

ISLAM AND CHINESENESS*

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It is worth pausing for a moment to consider the relationships that were able to exist between the expansion of Islam in the East Indies and the simultaneous formation of “Chinese” communities. These two phenomena are usually presented in opposition to one another and it is pointless here to insist on the numerous conflicting accounts, past and present.¹ Nevertheless, properly considered, it quickly becomes apparent that this is a question of two parallel developments which had their origins in the urban environment, and which contributed to a large extent to the creation of “middle class” merchants, all driven by the same spirit of enterprise even though they were in lively competition with one another. Rather than insisting once more on the divergences which some would maintain are fundamental—going as far as to assert, against all the evidence, that the Chinese “could not imagine marrying outside their own nation,” and that they remain unassimilable—we would like here to draw the reader’s attention to a certain number of long-standing facts which allow a reversal of perspective.

Chinese Muslims and the Local Urban Mutation of the 14th–15th Centuries

No doubt the problem arose along with the first signs of the great urban transformation of the 15th century. The fundamental text is that of the Chinese (Muslim) Ma Huan, who accompanied the famous Admiral Zheng He on his fourth expedition in the South Seas (1413–1415), and reported at the time of their passage through East Java that the population was made up of natives, Muslims (*Huihui*), as well as Chinese (*Tangren*) many of whom were Muslims. A contemporary text, the *Xiyang fanguo zhi* [Records of the Foreign Countries in the Western Ocean] even goes as far as to say that “All of these Chinese were Muslims.”²

* The French version of this article originally appeared in *Archipel* 30 (1985): 73–94.

¹ Note that in 1979 there appeared in Semarang (Central Java) an interesting little study by Amen Budiman, titled *Masyarakat Islam Tionghoa di Indonesia* [The Chinese Muslim Community of Indonesia] (Semarang: Tanjung Sari, 1979), 75 pp., in which the author makes an attempt to retrace the difficult history of the Muslim Chinese of Indonesia. Cf. our review in *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, Paris, May–August 1980, pp. 859–61.

² Ma Huan, *Ying-yai Sheng-lan, The Overall Survey of the Ocean’s Shores (1433)*, translated and edited by J. V. G. Mills (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Hakluyt Society, 1970), p. 93; *Xiyang fanguo zhi*, commentary editor: Xiang Da (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1954), p. 8.

We know, moreover, from Chinese sources, that there was an important Muslim community and a mosque at Canton as far back as the 9th century, and that the Muslim merchants played a very important role in the coastal towns of China (Canton but also Quanzhou) in the 13th and 14th centuries.³ One can easily understand that these communities had their contacts along the Champa coast as well as at the eastern ports of Java.

It is known that the late Javanese historian Slamet Muljana used these facts along with a few others to advance the theory that the Chinese were able to participate in the Islamization of Java,⁴ and that his ill-considered work, which was published in 1968, was withdrawn from circulation in 1971, by order of the public prosecutor. Nevertheless, several facts of an archeological and textual order justify one in thinking that Prof. Slamet Muljana was not completely wrong. It is now commonplace to retrace the influences of a certain Chinese art in the first Islamized monuments of the Pasisir or Java's northern coastal area,⁵ and the experts in *babad* (chronicles), the late Messrs. de Graaf and Pigeaud have clearly signaled, in their study on the first Muslim kingdoms in Java, the extent to which the presence of the Chinese is perceptible everywhere.⁶ At Gresik (East Java), which Ma Huan presents to us in the 15th century as a small Chinese town, lived a certain Nyai Pinatih, of Chinese origin, born at Palembang (Sumatra) and converted to Islam, who received as a small child the future Raden Paku, the first Lord of Giri (East Java).⁷ A little further south, at Surabaya, the *Pecat tanda*, that is "the head of the market" of Terung, was a Chinese used as an official by the administration of Mojopahit, who installed and protected the young Muslim who had come from Champa.⁸ He was to become Raden Rachmat. At Demak (Central Java) not only the somewhat doubtful Chinese chronicle, referred to by Slamet Muljana, but also the *Hikayat Hasanudin* expressly stated that the founder of the first Javanese sultanate was a Chinese. Also at Japara (Central Java) it was a shipwrecked Chinese captain who married Ratu Kalinyamat and founded one of the most important harbor towns of the Pasisir. All of

³ On these Muslim communities in southern China, see the study, fundamental for our purpose, of J. Kubarawa, "On P'u Shou-keng," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tôyô Bunko* [Tokyo] 2, 1 and 7, 1 (1928 and 1935). Pu Shougeng was an important Muslim merchant of Quanzhou who eased the way for the Mongol success. See also Chen Dasheng and Ludvik Kalus, *Corpus d'Inscriptions Arabes et Persanes en Chine*. 1 Province du Fujian (Quan-zhou, Fu-zhou, Xia-men) (Paris: Geutner, 1991), 443 pp.

⁴ Slamet Muljana, *Runtuknja Keradjaan Hindu-Djawa dan Timbulnja Negara-negara Islam di Nusantara* [The Fall of the Hindu-Javanese Kingdom and the Rise of Islamic States in the Archipelago] (Jakarta: Bhratara, 1968), 272 pp. Note that before the appearance of Slamet Muljana's book, a controversial Javanese text, the *Serat Dermagandul*, no doubt written around 1878, in the Kediri region (East Java), positively considered the *wali* as Chinese comparing them derisively to white herons (*bangau*) of the paddy-fields whose hoopoe makes one think of a braid; cf. G.W.J. Drewes, "The Struggle between Javanism and Islam as illustrated by the *Serat Dermagandul*," *BKI* 122 (1966): 311, 364.

⁵ See in particular Uka Tjandrasasmita, "Art de Mojopahit et art du Pasisir," *Archipel* 9 (1975): 93-98.

⁶ H.J. de Graaf and Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *De eerste Moslimse vorstendommen op Java, Studiën over de staatkundige geschiedenis van de 15de en 16de eeuw* [The First Muslim Kingdoms of Java, Studies in the Political History of the 15th and 16th Centuries], *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1974), 318 pp.; see also from the same authors: *Chinese Muslims in Java in the 15th and 16th Centuries, The Malay Annals of Semarang and Cerbon*, edited by M. C. Ricklefs. Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, n° 12 (Clayton, Vic.: Monash University, 1984), 221 pp.

⁷ According to the dynastic documents of the small state of Ryû Kyû, written in Chinese, it appears that Nyai Pinatih was no other than the elder daughter of Shi Jinqing, a Chinese native to Guangdong province, who from 1405 to 1421, ran the port of Palembang; cf. Tan Yeok Seong, "Chinese Elements in the Islamisation of South East Asia. A Study of the Strange Story of Njai Gede Pinatih, the Grand Lady of Gresik," in *Proceedings of the Second Biennial Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia Oct. 6. 9. 1962*, held at Taiwan Provincial Museum, Taipei, Taiwan, pp. 399-408.

⁸ A small state located in present Vietnam, which was gradually annexed by the Vietnamese.

this is confirmed by Tomé Pires who tells us that "The Javanese used to have affinity with the Chinese" and that the religion of Mohammed was widespread among the cosmopolitan population of the coast made up of Chinese, Arabs, Gujaratees, and Bengalees and other nationalities.⁹

Collaboration of the Chinese Muslim Merchants with the Social Order of the Sultanates

Whatever the origins may be, it is undeniable that Dutch and English sources have, from as far back as the beginning of the 17th century, provided us with plentiful information on Muslim dignitaries of Chinese origin employed in the principal towns of the Javanese Pasisir, and a little later, in some of the large ports of the outer islands. The research was never carried out systematically and here we shall only give a few examples gleaned at random from our readings. They allow us to seize upon a whole social group, sufficiently desirous of participating in local administration to be converted, take a vernacular title, and settle permanently in their host country. Most of these converts married native women, and it is obvious that in the following generation, the children sought to follow the model that had been set.

