under the colonialist's capital. Their residence was placed within the so-called enclave being sufficiently distant from the urban area although the colonialist must have already developed the urban area in the east side of the river before that period. Their residence, in spite of rather big in size whatsoever, seems to have been constructed as moderate accommodations for Dutch. Then, by organizing the transportation network through railway, its company provided the residences for Dutch employees for maintenance. These four houses seem to have been constructed in humble condition with service facilities next to the main building. The principle of planning and the appearance are similar between these two categories although the constructed dates are different. Therefore, it is highly presumed that the company run by the Dutch transplanted the common housing type from the other region, where the colonial houses were allocated to a great extent within the urban district⁵⁴.

The houses of the tobacco company, constructed in the early 20th century, mostly in the thirties, as the third period in Kudus, indicates the diversity in its category. In particular, in contrast to the previous periods, the conspicuous distinctions come out in its appearance and plan: an irregular compound shape; a small tower at the corner with a second story; a multi leaf and a bay window for its design; an adoption of stained glass for windows; ornamental embellishment for openings; a triple row disposition on rooms with an intermediate space in the center of the house. Since the irregular compound shape is restricted to the houses located in the old town where the land was distributed already among the inhabitants⁵⁵, the owner is presumed to have obtained progressively neighbored lands in conformity to an enlargement of his enterprise. In this process, they employed alternatively the architectural elements in style as shown that the veranda dominates in planning against the terrace, which prevails in the house of the sugar company. Meanwhile, the new design was also employed as seen in a window style, which makes the house highly attractive as an emblem of wealth⁵⁶. These elements are not necessarily discovered in the Dutch colonial houses in Kudus. Particularly, the roof style is made highly complicated in some houses, if compared with the previous ones. In addition, the access to the private room is provided in most cases through the intermediate space although a door is generally set on the wall separating between the private rooms in the Dutch colonial houses. Therefore, the native implemented the new idea for his colonial house, instead of simple imitation or application from the previous ones that must have been a prototype for the local people. In this sense, it would be possible to term the house of the tobacco company as a localized colonial style, in so far as being different from the ones implemented by the Dutch.

The other colonial houses owned by the natives, whose business were not related with tobacco, are located almost in the new town and correspond to the same period with the houses of the tobacco company. They also possess the emblem of wealth in its embellishment, as distinction from the Dutch colonial houses. However, except anomaly of design elements, as shown in a roof style and stained glass, their localization on architectural idea might well be moderate by applying the principles employed in the Dutch colonial house.

5. Conclusion

From above discussion, the colonial house left at present in Kudus is defined to have come into existence with the promotion of industrialization, starting from the middle of the 19th century. Its initiative group, however, changed with times from the Dutch colonialist to the local entrepreneur. The colonial houses are categorized into three groups as indicated above section. Since the Dutch colonial house, irrespective of construction-date and their vocation, approximately displays the similar principle for designing, it is highly possible to consider that the Dutch employed the basic housing style for their accommodations. This housing style seems to have been roughly succeeded in the native colonial house, placed mostly in the new town, irrelevant to the tobacco business even though moderate modification is recognized in designing. Contrary to this tendency, the entrepreneur of the tobacco business is presumed to have developed their own housing style without employing the Dutch colonial house as a prototype even though they might imitate to a certain extent the design of the colonial house. Therefore, the colonial house, for adjusting the native life style, might well be localized during the thirties of the 20th century in Kudus. In the aim of clarifying the urban development undertaken by the natives in the modernization, this hypothesis should be verified in follow-through research by examining its design source outside Kudus.

Notes:

