

PERANAKAN INDONESIAN ARCHITECTURE OF THE LATE 19TH TO EARLY
20TH CENTURY IN JAVA AND SUMATRA: FROM ARCHITECTURAL
AMALGAMATION AND HISTORICAL ROOTS TO OWNERSHIP SIGNIFICANCE

A Thesis

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ABSTRACT

Within the diverse cultural mosaic of Indonesia, the term "Peranakan" has intrigued many locals, referring to an architectural style whose nomenclature originates from outside the country. In this thesis, the author intends to clarify the meaning of "Peranakan" and its connection to the architectural style it represents. Focusing on the Peranakan Chinese Indonesian community, the study traces their historical origin from the Hindu-Buddhist Empire to the Dutch colonial era, with roots in Southern China (Fujian and Guangdong). Through a nuanced analysis encompassing architectural elements, cultural context, and historical ownership narratives, this thesis aims to provide a better understanding of Peranakan Chinese Indonesian (Chindo) and the stylistic attributes that characterize their residences.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Henny Angkasa, born and raised in Medan, North Sumatra, began her career in architecture and later pursued historic preservation. She graduated from Tarumanagara University in 2019 with a Bachelor of Architecture degree, where her final thesis, "House of Coffee: A Journey to the Historical Meaning of Coffee," incorporates historical research with architectural design. During her undergraduate studies, she completed an internship at PT. Penjor Bali Mandiri in Bali, collaborating with architects, contractors, and consultants on drafting and 3D modeling projects.

Post-graduation, Henny took on the role of Assistant Manager at the Tjong A Fie Mansion in Medan from November 2019 to 2022. In this capacity, she worked in the mansion's restoration preparations, conducting in-depth research, photographic and AutoCAD documentation, and overseeing contractors and staff. Additionally, Henny co-authored the Historic Structure Report for the mansion and planned the ceremonies for the 100th anniversary of Tjong A Fie's death.

Henny's academic and professional journey is marked by numerous accolades, including scholarships from Tarumanagara University and Cornell University. She has participated in various academic activities, such as the Architourism of the Metropolis 8.26 Public Expose and delivered a guest lecture in the Advanced Indonesian Class at Cornell. Additionally, she has served as the Secretary of the Preservation Studies Student Organization (PSSO) and was featured in the 2023 Summer Intern Spotlight Interview for Historic Ithaca.

To my family, my late grandmother, my adopted grandmother and grandfather, my friends, and Cornell alumni, who made my dream of studying in New York come true.

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INTRODUCTION

Peranakan architecture is a beautiful testament to a piece of Indonesia's rich cultural heritage. It is a style that fuses indigenous craftsmanship, Chinese aesthetics, and European colonial influences reflective of the country's diverse cultural mosaic. The term "Peranakan" means "local-born" in Indonesia and refers to people whose lineage intertwines indigenous and foreign influences. Among the variants of Peranakans were Arab, Indian, Chinese, Dutch, and Moorish. However, this thesis will focus on the Peranakan Chinese perspective.

Peranakan architecture has aesthetic appeal and is a tangible link to Indonesia's cultural heritage. It embodies the spirit of diversity that defines the nation and honors the achievements of our predecessors. Every element, from the intricacies of ornamental motifs to the structural elements adopted within architectural forms, is a testament to the ingenuity and creativity of past generations from various ethnicities. With an emphasis on architecture, this thesis aspires to provide readers with the vocabulary and nuances necessary to appreciate these buildings by exploring the essence of Peranakan culture, from its historical origin to the architectural elements that define it.

My interest in my thesis topic began with my fascination for the durability of building materials in heritage buildings. I had the opportunity to work at the Tjong A Fie Mansion in various roles, including architect, curator, and assistant manager. During my time there, I assisted architecture conservationist Maryam Rabi in documenting and photographing the existing building conditions. Additionally, I co-authored the Historic Structure Report for the Tjong A Fie Mansion with Tom Richmond. This experience

fueled my desire to understand the building further and became the inspiration for my thesis topic.

Before starting my thesis research, I conducted a literature search in Cornell's academic databases from various libraries, including the Olin Library, the Karl A. Kroch Library for Southeast Asian Studies, and the Mui Ho Fine Arts Library. My research focused on the keywords "Peranakan" OR "Straits Chinese" AND "Architecture." This search yielded 15 primary sources, with only five books discussing Peranakan Architecture in Indonesia, while more studies focused on shophouses in Georgetown, Penang, and Singapore. The initial search generated several primary sources, which are mainly books. Following this, I continued to explore relevant journals and theses, in addition to grey literature.

Acknowledging the limitations of the available data, I decided to conduct on-site surveys. This involved a week-long visit to Indonesia, during which I personally visited the sites and interviewed the property's caretakers. The locations I visited spanned from Jakarta and Central Java (Lasem, Parakan, and Semarang) to Medan. This hands-on approach was crucial in gaining a deeper understanding of the subject and overcoming the limited literature resources.

In the opening chapter, Indonesia is introduced as a diverse country with complex cultural influences. The term "Peranakan" is clarified, and its association with Indonesian architectural style is discussed, along with comparative studies of Singapore and Malaysia. The chapter also provides an overview of trading relations involving locals, Chinese, and Persians and their significance to Peranakan history.

Chapter two examines the historical impact of the Dutch invasion of Java on the locals and the Peranakans, including the Emperor's responses and the influence of Confucian values. Moving on to the third chapter, an overview of the history of the Chinese Indonesian community is presented, along with a discussion of their residences based on adopted architectural attributes. The understanding of these residences includes residential zoning, belief systems, structural elements, and interior ornamentation.

The final chapter delves deeper into the case studies introduced in chapter three, which include the House of Oei and the Nyah Museum in Lasem, the Siek Tjing Liong's Residence in Parakan, Margo Redjo in Semarang, the Khouw Kim An Mansion in Jakarta, and the Tjong A Fie Mansion in Medan.

This exploration has provided significant insight into Indonesia's history, from its resilience and adaptation to cultural exchange, shaping the Peranakan identity, particularly the Peranakan Chinese Indonesian (Chindo). The goal is to contribute to the preservation and celebration of Indonesia's rich cultural mosaic. Understanding this history will help us better appreciate the legacy of our predecessors and pave the way for future generations to embrace their heritage.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN: EARLY HISTORY OF PERANAKAN INDONESIAN

This chapter introduces readers to the early history of Indonesia and delves into the story of Peranakans' lives as trade with China continued to predominate the region for centuries. Many of the architectural developments in temples, houses, warehouses, and commercial buildings are an outgrowth of the needs of the people from this time. Subsequent exploration by the Dutch and English led to additional waves of influence, introducing other activities, forms, styles, and construction techniques to the country. This chapter provides the developments before the early 18th century, while the “modern” history follows in the next chapter.

Indonesia



Figure 1.1. Map of Indonesia

(Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Peta_provinsi_Indonesia.svg)

Encompassing 1,904,569 km² (735,358 mi²) of land and 7.9 million km² of sea, making up 18,110 islands, with a population of 278,902,338, Indonesia is the world's largest archipelago and fourth most populous nation.¹² It has 38 provinces with five major islands, including Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and New Guinea. Therefore, our predecessors have always been known to us as avid sailors. A common shared identity among Indonesians as sung in the nursery rhyme “Nenek moyangku seorang pelaut” by Ibu Sud.

From Sabang to Merauke, the westernmost to the easternmost of the country, the history of Indonesia spans back thousand years ago to the origin of *Homo floresiensis*, dubbed as ‘the Hobbit,’ a three-foot-high hominid with large feet from some 95,000 years ago.³ Because its islands are dispersed across a broad swath of ocean near many other nations, themselves located on other islands as well as mainland Asia, numerous peoples have traveled to and settled in what is now Indonesia. Hence, cultural amalgamation in the country is complex and extensive, considering its history from Hindu-Buddhist rule to the Islamic Empire to Dutch colonization to modernity. Nevertheless, traces of history remain evident in some parts of the city, such as Lasem and the Special Region of Yogyakarta, in the forms of architecture and local cuisines, especially within the old towns of each

¹ *Consulate general of the Republic of Indonesia in Vancouver, Canada*. Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. https://kemlu.go.id/vancouver/en/pages/indonesia_at_a_glance/2016/etc-menu#:~:text=INDONESIA%2C%20the%20largest%20archipelago%20in,which%20about%2006%2C000%20are%20inhabited. Accessed 2024.

² *Indonesia population (live)*. Worldometer. https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/indonesia-population/#google_vignette. Accessed 2024.

³ Hannigan, T. (2015). 1 / From Hobbits to Hinduism: Prehistory To Indianisation. In *A brief history of Indonesia sultans, spices, and tsunamis; the incredible story of Southeast Asia's largest nation* (pp. 18–19). Tuttle Publishing.

province, which are as diverse as the varying responses to the influences each island experienced.

In fact, Indonesia has 1,341 ethnicities, with the Javanese being the dominant ethnicity at 40.1% of the overall population, followed by the Sundanese at 15.5% and the Malay at 3.7%.⁴ The focus of this thesis is the Chinese Indonesian or “Chindo,” comprising 1.2% of the population;⁵ especially the cultural responses of Indonesians of Chinese descent, also known as Straits Chinese in Singapore or Peranakans in Malaysia.



Figure 1.2. Map of Indonesia’s Vernacular Architecture.

(Source: Poerwaningtias, I., & Suwanto, N. K. 2017. Rumah Adat Nusantara Badan Pengembangan Dan Pembinaan Bahasa.

https://badanbahasa.kemdikbud.go.id/resource/doc/files/59_Isi_dan_Sampul_Rumah_Adat_Nusantara.pdf)

⁴ Indonesia demographics profile.

https://www.indexmundi.com/indonesia/demographics_profile.html#google_vignette. Accessed 2024.

⁵ Ibid.

A survey conducted in 2017 identified 34 varieties of traditional houses in Indonesia.⁶ However, while each province in Indonesia has its characteristic vernacular architecture, there are several common features found throughout the archipelago. Most visibly, almost all styles of traditional houses are raised on stilts with individual footings to protect against floods and local fauna. ‘Rumah Panggung’ is the Indonesian word used to refer to houses raised on stilts. The materials used for these houses include wood, clay, bamboo, natural stone, thatch, and straw.

Who are the Peranakans?

Legend has it that the Sultan of Malacca (in what is now Malaysia), Sultan Mansur Shah, married the Chinese princess Hang Li Po sometime in the mid-15th century, and their children were called “Peranakan” or “local-born.”⁷⁸ This explains the abundance of Peranakan culture in Malacca and George Town, both designated UNESCO World Heritage sites. However, the term Peranakan is not limited to locals of Chinese descent, as it only means local-born. There are Arab Peranakans, Bugis Peranakans, and Java Peranakans, including Peranakan Indians, commonly known as Chitty Melaka by the

⁶ Poerwaningtias, I., & Suwanto, N. K. (2017). *Rumah Adat Nusantara*. Badan Pengembangan Dan Pembinaan Bahasa.
https://badanbahasa.kemdikbud.go.id/resource/doc/files/59_Isi_dan_Sampul_Rumah_Adat_Nusantara.pdf

⁷ Ng, R. (2022, January 26). *In Asia, an age-old community thrives in a modern city*. Travel.
<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/travel/article/in-asia-an-age-old-community-thrives-in-a-modern-city#:~:text=The%20term%20Peranakan%20dates%20to,“local%20born”%20in%20Malay.>

⁸ Wikimedia Foundation. (2024, May 23). *Hang Li Po*. Wikipedia.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hang_Li_Po

Singaporeans and Keling by Indonesians.⁹ Therefore, Peranakan is not an ethnicity but a culture.

The Peranakan Chinese are particularly distinctive among other Peranakans due to their eclectic blend of Chinese, Malay, and Western culture, reflected in many aspects of their lives, from their customs and cuisine to their architecture. This blend is so distinct that it is often mistaken for an ethnicity. Among the 1, 341 ethnicities in Indonesia, Peranakan is not considered one of them.¹⁰ However, the term “Peranakan” can be seen as prevalent along the Malacca Strait, which was once a tightly knit network connecting Malaysia (Penang and Malacca), Singapore, and Indonesia (Medan) during the colonial era, even though the former two were colonized by the British and the latter by the Dutch.

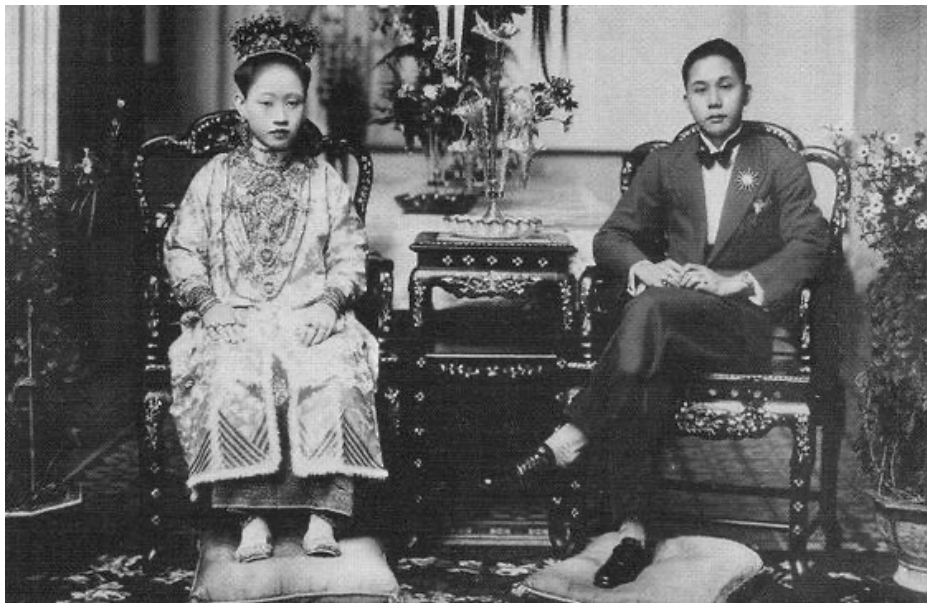


Figure 1.3. A Photograph of Baba and Nyonya
(Source: Scheong. (2023, October 2). *Sarong kebaya & baju cina – traditional Peranakan attire*. Throughout History. <https://www.throughouthistory.com/?p=5179>)

⁹ Koh, J. (2013). *Peranakan (Straits Chinese) community*. <https://www.nlb.gov.sg/main/article-detail?cmsuuid=1138ea9d-9dbe-4f09-9fef-ba2c7105eb91>

¹⁰ Wikimedia Foundation. (2024, February 4). *Daftar Suku Bangsa di Indonesia Menurut Provinsi*. Wikipedia. https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daftar_suku_bangsa_di_Indonesia_menurut_provinsi

In Singapore, the Peranakan Chinese are classified into three groups, from the least to the most Chinese.¹¹ The first group, the "Baba," has lost most of its Chinese customs and traditions. The second group is the "Straits Chinese," who retain the Chinese culture but have adapted to local norms. Lastly, the "Straits-born Chinese" embrace pure Chinese culture without any significant adaptation despite being born in the Straits. The first two groups are the main contributors to the eclectic nature of Peranakan culture. Additionally, Baba is the male equivalent of Mr., while Nyonya is the female equivalent.



Figure 1.4. & 1.5. Illustrations of Peranakan Chinese Indonesia in Batavia by G. Kolff & Co. (Source: KITLV/ Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies)

Today, Peranakans in Indonesia are mainly Chinese Indonesians, also known as Chindo, and are categorized based on their ability to speak Bahasa. Despite being born

¹¹ Kohl, D. G. (1984). Chapter 1 / Origins and Culture of the Chinese in Malaya. In *Chinese architecture in the Straits Settlements and western malaya: Temples, Kongsis, and houses* (pp. 1–16). Heinemann Asia.

Indonesian, people who are not fluent in the local language or Bahasa are known as Sinkek or Totok. At the same time, fluent people are identified as Indonesians, occasionally called Cici or Koko. Interestingly, the term Peranakan is not commonly used in Indonesia. The meaning itself is frequently questioned from the Indonesian perspective as “anak” from “Peranakan” means child in Indonesia, thus the confusion as to why the culture is called Peranakan.

Within the Chindo community, people who can no longer speak Chinese ethnic dialects, particularly in Jakarta, are called Kiau Seng by the Sinkek. However, due to the history of political turmoil in Indonesia, the Chindo culture continues to shift. Additionally, China's socio-political and economic turmoil also affects the dominance of the Sinkek or Peranakan population within the Chindo community.