Without doubt, our best examples concern Banten (West Java), whose merchant society can be considered representative of that of the sultanates. From the end of the 16th century, the account of the first Dutch fleet¹⁰ makes it clear that one must distinguish "natural Chinese," that is, those remaining loyal to their ancestral religion, from those "who have lived here for a long time, and who have adopted the Mohammedan faith." This evidence is confirmed a little later by Edmund Scott (1603–1605) who has a quite interesting passage on these two kinds of Chinese: "The Chyneses are very craftie people in trading, using all kind of cosoning and deceit which may possible be devised. They have no pride in them, nor will refuse any labour, except they turne Javans (as many of them doe when they have done a murther or some other villanie)."¹¹ John Jourdain, passing through Banten in 1614, also tells us that the Regent (the *Pangeran Protector*) had close to him two or three Chinese converted to Islam who were his principal advisers and assistants: "And therefore hee keepeth neere him two or three China slaves alias China torn coates beinge become Mahometans. These I say, are his cheife councill and doe direct all the buysiness under him."¹² Echoes of this can be found in a report of Cornelis Buysero, dated March 1617: "According to the Javanese themselves, he uses as his counsel nothing but greedy, false thieves: shaven Chinese."¹³ A little later the *Dagh Register* (Daily Register kept in Batavia by the [Dutch] United East India Company or VOC) also speaks at various times of Chinese assuming high offices at the court of Banten, often pointing out that they were indeed Muslims. In November 1656, for

⁹ *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, translated and edited by Armando Cortesao (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1944), second series, n° LXXXIX, vol. 1, pp. 179, 182.

¹⁰ G. P. Rouffaer and J. W. Yzerman, *De Eerste Shipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder C. de Houtman (1595–1597)* [The First Dutch Fleet to the East Indies under C. de Houtman (1595–1597)], vol. 1 (La Haye: Nijhoff, 1915), p. 124.

¹¹ Edmund Scott, *An Exact Discourse of the Subtilities, Fashions (sic), Politics, Religion, and Ceremonies of the East Indians, as well Chyneses as Javans, there abyding dwelling together . . .* (London, 1606), re-ed. in Sir William Foster ed., *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, 1604–1606* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1943) second series, n° LXXXVIII, p. 174.

¹² W. Foster, *The Journal of John Jourdain, 1608–1617*, (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1905), p. 316.

¹³ Cited in Léonard Blussé, "Western Impact on Chinese Communities in Western Java at the Beginning of the 17th Century," *Nampô Bunka* (Kyoto) 9 (1975): 33.

example, we are told of “a certain Chinese Captain and a certain Abdul Wakki, Syahbandar of Banten, both heads shaven for a long time, and Muslims, the first carrying the title of *Kyai*,¹⁴ and enjoying a large fortune and great prestige, the other being one of our confirmed enemies.” In 1682, the same year as the fall of Banten, we are told yet again of a certain Sincko, alias Abdul Mopit, who fled from Banten and took to Batavia news concerning Sultan Ageng and his castle at Tirtayasa (1st July).¹⁵

This model of a merchant-government official Muslim of Chinese origin is attested to throughout the 17th century in various parts of the Javanese Pasisir. In 1623 we are told of a certain Lim Lacco (d. 1645), a Chinese Muslim from Banten and adviser of the Pangeran who decided to side with the Dutch and settled in Batavia, where he was appointed Captain of his nation in 1636;¹⁶ two years later we are told of a certain Inche Muda, the very son-in-law of the famous So Bing Kong (c. 1580–1644), who had settled at Kendal (between Pekalongan and Semarang) and traded in pepper with Jambi (South Sumatra).¹⁷ There can be no question here of giving an exhaustive list of all these Chinese *syahbandar* or harbor masters. Let us again cite *Kyai* Aria Martanata, Captain of the Chinese of Cirebon from 1692 to 1697: “den geschoren Chinees Kiay Aria Martana, sijnde sabandaar en hoofd van die van sijne natie tot Sirrebon. . . .”¹⁸

Other comparable examples are to be found in the same way in the various ports of the Archipelago. Here is what William Dampier tells us concerning a Chinese from Aceh, converted to Islam around 1689:

While I was in Tonquin, a Chinese inhabiting here turn'd from his *Paganism* to *Mohametanism*, and being circumcised, he was thereupon carry'd in great state thro the city on an Elephant, with one crying before him, that he was turn'd *Believer*. This man was call'd the Captain of the *China Camp*; for as I was informed, he was placed there by countrymen as their chief Factor or Agent, to negociate their affairs with the people of the country. Whether he had dealt falsly, or was only envied by others, I know not: but his countrymen had so entangled him in law, that he had been ruined, if he had not made use of this way to disingage himself; and then his *Religion* protected him, and they could not meddle with him.¹⁹

At Makassar (Celebes), a local chronicle, still handwritten in Romanized Malay, alludes to a family descended from a Chinese Muslim from the end of the 17th century, and says of his origins:

They were two brothers, originating from the land of the Huihui (that is Muslims come from China), the elder was called Panlaoetia, the younger Laitji, both of them had left their country after disappointments. They had boarded boats and migrated towards

¹⁴ *Kyai*: appellation for a venerated scholar, teacher of Islam.

¹⁵ Cf. C. and D. Lombard-Salmon, “A propos de quelques stèles chinoises récemment retrouvées à Banten, Java ouest” [About some Chinese stela recently found at Banten, West Java], *Archipel* 9 (1975): 109–11.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

¹⁷ B. Hoetink, “So Bing Kong, het eerste hoofd der Chineezzen te Batavia (eene nalezing)” [So Bing Kong, The first Head of the Chinese at Batavia, a Supplement], *BKI* 79 (1923): 2.

¹⁸ B. Hoetink, “Chineesche officieren te Batavia onder de Compagnie” [The Chinese Officers in Batavia under the Company], *BKI* 78 (1922): 101.

¹⁹ William Dampier, *Voyages and Descriptions*, vol. II in three Parts: 1. A Supplement of the Voyage round the World, Describing the countreys of Tonquin, Achin, Malacca and their Products, Inhabitants, Manners, Trade, Policy (London: np, 1699), pp. 137–38.

Cirebon in Java. There Laitji married the daughter of the *tumenggung*²⁰ of Batang (to the east of Pekalongan), after which they shared their fortune and Panlaoetia asked his younger brother for permission to continue his voyage in the direction of the east as far as Makassar and up to the land of Sanrabone. There he stayed and sought to earn a living by all means possible.²¹

Beyond isolated examples, it is relatively easy to find a more consistent tendency, especially from the beginning of the 18th century, when our sources become a little more abundant. In almost every one of the principal towns there appeared at this time, a Peranakan (local born Chinese) community made up of converted Chinese. We shall not take up here the much cited eye-witness report of Wang Dahai (1791), who spoke of the Chinese *Selam* who had turned away from the teachings of the "old sages" and had been regrouped by the Dutch under separate Captains,²² but will recall here a few more precise examples.

