

DAMPAK SOSIAL PARIWISATA TERHADAP MASYARAKAT DESA  
EKOWISATA PAMPANG GUNUNG KIDUL MENUJU DESA EKOWISATA  
BERKELANJUTAN

*Elisa Dwi Rohani dan Yitno Purwoko*

DAYA TARIK MENJAMURNYA RESTORAN KOREA DI YOGYAKARTA

*Ummul Hasanah dan Th. Avilla Rencidiptya*

POST BEFORE EATING:

Motif Generasi Milenial Ponorogo dalam Fenomena Kuliner Kekinian  
Antara Penegakan Syariat dan Anomali

*Annisa Dwi Kurniawati*

NARASI INDUSTRI PARIWISATA HALAL DI JEPANG DAN JERMAN

*Hilda Rahmah dan Harry Harlen Tapotubun*

THE UTILISATION OF FACEBOOK GROUP IN BUILDING SOCIAL MEDIA-  
BASED BRAND COMMUNITY BY A SMALL MEDIUM ENTERPRISE IN

YOGYAKARTA

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SARASO ADO DI KAMPUANG:

Studi Etnografi Persaudaraan Perantau Minang di Rumah Makan Padang  
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*Arif Budi Darmawan dan Azinuddin Ikram Hakim*

IJEN CAR FREE DAY:

Gelanggang Olahraga Imajiner di Kota Malang

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## **A RAINBOW ON THE TABLE: Historical Study of Culinary Diversity in Solo**

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### **Abstract**

*This research attempts to understand the history of culinary diversity in Solo as a symbol of cultural harmony, as well as a regional economic power. The purpose of this research is motivated by the fact that Solo is known as a “radical city” and a city of conflict at national level. This study is expected to give a more comprehensive understanding of portrait of ethnic harmony which is reflected in the culinary cultures in order to lessen the negative image of Solo. The method used is historical method, including heuristics (gathering of sources), source criticism, analysis/interpretation and writing. The researcher dedicated most time and energy to do library and document research and conduct some interview with the culinary businessmen. The researcher applies the acculturation theory in order to understand the process of culinary diversity occurrence. The result shows that the diversity of culinary of Solo is created as a result of intensive inter-cultural association and is supported by the creativity of local communities in addressing a challenge that led to the creation of new types of food. The existence of Javanese, European, Chinese and Arabic communities in the past is accounted for the diversity of food on the table, which becomes a symbol of social harmony. From tourism perspective, the character of the people who have hobby of eating out and the availability of various types of culinary strengthen the image of Solo City as “keplek ilat” (mouthwatering) city. This fact in turn becomes the economic power of Solo City.*

**Keywords:** History of Culinary, Solo, Keplek Ilat, Cultural Harmony

### **Intisari**

Penelitian ini hendak memahami sejarah keragaman kuliner di Kota Solo yang menjadi simbol harmoni budaya sekaligus kekuatan ekonomi daerah. Tujuan itu dilatarbelakangi oleh keprihatinan bahwa wilayah Solo di lingkup nasional dikenal sebagai kota konflik dan radikal. Melalui studi ini diharapkan memperoleh pemahaman lebih komprehensif tentang potret kerukunan etnis yang tergambar dalam budaya kuliner untuk mengoreksi stigma buruk itu. Metode penelitian yang digunakan metode sejarah, mencakup heuristik (pengumpulan sumber), kritik sumber, analisis/interpretasi dan penulisan. Sebagian besar waktu dan energi penelitian tercurahkan untuk studi pustaka, studi dokumen dan ditambah wawancara dengan para pelaku usaha kuliner. Peneliti memakai teori akulturasi budaya untuk memahami proses terjadinya keragaman makanan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa keragaman kuliner di Kota Solo tercipta akibat dari pergaulan budaya antar komunitas yang intensif dan didukung pula kreativitas masyarakat setempat dalam menjawab suatu tantangan sehingga memunculkan jenis makanan baru. Keberadaan komunitas Jawa, Eropa, Tionghoa dan Arab di masa silam menyumbang keragaman makanan di meja makan, kemudian menjadi simbol harmoni sosial. Dalam perspektif pariwisata, karakter masyarakat yang mempunyai hobi jajan serta tersedianya aneka jenis kuliner tersebut membawa dampak menguatnya citra Solo sebagai kota “keplek ilat”. Kenyataan ini pada gilirannya menjadi kekuatan ekonomi Kota Solo. Itu menjadi bukti bahwa harmoni budaya terjadi di meja makan. Ada budaya lintas etnis dalam kuliner, yang terjadi tanpa konflik atau ketegangan