Figure 1.6. Kesawan District in Medan ca. 1890-1900 by Stafhell & Kleingrothe
(Source: Rijksmuseum.nl)

The Peranakan culture is a vibrant and diverse cultural amalgamation, celebrating and combining Chinese, Malay, and Western elements to form a distinctive new culture. This blend is applied to various aspects of Peranakan life, including customs, cuisine, architecture, and design, which showcases a harmonious mosaic of different cultural elements. Commonly known as Chinese Indonesian or “Chindo,” the Peranakan Chinese will be further explored, emphasizing its residential architecture in Indonesia.

The Early History of Chinese Indonesians

Chinese settlements in Indonesia began as early as the 9th century, once located along the shorelines of Java and Kalimantan in stilt houses covered with thatched roofs.¹² The Maritime Silk Road might have laid the foundation for the trail of Chinese coastal towns in Indonesia across the South China Sea through the Straits of Malacca and into the Indian Ocean.¹³ Archeological evidence from shipwrecks found along these routes, such as the Belitung shipwreck on Belitung island in Sumatra, shows that cultural exchange between Southern China and Indonesia through ceramics can be traced back to the Tang dynasty.¹⁴

¹² Ernawati. (2014). In *Kampung Cina kota Manado: Arsitektur Ruko Dan Ruang ekonomi* (pp. 1–3). Deepublish.

¹³ Miksic, J. N. (2022). 7 / Chinese Ceramics on the Maritime Silk Road. In *The Maritime Silk Road: Global Connectivities, Regional Nodes, Localities* (pp. 179–207). essay, Amsterdam University Press.

¹⁴ Murphy, Dr. Stephen. (2024). *The Indian Ocean World and the Belitung Wreck*. <https://smarthistory.org/indian-ocean-belitung-wreck/>

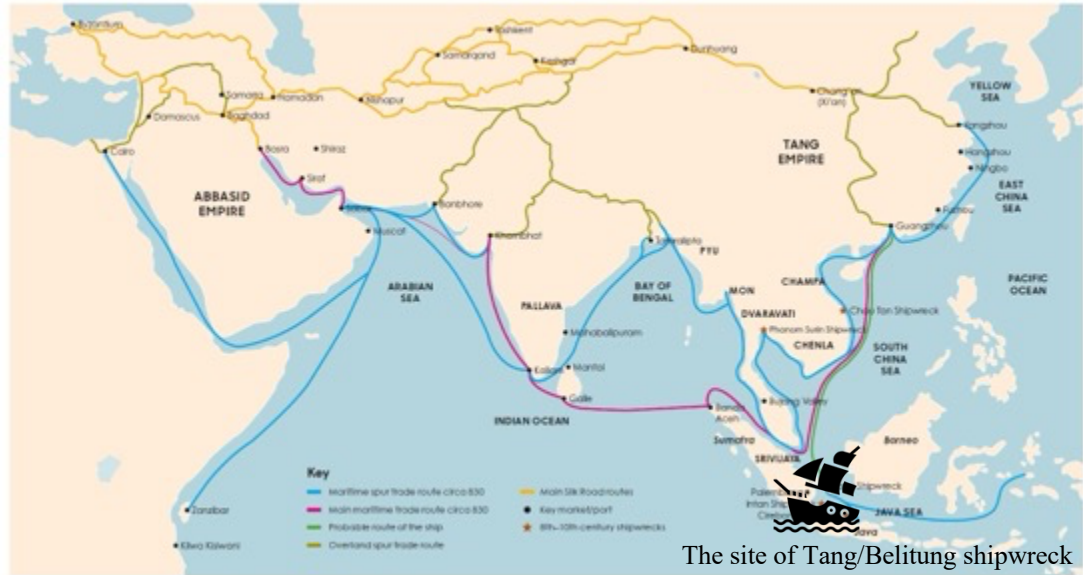


Figure 1.7. The Maritime Silk Route
 (Source: <https://smarthistory.org/indian-ocean-belitung-wreck/>)

The Tang Dynasty, which lasted from 618 to 907, is famous for its flourishing diplomatic relationships and is often considered the classical period of Chinese art and literature.¹⁵ The emperor Taizong encouraged foreign trading and cultural exchange with India, Persia, Arabia, Syria, Korea, and Japan from his capital city of Chang'an (presently Xi'an, home to the famous terracotta warriors).¹⁶ During this era, China experienced significant cultural growth due to the contributions of poets, painters, and sculptors. These artists thrived under the benevolent rule of the succeeding Emperor Xuan Zhong, and their works have continued to inspire future generations. Some of the notable artists

¹⁵ Department of Asian Art. (2000, October). *Tang dynasty (618–907): Essay: The metropolitan museum of art: Heilbrunn timeline of art history*. The Met's Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/tang/hd_tang.htm

¹⁶ Ibid.

from this period are the court painter Wang Wei and the naturalist poet and painter Wu Daozi.¹⁷

During the Tang Dynasty, China established trade relations with Persian merchants, leading to the first wave of Muslims entering China. These Muslims settled in a designated area called "Fan Fang" or "Foreign Quarters" that existed as early as 835 AD and still exists in Guangzhou's Yuexiu District.¹⁸ The 1000-year-old ancient mosque and the Guangzhou Islam Association still exist on Guangta Road. The amalgamation of Middle Eastern and Chinese cultures can be traced back to this era. Most Muslim settlers in China and the Middle East were merchants. In the Fan Fang, Muslims abstained from consuming pork, and their primary diet consisted of fish and turtles.

Other favorite foods included molasses, dates, and areca nut/betel nut (the fruit of areca palm). They enjoyed playing chess and raising birds. The Chinese regarded their practices and performances as secular norms rather than religious beliefs. Since the relationship was only commercial, the community was not considered a threat to the Chinese government's status quo.¹⁹

Guangdong is one of the oldest foreign ports in China and one of the two major cities, along with Fujian, where most Peranakans originated. The bustling foreign ports of China, including Guangdong (Kwangtung), Fujian (Fukien), Ningbo (Mingzhou), and

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Wei, Meng, "The Advent of Islam in China: Guangzhou Fanfang during the Tang-Song Era" (2010). All Theses and Dissertations (ETDs). 814. <https://openscholarship.wustl.edu/etd/814>

¹⁹ Ibid.

Hangzhou (Hangchow), were cities contributing to the current different dialects in Indonesia. These dialects range from Hokkien, Khek/Hakka, Cantonese, Teochew, etc.

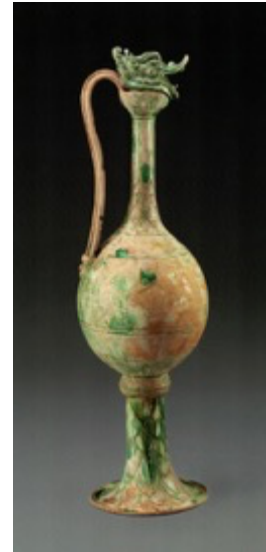


Figure 1.8. Map of the Southern China regions (left, source: Kohl, D. G. 1984) & Figure 1.9. Recovered Ewer from the Tang/Belitung shipwreck (right, source: <https://smarthistory.org/indian-ocean-belitung-wreck/>)

The ceramic design, especially the ewer from the Belitung shipwreck, provided an example of the early design of Middle Eastern and Chinese influence. While the anthropometry and shape of the ewer resemble Persian design, drawing on Sasanian predecessors and Sogdian (presently Uzbekistan and Tajikistan) metalwork, its dragon head and ornamental motifs incision on the spherical body resembled Chinese



Figure 1.10. Longquan Celadon Collection at the Tjong A Fie Mansion (2021) (Source: the author's collections)

delicate drawings.²⁰ Among other excavated artifacts were Chinese white and blue porcelain and greenish stoneware that predate the famous blue and white Chinese porcelain and Longquan Celadon seen in Peranakan houses.

The Peranakan Chinese community in Indonesia often associates themselves with the Tang Dynasty. They refer to themselves as Tangren in Mandarin, Tenglang in Hokkien, Tengtang in Teochew, and Thongyin in Hakka. This is perhaps because the earliest migration from Southern China to the Malay Archipelago was during the Tang Dynasty's Internationalism era, which encouraged foreign trading. In Southern China, most people used to identify themselves as Tang people, whereas in Northern China, people referred to themselves as Han. As a result, the Chinese Indonesians are also known as Tionghoa, Indonesia.²¹

From Central Java (Lasem, Semarang, Parakan) to Jakarta (Batavia)

Before modern times, many Peranakan Chindo residences were destroyed during various wars. Despite this, some remnants of the salvaged ruins can still be found in the mountainous region of Parakan and certain cities of the northern coastal area of Central Java, such as Semarang and Lasem. The local communities have made grassroots efforts to preserve these remnants, offering a glimpse into the historical residences of early Peranakan communities in these cities today.

²⁰ Murphy, Dr. Stephen. (2024). *The Indian Ocean World and the Belitung Wreck*.
<https://smarthistory.org/indian-ocean-belitung-wreck/>

²¹ Handinoto. (2015). *LASEM = Laosen: Kota Tua Bernuasa cina di jawa tengah*. Penerbit Ombak.

The city of Lasem, also known as “Le Petit Chinois,” was first mentioned in the Singosari charter (Bhatara Saptha Prabu) in 1351 and was written in Nagarakretagama (an Old Javanese eulogy to Hayam Wuruk) during the Majapahit Empire.²² Although the city existed before then, it only became an autonomous kingdom under the Majapahit empire in 1351, which continued until the Dutch took over in 1828. The Dutch changed the city's status from a regency to a sub-region of Rembang, which impeded its economic growth. This setback led to a decline in the area as locals began leaving the city.

Despite its present strategic location, being in the middle of the north coast road (Indonesian National Route 1), which connects provinces in Java from Banten to East Java, including the essential harbors on both ends (Merak to Sumatra and Ketapang to Bali), the city is not well-known and not a popular tourist destination.²³ However, the economic downturn preserved the richness of the city’s history, offering us a glimpse into Java’s forgotten past.

The history of Lasem is closely tied to the story of the Majapahit Empire, founded by Raden Wijaya in 1293 following the collapse of the Singhasari Kingdom, whose last king was Sri Kertanegara. Sri Kertanegara was instrumental in uniting the Nusantara (the Indonesian archipelago). He had ambitious plans to restore the glory of the Mataram Hindu Kingdom, which Wangsa Sanjaya had achieved by creating the Sriwijaya kingdom

²² Unjiya, M. Akrom. (2014). *Lasem Negeri Dampoawang*. Yogyakarta: Salma Idea.

²³ Yanwardhana, E. (n.d.). *Mudik Mau Lewat Pantura atau Pansel, Begini Kondisi Jalannya*. CNBC Indonesia. Retrieved March 4, 2024, from <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20230415160540-4-430238/mudik-mau-lewat-pantura-atau-pansel-begini-kondisi-jalannya>

and conquering Nusantara. He was the first king to abandon the previous agrarian system established by the Wangsa Isyana Kings in favor of the maritime system.²⁴

During the rule of Sri Kertanegara, the Singhasari Kingdom expanded its territory to include Sumatra and the Malaya Peninsula. However, this led to a conflict with Kublai Khan, the ruler of the Mongolian Empire, who demanded that Sri Kertanegara accept his authority. Sri Kertanegara refused, ultimately leading to a battle in which his domestic military was significantly weakened. Taking advantage of this, the King of Kediri in East Java, Prabu Jayakatwang, overthrew Singhasari and killed Sri Kertanegara. Raden Wijaya, Sri Kertanegara's son-in-law, fled to Madura Island for refuge but later returned to Kediri. He surrendered himself to the new king and was permitted to live in the forest by the Brantas River. It was there that he founded the Majapahit Kingdom.²⁵²⁶

Under the reign of Diah Hayam Wuruk, the fourth king, the kingdom of Majapahit experienced its peak of success. With Gajah Mada as his advisor, the kingdom achieved its dream of unifying the archipelago from west to east, becoming the second-largest maritime empire in Asia after Northern China. The king's cousin, Duhitendu Dewi (Indu Dewi), became the first queen of Lasem with the title Bhre Lasem in 1351. Queen Duhitendu Dewi was one of Java's eleven special kingdom rulers and one of the nine

²⁴ Unjiya, M. Akrom. (2014). *Lasem Negeri Dampoawang*. Yogyakarta: Salma Idea.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ After receiving advice from Adipati Wiraraja, Raden Wijaya surrendered to the Mongolian Empire. In return, he sought their help to overthrow the Kediri Kingdom, which they succeeded in doing. However, while the Mongols rejoiced in their victory, Raden Wijaya returned to Majapahit and brought an army to kill everyone, including the King of Kediri and his son. The remaining Mongols then returned to China and never came back to Java. In 1293, Raden Wijaya was officially crowned the first king of Majapahit.

Supreme Advisory Councils of the Majapahit empire. Lasem was then a primary city that supported the Majapahit kingdom economically and politically.²⁷

The book 'Carita Lasem' described the city as adorned with lush, well-groomed trees like banyan and sapodilla trees planted along the streets. The royal palace, known as Keraton, faced the sea and stood in Kriyan, Central Java. It had royal gardens, such as the Kamala Puri and Sari Garden, within the complex. Banyan trees provided shade to passersby at every street corner. Every settlement was well-organized, with houses bearing the Joglo roof with columns that become higher at the center set in lawns filled with fruits and flowers. The locals cherished the Queen, who was regarded as an entity sent by Sang Hyang Bathari Durga, the Mother Goddess. Bhre Lasem Duhitendu Dewi passed away in 1382, followed by her spouse the following year. Their bodies were cremated and buried in Candi Malad at the hill in northern Argasoka mountain, northeast of the city.²⁸

Religious sites in Java during the Hindu-Buddhist Empire are commonly called "Candi," which means "old throne." Apart from "Ambika" and "Durga," "Candi" is also one of the names of Sang Hyang Bathari Durga, the Mother Goddess.²⁹ According to beliefs, the Mother Goddess was born from cosmic energy to protect the world from demons. Similarly, the Mother Goddess is also the root of one of the oldest beliefs in China, Taoism. The Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu) is the oldest goddess in the

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Culture, I. (2023, March 29). Sang Hyang Bathari Durga, the Mother Goddess and the Javanese Candi. *Medium*. <https://indosphere.medium.com/sang-hyang-bathari-durga-the-mother-goddess-and-the-javanese-candi-ccc9a5ebf421>

Taoist pantheon, who resides in the peach garden in Kunlun Mountain, where she grows her peaches of immortality.³⁰ She is often associated with tigers and wildcats, as well as magpies, qilin (a unicorn from Chinese mythology), rabbits, and the nine-tailed fox (a fox from Chinese mythology).

The Majapahit Kingdom traded with China for centuries. In 1300 AD, Raden Wijaya introduced copper coins from China as an official trading currency. This was necessary because the trading currency at the time only included gold and silver, which made it difficult to conduct small transactions. It was a slow and steady stream of foreign trade along the maritime Silk Road from the Tang Dynasty until the 14th century with the arrival of Admiral Zheng He. As the Mongolians of the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368) were succeeded by the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), Admiral Zheng He arrived in Semarang (now the capital city of Central Java) in 1416 with a fleet of Chinese treasure ships, marking the first significant wave of migration from China to Indonesia.³¹ However, unlike the previous migrants who were followers of Confucianism and Ancestor Worship, this wave consisted of Chinese Muslims, as Zheng He was a Chinese Muslim.

³⁰ James, J. M. (1995). An Iconographic Study of Xiwangmu during the Han Dynasty. *Artibus Asiae*, 55(1/2), 17–41. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3249761>

³¹ Disporapar Provinsi Jawa Tengah. (2022, July 27). *Pariwisata Provinsi Jawa Tengah | Article | Discover The History Of Sam Poo Kong Through The Cheng Ho Festival 2022*. from <https://visitjawatengah.jatengprov.go.id/en/article/discover-the-history-of-sam-poo-kong-through-the-cheng-ho-festival-2022>

Zheng He in Central Java (Semarang and Lasem)



Figures 1.11. Portrait of Zheng He (left, source: <https://www.utc.edu/health-education-and-professional-studies/asia-program/2018-ncta-teaching-modules/china-development>) & Figure 1.12. The Sam Po Kong Temple in Semarang (right, source: <https://notesplusultra.com/2016/02/11/semarang-and-the-chinese-treasure-fleet/>)

Zheng He, also known as Ma He, was a Chinese Muslim eunuch born in 1371 in Yunnan province. He rose to prominence as an explorer and admiral during the Ming Dynasty, leading a fleet of 317 massive ships, including 62 treasure ships and 28,000 crew members.³² Between 1405 and 1433, he commanded seven expeditions to the Indian Ocean. His mission was to increase trade, secure tribute from foreign powers, and expand China's political influence worldwide.