The first concerns the Chinese communities which from the beginning of the 18th century actively contributed to the exploitation of the tin mines at Bangka. Before the Dutch administration had recourse to the massive importation of Hakka coolies, these deposits were exploited by Chinese families converted to Islam. The report of Thomas Horsfield (1848) is clear on this point: "Several families, the names of the heads of which are recorded by the inhabitants of Minto (Muntok), formed the first stock of colonisation; the chief of these was the father-in-law of Raden Lumbu (i.d. Sultan Badaruddin); they were of Chinese descent, but their ancestors for several generations had embraced the Mahomedan religion . . . the physiognomy of the present generation evidently indicates their Chinese derivation. . . ." Horsfield also adds that it was a habit of the Sultans of Palembang to marry one of the daughters of these worthy people of Muntok: "The custom of marrying a daughter of one of the principal inhabitants of Minto has been kept as a religious duty by the the sovereign of Palembang; and it has been considered as treasonable for a subject from the capital to contract matrimony with any of the daughters of the descendants of the first migrants."²³ A little later, in 1854, J.F.B. Storm confirmed, for Palembang this time, the tendency of the Chinese to convert: "They distinguish themselves, like elsewhere, by their dress, their morals and their religion, but more than anywhere else in the Indies, they are attracted to local dress, and it has resulted in a large number of them becoming Muslims in the course of time; many of the Palembangese have, moreover, in the past, like today, married Chinese. Most of these Chinese women are of the Muslim religion."²⁴

This collaboration of the Chinese in the social order of the sultanate of Palembang is found frequently in Java as well, where we have indisputable proof for the same era of their integration into the local society. Amongst the very many examples, we shall give here that of the Han family of Surabaya whose first ancestor in Java, Han Siong Kong (b. in China in 1673), died in Bojonegoro (to the southeast of Lasem) in 1744, and whose descendents we have been able to trace to the present day. It is interesting to observe how entire branches of this family have converted to Islam and have assimilated into the surrounding Javanese society, to the point of forgetting their origin. A genealogy, carefully kept since the 18th

²⁰ *Tumenggung*: title of high-ranking administrative officer.

²¹ *Sedjarah Melajoe di Makassar* [History of the Malays in Makassar], manuscript kept at the Yayasan Sulawesi, Makassar, under the n° 139, pp. 29–30.

²² Cf. Ong-Tae-Hae, *The Chinaman Abroad or A Desultory Account of the Malayan Archipelago, particularly of Java*, transl. by W.H. Medhurst (Shanghai: The Missions Press, 1849), p. 33.

²³ Thomas Horsfield M.D., "Report of the Island of Banka," *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, 1848, p. 309.

²⁴ F. J. B. Storm, "De Stad Palembang" (The City of Palembang), *BKI*, 1856, p. 458.

century and currently retained by the Han family of Surabaya, has preserved the memory of certain members, converted in order to integrate into the ranks of the administration and those of the Javanese nobility. In the second generation, two sons of Han Siong Kong embraced Islam; one being appointed Adipati of Bangil (East Java) and the other Regent in Tegal (West Java). In the third generation, a son of a brother of the Captain of the Surabayan Chinese Han Bwee Kong (1727–1778) and in the fourth, two of the four sons of the Lieutenant of the Surabayan Chinese, Han Soe Sik (1767–1827), converted in turn. Whereas the memory of the two brothers of the Captain of Surabaya and of their descendants has been kept alive thanks to their high position within the Javanese society,²⁵ that of the rest of the converted Han is lost.

It so happens that one can rediscover in the European sources a trace of these ennobled Chinese. This is the case, it seems, for Kyai Dipati Suro Adinegoro, who is mentioned in the Mackenzie Collection reports as being Dipati of Bangil and nephew of the Captain of the Surabayan Chinese Han Bwee Kong. Daendels (Governor General of the Dutch Indies from 1808 to 1811) had found his manner of administering his district so exemplary, that he had summoned him to Semarang to confer a decoration upon him.²⁶ We know that on examining the *silsilah* or genealogies of numerous families of *bupati* or regents, some illustrious ancestor of Chinese origin can be easily recognized. Rothenbühler tells us that in 1798, with regard to Pekalongan, the grandfather of the Regent Raden Adipati Jayadiningrat, passed as having been “a Peranakan (or local born) Chinese who had embraced the Muslim religion,” and he added, “This man having insinuated himself in favor with the Emperor Pakubuwono the first obtained this regentship from him.”²⁷

Running parallel to this assimilation on the highest level, there followed an integration on the most humble strata. At the beginning of the 19th century, before the Dutch took the political and economic situation of the Indies in hand, numerous towns had next to their Chinese *kampung*, a *kampung Peranakan* or local-born Chinese district, like Semarang, where Knops tells us in an 1814 manuscript report of their separate community and of their leader “titled exclusively Captain”: “As the Parnakkangs have become Mohammedans or are by birth, they live more in the style of the country than in the Chinese way. Their job is generally fishing and the navy, hiring themselves out as sailors or skippers of entire vessels . . . they are whiter than the normal to be Javanese but not as white as the Chinese. They marry Javanese women; this results in mixed blood which become less so from generation to generation.”²⁸

²⁵ They even compiled their own genealogy which is kept in Sidoarjo, south of Surabaya. For more detail about the history of this family of long standing in Indonesia, see Claudine Salmon, “The Han Family of East Java—Entrepreneurship and Politics (18th–19th Centuries),” *Archipel* 41 (1991): 53–87 where a simplified genealogy of the family is to be found along with a list of the Muslim members of the Han family who were officials.

²⁶ India Office, London, *Mackenzie Collection*, Private 82 (n° 26, p. 268 sqq): “On the Present State and Management of the District of Bangel = Bangil, with an account of the origin and history of the celebrated Kiai Dipatty Sooro-Adi-Nogoro = Kyahi Dipati Sura Adinegara, Knight of the Order of Holland at present Tumunggung = Tumengung of Tuban = Toeban,” (India Office Library, London). Cf also Heather Sutherland, “Notes on Java’s Regent families,” *Indonesia* 16 (October 1973): 145, who in particular credits the conversions in the Han family to the first generation and not to the second; cf. also Salmon, “The Han Family of East Java,” pp. 66ff.

²⁷ *Mackenzie Collection*, Private 7, p. 57 (English translation of the report of Rothenbühler on Pekalongan).

²⁸ *Mackenzie Collection*, Unbound translations, Class XIV, 32. A report of J. A. Middlekoop (*Mackenzie Collection*, Private 6, p. 211) mentions for the same period that the Peranakan Muslim community of Surabaya took to small business but was nevertheless in a state of great poverty. These communities gradually merged into the local Indonesian societies from the second half of the 19th century onwards. The fact is expressly reported concerning those of Makassar and Sumenep. Cf. The Siauwi Giap, “Religion and Overseas Chinese Assimilation in Southeast

Cultural Contribution of Peranakan Muslims

Although our information is skimpy, we can try to retrace a few traits of this Peranakan Muslim "subculture." For this, we have at our disposal a few archeological and textual elements.

It is known that there existed in Java at the very least a few mosques traditionally attributed to Chinese Peranakan communities. One of the best known is the Mesjid Pacinan of Banten; its square-shaped minaret was restored by the archeological service in the mid-1970s.²⁹

To tell the truth, we lack here a positive epigraph and are forced to remark that nothing in the decor is typically Chinese. This monument does not figure in the oldest plans and it can be supposed that the Peranakan slowly annexed the mosque, built by others (note that in another area of Banten, there exists a mosque with a similarly square-shaped tower whose history has nothing to do with the Chinese). We can also cite, at Jakarta, the mosque of Krukut, in the district of the same name (to the west of Molenvliet), which we know with certitude was founded in 1785, on the initiative of Tamien Dosol Seeng, Captain Commander of the Peranakan.³⁰ The mosque of Kebon Jeruk (not far from there, to the east of Molenvliet, in the actual Jl. Ayam Wuruk), seems to have served Chinese Muslims from the 18th century, as attested to by the famous tomb of Lady Cai, dated from 1792, which is close at hand, and which is most likely that of the founder.³¹ It is interesting to note that when the mosque burned in 1937, it was the manager of a Chinese firm, Lauw Tjeng Yoe, who bore the cost of its restoration.³² Note further that inside the so-called "Balinese" mosque (in Angke district) could be found until very recently a Muslim tombstone with a Chinese inscription.³³ In everything that has been previously mentioned, we have clear proof that at least certain believers were of Chinese origin, but there are many other mosques, in Java as