1. Based on the map compiled around 1900, there are 110 colonial posts in Java Island. cf. *Kaart van Java en Madoera*, kaart No. IV., Photolithographie u. Druck von GIE-SECKE & DEVRIENT, Leipzig.
2. In the previous research, Kudus is emphasized as a traditional Javanese city by analyzing the traditional lifestyle and evaluating value of the traditional housing within the urban area, as shown in the following major works: Triyanto, *Makna Ruang dan Penataannya dalam Arsitektur Rumah Kudus (The Meaning of Space and Order in Kudus House Architecture)*, Semarang, 2001, pp.197-220; Adiati, Ratri, *Arsitektur Tradisional Rumah Adat Kudus: Studi Deskriptif dan Historis (Kudus House Traditional Architecture: A Descriptive and Historical Study)*, Dissertation of Airlangga University (unpublished), 1993. In Kudus, the traditional style houses are discussed by Triyanto, op. cit., pp. 35-40; and by Wikant ari, Ria Rosalia, *Sustainability of Historic Environment Composed of Wooden Traditional Houses in the City of Java*, Dissertation of Osaka University (unpublished), 2001. But, in these works, the perspective that the urban idea of Kudus affronted a new phase in the beginning of the modern period, the industrialized period, is not thoroughly contemplated.
3. Widodo, Johannes, *Visual Database of Modern Dutch Tropical Architecture in Indonesia*, Research Project, National University of Singapore, Singapore, 2002.
4. Field Survey was carried out in September-October 2004, February-March 2005 and November 2005.
5. Berlage called it as *Indo Europeesche Bouwkunst* (Indo-European Construction Art), while van de Wall called it as *Indiesche Huizen* (Indies Houses), Parmono Atmadi called it as *Arsitektur Indis* (Indies Architecture), Djoko Soekiman called it as *Indische stijl* (Indies style) buildings categorized based on period, cf. Utami, Wahyu, "Pola Permukiman Indis Karya Karsten (Indish Housing Pattern by Karsten)", *NALARs Jurnal Arsitektur FT-Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Juli 2004, pp.36-37;