Many of his crew members decided to remain in Java during his voyages. Among them were Bi Nang Un and his wife, Na Li Ni, who contributed to one of the distinctive Batik (an ancient fabric wax-resist dyeing tradition of Java) motifs. This motif is

³² Speed, S. E., & Number, P. C. (2017). THE INFLUENCE OF HISTORY ON MODERN CHINESE STRATEGIC THINKING

described as egalitarian, open-minded without social taboos, and used by all societies regardless of ethnicity. It includes depictions of birds, flowers, and currency in red. The pattern, known as 'Kendoro Kendiri' hand-drawn batik or Lasem Coastal Batik, is one of the classics with its signature pattern of three and four kingdoms. Its distinctive character sets it apart from those of Yogyakarta and Solo, who mainly depict the nobility of the Keraton.³³

Zheng He significantly impacted Central Java, and locals have since deified him. The city's name, Semarang, is thought to have originated from Zheng He's original name, Ma San Bao, which forms San Bao Long or Semarang.³⁴ The cave where Zheng He used to take shelter was then converted into a temple known as the Sam Po Kong Temple. However, due to a landslide in 1704, the temple was relocated to Simongan Street, West Semarang.

The Sam Po Kong Temple is the oldest temple in Semarang and one of the oldest in Indonesia. Since those who traveled with him mainly spoke the Hokkien dialect as he sailed from Quanzhou, Fujian, the name of the temple is pronounced in the Hokkien dialect, Sam Poo Kong.³⁵ In Mandarin, it is called San Bao Dong, which means San Bao cave. There is an annual ceremony to commemorate his arrival in Semarang, with a procession that begins from Tay Kak Sie Temple to Sam Poo Kong Temple. Although

³³ Unjiya, M. Akrom. (2014). *Lasem Negeri Dampoawang*. Yogyakarta: Salma Idea.

³⁴ Disporapar Provinsi Jawa Tengah. (2022, July 27). *Pariwisata Provinsi Jawa Tengah | Article | Discover The History Of Sam Poo Kong Through The Cheng Ho Festival 2022*. from <https://visitjawatengah.jatengprov.go.id/en/article/discover-the-history-of-sam-poo-kong-through-the-cheng-ho-festival-2022>

³⁵ Ibid.

the architecture of Sam Poo Kong depicts Chinese elements, it does not have a specific religion attached to it and welcomes Buddhists, Taoists, and even Muslims.

Back in China, the succeeding emperor of the Ming Dynasty found that foreign trade was a waste of money and disbanded Zheng He's naval expedition.³⁶ However, the relationship between Java and China was ongoing, as demonstrated through the rise of the Islamic Kingdom, Demak, around 1490. Raden Fatah, the founder of the Demak Kingdom, was the son of Bhre Kertabhumi (the 11th Majapahit King), and his mother was a concubine from China.³⁷ The Demak kingdom marked a shift from Hindu-Buddhist to Islam, introducing the new religion into the society. Unlike the former religion, early Islam was based on the common interest of people without social hierarchy and adapted existing buildings for prayers and gatherings.

The early 16th century saw the beginning of trading wars with the West, followed by the era of colonization in Indonesia. In 1525, the Portuguese colonized Sunda Kelapa, one of the essential ports of Indonesia. However, Fatahillah, a nobleman from Pasai under the rule of Sultan Trenggono, managed to reclaim the island and named the port 'Jayakarta,' now known as Jakarta. Although the Demak Kingdom did not manage to hold onto all the previously held Majapahit land, it was still the most powerful kingdom in Java and had significant influence. Under the Demak Kingdom, Islam became the majority religion.³⁸ After the end of Majapahit's reign in 1527, Lasem continued to

³⁶ Cartwright, M. (n.d.). *The Seven Voyages of Zheng He*. World History Encyclopedia. Retrieved March 4, 2024, from <https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1334/the-seven-voyages-of-zheng-he/>

³⁷ Unjiya, M. Akrom. (2014). *Lasem Negeri Dampoawang*. Yogyakarta: Salma Idea.

³⁸ Ibid.

flourish under Islamic-based empires, including the Demak Kingdom and Mataram Islam, until the arrival of the Dutch.

The Arrival of the Dutch and the Establishment of Batavia

The Dutch are descendants of the ancient German tribe called ‘Batavi’ who lived in the Betuwe district of the Netherlands, around Lugdunum Batavorum (Leiden), located at the mouth of the Rhine River, commonly known as Holland.³⁹ The Batavi emerged as a distinct political entity during the late 1st century BC, possibly with the blessing of Julius Caesar during the Civil War.⁴⁰ Living in the coastal area of northwestern Europe, they were highly skilled in hydro-engineering, constructing cities with canals, dams, land protection dikes, pumping stations, windmills, etc.



Figure 1.13. Seven Dutch ships approaching Jayakarta (1607)
(Source: [Rijksmuseum.nl](https://rijksmuseum.nl))

³⁹ Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia (2011, October 12). Batavi. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Batavi>

⁴⁰ Roymans, N. (2004). *Ethnic Identity and Imperial Power: The Batavians in the Early Roman Empire*. Amsterdam University Press. <https://doi.org/10.5117/9789053567050>

During the Roman rule of the area, the Batavi adopted many customs and systems from the Roman Empire. The idea of municipalization was introduced, which led to the establishment of Roman-style towns, such as Nijmegen/Batavodurum, aligning with Roman urban planning and infrastructure.⁴¹ Members of the Batavian elite were granted Roman citizenship, strengthening the ties between the Batavi and the Roman state. Before the Batavian Revolt, the Batavi were loyal and dependable. However, heavy taxation and mistreatment by Roman officials led to Gaius Julius Civilis's rebellion against Rome in 69-70 AD.

Fast forward to the arrival of colonialism in Indonesia, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to assimilate with the local Indonesians during the spice trade war. They brought with them Catholicism, butter, and cheese, which were adopted by the Indonesian language 'Bahasa,' such as gereja (churches), Minggu (Sunday), mentega (butter), keju (cheese), etc. The Portuguese settled in the foreign quarters of Banten (the westernmost province of Java), once the capital of Holotan and Tarumanagara, also known as the Pepper Port.⁴² However, Indonesian history would soon be disrupted when the Portuguese introduced the King of Banten, Abu al-Mafakir, to the Dutch in June 1595. For the following three centuries, the Dutch would cause the Indonesians adversity and misery.

Having learned about the spice trade in Lisbon for two years, the Dutch merchant Cornelius de Houtman embarked on a voyage to find the spice islands.⁴³ After taking

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Hannigan, T. (2015). *A brief history of Indonesia sultans, spices, and tsunamis; the incredible story of Southeast Asia's largest nation* (pp. 18–19). Tuttle Publishing.

⁴³ Ibid.

multiple detours, he landed in Banten in a disastrous state. Upon meeting the King of Banten, he got into a disagreement with the court regarding the prices for spice, which led to the Dutch opening fire and killing dozens of locals before de Houtman and his crews were thrown out and continued to drift along the Javanese coast and returned to the Netherland.

In 1602, investors from competing trading houses in the spice market merged and formed the Vereenigde Oostindische Company (VOC), also known as the United East India Company. The company consisted of seventeen directors, or gentlemen, known as 'Heeren XVII,' who had been granted the status of sovereign power with the right to sign treaties in the name of the Netherlands. The VOC established its headquarters in Ambon, Maluku, which it had taken from the Portuguese, and created a post for the governor-general. In 1602, VOC was the first company to offer shares to the public and thus created the modern stock exchange, the Amsterdam Stock Exchange, now known as Euronext Amsterdam.⁴⁴ Some historians, therefore, credit the Netherlands as the first modern economy and the foundation of the current Western economic model.⁴⁵

In 1617, Jan Pieterszoon Coen was appointed governor-general by the Seventeen Gentlemen (the Heeren XVII). He was posted on the banks of the Ciliwung River, opposite Jayakarta.⁴⁶ The rivalry between the British and the Dutch began when Coen was determined to claim Jayakarta, then ruled by Prince Wijayakarma of the Demak

⁴⁴ *400 years: The story*. Exchange History. (2022, March 8). <https://www.beursgeschiedenis.nl/en/the-story/>

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Hannigan, T. (2015). *A Brief History of Indonesia Sultans, Spices, and Tsunamis; The Incredible Story of Southeast Asia's Largest Nation* (pp. 18–19). Tuttle Publishing.

Empire, as the VOC's headquarters. Next to Jayakarta was the kingdom of Banten, which already had seen conflict with the Dutch and also did not get along with the Prince of Jayakarta. Following this, the King of Banten decided to side with the British to oust the Dutch and the Prince, which they succeeded in doing as Coen retreated to the VOC headquarters in Ambon.



Figure 1.14. The Town Hall in Batavia (Source: Rijksmuseum.nl)

Upon the victory, the King of Banten realized that Jayakarta would become a major port for the British and decided to take matters into his own hands. Banten expelled the British, leaving several Dutchmen behind who were drunk and infected with malaria. At that point, Coen returned from Ambon, and claimed the 'Victorious Deed' (Jayakarta) from the locals. He then proceeded to burn every palace, mosque, and work of Javanese architecture in sight, razing everything to the ground. The Dutch officially claimed

Jayakarta and named it Batavia on May 30, 1619.⁴⁷ It became the capital of the Dutch East Indies, which they referred to as the Queen Mother of the East.

The relationship between the British and the Dutch was tumultuous in the years that followed as they both tried to dominate the spice trade in the region. The intense fight ended after the Second Anglo-Dutch War with the Treaty of Breda, signed on July 13, 1667.⁴⁸ As part of this agreement, the Dutch traded New Amsterdam, also known as Manhattan, for Surinam in South America, and a small island in Indonesia called Run Island, located within the Banda district of Maluku. As of 2017, the population of Run Island is about 2,050 people who struggle to access electricity.⁴⁹ In the 17th century, the Banda Islands were home to the tropical tree *Myristica fragrans*, which produced the seeds for nutmeg; which had a markup of over 60000% on the international market and could make a sailor's fortune on a single expedition.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Niemeijer, H. E. (2007). The central administration of the VOC government and the local institutions of Batavia (1619-1811) – an introduction. *The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the Local Institutions in Batavia (Jakarta)*, 61–140. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004163652.1-556.7>

⁴⁸ Rompies, J. T., Karuni. (2017, July 21). *The Forgotten Indonesian Island that was swapped for Manhattan*. The Sydney Morning Herald. <https://www.smh.com.au/world/the-real-estate-deal-of-the-millennium-the-forgotten-indonesian-island-that-was-swapped-for-manhattan-20170721-gxfo22.html>

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Carpenter, D. E. (2018, September 3). *Manhattan: Worth its weight in nutmeg?* by Daniel e Carpenter. Medium. <https://medium.com/@danielecarpente/manhattan-worth-its-weight-in-nutmeg-by-daniel-e-carpenter-e4992c8e6698#:~:text=Ten%20pounds%20of%20nutmeg%20could,those%20days%20having%20240%20shillings.>



Figure 1.15. The Treaty of Breda exchanging Run Island for New Amsterdam (1667)
 (Source: Rijksmuseum.nl)

The exchange of Run Island for New Amsterdam gave the Dutch complete dominance over the spice market. This made the Dutch East India Company in Amsterdam the most powerful trading company of the 17th century and the world's financier, ushering the Netherlands into its golden age. Some notable achievements of this era include the creation of modern international law by Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), the translation of the Bible from Hebrew and Greek into German, making it accessible to

the public with the authorized version of the Bible (Statenbijbel), and the creation of Atlas Major by the Blaeu family, in addition to the famous painter Rembrandt.⁵¹

Economic prosperity was not the only factor contributing to the Dutch Golden Age. The Dutch's fight for independence from Spanish rule, which had enforced Catholicism in a predominantly Protestant Low Country—also known as the Eighty Years' War—was a significant driver of its fighting spirit under the leadership of William of Orange (who also became King of England, Scotland, and Ireland). This spirit continued even after he died in 1584 and fueled the Revolutionary War (the Eighty Years' War). Following this came the Union of Utrecht signed in 1579, the Act of Abjuration in 1581, and eventually, the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands formed in 1588.⁵²

In summary, the various people who would constitute modern Indonesia arrived as a result of trade with countries in East Asia, South Asia, and Europe, influencing the mixed cultures in Southeast Asia. Peranakan culture, first seen in the 9th century, continued, but the changing relationships between the Dutch, Portuguese, and British also influenced trade and culture, which prevailed in the present Indonesia.

⁵¹ van Oostrom, F. (Ed.). (2008). The Canon of the Netherlands. In *The Netherlands in a Nutshell: Highlights from Dutch History and Culture* (pp. 9–111). Amsterdam University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt46n1xx.4>

⁵² Ibid.

CHAPTER II.

PERANAKAN CHINESE INDONESIAN SINCE THE DUTCH OCCUPATION

This chapter presents the history of Indonesia from the origins of Dutch rule to Indonesian independence in 1945, after a brief period of recovery from Japanese occupation. The Dutch ideas of governance and relationships in trade differed from those of the Chinese, whose increasing diversity is evident in the variety of languages and cultures. The migration patterns also affected the nature of social welfare, tying together individuals and families in social structures, demonstrating the Confucian values held by Peranakans differed from the Dutch.

The Dutch Governance

The Dutch governance system, a blend of federal-state structure and monarchy, emerged due to the inability to find a suitable prince after the renunciation of Phillip II. Unlike the political systems of other European countries, predominantly monarchies, the Dutch system was one of the earliest federal-state systems. Each province had an equal voice in the general meetings of the States General, represented by their delegates or governors (Stadholders). Holland, the wealthiest province, which included Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague, held the most influence. The Grand Pensionary, the highest official in Holland, had extensive responsibilities, combining roles similar to the President of the Republic, Minister of Finance, and Minister of Foreign Affairs. A member of the House of Orange usually held the position of Stadholder, serving as a governor, adding a princely aura to their roles. However, the Stadholder and Grand Pensionary often came into conflict, such as the Twelve-Year Truce when Stadholder

Maurice had Johan van Oldenbarneveltdt arrested on charges of high treason after a political and religious conflict and faced execution in 1619.⁵³

The Dutch governance system was extended to Batavia with Jan Pieterszoon Coen as governor-general. Coen, having learned from the Portuguese, recognized the value of Chinese economic expertise. The Dutch aimed to attract Chinese people to Batavia to help build the city. They encouraged free trade for the Chinese in their capital, even when Dutch citizens were not allowed to set up private businesses.⁵⁴

Soon after claiming Batavia, the Dutch appointed its first Chinese Kapitan, Souw Beng Kong, on October 11, 1619, who moved from Banten to Batavia.⁵⁵ He acted as the headman of the Chinese community and was not allowed to be involved in military matters. His responsibility was directed towards commercial activities and finance, thus creating the *Chineesch Bestuur* (Chinese Administration) as a part of the Dutch colonial administration. The Kapitan reported directly to the Governor-General.

Before the Dutch arrived, there had been a Chinese settlement by the Ciliwung River in Banten led by the chief 'Nahkoda Watting'. The existing system had a hierarchy, with the highest rank being 'padukaraja' or viceroy, followed by the bendahara, the chief justice for civil and criminal affairs who doubled as the treasurer. The third rank was Laksamana or Admiral of the Sea, followed by the Temenggung, or Chief Magistrate,

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Hannigan, T. (2015). *A brief history of Indonesia sultans, spices, and tsunamis; the incredible story of Southeast Asia's largest nation*. Tuttle Publishing.

⁵⁵ Lohanda, M. (1994). *The kapitan cina of Batavia, 1837-1942* (thesis). *The Kapitan Cina of Batavia, 1837-1942*. London.

and lastly was the Sahbandar, who dealt with foreigners, trade, diplomatic relations, and conflicts.⁵⁶

As the Ming Dynasty lifted its restrictions on foreign travel, a large influx of Chinese traders, settlers, laborers, and entrepreneurs began to reside in Batavia. Over time, the Chinese population in Batavia grew to become a quarter of the city's total population. The Chinese community lived among Europeans until the tragic Batavia Massacre in 1740, which resulted in the deaths of around ten thousand Chinese residents.⁵⁷

The Batavia Massacre (The Angke War)

Ary Huysers, a former merchant from the Netherlands in the Dutch East Indies Company, described in his biography of the former governor 'The Life of Reinier de Klerk' about the incident:⁵⁸

“All the Chinese, without distinction, men, women, and children were put to the sword. Neither pregnant women nor suckling infants were spared by the relentless assassins. The prisoners in chains, about a hundred in number, were at the same time slaughtered like sheep. European citizens, to whom some of the wealthy Chinese had fled for safety, violating every principle of humanity and morality, delivered them up to their sanguinary pursuers and embezzled the property confided to them. In short, all the Chinese, guilty and innocent, were exterminated.”