Asian countries," *Revue du Sud-est Asiatique* 2(1965): 73. However the development of collective ancestral temples and funeral associations in significant numbers after the mid-19th century, shows that some segments of the Chinese community tried very hard to stop the Islamization process, which apparently was still very strong in the 1850s and 1860s; cf. Claudine Salmon, "Conflicts of Customs in Surabaya: Around the Hokkien Kong Tik Soe (19th century)," forthcoming. Another line of research would be the participation of Chinese Muslims in the Indonesian anticolonial wars. To date we have found two pieces of information. The first concerns the alliance between Raden Prawiro and a Chinese Muslim of the name of Boengseng who launched an uprising in 1839 against the Dutch. We know little of this Chinese except that he spoke native and Arabic languages and that he concealed himself under an Arabic costume; cf. J. Steijn Parvé, "Landverhuur in de Vorstenlanden en javasche oorlog" [Landrenting in the Principalities and the Java War], *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* 2 (1850): 52-53. The second concerns Ibu Melati, a *dukun* of Chinese origin, who after her conversion to Islam, was adopted by a certain Hadji Getol of Kresek and who played a very important role in the preparation of the uprising which took place at Tangerang in 1924; cf. Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Protest Movements in Rural Java* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies/ Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 50, 53-54.

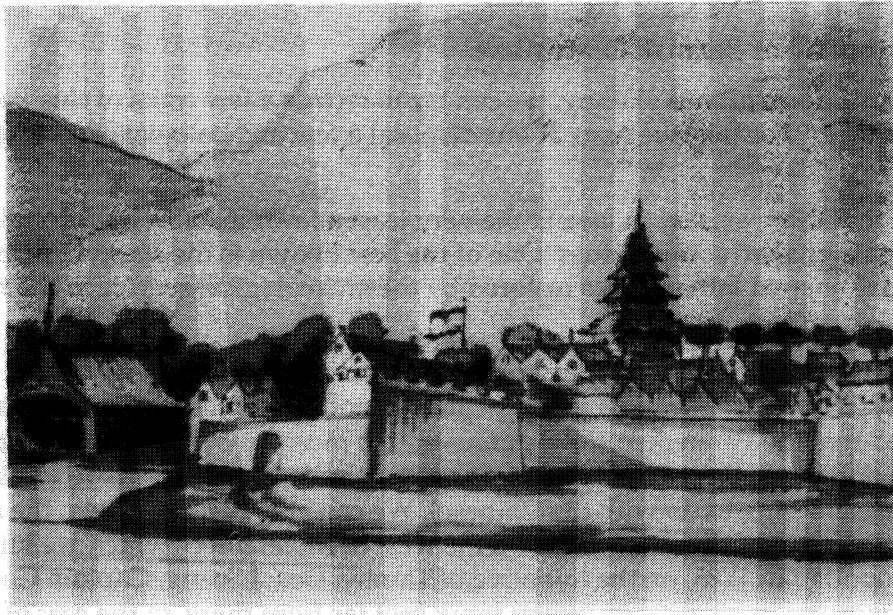
²⁹ For a reproduction of the minaret, see *Archipel* 9 (1975), opposite p. 112.

³⁰ Cf. C. Salmon and D. Lombard, *Les Chinois de Jakarta, temples et vie collective/ The Chinese of Jakarta Temples and Communal Life*, *Etudes insulindiennes-Archipel*: 1 (Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1980), p. 298.

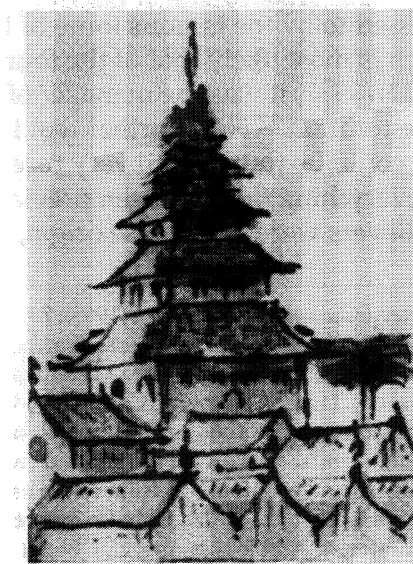
³¹ For a reproduction of Lady Cai's tomb, see De Haan, *Oud Batavia* [Ancient Batavia] (Batavia: Kolf, 1922), Platen Album E.16.

³² Cf. Phoa Kian Soe, "Islam Tionghoa di Jakarta" [Chinese Islam in Jakarta], *Sunday Courier* (Jakarta), May 6, 1953, pp. 10-11.

³³ For more details about this mosque see "A travers Jakarta (1), la mosquée balinaise" [Through Jakarta" (1), The Balinese Mosque], *Archipel* 3 (1972): 97-101; a reproduction of the tombstone inscription of "Lady Chen, née Wang" is to be found opposite p. 97.



View of Japura, with detail of the 5-storey mosque (probably from the 18th century); see n. 34.



elsewhere, where it is easy to recognize—be it in the architecture, the decor, or the furnishings—the hand of Chinese artisans; there is, however, no absolute proof that these artisans were themselves Muslims. Among the oldest mosques, one can mention that of Japara, whose five levels make one think of a pagoda, and the mosque of Hasan Suleiman, at Ambon in the Moluccas, whose ancient structure we know, thanks to a drawing by Valentijn, shows a circular door in the best style of the gardens of Suzhou.³⁴ Here we shall not

³⁴ Concerning the ancient mosque of Japura, destroyed at an undetermined date, see the articles of H.J. de Graaf: "De moskee van Djapara," *Djawa* 16 (1936):160–62; "De oorsprong der javanese moskee," *Indonesië* 1(1947–48): 289–307 (English version: "The Origin of the Javanese Mosque," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 4,1 [Singapore] (1963): 1–5. In the first article in *Djawa*, the author reproduces an illustration taken from the *Voyages* of Wouter Schouten (Amsterdam, 1676) representing well the five-storey mosque. We give here a more recent image (probably from the 18th century) of the same mosque which figures in a general view of the town of Japara, a watercolor kept at the Paris National Library under the classification: Port. 193, Div. 7P.1—As to the mosque built by Hasan Suleiman (in 1709), on the isle of Ambon and reproduced in the famous treatise of Valentijn, *Oud en*

treat the question of the many *mimbar*, whose decor, adorned with gilded wood, very often reveals the technique of the Cantonese cabinet makers.

Even more than in these hybrid mosques, one will find excellent proof of this cultural symbiosis in the development of the "Chinese *kramat*." The phenomenon makes it worth our pausing here because, strictly speaking, it is unknown in the Chinese tradition. The worship of the intercessors took place instead in the temples, and if a few real *kramat* are found in China itself, they appear in a Muslim context, like the one found in the northern town of Canton (the Wakkâs' holy tomb) or at the Lingshan or "Miracle Hill" tombs near Quanzhou. In Java and in several other towns of Insulinde one finds a very large number of sacred tombs attributed to people of Chinese origin considered converts, and likely to fulfill the hopes of those who invoke them. It should be noted that the Chinese Totok or newcomers, remaining loyal to the tradition of their ancestors, have always looked unfavorably upon these *kramat*, which they call *shengmu* and see as a sign of cultural integration (*ru fan*).³⁵ Most of these tombs are in an Islamic style, with a stele at the two extremities, but a few have kept the Chinese model in the form of a tumulus.