- Abbas, Novida, "Banguna asalahan" (Colonial Building: A Few Problems), *Media Komunikasi Arkeologi "Artefak"*, No. 18/Agustus 1997, p. 11.
6. Widodo, Johannes, *op.cit.*
 7. Widodo, Johannes, in cooperation with Badan Warisan Sumatra, Heritage Trust, Database the Architectural Heritage of Medan 150, 2000. (Report is available in: <http://medan.m-heritage.org/index.html>, last accessed in September 25, 2005)
 8. Hartono, Dibyo, *Bandung: Data Bangunan Bersejarah Kota Bandung 1997 (Bandung: Data on Historical Building in Bandung City, 1997)*, Bandung, 1997.
 9. Soekiman, Djoko, "Bangunan Indis: Pengertian, Pemanfaatan, dan Pelestarian (Indies Buildings: Meaning, Uses, and Preservation)", *Media Komunikasi Arkeologi "Artefak"*, No. 18/Agustus 1997, pp. 3-4.
 10. Salam, Sholichin, *Kudus Purbakala dalam Perjuangan Islam (Kudus Olden Times in the Islamic Movement)*, Kudus, 1976, p. 30.
 11. A.A.Darban, *Kampung Kauman: a Typology of Islamic Settlement in Javanese Cities, a Comparative Study on Historical Development of Kampung Kauman in Kudus and Yogyakarta – in Indonesia*, Research Report of Faculty of Literature, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, 1984, p. 29.; Wikantari, Ria Rosalia, *op.cit.*, p. 25.
 12. Wikantari, Ria Rosalia, *op.cit.*, p. 26.
 13. Kudus, together with Demak (the capital city of the Demak Islamic Kingdom, located 25Km from Kudus to the West), was an agricultural city which supplied foods to other neighbor cities. *cf.* Salam, Sholichin, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Wikantari, Ria Rosalia, *op.cit.*, p. 25. Kudus as Islamic city developed after the construction of the Al-Quds Mosque. *cf.* Salam, Sholichin, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-25.
 14. Remmelick, Willem, *The Chinese War and the Collapse of the Javanese State, 1725-1743*, Leiden, 1994, p. 32 & p. 205.
 15. Manus, MPB, et. al., *Peta Sejarah Propinsi Jawa Tengah (Historical Map of the Province of Central Java)*, Jakarta, 1988.
 16. Soejito, Irawan, *Sejarah Pemerintahan Daerah di Indonesia, Jilid 1 (The History of Local Indonesian Government, Vol. 1)*, Jakarta, 1984, p. 19.
 17. Archive issued by General Secretary of Dutch East Indies Governmental: Besluit 9 Mei 1900, No. 18; Besluit 1 Augustus 1901, No. 14, about the construction of Kliwon neighborhood market in Kudus, as a collection in ANRI (National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia)
 18. However, a certain measure of the Chinese seems to have lived in the west side until 1918 when the outbreak took place between the Javanese and the Chinese in the old town, the west side, of Kudus. Afterward, the Dutch accommodated the Chinese new living lots in the new town. *cf.* Joe, Liem Thian, *Riwayat Semarang*, Jakarta, 2004, p. 269.
 19. Governmental facilities were constructed around the new town square. Some building is still available, such as the main building of the municipal office and schools, but mostly had been renovated. Archive issued by General Secretary of Dutch East Indies Governmental: Besluit 24 Februari 1903, No. 29, about buildings for schools; Besluit 23 December 1918, about the construction of irrigation affairs office, as a collection in ANRI (National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia)
 20. Hermeten in 1907-1911. *Topographische Inrichting*, Batavia 1915, Blad XXXIII A, Java Res. Semarang, scale 1:50.000.
 21. *Java & Madura 1:50.000*, Hind 1090 Sheet 49/XXXIX-A, First Edition 1946, Bilingual, Published by Survey Directorate H.Q. ALFSEA, copy of a Dutch map dated 1936.
 22. Sugar Company in Kudus was established in 1840. This date is recognized from the inscription written on the smokestack of the factory.
 23. *Cultuurstelsel* or agriculture system was introduced into Java by Johannes van den Bosch in 1830. The system was forced to the natives to cultivate specific plantation to satisfy the European needs in 1840. The sugar cane plantation began in Pasuruan (75km south of Surabaya, East Java) in 1830. *cf.* Niel, Robert van, *Sistem Tanam Paksa di Jawa (Java under the Cultivation System: Collected Writings)*, Jakarta, 2003, p. 34 & p. 58.
 24. The other similar sugar company houses can be found in Cirebon, a mid class city in West Java. *cf.* Effendi, Vinondini Indriati, *Pemalihan Kompleks Pabrik Gula menjadi "Pusat Gula": Studi Penataan dan Pemanfaatan Kembali Kawasan Permukiman Pabrik Gula. Kasus: PG Tersana Baru di Cirebon Timur (Shifting Sugar Company Complex into "Sugar Center": A Study of Planning and Reuse of Housing Environment of Sugar Company. Case: Tersana Baru Sugar Company in East Cirebon)*, Thesis of Bandung Institute of Technology (unpublished), 2001, pp. 16-28, 31-58
 25. The production increased until 1880 and fallen down gradually then. In 1880 in Rendeng there were about 373 11/13 bouws (1 bouws are equivalent to 7096.50 sq meter) sugar cane plantation, with the total of income about 250.000 Gulden, while in 1890 only 62 4/13 bouws, with total income about 100.000 Gulden. *cf.* Regering Almanak (Government Annual Report), 1880, p.300.; Regering Almanak (Government Annual Report), 1890, p. 336.; as a collection in ANRI (National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia)
 26. The railway construction was proposed by J.F. Dickman and partners. The government issued officially permission to construct railway to connect Semarang, Demak, Kudus, Pati and Juwana in 1881. Archive issued by General Secretary of Dutch East Indies Governmental: Besluit 2 Maart 1881 No. 45; Besluit 18 Maart 1881 No. 5; as a collection in ANRI (National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia). Based on that archive, also mentioned in: Krishnamurti, Indra, *History of Railways in Indonesia*, <http://www.indonesiaphoto.com/content/view/106/46/>, last accessed in September 25, 2005.
 27. There were 17 Dutch Company that served the railway routes in Java and Madura started in 1827 till 1928. Krishnamurti, Indra, *op.cit.*
 28. The Kudus station, which is now used as traditional market, was located in the new town near to the railway company houses. The railway construction began in 1882, after get the license in 1881, and fully completed in 1923. *cf.* Joe, Liem Thian, *op. cit.*, p 175.
 29. Clove as one of raw material in Javanese cigarette, was imported from Zanzibar, Africa in 1931. *cf.* Ashadi, Foad, *Beberapa Catatan Sekitar Haji Mas Ashadi Pabrik Rokok Cap Delima Kota Kudus (A Few Records Concerning Haji Mas Ashadi Delima Brand Cigarette Factory, Kudus City)*, family records (unpublished), Malang, 1997, attachment No. 14-15.
 30. The sugar production and export value were reported annually in Regering Almanak (Governmental Annual Record) in 1880-1912, as a collection in ANRI (National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia). The total value of the sugar production and export from Kudus in 1882-1887 was 495.000 Gulden, and drop to the nominal of 198.000 Gulden in 1888.
 31. Ashadi, Foad, *op.cit.*, pp. 6-9. The record contains story of the family and history of Delima Tobacco Company, established by H. M. Ashadi in 1916. It also attached with several documents related to the company since its establishment in 1916 till its closing in 1997.
 32. *Aadrijkskundig en Statistisch Woordenboek van Nederlandsch Indie* (Amsterdam, n.d.) 1861, in this census, only the total number of people lived in urban and suburban area mentioned; "Koedoes", *Encyclopedia van Ned Indie 2 e druk S de Graaff & D G Stibbe*, 2 e deel H- M , 1918, p. 358, registration on the number of foreigner, European, Chinese and Arab and the total number of people lived in Kudus in 1905 and 1915; *Volkstelling van Nederlandsch Indie*, 1930, registration of the total number of people who lived in urban and suburban; *Data Statistik Kota Kudus 1958 (Statistical data from the Religion Affair, Kudus District) 1958*, registration of the total number of Javanese, European, Chinese, Arab and foreigner in Kudus.
 33. Reijden, B. van der, *Rapport. Betreffende eene gehouden enquete naar de arbeidstoestanden in de industrie van strootjes en inheemsche sigaretten op Java*, Drukkerij Strafgevengenis "Soekamiskin" te Bandoeng, 1935, pp. 6-8.