⁵⁶ Unjiya, M. Akrom. (2014). *Lasem Negeri Dampoawang*. Yogyakarta: Salma Idea.

⁵⁷ Hannigan, T. (2015). *A brief history of Indonesia sultans, spices, and tsunamis; the incredible story of Southeast Asia's largest nation*. Tuttle Publishing.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

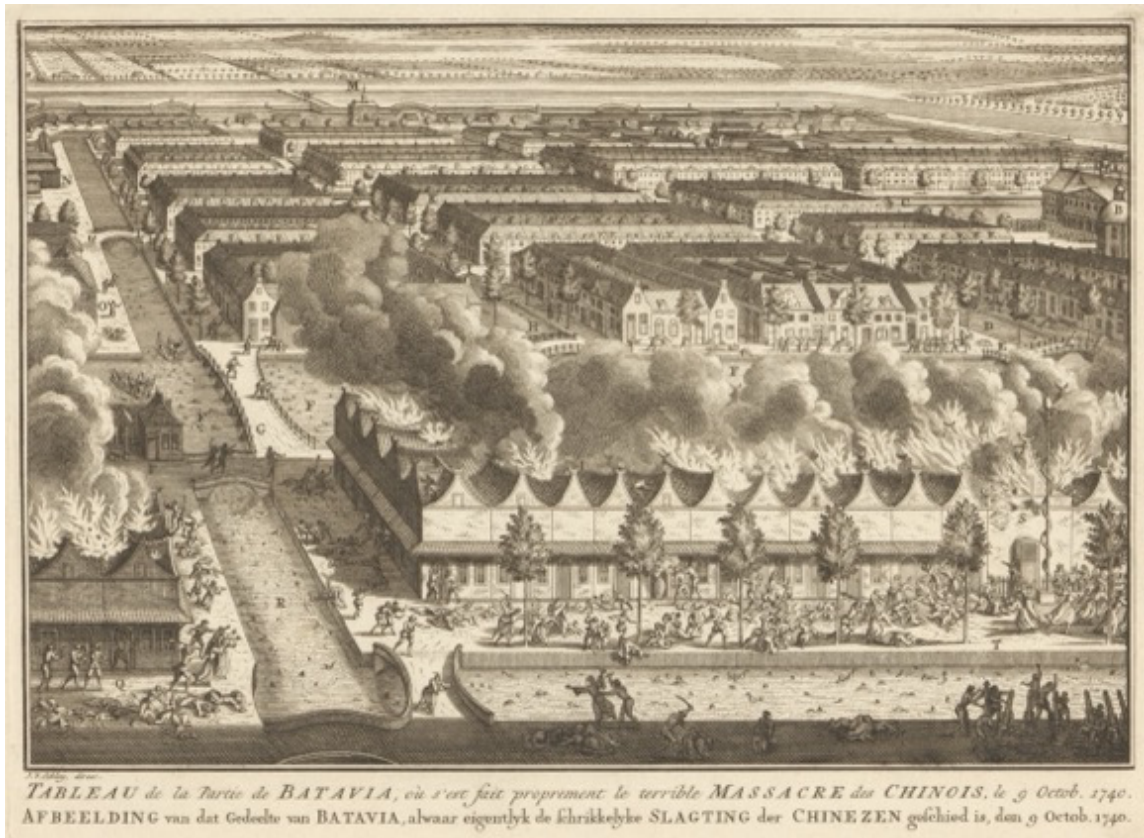


Figure 2.1. The Batavia Massacre (1740)
(Source: [Rijksmuseum.nl](https://www.rijksmuseum.nl))

For centuries, the cause and source of the problems that led to the Batavia Canal turning into the Red River, known locally as ‘Muara Angke,’ remained speculative. The Dutch had traded and managed the Peranakans for 120 years without violence, but tensions between the Chinese and Dutch grew as the Chinese became more successful.⁵⁹ Economic competition, social disparities, and cultural differences were the main reasons for the rising tension. The Dutch had relied on the Chinese for trade, labor, and commerce. The tensions culminated on the evening of October 9, 1740, when freebooters

⁵⁹ Wells, K. Wilhelmina. (2019). *The Batavia Massacre: The tragic end to a century of cooperation* (thesis). *The Batavia massacre: the tragic end to a century of cooperation*.

(unregistered citizens) of Chinese ethnicity were wandering on the outskirts of Batavia (also known as the *Ommelanden*). This resulted in rumors of a planned Chinese revolt to overthrow the Dutch monopoly, whereas the Chinese laborers believed that the Dutch would tip them into the sea.⁶⁰

Kimberly Wilhelmina Wells, in her thesis ‘The Batavia Massacre: The Tragic End to a Century of Cooperation,’ did a critical analysis of the event and argued that the massacre was an anomaly. The combination of fear, paranoia, and widespread rumors built on the existing tension was attributed to the mass slaughter, which lasted from October 9th to the 22nd before it triggered more rebellions outside the wall.⁶¹ The Dutch, alongside the indigenous (the locals), participated in the massacre, which led to future hostility between the Chinese and the locals, in addition to the Dutch.

Following the incident, the Netherlands, worried about potential retaliation from the Qing Emperor, decided to send an embassy to Beijing to deliver a letter of apology. However, the Emperor’s indifferent response surprised them and shed light on the relationship between China and the Chinese Overseas.⁶² Emperor Qianlong, upon receiving their letter, in his response, as quoted from Li Changfu 南洋華僑史, said:

⁶⁰ Hannigan, T. (2015). *A brief history of Indonesia sultans, spices, and tsunamis; the incredible story of Southeast Asia’s largest nation*. Tuttle Publishing.

⁶¹ Wells, K. Wilhelmina. (2019). *The Batavia Massacre: The tragic end to a century of cooperation* (thesis). *The Batavia massacre: the tragic end to a century of cooperation*.

⁶² Mcgee, N. (2019). Putting Words in the Emperor's Mouth: A Genealogy of Colonial Potential in the Study of Qing Chinese Diaspora. *Journal of World History* 30(4), 591-619. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jwh.2019.0075>.

“These undesirable people deserted and abandoned their ancestral tombs and sought benefits overseas, and the court is not interested in them” (“莠民不惜背弃祖宗庐墓，出洋谋利，朝廷概不闻问”). Despite the Fujianese Governor-General Celeng and Provincial Governor Wang Jun's request to halt Dutch trade, the Qing court refused, and trade continued as usual.⁶³

To understand the Emperor's remark, we must first recall Confucian values. The Sangang Wuchang, also known as the Three Fundamental Bonds and Five Constant Virtues, is the guiding ideology of Chinese culture that emerged during the Han Dynasty. It provides aspirations and guidance for behaviors deemed fundamental within society, particularly in Chinese culture. The three bonds consist of the relationship between father and son, lord and retainer, and husband and wife.⁶⁴ The five constants include benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and trustworthiness. The successful practitioner of this ideology is referred to as the sage, who is the highest form of human.

Confucian society has four main social classes: Scholars, Farmers, Artisans, and Merchants.⁶⁵ Scholars are revered for their moral and intellectual prowess, often serving as advisors to rulers. Farmers, while essential for sustaining the economy, hold a lower rank in society and are expected to display humility and diligence. Skilled workers producing vital goods and artisans are ranked below farmers and scholars. Merchants and traders engaging in commerce are viewed skeptically due to concerns about greed and

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Wǔcháng, S. (2009). *Three Fundamental Bonds and Five Constant Virtues*.

⁶⁵ Wang, G. (2003). *China and the Chinese overseas*. Eastern Universities Press.

dishonesty. They traditionally occupy the lowest social status due to perceptions of benefiting without directly contributing to societal well-being.



Figure 2.2. Master Kong also known as Kong Fuzi, or Confucius in the West.
(Source: <https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/confucianism/>)

Peranakans and Overseas Chinese in the Dutch East Indies were mainly merchants and traders before the 18th century. After Emperor Hong Xi (1424-1425) ended Zheng He's naval expedition, maritime prohibitions ensued, which ended connections between China and the Overseas Chinese. When the Qing took over the dynasty, it used the ban to distance itself from the diaspora, fearing they might be harboring loyalists to the Ming dynasty, but also due to its internal political turmoil.⁶⁶ Additionally, the Qing dynasty was Manchurian (neither Han nor Tang) and did not empathize with the community from previous dynasties. The combination of cultural and political factors thus contributed to Emperor Qianlong's indifferent response.

⁶⁶ Mcgee, N. (2019). Putting Words in the Emperor's Mouth: A Genealogy of Colonial Potential in the Study of Qing Chinese Diaspora. *Journal of World History* 30(4), 591-619. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jwh.2019.0075>.

The Netherlands then proceeded with a trial against Governor-General Adriaan Valckenier and Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff for their alleged involvement in the massacre that took place in November 1741. The accused faced scrutiny and allegations during the trial. Additionally, Van Imhoff and his councilors were arrested and sent to Holland to face charges of insubordination. Governor-General Adriaan Valckenier died in prison in 1751 before his verdict was delivered.⁶⁷

The Idea of Trade within China and its Conflicted Ideals with Confucian Values

Since merchants and traders ranked lowest according to Confucian values, they are often associated with negative stereotypes in China, being perceived as cunning and greedy.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, their adaptability has helped maintain connections across various social classes, including peasants, artisans, and literati, recognizing them as potential partners or competitors. From the Song dynasty onwards, the urban merchant class continued to emerge, consisting of merchant families, artisans turned traders, and literati kin engaged in commerce.

Although merchants shared similar cultural values with the literati, centralizing on the Confucian bonds and virtues, they had distinctive values regarding profit-seeking, risk-taking, business organizations, and philanthropy, distinguishing them from other social classes. Many of the deities worshipped by the merchants were dedicated to the sea, in addition to the God of fortune and longevity.

⁶⁷ Wells, K. Wilhelmina. (2019). *The Batavia Massacre: The tragic end to a century of cooperation* (thesis). *The Batavia massacre: the tragic end to a century of cooperation*.

⁶⁸ Wang, G. (2003). *China and the Chinese overseas*. Eastern Universities Press.

China has two distinct modes of international trade: public and private.⁶⁹ Public trade refers to trade activities directly conducted or sponsored by the government or imperial court, often for diplomatic purposes. This may involve missions sent by the government to foreign lands and engaging in trading activities. Exchanging goods as gifts or tributes between different rulers or states is also common in public trade. The goods traded in public trade are often recorded in official records and histories, emphasizing their ceremonial or diplomatic significance. For example, Zheng He's naval expedition was sponsored by the Ming dynasty.

Private trade, on the other hand, refers to trade activities conducted by individuals, merchants, or local traders without direct government involvement or sponsorship. It involves merchants and traders engaging in commercial transactions for profit without necessarily having diplomatic or official purposes. It may include the exchange of various goods, including luxury items, commodities, and everyday necessities, driven by market demand and individual profit motives. Private trade activities are often less documented in official records than public trade, as they are primarily driven by commercial interests rather than diplomatic or political considerations. In summary, the trading activities that were taking place in Batavia belonged to the latter.

In the early periods, before the fifth century AD, trade was predominantly concentrated around metropolitan areas in the north, with minimal interest in maritime trade. Surplus wealth was primarily invested locally, and technological advancements and

⁶⁹ Ibid.

credit institutions were lacking. Political stability fluctuated, impacting economic growth, and Confucian attitudes were not particularly influential during this era.⁷⁰

During the fifth to eighth centuries, population increases in South China, and developing market towns in Central China facilitated trade growth. However, surplus wealth was still primarily invested locally, and there were limited developments in credit institutions. Despite advancements in shipping technology, overseas trade continued to rely mainly on non-Chinese vessels. Political stability varied, but relatively stable conditions in South China allowed for trade expansion, with Confucian attitudes not posing significant barriers.

The ninth to fourteenth centuries witnessed rapid population growth in South China, leading to the rise of markets and urban areas.⁷¹ Surplus wealth increased, facilitating investment opportunities and the development of credit institutions. Technological advancements in ocean-going vessels further bolstered trade. Although Confucian attitudes hindered trade through crude commercial taxes, they were not insurmountable barriers.

From the fourteenth century onwards, China had the necessary resources for flourishing trade, yet Confucianism, particularly in its neo-orthodox form during the Ming and Qing periods, impeded trade growth.⁷² Governmental policies emphasizing moral governance and limited legal protection of wealth restricted trade expansion, ultimately leading to China's decline as a maritime power. Confucian attitudes,

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

geopolitical factors, and economic conditions played pivotal roles in shaping China's trajectory in overseas trade, marking a complex interplay between ideology, governance, and financial realities. Despite their contributions to trade and commerce, Chinese merchants remained on a low social status in Confucian society, which hindered their social mobility and recognition. Some successful merchants often tried to distance themselves from their merchant origins to gain higher social status, aligning themselves with the elite literati culture.

Merchant culture within China is less distinctive than that of Overseas Chinese due to its subordination to Confucian values and the dominance of literati culture. Successful merchants downplayed their cultural distinctiveness to assimilate into the dominant societal norms. A historical bias against merchants persists in China, exacerbated by political ideologies such as Chinese Marxism, which view merchants as class enemies. This cultural divide hampers the development of a dynamic merchant class, limiting its potential contribution to economic growth and innovation. Thus, with this perception, the overseas Chinese did not receive official protection from the Qing Dynasty and were left to defend themselves.

Successive War following the Batavia Massacre in Lasem, a.k.a. The Yellow War

After the 1740 Batavia Massacre, many of the Chinese residents who managed to escape or survived fled to neighboring cities such as Semarang and Lasem. The Dutch arrival in Lasem was not welcomed, especially after the incident. Lasem was a sovereign province and was united with Rembang. When news reached the community about the Dutch's plan to set up a post by the river, the people planned an attack on the post before

it reached the city. This battle is known as the Yellow War, which united the Chindo and the Natives of Lasem against the colonial power.

Oei Ing Kiat, a Chinese descendant who converted to Islam, was appointed as Adipati Lasem or the Duke of Lasem in 1727 by Raja Pakubowo I, following the succession of Raden Sasongko Tejakusuma V.⁷³ Despite assuming the title, Oei Ing Kiat maintained respect for the Tejakusuma family. Refugees from Batavia in 1740 sought safety in Lasem under Oei Ing Kiat's leadership, leading to the establishment of new settlements along the Kamandung River. This influx of refugees significantly impacted the local economy, contributing to labor forces in port-related industries and agriculture, resulting in infrastructure development and economic growth.

Growing resentment towards Dutch monopolies and political interference culminated in plans for rebellion in the 1740s. Oei Ing Kiat, alongside other leaders, initiated attacks on VOC strongholds in Rembang, Juana, and Jepara. Despite initial successes, the resistance movement faced overwhelming VOC military power. Armed conflicts erupted between Lasem's militia and VOC forces, resulting in significant casualties on both sides throughout the 1740s and 1750s.⁷⁴ Despite valiant efforts, the resistance movement succumbed to VOC's superior military power.

⁷³ Unjiya, M. Akrom. (2014). *Lasem Negeri Dampoawang*. Yogyakarta: Salma Idea.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

In 1751, VOC regained control over Lasem after a prolonged struggle, leading to harsh punishments and tightened control over the region. New officials were appointed to govern Lasem and Rembang, consolidating VOC's authority over the territories. However, despite the defeat, the spirit of resistance against colonial rule persisted among the populace, marking a poignant chapter in Lasem's history of defiance against foreign domination. Due to continuous rebellion against the colonial power, the Dutch lost interest in the area. They downgraded the city's status from a regency to a sub-region of Rembang in 1828, hindering its economic growth.



Figure 2.3. The Yellow War Monument in Lasem
(Source: <https://www.idntimes.com/science/discovery/candrikailhamwijaya/fakta-sejarah-perang-kuning-perang-besar-tionghoa-jawa-melawan-voc-clc2-1>)

Since the claim over Jayakarta, kingdoms across the Java island had been facing internal conflicts where some royals sided with the VOC, while others opposed them.

This political strategy is known as *divide et impera*. The Mataram reign peaked during the rule of Sultan Agung (1613-1645), who stood against the Dutch.⁷⁵ However, his successor, Amangkurat I, decided to side with the Dutch and gave them control of some provinces, such as Karawang and parts of Pasundan and Semarang. These conflicts continued to rise until they eventually brought down the Mataram Empire in 1749, turning it into a vassal state of the VOC.