**Kata Kunci:** Sejarah Kuliner, Solo, *Keplek Ilat*, Budaya Harmoni

## Introduction

In the past, Solo (Surakarta) was known as the peaceful city. But, by the time, there is a series of unpleasant terms for Solo and make its residents uncomfortable until now. “City of conflict”, “petulant city”, “people of Solo tend to *ngalah* (surrender), *ngalih* (move away), and *ngamuk* (furious)”, and “terrorist nest” are the negative nicknames given by public for the birthplace of President Joko Widodo. That bad

images often appeared in the conference (Soedarmono dkk, 2005) and media coverage (Solopos, 18 Februari 2020).<sup>1</sup> The bad images attached are referring to the socio-historical reality in this city that is formerly a kingdom.

History records dozens of social conflicts, some are leading to ethnic conflicts. *First*, the clash of Laweyan village in 1911. The root of the problem was the competition of business interests between Javanese and Chinese merchant associations that led to the establishment of Islamic Trade Union.<sup>2</sup> *Second*, in 1980 and May 1998 Solo citizen raged and burned their city. Chinese downtown and its marketplace were destroyed and looted.<sup>3</sup> *Third*, a clash between Javanese community and Arab descendants also occurred in the 1970s. Although it was not accompanied by the act of scorching the city, it still added to the intolerance record in urban society.<sup>4</sup>

Then, the nickname “terrorist nest” refers to the fact that several terrorist leaders have lived or were born in this region. Still warm in memory, the brain of Sarinah’s bombardment yesterday was a young man from Solo and received his education at a state university in the city. Add to this the radical religious actions that embellish the area repeatedly emphasizing that some people seem to be familiar with radicalism. With a series of bitter facts presented above, the public that gives a bad stigma certainly cannot be blamed.

Slowly, the negative image which has already spread nationwide residing in the subconscious of the society, has the potential to justify them acting radically and destructively. This fact is really dangerous for young generation if left unchecked. It must be decided by presenting counter-discourse through the reconstruction of historical stories that contain aspects of harmony between ethnic and social communities. So far, historical researchers are engrossed in photographing events of the conflict and riots in Solo, because this theme is considered sexy and sells as if there is no other topics that are interesting, offers historical wisdom, and illustrates the coolness in social life. It also narrows the

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1 Soedarmono dkk, “Morfologi Kota Konflik Solo”, Surakarta: Solo Heritage Society, 2005. <https://www.solopos.com/menghapus-stigma-solo-sumbu-pendek-belajar-dari-konflik-1998-1047480>

2 Study the research of Takashi Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak: Radikalisme Rakyat di Jawa 1912-1926*, Jakarta: PT. Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1997.

3 See Wasino, *Wong Jawa dan Wong Cina: Liku-liku Hubungan Sosial Antara Etnis Tionghoa Dengan Jawa di Solo Tahun 1911-1998*. Semarang: Unnes Press, 2006.

4 This fact is alluded by Soedarmono and M. Hari Mulyadi. *Runtuhnya Kekuasaan Keraton Alit: Studi Radikalisasi sosial “Wong Sala” dan Kerusuhan Mei 1998 di Surakarta*. Surakarta: LPTP, 1999.

understanding that various ethnic groups find it difficult or never struggling to act for the collective kindness and culture in the future.