Although it is difficult to establish an exact chronology, there is every right to believe that these *kramat* are extremely old. Several must go back to the period of the first Islamization of the 15th and 16th centuries. Thus one can still see the tomb of Nyai Pinatih, at Gresik; that of the Chinese Captain who married Ratu Kalinyamat (and took the name of Pangeran Hadiri), at Mantingan, near Japara; that of Kyai Thelingsing, the master artisan who is assumed to have introduced a certain technique of wood carving, at Kudus; and also those of Mas Jong and Bagus Jong, at Banten Girang (they are believed to have participated in the Islamization of the Banten region and certain families, to this day, still claim descent from them).

In the same way, at these very personalized tombs, of which there can be no doubt they are historical monuments, there are a series of littoral or harbor *kramat* which mark special places where the culture of the newcomers merged into that of the autochthons. These Islamized sites are sometimes linked to the history of the famous Admiral Zheng He (1371–1433, better known by the name of Sam Po) or his followers. The best examples are those of the temple of Ancol³⁶ at Jakarta; and at the Gedung Batu at Semarang where one can see the "tomb" of one of the pilots (*juru mudi*) of Zheng He who would convert and enter into marriage with a woman of the area.³⁷ Again, one finds the example of a Muslim tomb associated with a Chinese temple on the isle of Kemarau, a little downstream from the town of Palembang (in the heart of the Musi River), and at the mouth of the River of Pekalongan (at

Nieuw Oost Indië, one can see its image in H. J. de Graaf, *De geschiedenis van Ambon en de Zuid-Molukken*, (Franeker: T. Wever, 1977), p. 106.

³⁵ One can find in the rules of the association created at Surabaya in 1864 by the Peranakan Chinese of Fujian, to regulate the question of marriages and funerals in the heart of their community, interesting texts warning members against the cults of Muslim tombs in which the Chinese took part, just as against the *selametan* or religious meal, another practice which became equally common in certain Peranakan circles; cf. G. Schlegel, *Chineesche begrafenis- en huwelijksonderneming (gevestigd te Soerabaya)* [Chinese Funeral and Marriages Association based in Surabaya], (Overgedrukt uit de *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 4e Volgr., DI VIII), tweede, verbeterde druk, 1885, where the original in Chinese is to be found, and the translation in Dutch (pp. 40–43); cf. also Salmon, "Conflicts of Customs in Surabaya: Around the Hokkien Kong Tik Soe (19th Century)," in press.

³⁶ Cf. Salmon and Lombard, *Les Chinois de Jakarta*, p. 86ff.

³⁷ Cf. I. W. Young, "Sam Po Tong, la grotte de Sam Po" [Sam Po Tong, The Sam Po Cave], *T'oung Pao*, IX, (1899), série 1, pp. 93–102.

the north of the town of the same name).³⁸ Let us note once more that from the 1730s, a Chinese traveler speaks of a *kramat* (*shengmu*) just at the mouth of the Ciliwung, where the Arab *kramat* of Luar Batang would later be built;³⁹ there likewise existed, to the north of Surabaya, near the sea, at the place named Moro Krembangan an analogous site which was “moved” when the airfield was developed. The new *kjenteng* or temple built on this occasion (around 1930), in Jl. Demak, still shelters a large piece of wood, “having been part of Sam Po’s boat,” and several holy tombs which are of the same type as those of Ancol.

Finally there is a third group of holy tombs which largely correspond to the assimilation of the Chinese to the Javanese hierarchy which we have highlighted above for the 18th and 19th centuries. Let us cite, for example, the tomb of Kyai Joyolelono, who was *Bupati* or regent of Probolinggo (East Java) from 1746 to 1768; it can be found in the cemetery of Sentono in the village of Mangunharjo, near to this town. Kyai Joyolelono, who is still honored for his good administration, is none other than the son of Kyai Bun Jolodriyo alias Kim Bun, who was one of the companions of Untung Surapati, and even one of his principal advisers. This figure occurs several times in the text of the *babad* (chronicle) studied by Ann Kumar, who questions his historical character and asks whether he may be nothing more than “a literary invention,” functioning as a sort of *spielman*—an initiator of the various stages in the drama.⁴⁰ Another example is that of Tumenggung Aria Wira Chulia (d. 1739 according to Chinese sources), alias Chen Sancai, who served Sultan Sepuh of Cirebon and whose tomb in Chinese style (repaired in 1765), is located in the city in a place named Sukalila.⁴¹ We shall here end the listing of the Chinese *kramat* which play a role that should not be underestimated in Javanese religion, and on which the local press is fond of publishing indulgent articles from time to time.⁴²

It can be equally useful to consider the literary contribution of these Chinese Muslims. To our present knowledge, the “corpus” of their work remains very modest, because from the time the authors assumed a “Javanese” or “Muslim” name, their Chinese origins can only be traced if they reveal it themselves in the introduction or in the course of the work. Even so, we are tackling the important question of knowing to what extent these Peranakan were able to participate in the spreading of literature itself. Let us remember that it is quite

³⁸ We have found no information concerning the story of the sacred tomb of Palembang. The one located beside the the river of Pekalongan, near to its mouth, is buried under a quite small, poor edifice, without any particular style. The tomb was still there in 1983 when the Indonesian Chinese of Pekalongan decided to repair it. Then the two *nisan* or gravestones were covered with cement so that now the interior of the small edifice offers a structure which is tiled and looks more like a traditional Chinese altar. On top of it have been placed two incense burners bearing the inscription *Shengmu gong* or “The Lord of the Holy Tomb” and dated 1849 and 1948 respectively. A modern painting representing the the holy tomb also hangs on the wall. When Wang Dahai (Ong-Tae-Hae) visited Pekalongan, at the end of the 18th century, this tomb already existed and was famous for the powers which were attributed to it; this author adds that the boatmen were always “burning incense” and depositing offerings; cf. Ong-Tae-Hae, *The Chinaman Abroad*, p. 12.

³⁹ C. Salmon, “Un Chinois à Java (1729–1736)” (A Chinese at Java, 1729–1736), *Bulletin de l’Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient* 54 (1972): 293.

⁴⁰ The worship of the tomb of Kyai Joyolelono was indicated in R.M. Yunani Prawiranegara, “Altar Toapekong di rumah Kabupaten Probolinggo,” *Surabaya Post*, February 1, 1982; cf. also Ann Kumar, *Surapati, Man and Legend, A Study of Three Babad Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 1982), p. 340.

⁴¹ Cf. C. Salmon, “A propos de quelques tombes chinoises d’Indonésie des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles” [About some Chinese tombs from the 17th and 18th centuries in Indonesia], *Archipel* 12 (1976): 213.

⁴² Such a small article as this appeared in *Liberal* (Surabaya), n° 156 (September 1956), p. 22 and is entitled: “Baba baru’, Makam Tionghoa untuk minta . . . kekajaan!” [A Chinese tomb at which to pray for wealth], which reports that the inhabitants of the Kuningan region (near Cirebon) are going to pray at the holy tomb of the first Chinese, Tjan Dji Tok, who came to settle there in the 17th century.

striking that the use of the *taman bacaan* or “reading rooms”—relatively attested to in China under the Tang dynasty—is to be found in the Archipelago, in two towns strongly influenced by the Chinese, Palembang and Jakarta. We also know of the famous copyist, Ching Sa’idullah Muhammad, who was very probably a Peranakan, and who transcribed a great number of manuscripts while employed at the secretarial office at Batavia in the second half of the 19th century.⁴³