As the population of Batavia dwindled and death became increasingly common, the Queen of the East (Batavia) was melancholy. Meanwhile, the West was also facing adversity. In 1720, the Netherlands experienced its first stock market crisis, although it had a limited impact.⁷⁶ However, when the second crisis came from England in 1774, it resulted in a series of bankruptcies in the financial system of Amsterdam. In response, the first investment fund was established in 1774, though it failed due to the political turmoil from the French Revolution and the British naval war.⁷⁷ The VOC (Dutch East India Company) met its demise in 1799, ending its 200 years of operation. Soon after, *the Collegie tot Nut des Obligatiehandels*, the first stock exchange organization in Amsterdam, was established, and the price list started to be published regularly.⁷⁸ From the late 18th century to the mid-19th century, the Netherlands economy continued to suffer to the brink of bankruptcy, only to be saved by the Amsterdam stock market.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ _____. 400 years: The story. Exchange History. (2022, March 8).
<https://www.beursgeschiedenis.nl/en/the-story/>

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

Overseas Chinese since 1800 until the End of Dutch Occupation

As mentioned previously, the Chinese immigrants who settled in the region of the Straits Settlements and western Malaya primarily originated from Southern China, specifically from the Fujian and Guangdong regions. Among these areas, various dialect groups, including Hokkien, Cantonese, Teochew, Hakka, Hailam, and more, contribute to the community's cultural diversity.⁷⁹ These groups have distinctive social characteristics.

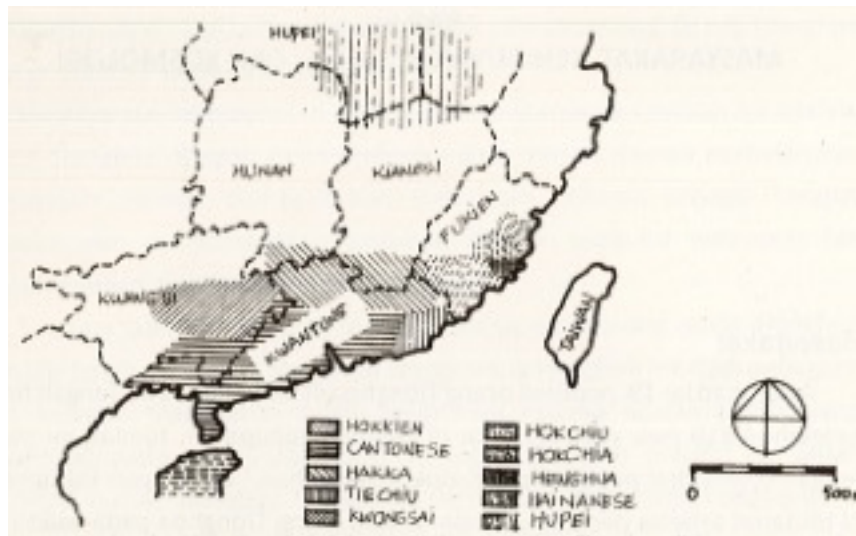


Figure 2.4. An Illustration of the Regions of the Various Dialects
(Source: Pratiwo. (2010). *Arsitektur tradisional Tionghoa Dan Perkembangan Kota*. Ombak)

Hokkien speakers from coastal Fujian districts arrived in the port city of Amoy and engaged primarily in trade and shopkeeping. They would later venture into the rubber and banking sectors. Cantonese immigrants pursued various occupations, including agriculture, mining, blacksmithing, and commerce. Teochew speakers originated from Swatow and were known for their involvement in fishing, gambier (a natural dye used in

⁷⁹ Kohl, D. G. (1984). *Chinese architecture in the Straits Settlements and Western Malaya*. Heinemann Asia.

clothing that produces the color ‘khaki’), and pepper trading, and market gardening. Hailam people from Hainan Island, speaking a distinct language from Cantonese, worked as domestic servants, shopkeepers, and owners of food establishments, with some managing small rubber estates. The Hakka community maintained their dialect and character, participating in industries such as tin mining, rubber estates, and commerce.⁸⁰

Each dialect group contributed its unique linguistic heritage, cultural traditions, and historical significance to the Chinese community in the region, enriching its diversity and identity. Meanwhile, reasons for migration ranged from political instability, economic hardships, and natural calamities in China in addition to economic opportunities, which Professor Wang Gungwu categorizes into four distinct migration patterns: Huashang, Huagong, Huaqiao, and Huayi.⁸¹

The Huashang Pattern is the oldest and most fundamental pattern of Chinese migration. It involves long-term and continuous migration, the most prevalent in Southeast Asia. The Huashang migrants maintain strong ties to their ancestral homeland in China while establishing economic and cultural networks in their adopted countries. An example of this pattern is the Peranakan Chinese community in Malaysia and Indonesia, representing a classic Huashang pattern. These descendants of Chinese migrants who settled in Southeast Asia maintained strong ties to their Chinese heritage while adapting to local customs and cultures over generations.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Wang, G. (2003). *China and the Chinese overseas*. Eastern Universities Press.

The Huagong Pattern emerged between the 1850s and 1920s and was characterized by mass migration, especially to countries of European settlement such as the Americas and Australasia. Huagong migrants, often referred to as coolies, were primarily laborers recruited for specific tasks or industries. Many returned to China after completing their contracts. An example of this pattern is the Chinese laborers who migrated to work on the construction of the Transcontinental Railroad in the United States during the 19th century. These migrants were recruited as cheap laborers to meet the demand for a workforce in the burgeoning American economy.

The Huaqiao Pattern became dominant during the first half of the 20th century, particularly from the 1900s to the 1950s, with a strong emphasis on nationalism and intervention by the Chinese government in the lives of overseas Chinese communities. Huaqiao migrants were encouraged to maintain their Chinese identity, language, and culture while contributing to China's modernization and revolutionary efforts. An example of this pattern is the Chinese students who studied abroad in Western countries during the early 20th century and later returned to China to contribute to its modernization efforts. These individuals were encouraged to maintain their Chinese identity while acquiring Western education and skills, ultimately serving as bridges between China and the outside world.

The Huayi Pattern is described as the latest pattern of Chinese migration, still unfolding at the time of this text. It involves secondary or tertiary migration, often by well-educated professionals seeking more congenial environments. The Huayi migrants may have experienced earlier patterns, such as Huagong or Huaqiao, and are influenced by a globalized and cosmopolitan outlook. An example of this pattern is contemporary

Chinese professionals from Huashang or Huagong who migrate to Western countries for career opportunities and a better quality of life. These migrants, often highly educated and skilled in technology, finance, or healthcare, seek to establish themselves in new environments while retaining some connections to their Chinese heritage.

The Taiping Rebellion, which occurred in the mid-19th century, was one of the most significant uprisings that indirectly affected the Peranakan Chinese community across Southeast Asia. It caused the second significant influx of Chinese Huaqiao migrants, mainly political refugees in the Dutch East Indies after Zheng He's naval expedition, causing conflicts among the Peranakan (local-born) Chinese and the Totok (newcomers).⁸² The rebellion became a crucial event that weakened the Qing dynasty and eventually led to the overthrow of the entire dynasty system. It was replaced by the Republic of China, led by Sun Yat Sen.

The Taiping Rebellion was a massive uprising against the Qing Dynasty led by the Chinese revolutionary and religious leader Hong Xiuquan. Various grievances, including economic hardship, social inequality, corruption, and ethnic tensions, fueled the rebellion. The rebellion caused widespread destruction and loss of life, disrupting social order and financial stability in many parts of China. In Malaya, it fueled the existing social discontent against the imperial rule and aspirations for political change among the community. It contributed to the formation of political ideologies, nationalist sentiments, and collective memories among Chinese immigrants in the region. Additionally, the

⁸² Kohl, D. G. (1984). *Chinese architecture in the Straits Settlements and Western Malaya*. Heinemann Asia.

Taiping Rebellion coincided with the rise of secret societies such as the Triads in southern China.

Secret societies also characterized the social structure in many parts of Southeast Asia, providing a sense of belonging within the community by facilitating trade, financial support, and employment opportunities, in addition to religious and cultural celebrations. These societies were categorized based on their dialect groups or their operational styles. Several notable secret societies in the Malay archipelago, including the Triads, were Ghee Hin (Tiandihui) and Hai san, Hui, and Kongsì.⁸³

Triads are one of southern China's most well-known secret societies, characterized by a hierarchical structure and elaborate initiation ceremonies. They traditionally have three ranks: White Paper Fan (lowest), Straw Sandal (middle), and Red Lantern (highest).⁸⁴ Although they engaged in criminal activities such as extortion, smuggling, and gambling, they also served as mutual aid organizations and had philanthropic functions. Ghee Hin, or Tiandihui, was a secret society composed primarily of Cantonese members, and it was one of the major Triad factions operating in Malaya, particularly in Penang and Malacca. The Hai San, also known as the Five Districts Society, was another prominent Triad faction in Malaya, consisting mainly of Hakka and Hokkien members. Like the Ghee Hin, the Hai San engaged in criminal activities and often clashed with rival secret societies over territory, economic interests, and political influence.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

Hui, also known as benevolent societies, were another type of secret organization within the Chinese community. Unlike the Triads, the Hui focused on providing social welfare, mutual aid, and community support. These societies played a crucial role in helping immigrants settle in new environments, providing financial assistance, and organizing religious and cultural activities. Meanwhile, Kongsis were clan associations or guilds formed by Chinese immigrants to support members from the same ancestral hometown or occupational background. Although not inherently secret societies, some Kongsis in Malaya might have engaged in secretive or semi-illegal activities. They provided social support, financial assistance, and protection to their members, particularly in the face of discrimination or persecution.

In every society, a leader is usually called the 'Big Brother' who plays a crucial role in mediating disputes, resolving conflicts, and maintaining order within the community.⁸⁵ This leader or official represents the members' interests and negotiates with external authorities on behalf of the group. Such communities act as self-defense organizations that guard against external threats such as banditry, piracy, or conflicts with rival groups. They have their codes of conduct and punish members who violate rules or betray the group's interests.

Even though most migrants were merchants and traders, Confucian values remained at the core of the society. However, the hierarchy was reversed, with the merchants, known as "Sing," in the most prominent position. As they facilitated trade and commerce, controlling the flow of goods and capital, they likely enjoyed considerable

⁸⁵ Ibid.

wealth and social status due to their substantial economic power. Next in the hierarchy was the "Kong," which consisted of mechanics and manufacturers. They held significant economic power and influence due to their involvement in producing goods, constructing infrastructure, and providing essential services. Their skills and contributions to building the physical and economic infrastructure of the region earned them considerable respect and financial rewards. In the third position was the "Long," who were involved in husbandry and played a critical role in providing food and sustaining the community.

Although agriculture may not always yield high profits compared to other sectors, especially if land ownership is limited or crops face market fluctuations, it is still an essential occupation. Lastly, there were the "Su," the literati, who were highly valued for literacy and education. They might have a different level of economic power than those engaged in more directly profitable activities. Still, their influence in education and communication within the community could give them a certain level of social status. All groups were interdependent with one another and collectively influenced the socio-economic and political conditions within the Chinese diaspora.⁸⁶

The Peranakan culture among the Chinese throughout Southeast Asia was similar despite being ruled by different European authorities. In addition to the Chinese, there were Peranakan Malays, Parsees, Arabs, Armenians, Klings or Indians, Bengalees, and Africans.⁸⁷ The Peranakan communities within each ethnic group were well-connected throughout Southeast Asia.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

In his 1862 journal, photographer John Thomson described the trading activities of the Peranakan Chinese. European merchants employed most Chinese as compradors or treasurers who handled financial transactions, ensured the quality of silver, hired laborers, acted as brokers, and provided various other services. Alongside the comprador were the schroffs, who were trained to authenticate the silver coins. They were educated by the counterfeit coiners and "doctors of dollars" in China.⁸⁸

Thomson observed that each comprador was often a member of one of the secret societies. He depicted them as modest, intelligent, and "leisure-loving, fat, prosperous personage, who grows richer and fatter every year."⁸⁹ However, he noted that immigrants brought benefits, such as cheap and efficient labor, but they were often challenging to manage due to their turbulent behaviors, religious differences, vices, etc. Even within the Peranakan Chinese community, factionalism and conflicts emerged due to regional and cultural differences.



Figure 2.5. An Illustration of a Chinese Contractor in Penang by John Thomson (1862)
(Source: Thomson, J. (1875). *The Straits of Malacca, Indo-China, and China, or, Ten years' travels, adventures, and residence abroad*. New York: Harper & Bros. Retrieved from <http://resolver.library.cornell.edu/seav/5731142>)

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

The Role of the Chinese Council or Kong Kuan

During the Dutch East Indies period, the Peranakan Chinese community was governed by an appointed 'Kapitan' or captain by Governor-General Jan Pieterszoon Coen. The captain acted as a mediator between the VOC and the Chinese community, collecting taxes from the community based on the rate set by the Dutch and regulating civil affairs. As the population grew, more Chinese officers were required, creating positions for lieutenants to manage the board of trustees, marriage and divorce registration, death certificates, and social institutions such as schools, hospitals, temples, and cemeteries.⁹⁰ The institution is referred to as the Chinese Council or 'Kong Kuan,' although its creation date is unknown.⁹¹

Following the Batavia Massacre in 1740, the Dutch administration realized the need to organize their management of "Chinese affairs better." As a result, in 1742, officers were provided with their own meeting house, also known as 'Kong Tong.' Five years later, in 1747, the Chinese Council was formalized with the addition of a sworn secretary, who was granted permission to be involved in administrative matters of the colonial government. The number of lieutenants increased to six. It was not until 1837 that the position of 'Major' was created.⁹²

G. William Skinner compares the leadership of the three Chinese communities in Manila, Semarang, and Phnom Penh under colonial rule with that of Bangkok and defines

⁹⁰ Chen, M. (2009, December 10). *De Chinese gemeenschap van Batavia, 1843-1865 : een onderzoek naar het Kong Koan-archief*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/14501>

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

the captain or the Chinese officer as 'the community's protector and the state's agent, the community's influential leader and the state's indirect administrator.'⁹³ The Chinese residents of Batavia were under the direct governance of their heads, appointed by the governor-general and provided with the necessary instructions. Subordinate leaders, such as district masters, were appointed either by the local government or by the officers under whom they served. The Chinese lived together in the so-called 'Chinese camps', divided into districts. They were under the supervision of the district masters and were not considered officers.

Individuals who wished to become officers were required to submit a petition directly to the governor-general. The governor-general would then consult with the resident where the candidate was located. The resident would instruct the sitting officers to assess the potential candidate if there were a Chinese Council. The sitting officers would then evaluate the candidate and provide recommendations supporting or disapproving the candidate to the resident. The resident would then advise the governor-general based on the evaluations received from the sitting officers.⁹⁴

However, the officer position was often filled by someone from an official family, and candidates often emphasized their blood relationship with former or serving officers in their petitions.⁹⁵ Although the authorities did not officially recognize it, a candidate's origin in China played a role in the selection process. Preference was given to those born in China, especially those of Hokkien descent. Candidates were required to have

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

sufficient financial means and an expected network of social contacts, and their educational background was considered. Familiarity with Chinese traditional norms and values and contribution to the colonial government and local authorities was deemed necessary.

The Chinese council officers were divided into 'effective officers' or official members and 'titular or non-official officers.'⁹⁶ The effective officers were responsible for carrying out duties within the Kong Koan. In contrast, the titular officers, regarded as extraordinary members of the Kong Koan, acted as advisors and took part in meetings regarding general affairs.



Figure 2.6. Mayor Khouw Kim An attending one of the Chinese Council Meetings
(Source: Widayati, N. (2008). *Rumah mayor China di Jakarta: Mansion of the Chinese major in Jakarta*. (Cet. 1). Jakarta: Subur Jaringan Cetak Terpadu.)

⁹⁶ Ibid.

The starting rank for officers was Lieutenant. Only an effective lieutenant could qualify for the position of captain, and only an effective captain could ultimately qualify for the major position. While officer positions were not hereditary, candidates with a significant background were preferred. Blood relationships, origin in China, and contributions to the government were crucial factors in the selection process.⁹⁷ Applying for higher positions, such as the first or second Secretary of the Kong Koan in Batavia, followed a similar procedure, with the main requirement being an excellent command of the Chinese language. The title of 'honorary major or captain' was given as a distinction after retirement. The Chinese Council existed until the end of the Dutch occupation.