The culinary diversity of Solo is a topic that has been under-appreciated. When observed, this theme contains historical wisdoms, acculturations, and even symbols of cultural harmony, as well as challenging local potentials that can be raised to international level. From the result of Umar Kayam's exploration (1990, 1994, 1998), it can be known that Solo is known as a "*keplek ilat*" (mouthwatering) city and "culinary paradise", and having many typical foods resulting from dialectics of long history. *Nasi liwet*, *cabuk rambak*, *serabi*, *intip*, *jajan pasar*, *sate jamu*, *sate buntel*, *nasi goreng kebuli*, *tengkleng*, *timlo*, *selat*, *bakmi Solo*, and many others are culinary lists favored by foreign and domestic travelers. The information from Umar Kayam is no doubt since he grew in Solo and was known as "*si lidah cerdas*" (the intelligent tongue) because of his hobby to explore food stalls to enjoy and rate various culinary in that city.<sup>5</sup>

The scarcity of Solo's local culinary studies makes a fatal result, the claiming of Solo's cultural products by other regions. Confusion about the recognition of a culture by other people and/or regions often happens because of its unclear historical roots and the attention of the local society to the remains of the predecessors is so low. For this reason, historical legitimacy obtained through scientific studies is very important in order to strengthen local products as regional identities. In this case, culinary.

This paper is intended to answer the question how was the birth of the diversity of traditional foods in Solo which became a symbol of harmony in ethnic culture. Also, to know the struggles and contributions of Javanese, Chinese, European and Arabic ethnicities in culinary culture in Solo. The method used is the historical method, namely heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography.<sup>6</sup>

## **The Kind of Food as Culture Crosses and Culinary Diversity**

Before explaining the variety of food, the researcher will explain the reality of ethnicity in Solo in the past time, that will give impact to the culinary diversity. From the colonial era, Solo had emerged

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5 See Umar Kayam, *Mangan Ora Mangan Kumpul*, Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1990. Umar Kayam, *Sugih Tanpa Banda*, Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1994. Umar Kayam, *Mandhep Ngalor Sugih Mandep Ngidul Sugih*. Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1998.

6 Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1994.



as a multi-nationalist city. It refers to the historical facts of several social groups with different ethnic backgrounds inhabiting the city. Their presence in turn influenced the face of the city and the culture that developed, including culinary affairs. In the social structure of the Dutch East Indies, the top-down social pyramid is occupied by European community, Eastern Foreign (*Vreemde Oosterlingen*), and natives. While the royal version of the social ladder placed the nobility at the top level, then *priyayi* (nobility), and finally the commoners.<sup>7</sup> Below is a list of Solo citizen based on ethnic categories.

Table 1: Population of Surakarta in 1900

No	Ethnicity	Population
1	European	1.937
2	Chinese	5.129
3	Arab	171
4	Others	262
5	Native	101.960
Total		109.459

Taken from *Regeering Almanak* (1902)

Since the era of the kingdom until now, culinary in Solo is famous for being tasty and having many fans. This formed and sustain reality is not a coincidence, it is because of one factor, namely the character of society. Marbangun Hardjowirogo (1984) photographed the main feature of Surakarta-Javanese nobility is a connoisseur of *pol-polan* life (at its finest). *Priayi* of Surakarta can be classified as a hedonic creature who worships enjoyment in everything, especially food enjoyment.<sup>8</sup> Food is not only a matter of taste and filling bellies, but also a marker of social class or showing differences or dividing lines between groups.

Intercommunity social interactions encourage the introduction of cultural elements that are owned by each community and cultural acculturation takes place, without exception the culinary aspect. From various cities in Java, Solo is an intense place to be influenced by the arrival of various communities above. Habits or cultures that stick to the body of foreign communities apparently do not disappear in overseas lands despite their position as a minority and surrounded by the Javanese as the majority. Through intense cultural struggles and

7 Soedarmono and Merle Ricklef. "Segrerasi Sosial Religius di Kota Solo". Majalah *Diakronik*, Jurusan Sejarah Fakultas Sastra dan Seni Rupa UNS Surakarta, 2005.

8 Marbangun Hardjowirogo, *Adat Istiadat Jawa*. Bandung: PATMA, 1979.

struggles this is where culture crosses and culinary diversity is created.

This research will analyse the kind of food which is famous and become the favourite food of the people. This kind of foods can be categorized into some groups: *nasi liwet* (local), *selat* and *soup* (European), *bakmi toprak* (Chinese), *sate buntel* (Arabic), *timlo*, *tengkleng*, and *sate kere* (local creativity), and *sate jamu* (extrem).