34. As the production was held also in the houses as *Abon* system (the sub-contracted system). cf. Hanusz, Mark. *Kretek: The Culture and Heritage of Indonesia's Clove Cigarettes*, Jakarta, 2000, pp. 38-39.
35. In this paper those 20 houses that belongs to the sugar company will be called as Sugar Company House or coded as SC.
36. In this paper those 4 houses that belong to the railway company will be called as Railway Company House or coded as RC. One week after the field survey in 2005, the 4 houses owned by the railway company was demolished by developer for commerce purpose.
37. In this paper those 27 houses that belong to the tobacco company owners will be called as Tobacco Company House or coded as TC. Among those houses, five families still carry on business, in cigarette manufacture. While the other 22 families do not produce cigarette anymore, but some still have business related to tobacco.
38. In so far as interview, every family in 24 houses was engaged in managing the tobacco business at the time when the house was constructed. Some of the owners of the company were closely relatives (son, son in law, brothers and other).
39. In this paper those 26 houses that owned privately by merchants and government officers will be called as Private House or coded as PH.
40. The *Semarang-Joana Stoomtram Maatschappij* (Semarang-Juwana Railway Company) was established in 1881. Based on the Dutch East Indies Government Document issued by Internal Affair Council of Netherland East Indies Government: *Kommissoriaal van den 2 Maart 1881 No. 3784, Aan den Raad van Nederlandsch-Indie*. All documents available are about the establishment of the company. There is no document about company houses.
41. In fact, eight houses remain as a house belonging to the railway company in a precise sense. However, four houses are identified to have been constructed during the colonial period while the other four houses seems to have been constructed after the colonial period, based on its appearance, which is considerably modern rather than colonial house. This is also confirmed as well by the testimony of neighbors who have already lived there since 1950's.
42. Most of the habitant said that 3 or 4 generations have already passed in the house since the house was constructed.
43. Several units had been modified.
44. Each of it indicates as a mirrored type.
45. The fence seems to be later added. (Interview with the sugar company officer)
46. Original tile was made of marble. (Interview with the current habitant of sample S-11)
47. In SC03, although the kitchen and the sanitary facility are fixed at the north side, they are presumed to have been later attached in so far as judging from the present wall connection at the north side.
48. This statement is also supported by comparing the vestibule with other rooms, in design of the opening. Window's and door's frame in the vestibule were made by single wooden block, while the frames in the other rooms were made by combining two wooden block that made it thicker.
49. In TC22, the division wall between the living room and outside is clearly distinguished as a later modification, in so far as being based on the observation at the survey.
50. *Asisten Wedana* or in the Dutch East-Indies Governmental system called as *onderdistrictshoofd* is the direct subordinate of *Wedana* (*districtshoofd*) or the head of district, selected and promoted directly by the Governor. cf. Soejito, Irawan, *op.cit.*, p. 42.
51. *Kapitan Cina* was an unofficial position, in the Dutch East Indies. It had no structural position in the government, but it had a very important function in taking control on the Chinese community. cf. Lohanda, Mona, *The Kapitan Cina of Batavia 1837-1942*, Jakarta, 1994, p. ix.
52. The house with a shape shown in PH10 and PH22 were identified as Chinese colonial architecture, on the ground of the similarity of the roof shape to the Chinese architecture. cf. Dinas Pekerjaan Umum Jawa Tengah, *Data Arsitektur Tradisional Kudus (Data of Kudus Traditional Architecture)*, 1986, section 6, pp. 6.1-6.3.
53. Clove merchant only sells clove as raw material and supplies to the tobacco company, and does not produce cigarette.
54. In Bandung, mostly located in the northern part of the city, in 1786. cf. Hartono, Diby, *op.cit.* While in Semarang mostly located in an area called Kota Lama, which was declared as the capital of the region in 1702. cf. Muljadinata, Albertus Sidharta, *Pola Perkembangan Permukiman Kawasan Kota Lama Semarang Akibat Ekonomi Perkotaan (Development Pattern of Houses in Kota Lama Area, Semarang, as the Impact of City Economy)*, research report, Bandung Institute of Technology, 1992, p. 8.
55. The old town formerly composed by traditional houses linked with alleys. Some alleys were also private property used as communal passage. cf. Ria Rosalia Wikantari, *op.cit.*, p. 31.
56. In several houses, imported building elements can be easily found, such as brass door handles and lock in the most cases of tobacco company houses, which came from Europe. Stained glass windows were also used to show the wealth of the family as well as wood carvings and motifs tiles (samples: TC16, TC03, TC04, TC13, TC02, TC11, TC08 and TC22). (Interview with the owners)