Although this study focuses on the Peranakan Chindo architecture, it acknowledges the significance of ownership due to wealth and political influence, which contribute to the historical narrative of these residences. The featured residences include those of notable Peranakan Chindo officials, such as Khouw Kim An in Batavia and Tjong A Fie in Medan, in addition to the Chindo families from the 'hua shang' migration pattern who remained as merchants without political aspirations, such as the Oei and Siek families, and Margo Redjo in Central Java. In the chapter that follows, these relationships will become increasingly clear.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

CHAPTER III.

ARCHITECTURAL AMALGAMATION ANALYSES OF THE RESIDENCES

A culture is reflected in its architecture. Styles, beliefs, religion, plan layout, and materials all play a role in the development of form and detail in the minds of those who build and occupy any property. This chapter deals with these choices from the Chindo perspective, introducing Indonesian examples whose family history will be explained at greater length in the next chapter.

Many Chinese Indonesians incorporated European elements into their houses from the late 19th to the early 20th century. These included pieces of the Dutch, Romanesque, Queen Anne styles and other elements of Arabs and Moors while rooted in Southern Chinese architecture and Indonesian vernacular architecture. While the Western elements were mainly adopted for the façade, interiors, and furnishings, the Eastern elements were often reflected in their spatial typology, building attributes, and ornamentation. The combination of these elements was then adjusted in proportion and design to suit the tropical climate of Indonesia.

When residents of Chinese descent constructed the architecture, the style is commonly known as the Peranakan Chinese style or Straits Eclectic Style. The Peranakan style is often determined based on the owners' ethnicity, which might be Arab, Dutch, Indian, etc. However, there are no specifics to characterize "Peranakan" due to its multiple variations yet limited examples. Therefore, the Peranakan style is often used to label houses of mixed ethnicity, particularly those of Chinese descent. The inability to determine its style often leads people to refer to it as the "Eclectic" style.

The current architectural styles in Indonesia that precede modernity, including the Dutch Indies style and various Indonesian vernacular architectural styles, are mainly named after their geography or based on the type of roof. For example, Bali's traditional architecture or "Joglo" (a roofing type) house. As "Peranakan" means local-born, its style can be defined as creolized foreign architecture in Indonesia, with variations based on ethnicity, while excluding the Dutch East Indies Style.

In Singapore, this style is known as "Straits Eclectic."⁹⁸ In Malaysia, it is referred to as "Peranakan." Indonesia, which shares a nomenclature similar to Malaysia, also called it "Peranakan." Nevertheless, this style can be found in other countries, such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Southern China, where it is called "Colonial Architecture." Regardless of the name used in each country to describe these houses, the people associated with them are often called "Chinese Overseas" in academic literature. However, this thesis will only focus on the architecture in Indonesia.

To better understand the unique characteristics of Peranakan Chinese Indonesia or Peranakan Chindo residences, houses from Indonesian provinces, including Central Java, West Java, and North Sumatra, have been selected to represent the layout and architectural elements of the Peranakan Chindo style, from both a structural and non-structural perspective. These houses include the Oei House in Lasem, the Siek Tjing Long Residence in Parakan, the Margo Redjo House in Semarang, the Candra Naya House in Jakarta, and the Tjong A Fie Mansion in Medan.

⁹⁸ Kohl, D. G. (1984). Chapter 1 / Origins and Culture of the Chinese in Malaya. In *Chinese architecture in the Straits Settlements and western malaya: Temples, Kongsis, and houses* (pp. 1–16). Heinemann Asia.

Since the beginning of the 21st century, Peranakan architecture has gained increasing attention, particularly in shophouses in Penang, Malacca, Singapore, and Bangkok. Several preservation efforts have been undertaken in these cities, including the restoration of Tan Yeok Nee House and the NUS Baba House in Singapore and the UNESCO Heritage Designation received by Georgetown and The Blue Mansion in Penang. Nevertheless, most of the advancements in academic literature have been centered on shophouse restorations.



Figure 3.1. The Evolution of Shophouses' Style in Penang

(Source: Tan, Y. W. (2015). *Penang shophouses: a handbook of features and materials*. George Town, Penang, Malaysia: Tan Yeow Wooi Culture & Heritage Research Studio.)

Tan Yeow Wooi, in his book “Penang Shophouses: A Handbook of Features and Materials,” categorized the development of these shophouses into six construction periods, beginning from Early Penang styles (the 1790s-1850s), Southern Chinese Eclectic styles (1840s-1910s), Early Straits Eclectic styles (1890s-1920s), Late Straits Eclectic styles (1910s-1930s), Art Deco styles (1930s-early 1960s), and Early Modern styles (1950s-1970s).⁹⁹ Although his work dealt specifically with shophouses, his

⁹⁹ Tan, Y. W. (2015). *Penang shophouses: a handbook of features and materials*. George Town, Penang, Malaysia: Tan Yeow Wooi Culture & Heritage Research Studio.

research provided an extensive understanding of the use of building materials within each period, which can also be applied to materials used in standalone houses.

In Lasem, a study conducted by (Aini et al. 2016), as cited in (Kwanda 2020), categorized the architectural styles in the area into six categories: Chinese architecture styles, Chinese Indies styles, Chinese Javanese-styles, Dutch Indies styles, Javanese-raised timber floor houses styles or “Gladak” styles, and Javanese-Indies style.¹⁰⁰ These styles are named based on the ethnicities of the owners, which are associated with the characteristics of the building. However, as explained by Richard Longstreth in his publication of “The Problem with “Style” in 1984, the emphasis on styles can create an incomplete version of the building’s character by overlooking other significant interventions that contribute to its characteristics.¹⁰¹ Therefore, it is essential to provide a more nuanced explanation of the building, which includes its architectural history and function within its context.

Nevertheless, a stylistic guideline can facilitate communication, education, and research within the field and provide the regulatory framework for preservation and restoration. Furthermore, it serves as a reference to help assess new building alterations and new construction within the existing context. Therefore, if the term “Indies” refers to “local-born” rather than “Peranakan,” then, when combined with the ethnicity of the building owners to create stylistic names, the styles would be called Chinese-Indies styles

¹⁰⁰ Kwanda, T. (2020). Adaptive Reuse and interventions of Chinese architectural heritage in the city of LASEM, Indonesia. *International Journal of Environmental Science & Sustainable Development*, 5(1), 68–79. <https://doi.org/10.21625/essd.v5i1.718>

¹⁰¹ “The Problem With ‘Style’,” (*Forum Bulletin of the [Society of Architectural Historians’] Committee on Preservation*, VI, 1(c) 2, December, 1984, pp. 1-4).

or Chindo, Dutch-Indies, Arab-Indies, Keling (Indian)-Indies, etc. Although the ethnicities of the building owners provide the dominant characteristics to which the style is named, it is essential to acknowledge that other ethnicities influence those styles on various scales. Thus, the assessment of the building elements needs to conform to more nuanced elements of a stylistic approach rather than excluding any elements that do not conform to a specific ideal of style.

The houses presented in this thesis are categorized as Chinese-Indies styles or Chindo, based on the ethnicities of their ownerships. However, foreign interventions have significantly influenced their designs. The extent to which foreign adaptations have been integrated into these designs can be observed by the elements supporting and ornamenting the building. From a Chinese architectural point of view, the order of intervention from the least to the most begins with Candranaya, The Oei House, The Tjong A Fie Mansion, The Siek Family House, and lastly, Margo Redjo.

The significance of these buildings from an architectural standpoint is clarified in the following sections, which will identify the key architectural elements and associated stories of the occupants. The author will continuously refer to the five primary residential examples, which include the Oei House, 1818 in Lasem (Le Petit Chinois); Siek Tjing Liong of the Siek Family House, built in the mid-19th century in Parakan; Margo Redjo, or The House of Coffee, 1850 in Semarang; Khouw Kim An (The Last Batavia Majoor der Chinezen), 1872 in Batavia, now Jakarta; and The Tjong A Fie Mansion, 1901 in Medan, North Sumatra.

The architectural elements of these buildings can be examined through the exterior or facade, including the overall form, facade details, and ornamentation. The



Figure 3.2. Five Examples of Peranakan Chinese Residences
(Top to bottom, left to right: The House of Oei (2024); Candranaya (2024), The Tjong A Fie Mansion (2021), Margo Redjo (2024); The Siek Family House (2024))
(Source: The Author's Collection)

structural support, which includes columns and roofing frames, is also essential, as well as the interior elements, such as the ornamentations on the ceiling and walls and the selection of floor tiles. These buildings exhibit a range of architectural styles, from delicate Queen Anne trim to elements from the classical language of architecture, as well as Indonesian roofing types and Chindo elements, “dougong” structural support, calligraphy, elemental gables, and auspicious ornaments.

One significant difference in identifying the style of the buildings can be found in their spatial zones based on their beliefs. For example, some have a designated room for ancestors, while others have open space to lay their mats and pray with the qibla arrow. Some have no designated space, as praying takes place in the church.

Residential Spatial “Zones”

Dr. Ir. Naniek W. Priyomarsono, the Head of the Master of Architecture Study at Tarumanagara University, has made significant efforts and contributions to preserve the Candra Naya Building. In her book, 'Mansion of the Chinese Major in Jakarta,' she has recorded some of the mansion's features, such as spatial zoning, the Dougong structural system, and various Chinese ornamental elements, including the moon gate window, lotus ornaments, calligraphy writing, and polychromatic scrolls and carvings on the wall.¹⁰²

Ronald G. Knapp in 'Peranakan Chinese Home: Art and Culture in Daily Life,' and Foo, S. L., & Yeo, K. S. in 'NUS Baba House: Architecture and Artifacts of a Straits Chinese Home,' have also studied and documented features of Peranakan mansions.¹⁰³¹⁰⁴ They described the characteristics of these mansions according to the function of each space. Knapp categorized them into the reception hall, the courtyard, the ancestral hall, the living areas, the bedroom, and the kitchen. Similarly, Foo, S. L., & Yeo, K. S. categorized them into the front courtyard, reception hall, ancestral hall, kitchen, master, and rear bedroom.

With a similar approach but with the addition of zoning, Dr. Naniek categorized these spaces based on their level of privacy as follows: The commons or public area (i.e.,

¹⁰² Widayati, N. (2008). *Rumah mayor China di Jakarta: Mansion of the Chinese major in Jakarta*. (Cet. 1). Jakarta: Subur Jaringan Cetak Terpadu.

¹⁰³ Knapp, R. G., & Ong, A. C. (2013). *Peranakan Chinese home: art and culture in daily life*. North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle Publishing.

¹⁰⁴ Foo, S. L., & Yeo, K. S. (2016). *NUS Baba House: architecture and artefacts of a Straits Chinese home*. Singapore: NUS Baba House.

the reception hall), the public-private (i.e., the worship hall), the private area (i.e., the family residence), and the service area (i.e., kitchen), in addition to the yards (i.e., front yard, back yard, courtyard). These spaces are arranged in the order of privacy, beginning from the commons as we enter through the front entrance, toward the reception hall, then the inner courtyard, and eventually to the back of the house. The space gradually becomes more private and ends with the service zone. The front area often serves as an office space, while the back is reserved for the family.

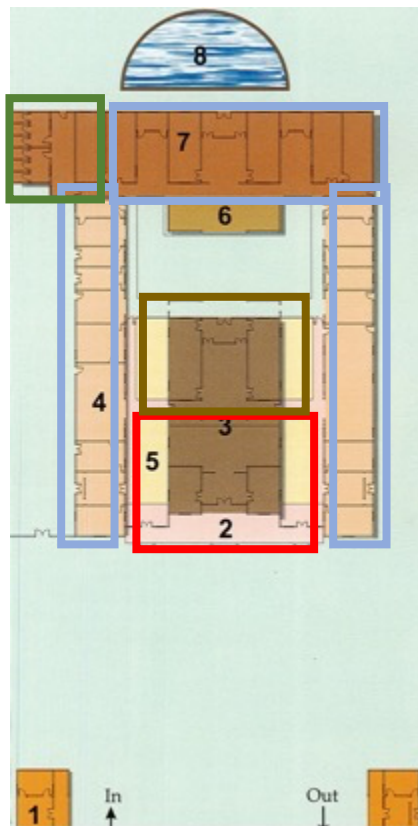


Figure 3.3. The Floor Plan of Candranaya as documented by Mrs. Priyomarsono: the commons as highlighted in red, the public-private area highlighted in brown, the private area as highlighted in blue, and the service area as highlighted in green

(Source: Widayati, N. (2008). *Rumah mayor China di Jakarta: Mansion of the Chinese major in Jakarta*. (Cet. 1). Jakarta: Subur Jaringan Cetak Terpadu.)

The building plan is primarily designed in three bays, with the center being the dominant mass flanked by two side masses or wings on each side, which is the case for Candranaya and The Tjong A Fie Mansion. The central mass can be two-story, such as in the Tjong A Fie mansion, or one-story, as seen in the Candranaya. In modest cases,

including the House of Oei, Siek Family, and Margo Redjo, there would only be the central mass divided into three bays. When the building is extended on a longitudinal lot,



Figure 3.4. The Floor Plan of Candranaya as documented by Maryam Rabi: the commons highlighted in red, the public-private area highlighted in brown, the private area highlighted in blue, and the service area highlighted in green

(Source: The Author's Collection)

the central mass might feature a second mass of the same size but slightly raised and connected with an inner courtyard, which might be due to the limited span of the side gable roofing structure, but more importantly, is to ensure the flow of air in the building considering there was no air conditioning system at that time. Additionally, each room in the mansion often has two doors resting on a steppingstone, especially when the building has side wings.

The building plan incorporates high-pitched roofs to allow heat to travel upwards, addressing the hot and humid climate in the monsoon season. Various openings will be included, such as doors, windows, shutters, terraces, and canopies. The inner courtyard will function as an “air well” or “sky well,” which will provide the occupants with fresh

air and light. This concept is similar to the Roman Domus in the West, where the inner courtyard served as the atrium for natural light and air circulation, as well as collecting rainwater. Additionally, it is believed that the building plans were designed with Feng

Shui principles or Chinese geomancy, which include the selection for orientation and site.¹⁰⁵



Figure 3.5. The Main Courtyard of the Tjong A Fie Mansion

(Source: The Author's Collection)

¹⁰⁵ Nasution, K. S., & Berbar, H. (2009). *Heritage Houses of Penang*. Marshall Cavendish.

Feng Shui Thinking

Feng Shui, also known as Ganyu in classical texts, is a holistic approach to urban planning from ancient China. It utilizes astrology, numerology, topography, climate, and Chinese beliefs and values to evaluate the site using the eight trigrams, known as bagua, as a compass to determine the best placement for settlements, temples, graveyards, etc.¹⁰⁶ The goal is to align all building components, from the site's placement to the structural elements, to achieve balance and harmony, which are believed to be auspicious within the culture.¹⁰⁷



Figure 3.6. The Eight Trigrams (Bagua) on the left
(Source: <https://www.fengshui.net/history/the-origins-of-the-eight-trigrams-6278/>)
& Figure 3.7. The compass “Luopan” on the right (Source: the author’s collection)

¹⁰⁶ Lip, E. (1996). *Feng Shui Environments of Power: A study of Chinese architecture*. Academy Editions.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

The compass “Luopan” is based on the eight trigrams (Bagua) and was inscribed with teachings from the classical text of the I Ching, or the Book of Changes, which is also believed to be the source of inspiration for Confucian and Taoist beliefs.¹⁰⁸ The I Ching consists of 64 hexagrams, each composed of six stacked horizontal lines, either broken (yin) or unbroken (yang).¹⁰⁹ Each of the hexagrams is associated with a text to explain the current stage of development in the universe. The I Ching is traditionally attributed to the legendary sage and emperor Fu Xi, who is believed to have lived around 2800 BCE.¹¹⁰

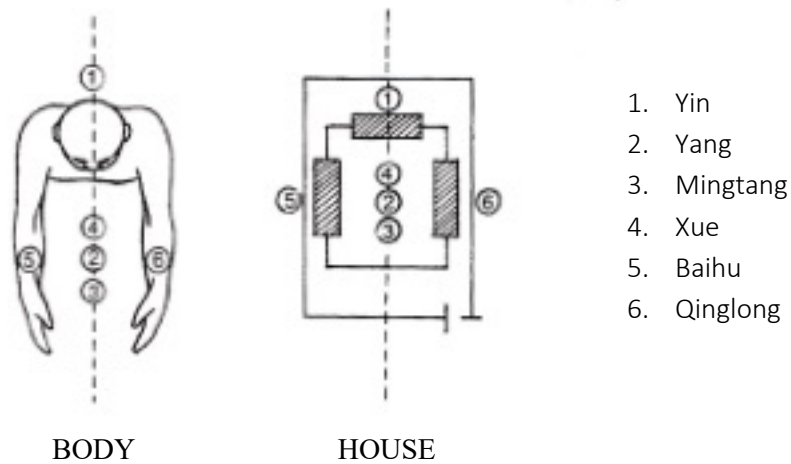


Figure 3.8. The analogy of Fengshui as applied in the human body and residential planning (Source: Wei, F. (1992). *Village Fengshui Principles*. In *Chinese Landscapes, The Village as Place*. Essay, University of Hawaii Press.)