### a) *Nasi Liwet*

Typical food of Solo which is a product of authentic Javanese culture and certainly not affected by foreign cultural influences, namely *nasi liwet* (boiled rice). In terms of making, *nasi liwet* is cooked by rice poured with coconut milk. This original culinary made by native consisted of savory white rice, sliced chicken, stir-fried chili with chayote, *kumut* (thick coconut milk) and steamed egg.

*Nasi liwet* is always present in the celebration of *Garebeg Sekaten* (commemorating Mawlid). Every *Bulan Mulud* (Mawlid), traditional Javanese people routinely hold *slametan* (thankful feast) events with *nasi liwet* or *nasi wuduk*. The ceremony is addressed to Prophet Muhammad so that blessing will be given to the people. Referring to the source of oral tradition, the messenger of God was very fond of eating *samin* rice (an Arabian food). Because Javanese cannot cook *samin* rice, they made a mock that almost identical, namely *nasi liwet*. For those who don't cook *nasi liwet* at home and don't follow the feast, it can be bought at *Sekaten* arena.

*Nasi liwet* merchants circulating in Solo are the majority originating from Baki, Sukoharjo. Until now, their spirits have bubbled up to produce such culinary from generation to generation. This was revealed in *Serat Jatno Hisworo* who described that Paku Buwana IX (1861-1893) bought up *nasi liwet* to feed the *pangrawit* (musical artists) of *keraton* (palace).<sup>9</sup> This facts shows that the *nasi liwet* made by the hands of experts (Baki people) has long touched the tongue of a fairly elite royal community. This fact opens the awareness that the curves of the culinary entrepreneurship of *nasi liwet* experiences continuity.

### b) *Selat*

The next food is the *selat* (salad), which is a representation of the great influence of the European community in the lives of the people of Solo, then until now. When criticized, the word *slatjee* is not accurate. The correct one for salad is *slaatje*. In Solo, according to information

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<sup>9</sup> *Serat Jatno Hisworo*

in search engines and in the public echo, the name of this food has adjusted to the Javanese tongue, which is *selat*.<sup>10</sup> In fact, in terms of the main ingredients and their shape, salad and *selat* are different types of cuisine. Although both use fresh vegetables, the most obvious difference is salad does not use beef, eggs and without sauce.

In Dutch dictionary, from a linguistic aspect, it was traced that the *selat* was adopted from the word *slachtje* (not *slatjee*). *Slachtje* roughly means: the result of slaughtering meat that is made into small pieces. At that time, the Javanese tongue was too difficult to recite *slachtje* imitating the tongue of a Dutch. No doubt, the sliced beef (*slachtje*) is the main ingredient of the *selat*. Other materials, namely *aardappel* (potatoes), *wortelen* (carrots), *boon* (beans), *komkommer* (cucumber), *sla* (slada), *ei* (egg), and *sojasous* (soy sauce), as well as mayonnaise.<sup>11</sup>

Europe community in Solo lived in luxury, serviced by maids, and obtained a high social status.<sup>12</sup> This dependence had an influence on the food they eat every day. Javanese cooks were free to present their experimental results to the dining table. Moreover, native and Dutch cooking utensils available in the kitchen that supports chefs' creativity. In this situation, *selat* was invented. Chicken eggs and cucumbers are typical ingredients of native people, because they are easily found around the yard of the house. The standard in Dutch food is beef, potatoes, carrots, lettuce, and beans.

The *selat* from the upper social group's kitchen was enjoyed on the table with spoons, forks, knives and plates while sitting on a chair, like eating steak. The lifestyle of this Dutch lords was imitated by local aristocrats in order to appear modern.

### c) Soup

Besides *selat*, there is a dish popularized by the Dutch colonial community, namely soup. In the early twentieth century, the European community had a hobby of traveling to the Tawangmangu highland to get pleasure and chill in the Dutch East Indies which had a tropical climate. According to the *Pikukuh* (Letter of Statement) written in the archives in the Reksopustaka Mangkunegaran library, many Dutch elites have rented villas for many years.<sup>13</sup>

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10 An Interview with Mbak Lies (Selat Bistro Owner) in Solo, 2017.