In particular we are concerned here with the few “theoretical” writings, confined often to *kebatinan* or Javanese mysticism, written by the converted Peranakan. The library of the municipality of Yogyakarta (Central Java) still preserves a curious little text in Javanese characters, printed at Surakarta in 1853, and attributed to a certain Tan Ing Soen. It is a *Serat Tasawoef* or “mystical treaty,” which claims to teach, in 42 pages, a knowledge of the Islamic religion (*bab kawroeh agami Islam*).⁴⁴ One can equally cite the interesting *Sjair ilmoe sedjati dan Sjair nasehat* or “Poem about the True Knowledge and Poem of Admonition” re-edited in 1921 by Tan Khoen Swie at Kediri (East Java), and attributed to a certain Kyai Kiem Mas of Prajekan (near Panarukan, East Java). This Kyai Kiem Mas (1834–1896) was in fact a member of the great Han family, converted to Islam, of which we have spoken above. His great uncle was Han Bwee Kong, Captain of Surabaya, and his father, son of Han Swie Kong, had already converted, taking the name of Wirjo Adikoesomo. Kyai Kiem Mas, also called Tjekong Mas, or even Kyai Mas Asemgiri, settled at Prajekan, where he lived in retirement, teaching wisdom to a few disciples. After his death his tomb became a very well-known *kramat* throughout East Java, and is visited to the present day.⁴⁵ The *Sjair ilmoe sedjati* is composed of 120 stanzas⁴⁶ and the *Sjair nasehat* which follows, 105. Both are tinged with Islam, as certain verses of this genre go to prove

“Bahasa Arab ada membilang,
Noer Moehamad tjahjia goemilang.”

But he also made allusion to Biblical principles:

“Tjerita Beibel aloes dan titi,
Moesti menoeroet dengan ingati. . .”⁴⁷

⁴³ Cf. Claudine Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia, A Provisional Annotated Bibliography*, Etudes insulindiennes-Archipel 3 (Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 1981), p. 16.

⁴⁴ Tan Ing Soen, *Soerat Tasawoef, Njariosken pandita moemoelang dateng para siswanipoen bab kawroeh agami Islam, ingkang prajogi kanggé ing donja ngantos doemoegi gagajoehan ing ngakir pisan* (Surakarta: Tjahja, 1853), 42 pp.

⁴⁵ Cf. P.K.A. (Pouw Kioe An), “Keramat Tjekong Mas di Pradjekan,” *Liberty* (Surabaya), n° 617, July 3, 1965, pp. 16, 25; “Makam K. Mas Prajekan dapat kunjungan ramai” [The tomb of K.M. in Prajekan has become a busy place], *Jawa Pos* (Surabaya), November 22, 1979. According to this article K. Mas Prajekan was also the founder of the *pesantren* or Koranic school of same name which is to be found just next to the tomb. The complex extends over 800 square meters. It is the descendants of K. Mas Prajekan who administer the foundation. Next to the tomb of Kyai Mas are to be found two others which are assumed to be those of his younger brother and the latter’s wife. The site was refurbished at the end of the 1970s, and when we visited it in 1981 the three tombs were buried under a vast *pendopo* allowing dozens of people to partake in a communal meal or *selamatan* together, around the tombs.

⁴⁶ According to the sayings of the descendants of Kyai Mas, the *syair* was written in Jawi (or Arabic) characters and kept until recently in the *pesantren* in manuscript form. The last borrower must not have returned it. No one in the *pesantren* seemed to know of the modern re-edition in Latin characters: Kiai Kiem Mas, *Sjair ilmoe sedjati dan Sjair nasehat* (2d ed., Kediri: Tan Khoen Swie, 1921), which is to be found conserved, as the only extant copy, at the Library of the Museum of Jakarta.

⁴⁷ “The Arab language states clearly,
The light of Muhammad is vivid. . . .”

Generally the thoughts of the author reflect a very Javanese syncretism. In fact the first of the *syair* gives an account of his quest with eight successive *guru* or masters, and the second warns against the evils of money which he calls *Si Ringgit*, and which turns one from the right path and belief in God. Belonging to the same genre is the small prose collection, entitled: *Poesaka jang amat kekal, jang dapet dipoenjai lebi dari saoemoer idoep*, or "A lasting heritage which may be owned even after death," published in Batavia in 1914 and attributed to a certain Kiai Hadji Koesta, of whom it is said: "that he was a Chinese ordinarily called Intjek 'M'lah, but who then changed nationality" (*saorang Tionghoa totok, jang biasa diseboet I.M.I., kemoedian telah toekar laen bangsa*).⁴⁸

However the most remarkable is without doubt the *Sair Tjioko dan Pitjoen* or "Poem on the Ghost Festival and Boat Races Festival," which Henri Chambert-Loir found in the depths of the manuscripts of the National Library in Jakarta, a copy of which he has generously shared with us. The manuscript is incomplete and anonymous, but the use of technical Hokkien terms (sometimes rendering comprehension difficult) proves that the author was of Chinese origin. In fact the poem is made up of three parts, each describing one of the great festivals of the community: the Festival of the Ghosts (The *Avalambana* of the Buddhists, usually called *Pesta rebutan* or *Tjioko* in Java),⁴⁹ that of the boat races, or *Pitjoen* (*Pecun*), to commemorate the death of the famous poet and loyal minister Qu Yuan (B.C. 332–295), and finally that of the Chinese New Year or *Capgome*. But instead of describing them in the manner of Tjiong Soen Liang, author of another *Pantoen Tjapgome* or "Poem on the New Year Festival" (published in Batavia in 1924), this author chooses to criticize at the same time the superstitious Chinese and the unscrupulous Muslims who do not hesitate to mix in the festivities. As converted, orthodox Peranakan, he laments seeing his fellow Muslims hurl themselves at the offerings exposed on the scaffolding and "snatch" them (*tjioko* literally "to scramble for the offerings made to the ghosts").

"Koempoel semoea Slam jang gila
Manelen loeda gojang kepala . . .
Mangikoet gagares makanan Tjina,
Sajoer babi banjak disana . . .
Kaloe ketemoe arak di mangkok,
Tidak oeroeng dia mandekok. . ."⁵⁰

A little further on he regrets the promiscuity which is bringing Muslim women nearer to the young Chinese men by the banks of the River Angke, where the boat races took place:

"Prampoean Slam bedesek desekan,
Sama sengke Tjina Peranakan,
Itoe atoeran jang boekan boekan,

The Biblical story is written with care,
It must be followed and remembered."

⁴⁸ Cf. Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, p. 196.

⁴⁹ Cf. C. Lombard-Salmon, "Survivance d'un rite bouddique à Java: la cérémonie du *Pu-du*" [Survival of a Buddhist ritual in Java: The *Pu-du* festival], *BEFEO* 62 (1975): 457–86, and plates XXIII–XXIX.

⁵⁰ "Here they are reunited, these insane Muslims,
Swallowing their saliva and shaking their heads. . . .
They, also gobble down Chinese food,
There are lots of vegetables and pork. . . .
And if there is alcohol in a bowl,
They waste no time in lapping it. . . ."

Di pingir kali dia pada makan . . .
 Tjina makan mengikoet badok,
 Tjina mandi ikoet mengerobok,
 Tjina tahon baroe mengikoet mabok. . . .⁵¹

The conclusion is that such a spectacle "breaks the faith that one has in one's heart" (*meroesaken ilmoe di dalem dada*).

After the *kejawen* or Javanism of the syncretic Kyai and the orthodoxy of puritan Peranakan, we have finally a third facet with the revolutionary hope of the author of the *Sair Serikat Islam* or "Poem on the Serikat Islam," published at Batavia by Kho Tjeng Bie in 1913. The author signs himself with the name of R. Pasisir which is evidently a pseudonym, but he claims to be writing at the request of the rich Toean Nio Tjiang Oen, drawing his inspiration from two Sino-Malay newspapers (*Sin Po* and *Pantjaran Warta*) and making repeated references to his Muslim faith (from the first verse: *Bismillah itoe permoelaan kalam* or "In the name of God, such is the beginning"). This text which manifestly addresses itself to a converted Peranakan public, curiously makes the apology of the Sarikat Islam which has just come into existence, praising all the diverse personalities who have participated in the first reunions, not only Haji Saman Hoedi,⁵² but also Raden Goenawan, Tjokroaminoto, Hasan Ali Soerati, as well as the Arabs Said Mohamad Al Aijdroes, Said Abdoellah in Aloei Alatas, and the Chinese Khouw Kim An, Major of the Chinese in Batavia (appointed in 1910), and Nio Tjiang Oen. The tone is enthusiastic and open-minded and he only makes allusion to the regrettable incidents which cost a few lives at the beginning of the movement at Semarang and at Surabaya.