和文要約

インドネシアのジャワ島は、17世紀から20世紀初頭にかけてオランダの植民支配下におかれた。その影響の下、一地方都市であるクドゥスでは、20世紀初頭になり、オランダ人が建てたコロニアルハウスを模した住宅が現地の富裕層によって建設されるようになる。これまでもジャワ島のコロニアルハウスについては部分的に研究されてきたが、それらは大都市に建つものを対象としている。一方、オランダ人の建てたコロニアルハウスとは対照的に、こうした地元住民が建てた住宅は、インドネシアにおける都市の近代化を考察する上で重要な主題であるにもかかわらず、十全な研究がなされていない。こうしたことから、本稿では2004年から2005年にかけて行った、計3回の現地調査で得られたデータを基に、まずはクドゥスに現存する地元住民が建てたコロニアルハウスの現状を報告するとともに、その特徴をクドゥスでオランダ人が建てたコロニアルハウスとの関係において考察するものである。なお、現在のクドゥスには77棟のコロニアルハウスが現存し、うち実測の許可が得られたのは51棟である。

19世紀初頭、クドゥスはオランダ東インド政府の統治下に置かれ、オランダ人が設立した砂糖会社や鉄道会社を基盤とした都市の急速な産業化が興った。この産業化は、時間の経過とともにオランダ人から地元住民の手によるタバコ産業や中国人の企業家へとその主導者を変えながら推し進められた。そうした政治・経済状況を背景に出現したコロニアルハウスは3系統に分類できる。初期のコロニアルハウスであるオランダ人建設のダッチ・コロニアルハウスは、その建設年代や職種に関係なく、(デザイン)様式はほぼ一貫しており、基本的に他の地域に既に普及していたコロニアルハウスの住宅様式を踏襲したものであると推察される。その様式は、多少の修正を加えつつ、タバコ会社以外の地元住民が建てたネイティブ・コロニアルハウスに引き継がれていった。一方、タバコ会社のコロニアルハウスに見られた特徴からは、ダッチ・コロニアルハウスの様式の踏襲とは異なり、住宅様式の独自の展開が窺える。換言すると、この住宅様式の差異は、地元住民がコロニアルハウスを建設する際に、自身の生活様式に適用する過程において1930年代という限られた時間の中で発生した現象であると推察できる。

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