11 Wojowasito, S, *Kamus umum Belanda Indonesia*, Jakarta : Ichtiar Baru-Van Hoeve, 1997.

12 Reggie Baay. *Nyai dan Pergundikan di Hindia Belanda*. Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2010.

13 Luhur Pribadi. *Pengembangan Tawangmangu sebagai Daerah Wisata pada Tahun 1930-1942*. Skripsi pada Jurusan Ilmu Sejarah Fakultas Sastra dan Seni

Western culinary perk in the lodgings and villas with icy breeze on it. Europeans like to eat soup (*soep*) for an appetizer and warm the body when the cold season arrived. It is true that the food was made from a variety of vegetables which are mostly grown on the slopes of Mt. Lawu. Such as, cloves of garlic, onions, carrots, cabbages, potatoes, tomatoes, and green beans plus chopped chicken meat, pepper, table salt, sugar, and flavoring to taste. To be delicious and inviting, the soup with a sweet aroma is sprinkled with fried onions and sliced green onion pods. Native chefs inevitably have to be skilled at *cooking Western* food, especially soup. Along with other menus, it is equipped with sea fish, river fish, shrimp, eggs, and chili sauce, the soup serves as a *rijsttafel* (rice table) dish in lodgings and restaurants.<sup>14</sup>

#### **d) Timlo**

The best acculturation on the Solo-Indonesia culinary stage, namely *timlo*. This food is inspired by *kimlo*. *Kimlo* is a type of soup dish originating from China. The cuisine in the area of East Java and Central Java developed into soup and circulated in the Chinatown area. Researcher found valuable pieces of facts in the recipe book *Poetri Dapoer* (1941) compiled by a Chinese woman named Lie Hiang Hwa.<sup>15</sup>

It was written how to cook *kimlo* using a wok. First, fry 7 minced onions. Put the meat into the wok until it looks white, given a little salt and soy sauce afterwards. Then, boiling water is poured sufficiently. Put vermicelli, wood ears, and rice, plus the wet shrimp that have been washed (can be replaced by dried shrimps). Also add 5 potatoes sliced into four and 4-5 small pieces of cabbage leaf. Then, the wok is closed briefly so that the water boils. After that, transfer it on a saucepan and leave until cooked just removed. When about to eat, *kimlo* sprinkled with fried onions and soft pepper. If you like vinegar, you can use it to eliminate the fishy smell of shrimp.

After studying the recipe above and receiving influence of cultural contacts, the creativity of Solo people materialized. They were experimenting in *patwon* (Javanese kitchen), trying to cook a new food called *timlo*. They did not care about naming. They just replace the letter K with the letter T. Instead of pork, eggs and chicken innards were used because these food are popular as the main ingredient of Javanese in terms of cooking. It can also given sausages to make it

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Rupa UNS Surakarta. Tidak diterbitkan. 2007.

14 Fadly Rahman. *Rijsttafel: Budaya Kuliner di Indonesia Masa Kolonial, 1870-1942*. Jakarta: Gramedia. 2011.

15 Lie Hiang Hwa. *Poetri Dapoer*. Solo: Chen Company Solo. 1941.

more delicious. This make wider consumers and Muslim citizens can consume it without any worries.

#### e) *Bakmi Toprak*

There are several stalls selling *bakmi toprak* in Solo. Not only does cause warmth to the body, this soupy culinary also relatively makes the consumer mouthwatering. There are various kinds of foodstuffs in them. It is worth mentioning: *sosis Solo* (kind of spring roll), yellow noodles, beans, tofu, tempeh, *cakwe* (fried bread), vermicelli, *rambak* (fried cattle skin), cabbage, bean sprouts, fried onions, and beef. Judging from the perspective of anthropological history, *bakmi toprak* are the fruit of the historical process of crossing multi-ethnic culinary culture. The natives are represented by beans, tempeh, bean sprouts, cabbage, and fried onions produced from the backyard. While the Chinese civilization that flourished in the City of Bengawan from the seventeenth century contributed tofu, *rambak*, noodles, vermicelli, and *cakwe*.