The cosmocentric belief entails viewing humans as an integral part of nature and holding that the teachings of the I Ching can be applied to all aspects of human lives, from construction to medicine. According to the Jiuxing or Nine Stars system, the

¹⁰⁸ Editor. (2019, July 20). *The origins of the eight trigrams*. Feng Shui for Modern Living. <https://www.fengshui.net/history/the-origins-of-the-eight-trigrams-6278/>

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ New World Encyclopedia. *Fu xi*. Fu Xi. https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Fu_Xi

celestial bodies wield an influence over the earth and all living beings, which undergo a cycle of 20 years.¹¹¹ Each cyclical year is associated with a distinct element. The following new cycle, from 2024-2043, will embody the essence of stars jiu zi (nine) and the theme of fire.¹¹² Therefore, the magic diagram used to gauge the reading must be changed.

In Chinese numerology, the number nine represents imperial power and prestige. This belief is reflected in the Forbidden City (Gugong) layout, which boasts 9,999 rooms.¹¹³ The number nine is not only prominent in architecture but also in social conduct. For example, people greeting the emperor are required to kneel three times and knock their heads on the ground nine times during the imperial rule. Additionally, gifts and offerings are often arranged in multiples of nine to enhance positive energy flow. The number nine is considered the highest form of yang, which exudes the qualities of highest governance, culmination, completion, and success.

The Eight Trigrams comprise a hexagonal structure with a combination of three broken (yin) or unbroken (yang) horizontal lines, representing yin and yang at their core. The hexagram follows a clockwise path from East to Northeast, with water, mountain, earth, thunder, fire, lake, heaven, and wind. These symbols represent cosmic forces that need to be balanced to ensure the smooth flow of Qi, the vital energy or life force, for the well-being of people.

On the other hand, the Five Elements (Wu Xing) represent the fundamental elements that interact to shape the world: Fire, Earth, Metal, Water, and Wood. Each

¹¹¹ Lip, E. (1996). *Feng Shui Environments of Power: A study of Chinese Architecture*. Academy Editions.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

element has its unique characteristics, properties, forms, and colors, often seen in the end gable of Chinese traditional architecture. The Yang category includes Fire (Red), Earth (Yellow), and Gold (White), while the Yin category comprises water (Black) and wood (Green).¹¹⁴



Fig. 5.5a-c.
 a. Schematic drawings representing (from left to right) wood, fire, earth, water, and metal are sometimes given shape in the upper gable walls, called "mountain walls," or shan qiang, of houses in southern China.

Figure 3.9. The Five Elements of Residential Gable

(Source: Wei, F. (1992). Village Fengshui Principles. In *Chinese Landscapes The Village as Place*. essay, University of Hawaii Press.)

According to Feng Shui principles, village planning involves the arrangement and direction of settlements to create harmony and prosperity among residents. The ideal location for a village is against a backdrop of mountains or hills facing a river or the sea.¹¹⁵ This belief is based on cosmological ideas, represented by animals such as the Red Peacock, which represents the southern direction, symbolizing prosperity and warmth associated with the summer season. The Black Tortoise represents the northern direction, symbolizing longevity and protection, and is associated with the winter season. The White Tiger represents the western direction, symbolizing power and authority, and is

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Pratiwo. (2010). *Arsitektur tradisional Tionghoa Dan Perkembangan Kota*. Ombak.

associated with autumn. The Blue Dragon represents the eastern direction, symbolizing auspiciousness and vitality, and is associated with spring.¹¹⁶

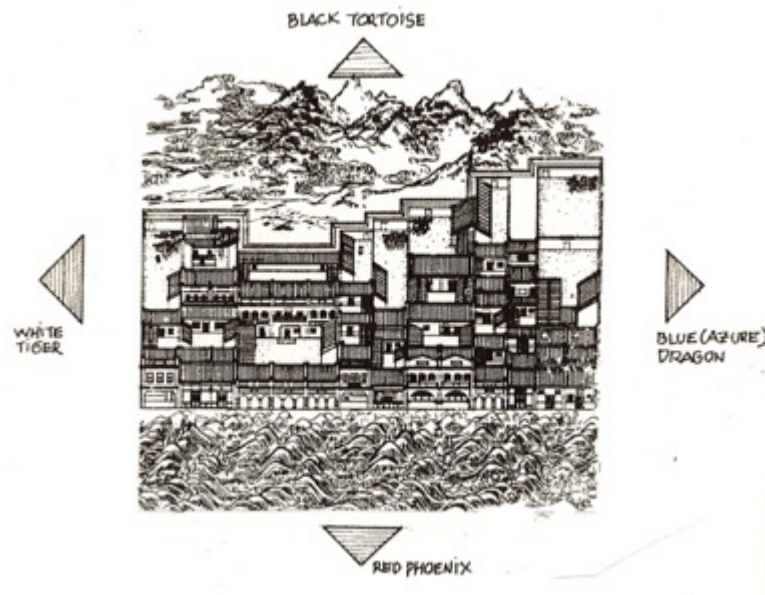


Figure 3.10. The Orientation of Settlements in China
(Source: Pratiwo. (2010). *Arsitektur tradisional Tionghoa Dan Perkembangan Kota*. Ombak.)

The settlement's layout and positioning of houses are carefully designed to capture the positive Qi or life energy flowing from nearby rivers. This alignment is believed to improve the well-being and prosperity of the residents. If the positioning is not done correctly, negative energy, referred to as "Sha," could bring misfortune to the community. To counteract the adverse effects of "Sha," villages may undergo landscape modifications.¹¹⁷ For instance, if the settlement lacks natural water sources, residents may create ponds or plant bamboo to mimic the presence of water. These adjustments aim to redirect and disperse negative energies while facilitating positive energy flow throughout the village.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

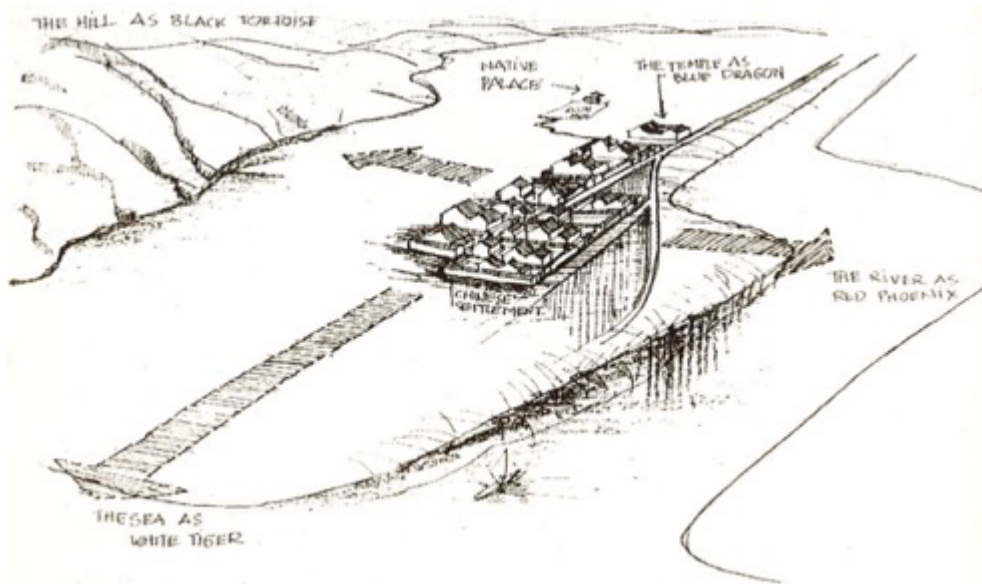


Figure 3.11. The Orientation of the Village in Lasem
 (Source: Pratiwo. (2010). *Arsitektur tradisional Tionghoa Dan Perkembangan Kota*. Ombak.)

The philosophy governing traditional Balinese architecture shares similarities with Feng Shui in maintaining a harmonious relationship with the environment, also known as "Asta Kosala Kosali."¹¹⁹ This philosophy offers guidance on the layout and architecture of houses and temples. It emphasizes "Tri Hita Karana," which involves "palemahan" (relationship with nature), "pawongan" (relationship with people), and "parahyangan" (relationship with the divine).¹²⁰ The importance of the direction and orientation of houses and temples in Balinese culture indicates the depth of spiritual beliefs and the belief in the balance of nature. As mountains symbolize strength and sanctity and are considered sacred directions, the sea is seen as less sacred, reflecting the balance between positive energy (mountains) and negative energy (sea) in daily life.

¹¹⁹ Umam, W. by, & Umam. *Mengenal rumah adat Bali Yang menakjubkan Dan Sarat filosofi*. Gramedia Literasi. <https://www.gramedia.com/literasi/mengenal-rumah-adat-bali/>

¹²⁰ Ibid.

Additionally, every element in traditional Balinese architecture holds deep meaning and symbolism, whether decorations, carvings, furniture, or colors.¹²¹

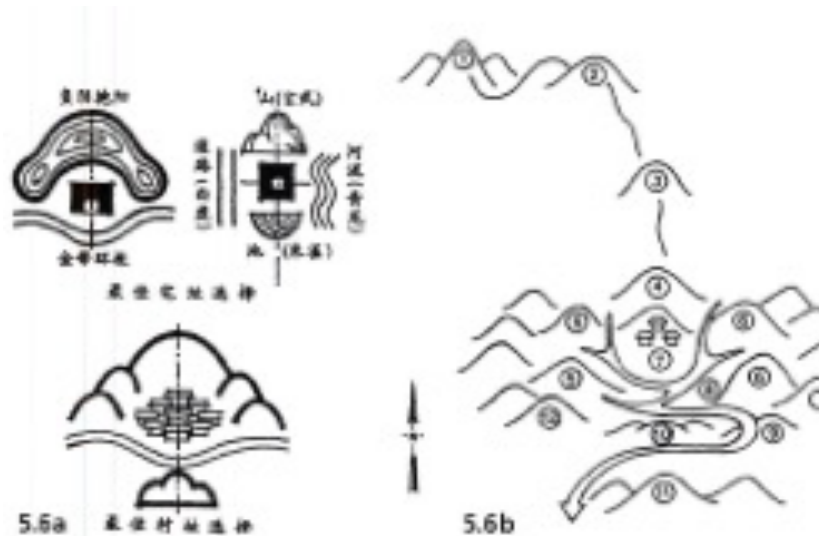


Fig. 5.6a-b. "Yin at one's back and embraced by yang, with ridges to the back and facing water" is a shorthand expression for optimal sites at different scales.

a. Optimal sites for dwellings. Bottom left: Optimal site for a village. Source: Shang 1992, 27.

b. An ideal building site with its constituent parts: (1) Kunlun Mountain; (2) grandparent mountain; (3) parent mountain; (4) master mountain; (5) Baihu, or White Tiger Mountain; (6) Qinglong, or Green Dragon Mountain; (7) settlement site; (8) watercourse; (9) shuikou, or water inlet; (10) Anshan; (11) chaoshan; (12) luocheng. Source: Fan 1992, 40.

Figure 3.12. Residential Planning as Inspired by the Mountains
(Source: Wei, F. (1992). Village Fengshui Principles. In *Chinese Landscapes The Village as Place*. essay, University of Hawaii Press.)

The relationship between cosmic events and the body and house alignment reflects the connection between the macrocosm and microcosm. It extends from the grandeur of cosmic phenomena to the intimate spaces of the human body and dwelling places. In dwellings, the macro scale commences from the mythical mountain of Kunlun,

¹²¹ Ibid.

traveling to the village's valley.¹²² The village becomes a microcosm that reflects the macrocosmic harmony sought through Feng Shui. Similarly, from the micro-scale, the concept of qi is reflected in the human body through acupuncture points.¹²³ The selection of acupuncture points mirrors the selection of auspicious sites for dwellings. Just as Feng Shui aims to optimize the flow of qi in the environment, acupuncture seeks to balance the flow within the body for health and well-being.¹²⁴

To effectively assess the application of Feng Shui (Air and Water), it is recommended to seek guidance from a Master or expert in the field. Feng Shui is based on constantly evolving celestial activities, and it requires the ability to interpret the changing climate in relation to the symbols and numbers to determine which elements should be placed for auspicious results or to counteract any ill effects.

¹²² Wei, F. (1992). Village Fengshui Principles. In *Chinese Landscapes The Village as Place*. essay, University of Hawaii Press.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

Confucianism and Ancestor Worship



Figure 3.13. The Ancestral Hall of the Tjong A Fie Mansion (1905)
(Source: KITLV / Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies)

Many Southeast Asians with Chinese heritage are known for their practice of ancestor worship and adherence to Confucianism. This is evident in the presence of ancestral halls in most, if not all, of the mansions recorded in the Malacca Straits. However, it is essential to note that Confucianism and Ancestor Worship are distinct practices. Confucianism is a philosophical and ethical system of social and moral behavior guidelines. It is deeply rooted in the farming community and prioritizes relationships, particularly the importance of family and social connections.

Meanwhile, ancestor worship is a way of showing respect to our ancestors, such as celebrating the Hungry Ghost Festival (Qing Ming).¹²⁵ Families visit their ancestors' graves to offer food and gifts in this annual event.¹²⁶ Since Master Kong preached ancestor worship alongside his teachings on filial piety, it is often mistakenly assumed that ancestor worship is part of Confucianism.

Ancestor worship has a long history that predates Confucianism. It originated in Shaanxi Province during the Neolithic period (approximately 6000 to 1000 B.C.) and then spread to other parts of northern and central China. The belief was that the ancestors of the Shang dynasty's royal family resided in heaven within the feudal hierarchy of spirit gods.¹²⁷

On the other hand, Confucianism was developed by the philosopher Confucius (Kong Fuzi), also known as Master Kong, who was born in 551 B.C. in Shandong. It was created due to the Zhou dynasty's decline of power over feudal leaders in 772-48 B.C.¹²⁸ The mission of his teaching was to create better citizens by regulating society through rituals that instilled a sense of shame and righteousness. Confucius taught that social order should be based on love and respect for one another, including countries and

¹²⁵ Lip, E. (1995). *Feng shui: environments of power: a study of Chinese architecture*. London: Academy Editions, 14.

¹²⁶ *The Hungry Ghost Festival in Chinese culture*. ChineseClass101.com Blog. (2019, December 3). <https://www.chineseclass101.com/blog/2019/07/27/hungry-ghost-festival/#:~:text=The%20Hungry%20Ghost%20Festival%2C%20Chinese,until%20the%20gates%20shut%20again>

¹²⁷ Cartwright, M. (2023, October 24). *Ancestor worship in ancient China*. World History Encyclopedia. <https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1132/ancestor-worship-in-ancient-china/>

¹²⁸ Lip, E. (1995). *Feng shui: environments of power: a study of Chinese architecture*. London: Academy Editions, 14.

authorities. Although the practice of ancestor worship is diminishing, it can still be found in some communities of Chinese descent along the Malacca Straits.

In Chinese-Indies mansions, the ancestral hall is considered the most revered space in the house. It is essential to remember that Ancestor Worship, Confucianism, and Taoism are three different beliefs but are commonly seen as syncretized in Chindo communities. In Taoism, several deities commonly worshiped by the community include the Jade Emperor “Tian Kong” and the Goddess of Mercy “Kwan Im,” in addition to The Gods of Three Stars “Fu Xing, Lu Xing, Shou Xing.” which will be seen as part of the ornamentations in many Chindo residences.



Figure 3.14. The Gods of Three Stars

(Source: Kang, G.-W., & Chern, J. D. (2013). *Decoration & symbolism in Chinese architecture: understanding Singapore's historic Chinese buildings*. Singapore: Preservation of Sites and Monuments.)

Taoism and The Eight Immortals

If Confucianism governs the relationships among human beings, then Taoism regulates the relationship between human beings and nature. Laozi was a native of Chu, a southern state during the Zhou dynasty, and served as a keeper of archival records at the court of Zhou, according to historical records by Sima Qian (ca. 145-86 B.C.) of the Han dynasty.¹²⁹ Confucius often consulted him on ritual matters.¹³⁰ While Confucianism provides the ideal morality for human beings, Taoism trains humans to cultivate the law of nature. Confucianism is more theoretical, whereas Taoism is more practical.