"Lagi di Kepoeteran bilangan Djawa,
 Boemipoetra riboet dengan Tionghowa,
 Beberapa banjak melinjakkan djiwa,
 Nama Sarikat djadi ketjiwa."

It seems likely that at this time a certain group of Chinese Peranakan had aspired to associate themselves with this movement perceived as an awareness and a first step toward autonomy.

"Kaoem Islam empoenja bangsa
 Berpoeloe tahon soeda merasa,
 Segenap negeri kampoeng dan desa,
 Seperti orang kena diseksa"⁵³

51 "The Muslim women gather,
 All against the Sengke and the Peranakan,
 What aberrant morals!
 By the river banks, they all eat together. . . .
 The Chinese eat, the others gorge themselves,
 The Chinese bathe, the others paddle,
 The Chinese celebrate their New Year, and they get drunk. . . ."

52 These indications were drawn together with a note by M. Sartono Kartodirdjo in his *Protest Movements in Rural Java*, p. 154: "Before the founding of the *Sarekat Dagang Islam* the Kong Sing association including both Chinese and Javanese members, among whom was Haji Samanhudi himself; later on he founded his own association *Rekso Rumecko*. Hadji Samanhudi had been persuaded by Chinese to join their Kong Sing association because they were afraid of the founding of shops by Budi Utomo which could eliminate *toko*-owners."

53 "And still at Keputran (district of Surabaya), in Java,

Hence their deep desire to minimize the first attacks formulated against the Chinese.

"Banjak kabar berita orang,
Waktoe keriboetan di kota Semarang,
Sarikat Islam katanja terang,
Bangsa Tionghoa hendak disarang

Perkataan demikian jang boekan boekan . . .
Diharap Toean-toean djangan dengarkan."⁵⁴

Note that at the same time the interpreter of the Chinese, the journalist Sie Hian Ling (d. c. 1928) handed over to the Sarikat Islam his journal *Sinar Djawa*, which from then on took the name of *Sinar Hindia*.⁵⁵

Re-Sinization and Dakwah

It was clear at this time, on the eve of the Second World War, that the old dream of assimilation, still nursed by some, was no longer as easy to realize as it had been previously. The general economic, social, political, and judicial conditions had changed considerably with the setting up of the Dutch Indies, the opening of large plantations, and the massive introduction of coolies. The steady arrival of Chinese wives contributed very strongly to the re-introduction of Chinese influences into the community whilst the emergence of Chinese nationalism from the Taiping, and especially with the revolutionary movement of Sun Yat sen, awoke sentiments toward the country of origin and slowed down tendencies to integrate. We know that from the second half of the 19th century onwards there was a small surge among the *klenteng* or Chinese temples, places of conviviality and symbols of otherness for those Chinese, henceforth called those from overseas (*huaqiao*). The new social statute promulgated in 1854 created the category of "Oriental Foreigners," which isolated the Chinese from the Europeans as well as from the mass of the natives.

However, even though all these new conditions tended to split the group of Chinese from the rest of the population, and to insist on their specificity, indeed on their peculiar ways, on their national pride, and on their reluctance to integrate culturally, one cannot deny that the old tendency to integrate persisted against all odds. It is possible to detect traces from the end of the 19th century and 20th century to the present day. This tendency was henceforth to be found supported by a calculated willingness to convert on the part of the natives themselves who, being less and less aware of the Chinese "danger," took the initiative in assimilation by the *dakwah* or Muslim proselytizing movement. One of the first

The natives fought with the Chinese,
Several have lost their lives,
And the Sarikat lost face.."

The Muslin nation
Has suffered for decades,
Throughout the country and in the heart of the villages,
It is as if one was being tortured. . . ."

⁵⁴ "Many have told
At the time of the events of Semarang,
That the Sarikat Islam had clearly said
That they were going to attack the Chinese,
All these mad words,
It is to be hoped that you do not listen to them".

⁵⁵ Cf. Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, p. 300.

witnesses we have goes back no doubt to Diponegoro⁵⁶ of whom we are told⁵⁷ that he promulgated an edict ordering the Chinese in certain districts to convert or face the death penalty. If this method appears a little strong, we have for the end of the 19th century, mentions of less harsh movements, organized by Javanese who were no less convinced. The administrators, generally very hostile to these transfers which called in question the social order they were trying to impose, signaled that they were opposed to the ventures of these visionaries. Citing only one example, they tell us of a certain Imam Doelkadir (*een Javaan*), who in 1876 converted a number of Chinese in the Semarang region, and who, in doing this, attracted the attention of the police. The sources add: "It is not without grounds that people who until now are registered as Chinese must be prevented from suddenly appearing in Javanese dress" (*zich op eenmaal in een Javaansch pakean kwamen vertoonen*).⁵⁸

A very good example of the problems which this type of conversion could generate in the Chinese community in the process of turning back to Chinese ways is to be found in the novel published by Thio Tjien Boen in Solo in 1903 called *Tjerita Oey Se*, "The Story of Oey Se." The first part of the novel, which is of no interest here, tells of the way in which a young Chinese Totok of Pekalongan (Central Java) makes his fortune around the middle of the last century by wrongfully appropriating a box of paper money, whose value the Javanese who had found it did not realize. The second part tells us how the Totok, on becoming rich, takes to visiting the regent of the residency and how the latter falls in love with his daughter and marries her after she converts to Islam. The rich merchant who cannot bear the shame, has an empty tomb built in his garden, signifying the death of his daughter, and finishes by retiring to Batavia. The young convert, who takes the name of Fatimah, on the other hand, gets on very well with her Javanese husband and initiates a personal movement of *dakwah* in order to stimulate the conversion of the (poor) Chinese of her entourage.⁵⁹

Toward the beginning of the 1930s there was a spate of various *dakwah* movements which at the same time took on political aspects. It must be noted that the seat of these

⁵⁶ Pangeran Diponegoro (1785–1855) was the eldest son of Sultan Hamengkubuwono III. He underwent a religious experience which convinced him that he was the divinely appointed future king of Java. In 1825 he initiated a rebellion which rapidly spread throughout Central and East Java. The religious community rallied to Diponegoro, among them Kyai Maja, who became the spiritual leader of the rebellion. Diponegoro was arrested by the Dutch in 1830 and exiled to Menado and then Makassar where he died. This rebellion, better known as the "Java War," was the last stand of the Javanese aristocratic elite.

⁵⁷ Cf. P.J.F. Louw, *De Java Oorlog van 1825* [The Java War of 1825], vol. 1 (Batavia: La Haye, 1894), Bijlage 58; see also The Siauw Giap, "Religion and Overseas Chinese Assimilation," p. 73 and Peter Carey, *Babad Diponegoro, An Account of the Outbreak of the Java War (1825–30)* (Kuala Lumpur, 1981), pp. 259–60, n. 106. Note that several Chinese also gathered spontaneously under Diponegoro. We may cite here Tjan Kong Sing, the great uncle of the well-known brothers Tjan Tjoe Som and Tjan Tjoe Siem; who took the name of Prawirasetja and married the sister of one of the spouses of Diponegoro (see Tjan Ing Bo, "Sedikit tentang Famili 'Tjan' dari Solo" [A note about the 'Tjan' family of Solo], *Liberal* 3, 89 (May 21, 1955): 5.