The use of noodles in Java, according to the famous historian Denys Lombard (2005), has existed since the Majapahit era. From the term *laksa*, which is used in the Malacca Peninsula to refer to a kind of vermicelli appears in a charter dated 1391. The word *laksa* probably originated in India. Except for that word, the wealth of vocabulary in the specialty cuisine sector originates from mainland China. Namely, noodles (*mian*) is a popular terminology to refer to noodles from rice flour or from flour.<sup>16</sup>

Then, the social association of the Dutch colonial population with the Javanese elite in the dining room offered sausages and beef in this dish. A small trivia, Solo is a royal city in the land of Java which is equipped with *abattoir* or slaughterhouse (for cattle and pigs). The magnificent slaughterhouse was intentionally built to pay off the desire of Dutch lords who like to eat beef according to their customs in their home country.

#### f) *Tengkleng*

Not all food in Solo is born from the results of acculturation, but also the result of creativity Solo people dealing with tough life. *Tengkleng* were present in order to deal with a strangling situation, precisely in the Japanese occupation period. Regarding creativity in

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16 Denys Lombard. *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya. Jaringan Asia*. Jakarta: Gramedia, 2005. Juga pelajari Aji 'Chen' Bromokusumo. *Peranakan Tionghoa dalam Kuliner Nusantara*. Jakarta: Kompas. 2013.

the field of food, the Solo people have been trained and the results are difficult to be underestimated. The arrival of Japanese invaders in Surakarta affected the social life of the people.

Legal expert from Solo, Mr. Soewidji (1973) said, everyday life became more difficult in that time. Food and clothing are increasingly difficult to find. Just to overcome the rampant hunger, underground stem of banana tree are also used as food ingredients.<sup>17</sup> Goat bone and innards are also processed with different seasonings. The recipe is also not too difficult to find in traditional markets. In general, the recipe list is as follows, coconut, ginger, turmeric, lemon grass, fresh orange leaves, galangal, cinnamon, bay leaf, dried cloves, garlic, onion, table salt, candlenut, nutmeg, and soy sauce.

*Tengkleng* is not only a taste, but also a philosophy: not to be easily defeated by the sufferings of life. Not only technical matters, but also the value of culinary knowledge passed down for decades. It is not only a matter of choosing the remaining goat meat, the amount of coconut milk and seasoning, but it is not a waste of the ingredients given by God even though it is in the form of bones and innards.

#### g) *Sate Buntel*

Not only *tengkleng*, creative efforts of Solo people also gave birth to *sate buntel*. Departing from the law or theory of challenges and answers, humans are forced to be creative in order to work around a condition, then produce something that can be used to answer that challenge. As a matter of food. Solo is affixed with the title “retirement city”. The terminology is in the romance that describes the state of Surakarta in the 1950s. After retirement, modern bureaucracy or *priyayi* employees choose or remain in Solo to spend their old days. The strong reason, this city is *nguler kambang* (the citizens have relaxed attitude), relatively cheap price so affordable need with money retirees, and provided a numerous of types of food depending on the wallet.<sup>18</sup>

These former bureaucrats continue to advance with *priyayi* lifestyle: *urip nglaras* (relaxed), *ngiras* (eating outside), and *keplek ilat* (eating fine foods). *Priyayi* culture has entered deeply in their lives. Despite of old age, the desire to eat satay does not go out. That fact raises problems for them as well as merchants. Merchants turn their minds so that buyers do not run away and continue to channel their

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17 Soewidji. *Kisah Nyata di Pinggir Jalan Slamet Riyadi di Surakarta*. Surakarta: Yayasan Sastra Jawa/ Indonesia. 1973.

18 Kamadaja. *Solo di Waktu Malam*. Djakarta: Roman Gapura. 1950.

appetite for satay. Merchants are creative in grinding soft meat and wrapped in goat fat. The old devotees of culinary can eat without minding the toughness of the meat.

#### **h) Sate Kere**

*Sate kere* (poor satay) made from *tempe gembus* (soft tempeh) and cattle innards is a cultural portrait of the commoner against the aristocratic group. The wasteful life and the pleasure of the *keplek ilat* in food stalls or restaurants is part of the lifestyle of the aristocrats who copied the life of European planters in the Indies. The commoners clearly unable to follow the *priyayi* lifestyle. Eating goat satay, means ready to refrain themselves for days. Cannot be denied, goat satay is tempting for everyone. In addition to deliciousness, it also represents upper-middle class culinary delights. So, there is no other choice but to create a counter culture in order to fulfill his desires and illusions.

Theoretically, counter culture arises as an alternative to a phenomenon of cultural domination, and comes from empirical facts.<sup>19</sup> Provided with a little money, they finally glanced at the *tempe gembus* and cattle innards, a variety of materials that are often disposed of in the kitchen. If it is sold, certainly with a low-priced worth. The ingredients include lard, tripe, and tripas are made into satay with spiced peanut sauce. Although the ingredients are different, ordinary people still call it the term “satay”, or skewered food. Nowadays, *sate kere* is actually a cross-class food, even the price is no longer “*kere*”. It could be said that the degree is uplifted.<sup>20</sup>

#### **i) Sate Jamu**

This type of food was once a fuss in Solo. City of Bengawan is branded as the second largest city after Jakarta in terms of consuming dog meat. Various processed dog meat products, namely satay, *tongseng* (stir-fried meat), *rica-rica* (spicy meat), and *grabyasan* (fried meat). Before people were affected by Islam, pigs and dogs were the most efficient diversion of grain. Referring to historian Anthony Reid (2011), dogs have become residents’ meals in several places. Dogs are more interpreted as “master-less creatures” in Southeast Asia, not human best friends.<sup>21</sup>

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19 Kuntowijaya. *Raja, Priyayi, dan Kawula*. Yogyakarta: Ombak. 2006.

20 Heri Priyatmoko, *Keplek Ilat: Sejarah Wisata Kuliner Solo*. Jakarta: Direktorat Sejarah. 2017.

21 Anthony Reid. *Asia Tenggara dalam Kurun Niaga 1450-1680*. Jilid I: *Tanah di Bawah Angin*. Jakarta: YOI. 2011.

It has become a natural law that a food has been successfully preserved for decades even centuries because it has clear consumers and regeneration goes smoothly, as the *sate jamu* ("herbal" dog meat satay) merchant passing down the heritage of cooking dog meat from children to their grandchildren. The menu is in demand thanks to the support of some *Abangan* (primordial) and non-Muslim communities. Drunken culture combined with a *tambul* (light meal) of meat and bones of dogs that have been tilled in a *pawon* even fertilize this habit. Culture of *omben-omben* (drunk of liquor) ceaseless in Solo, so it is understandable if the former royal city is affixed with the title as the second largest city after Jakarta in matters of eating dog meat.

## Conclusion

From the description above, several things can be drawn as a conclusion. *First*, the originality of food and the results of creativity. Javanese traditional food is not always influenced by outside culture because it is able to survive with all its simplicity which actually amazes and desired by the society, such as *nasi liwet*. Likewise, a food is created by human creativity which bring up a new type of food, namely *sate kere*.

*Second*, there is a bright side to colonialism that has been revealed. Talking about Dutch colonial is not only about the exploitation and cultivation, but also aspects of lifestyle and culinary culture. In addition to the Chinese community, Europe has a big role in shaping culinary diversity in Solo, although it has undergone modifications. The Dutch and Indo communities returned to the Netherlands after the Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia. But there are traces left behind, namely the culinary heritage that overflowed the dining table of the archipelago. *Selat*, for example, emerged from the results of Dutch cultural dialogue with local residents. Without the presence of the European community, Indonesians find it difficult to eat this culinary.

*Third*, cultural harmony occurs at the dinner table. In the context of food affairs, the Chinese have succeeded in bringing various types of typical food to the table of the citizens of Solo without being accompanied by conflict or tension. Ethnicity sentiment does not apply alias shed at the buffet table. The tendency of intolerance towards pluralism and "native and non-native" issues which is now a crucial national problem is not found at the dinner table. A piece of encouraging historical reality is that the contribution of the Chinese



community is not small in increasing the diversity of food in Solo, so there is a “rainbow” on our dining table.

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Majalah Selera

Heri Priyatmoko

Koran Djawi Hisworo

Koran Dharmo Kondo

Serat Jatno Hisworo

Serat Centhini