⁵⁸ Cf. the note of W. Hoozee, in J.C. Neurdenburg, ed., "De Islam in Nederlandsch-Indië" [Islam in the Dutch Indies], *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zending-genootschap* 22 [Rotterdam] (1878): 387.

⁵⁹ This story is based on a news item apparently reported in the press; cf. Liem Thian Joe, *Riwajat Semarang* [History of Semarang], (Semarang: Ho Kim Joe, c. 1933), p. 129. The novel has an anonymous sequel titled *Tambahsia, soeatoe tjerita jang betoel soedah kedjadian di Betawi antara tahoen 1851–1856* [Tambahsia a true story which happened at Batavia between 1851 and 1856] (Semarang: n.p., 1906). It recounts the scandalous life of one of the brothers of Fatimah, named Tambahsia, who in the end is condemned to death by the law. To come back to the first story, it ends in the death of Fatimah, after the latter found her own tomb in the garden of the former house of her parents, and the author concludes that for months a voice was to be heard crying in the tomb. As she was neither Chinese nor Javanese, the earth would not accept her remains (*Orang bilang akan Fatimah itoe 'Tjina tanggoeng-Djawa woeroeng' maitnja tidak diterima oleh boemi*).

movements was to be found outside of Java. First, on Celebes, where a certain Ong Kie Ho, born in Toli-toli and founder of a Partai Islam, was deported to Java in 1932,⁶⁰ and in Medan (East Sumatra), where a certain Haji Yap A Siong (d. 1984), alias Haji Abdussomad, born in Canton at the end of the 19th century who arrived in Sumatra in the 1930s founded in 1936, with a few companions, the Persatuan Islam Tionghoa or the Muslim Chinese Union. In spite of the arrest of Ong Kie Ho, the movement continued in Makassar, where in 1933 or so the Partai Tionghoa Islam Indonesia (PITII or Indonesian Muslim Chinese Party) was founded, whose secretary was a certain Tjia Goan Liem. In 1934 the PITII initiated a "Malay school" which offered a religious course.⁶¹ In September 1936 the PITII even launched an organ called *Wasilah* or "Connection" which was apparently short-lived.⁶² On the eve of the second World War, the Medan group was hoping to make conversions in Java but without great success.⁶³

After the war the movement continued: the Persatuan Islam Tionghoa (PIT) moved its seat from Medan to Jakarta in 1953, and took the name of Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia (PITI) whose name was changed to Pembina Imam Tauhid Islam or "Action for the faith and the unity of Islam" in 1972. One of the great figures of this new association was Haji Abdul Karim, alias Oey Tjeng Hien from Padang (1905–1988), who had become a good friend of Sukarno at the time the latter's exile in Bengkulu (South Sumatra). He became a banker after Independence.⁶⁴ As the old regime had had its converted Chinese regents, the new Republic also had a few high-ranking ministers as Peranakan Muslims, such as Lie Kiat Teng (1912–1953), born in Sukabumi and converted in 1946 under the name of Ali Mohammad, who was minister for health between 1953 and 1955; Tan Kim Liong, born in 1925 in Kalimantan, and converted under the name of Hassan Hadji Mohammad, who was minister of finance in 1964, or even Tengku Nurdin (Mao Tse Fang) who was *Bupati* in East Aceh.

In this long series, the very last movement is the BAKOM PKB or "The Communicating Body for Appreciation of National Unity," founded in December 1977 under the auspices of

⁶⁰ Cf. *Sin Tit Po* (Surabaya), May 20, 1932.

⁶¹ Cf. *Berita Baroe*, June 5, 1934: "Maleische School PITII." According to the *Pembrita Makassar* of August 21, 1933, the religious course was given by Liem An Shui, alias Baba Moeh. Ma'soed (b. 1913), a third generation Peranakan from Makassar who had been trained in Arabic first at the Hadrami school in Surabaya and finally at Al Irsjad School in Jakarta.

⁶² This magazine does not seem to have been kept in the public libraries.

⁶³ Haji Yap A Siong alias H. Abdussomad was one of the rare founder members of the Persatuan Islam Tionghoa still alive in the early 1980s. We met him in Jakarta in 1981, and he showed us several of the safe conduct letters (*surat jalan*) issued by the Dutch authorities at the time of the *dakwah* campaign that he and his companions led to Sumatra and Java. On September 24, 1938, for example, they left Sumatra after having made a tour of the large towns of this island, and arrived at Rankasbitung (West Java). They visited the main agglomerations (Cibadak, Bandung, Cimahi, Cirebon . . .) with the aim of founding branches there. In the weekly *Sin Po* of the October 13, 1938, p. 6, there is also to be found a photograph taken on the occasion of a meeting of Chinese Muslims held on the premises of the Kwong Siau Hwe Koan. Among the representatives of the PITII were Liem Kie Chie (a Cantonese), then president, and a certain Mak Go and among the Indonesians Haji Agus Salim. *The Sin Tit Po* of February 9, 1939 equally echoes this round of propaganda in noting an incident which took place at the same time as the visit to Cirebon. It was then discovered that one of the founder members of Medan had already come the year before to collect funds in the name of Liem Kie Chie; but this unscrupulous messenger, a certain Gouw Hok Boen, alias Abdulrahman, had kept the money for himself. . . . He had been arrested but the incident could only harm the success of his companions on Java.

⁶⁴ See the very interesting account of his memories: H. Abdul Karim (Oey Tjeng Hien), *Mengabdikan Agama, Nusa dan Bangsa, Sahabat Karib Bung Karno* [Devotion to the religion and to the fatherland (by) a close friend of Bung Karno] (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1982), 255 pp. and our review in *Archipel* 27, pp. 203–206.

the Ministry of Home Affairs, by Junus Jahja (Lauw Tjoan To).⁶⁵ This new body published a paper *Pembaوران* "Uniting" (the first number dates from 1978) which misses no opportunity of pointing out that conversion facilitates integration. It must be mentioned, however, that the BAKOM not only reunites Muslims, and that several of its members are also Christians.

One may think that we have touched only lightly on the problem in indicating a few facts in passing, but we would consider ourselves satisfied if the reader agreed with us that this is a question of a long-term phenomenon to be placed in its historic context, and agreed as well to renounce the basic over-simplification which consists of dismissing all that is "Chinese" as foreign and insignificant. This dichotomy involves political developments which do not concern us here, but it has great consequences with regard to even the conception of the history of the Archipelago. It prevents the comprehension of the size of the merchant towns of the 16th and 17th centuries, which were based on cosmopolitanism and on a combined and positive contribution of Islamic ideology and Chinese techniques; it also obscures the idea that in the 19th century the Europeans in ruining this "sacred union" have dealt a doubtlessly much harder blow to the local economies than by taking the *batigslot*.⁶⁶

However one can see that this is a reversal of historical perspectives, and we are not so naïve as to believe that all historians are yet ready to accept it.

⁶⁵ See Drs H. Junus Jahja, penyunting, *Zaman harapan bagi keturunan Tionghoa, rekaman Dakwah Islamiyah 1979–1984* [Period of Hope for the descendants of Chinese, recording of the Muslim progaganda 1979–1984] (Jakarta: Yayasan Ukhuwah Islamiyah, 1984), 464 pp.; see also H. Junus Jahja, *Catatan Seorang WNI—Kenangan, Renungan and Harapan* [Notes of an Indonesian Citizen—reminiscences, meditations and hopes] (Jakarta: Yayasan Tunas Bangsa, 1988).

⁶⁶ *Batigslot*: balance credit, surplus of receipts emanating from the colony and taken back to Holland.