In the *Dao De Jing* (The Classic of Dao), mankind is believed to be able to be trained to have supernatural powers and even achieve immortality.¹³¹ It believes in divination and the usage of charms.¹³² As mentioned before, it embraces multiple gods, such as the Jade Emperor "Tian Kong," the Goddess of Mercy "Kwan Im," The Gods of Three Stars "Fu Xing, Lu Xing, Shou Xing," etc.

The characteristic of Taoism revolves around harmony, naturalness (*zi ran*), and effortlessness (*wu wei*). The term "Dao" means "The Way," and the *Dao De Jing* contains aphorisms and insights into the nature of existence, governance, and personal conduct.¹³³ Taoism did not become an organized religion until Zhang Daoling established a learning institution in Sichuan in 142 AD to teach Taoism, including the practice of sorcery.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Chan, Alan, "Laozi", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2018 Edition), Edward N. Zalta. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2018/entries/laozi/>

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Lip, E. (1995). *Feng shui: environments of power: a study of Chinese architecture*. London: Academy Editions, 14.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

Lao Zi, the author of the Dao De Jing, is addressed by his disciples as Taishang Laojun (Wise Sage of Supreme Level), while Zhang is referred to as Tian Shi (Heavenly Teacher).¹³⁵

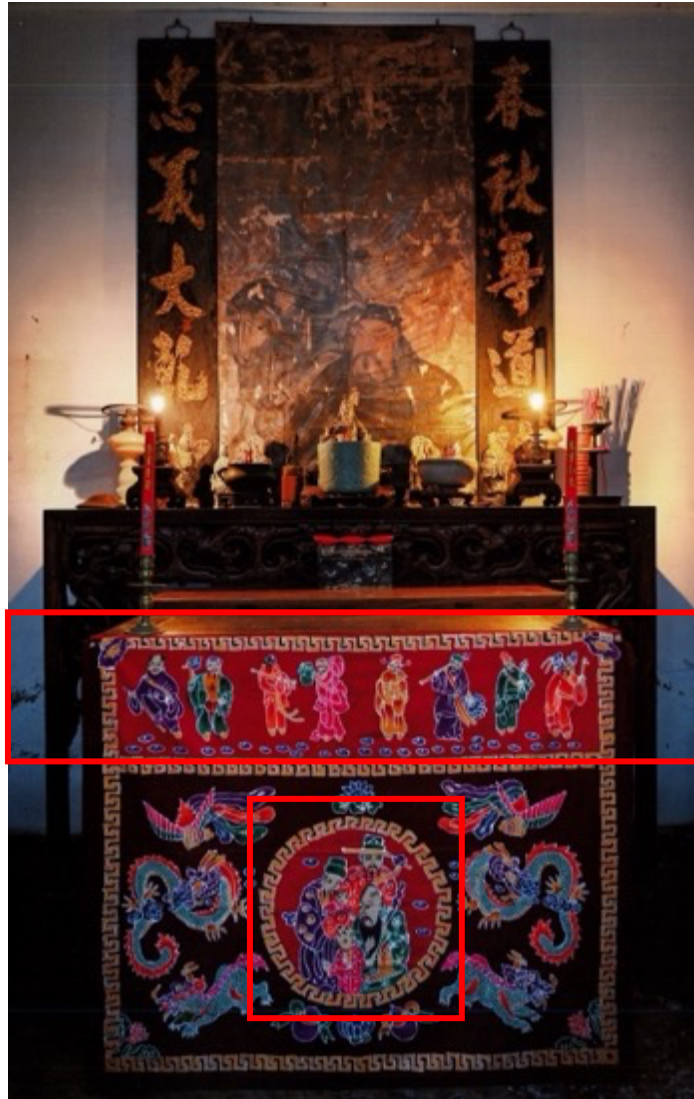


Figure 3.15. The Eight Immortals (Top) and The Gods of Three Stars (Bottom), depicted on the Tapestry of the Worship Altar (Source: Wibisono, L., Murtiyoso, S., & Wijayanti, W. (2021). *Parakan Living Heritage*. Semarang)

¹³⁵ Ibid.

“Dong You Ji” or “The Journey to the East,” is a Chinese Classic novel featuring the adventures of these Eight Immortal Gods at the Peach Banquet and Crossing the Sea.¹³⁶ The Eight Immortal Gods are often depicted in Chindo residences through carvings, tapestries, murals, and other forms of art. For example, the Tjong A Fie Mansion has balustrades, which are illustrated with these figures in four inner courtyards on both wings of the mansion.

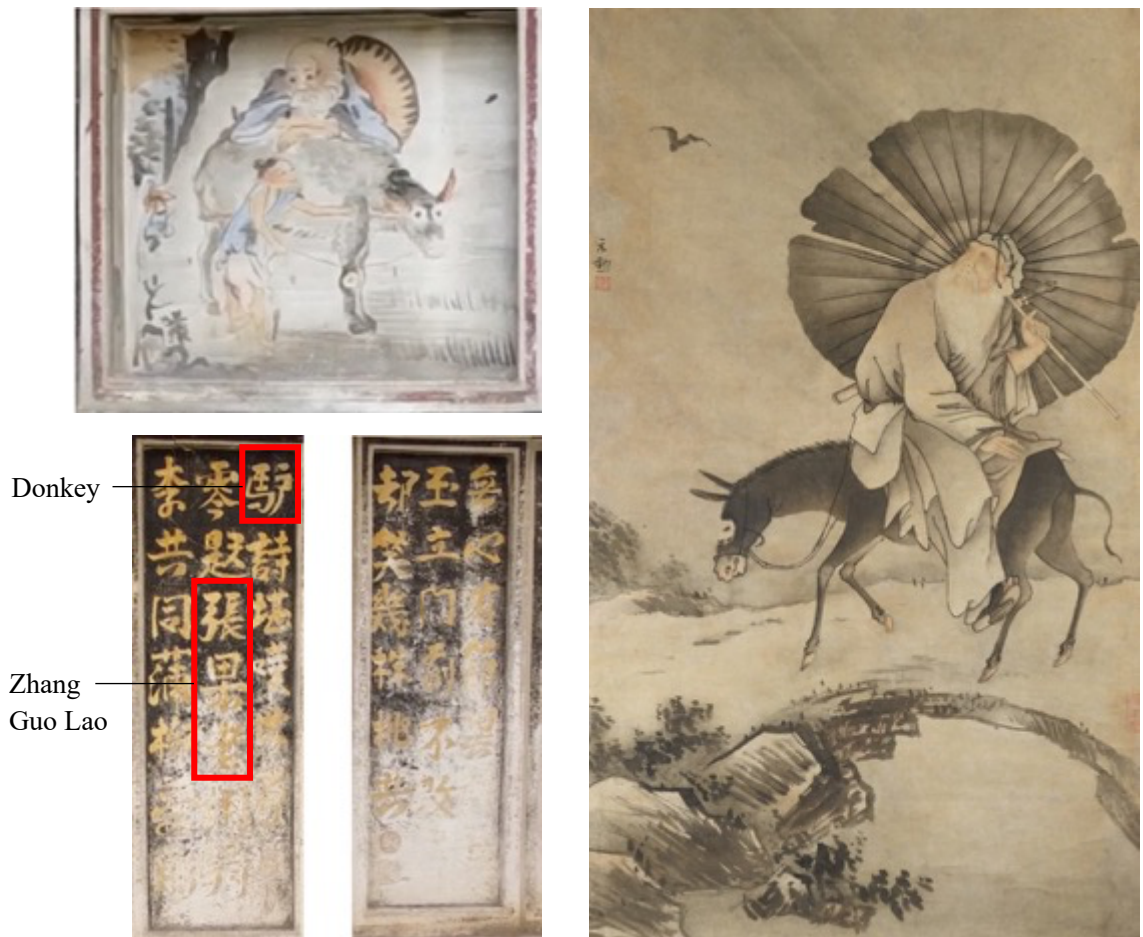


Figure 3.16. Left: Murals from the Tjong A Fie Mansion as transcribed by Dan Shen (Source: The Author’s Collection) and Right: Zhang Guo Lao Riding a Donkey (Source: <https://artmuseum.princeton.edu/collections/objects/22846>)

¹³⁶ BWitt, A. (2017, September 23). *Dongyou Ji 東遊記: Origins of the Eight immortals*. Sino Literature. <https://sinolit.wordpress.com/2017/10/09/dongyou-ji-origins-of-the-eight-immortals/>



Figure 3.17. Murals from the Balustrade of one of the Inner Courtyards of the Tjong A Fie Mansion with Zhang Guo Lao's illustration as highlighted (Source: The Author's Collection)



Figure 3.18. The Eight Immortals
Crossing the Sea
(Source: <https://taotsm.org/legenda-8-dewa-zhang-guo-lao/>)

The story begins with Laozi, who taught the first immortal, Li Tieguai, how to separate his soul from his body.¹³⁷ After that, Zhong Liquan, a military man, found enlightenment in a remote mountain area following a defeat and ascended to heaven after wandering the earth. Then, Lan Caihe, the gender-ambiguous immortal who looks like a child and is known for drunken behavior, enters the scene. Zhang Guo Lao comes next, who was initially a white bat but became human after consuming the essence of

the moon and sun. He is often depicted traveling on a donkey.

Following him is He Xianggu, the only female immortal who achieves immortality through fasting and a dream. She refuses to marry and embodies virtuous femininity. Then comes Lu Dongbin, who is notorious for his miraculous birth. Lü undergoes tests of illusion and becomes Zhongli Quan's disciple. He wanders the earth, enjoying life but also helping or meddling with people. The next immortal is Han Xiangzhi, the nephew of Confucian scholar Han Yu. He rejects an official career and becomes immortal. Lastly, there is Cao Guojiu, the brother of a Song empress, who shuns court life for poverty and joins the Eight Immortals.

¹³⁷ *Legenda 8 Dewa – Zhang Guo Lao*. Agama Tao Thay Shang Men - Xiao Yao Pai. (2021, March 29). <https://taotsm.org/legenda-8-dewa-zhang-guo-lao/>

In this tale, a diverse array of characters, each with their unique backgrounds and paths to enlightenment, converge to form the legendary Eight Immortals.¹³⁸ From Li Tieguai's initial studies under Laozi to Zhongli Quan's military enlightenment, their journeys exemplify varied routes to transcendence from the gender-ambiguous Lan Caihe to the resolute He Xiangyu. Zhang Guo Lao's transformation from a white bat to a human advisor, Lü Dongbin's tests of illusion, Han Xiangzi's rejection of official life, and Cao Guojiu's embrace of poverty all contribute to the rich tapestry of their collective legend.



Figure 3.19. The Wedding Dinner Plate of New York politician DeWitt Clinton and Maria Franklin, encircled with the Eight Immortals, circa. 1796-1810 (Source: <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/7896/dinner-plate>)

Over the centuries, this folklore has undergone various changes, resulting in numerous versions with the same characters. The craftsmen who illustrate this narrative have distinctive calligraphy and writing techniques. The murals on the balustrade of the Tjong A Fie Mansion depict one such variation of the Eight Immortal Stories, requiring further research to fully reconstruct its story.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

Form and Structure: Harmony or Displacement

Identifying the architectural style of a building begins with an examination of its overall appearance and key features such as the number of bays, supporting columns, and type of roof. Chindo residences mainly have three bays for the facade, as indicated by the examples. While Dougong was seen adopted by some of these houses, it was more often replaced by Greco-Roman support, especially if the building was built in the late and early 20th century. If the building has plain wooden support, it may resemble local vernacular architecture.



Figure 3.20. From Left to Right: Tuscan Support from Margo Redjo, Dougong Support from Candra Naya, Vernacular Support from the House of Oei
(Source: The Author's Collection)

With a bottom-up approach, the last defining element is the roofing type. Side gables are the most common in Chindo buildings, but some also feature a hip roof from Java architecture or a front-facing gable from the Dutch-Indies style. Lastly, ornamentation can often immediately reveal the style's identity. However, one should

avoid jumping to conclusions since details are subject to change over time, especially during political turmoil or in cases of adaptive reuse. Therefore, examining the overall form and structure is preferable before analyzing the details.

Chindo residences are known for their unique aesthetic, which combines multiple foreign elements. However, this raises concerns about their long-term preservation and sustainability. Most of the materials and techniques used to construct these buildings are no longer in use, which makes it challenging to propose interventions that maintain the building's character while ensuring long-term practicality. Another consideration is selecting the appropriate building material to replace the current one. Moreover, with the environment significantly changing in the last 100 years, rising global temperatures have caused higher humidity and heavier rainfall during the monsoon season. Therefore, new interventions are required for these buildings to adapt to their current environmental context.

For the Chindo style, the norm is eclectic. Having a Tuscan column carrying the weight of flooring or roofing beam without its entablature or using pan and roll roofing tile (commonly used in slightly curving upward roofing types on steeply pitched roofing types) is prevalent. Key elements addressed in the following sections include the column, the roof, openings, and ornamentations.

The Column: Greco-Roman, Dougong and Vernacular

The preference for structural elements in buildings can help determine their roots and styles. Three types of supporting columns are seen in the examples: the Dougong (Chinese bracketing system), the Greco-Roman column from the classical language of

In architecture, while the Greco-Roman order is rooted in "Firmitas, Utilitas, and Venustas," the Chinese order stems from "Form follows Function and Nature," highlighting the significance of nature in the holistic approach to design. Viollet-Le-Duc, in his book "Entretiens sur l'architecture," talks about how the Romans, inspired by the Greeks, designed the column based on geometrical art, practicality, and universality, with symmetry as the primary law of art.¹⁴⁰

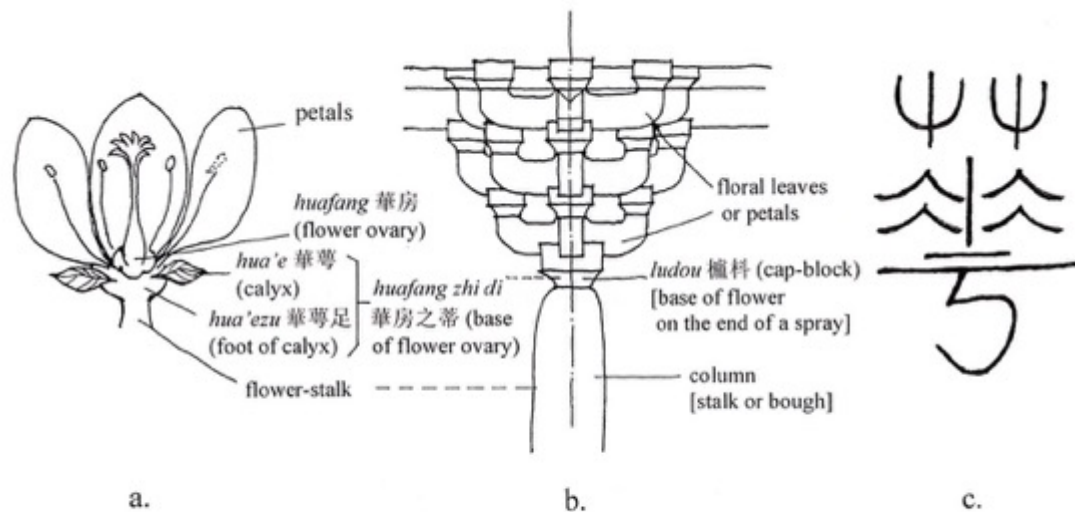


FIGURE 4.21. Sketch of bracketing likened to flowers: (a) botanical structure of a flower; (b) front view of a bracket set; (c) classical form of the Chinese character *hua* (author sketch)

Figure 3.22. Dougong Structural System as a Metaphor for a Flower

(Source: Feng, J. (2012). *Chinese architecture and metaphor: Song culture in the Yingzao fashi building manual*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.)

Meanwhile, the bracketing system in Chinese architecture can be traced back to the depiction of a flower as perceived by literati and scholars in ancient Chinese culture. The capital is the metaphor for the base of a flower ovary, and the bracketing that follows

¹⁴⁰ Viollet-le-Duc, E.-E. (1965). *Entretiens sur l'architecture*. Ridgewood, New Jersey: The Gregg Press.

resembles the flower, according to the scholar Xu Kai.¹⁴¹ The metaphorical use of flowers reflects the importance of nature within Chinese culture as an inspiration for the Chinese and one of the earliest integrations of natural motifs into architectural design. Dou (Lu Dou) is the capital, which comes in blocks, while Gong is the bracketing system held by Dou. Together, they form the Dougong bracketing system, which supports the roofing load and distributes it to the shaft. The bracketing system is designed to be flexible and resilient during seismic activity, and the Chinese architect used timber.

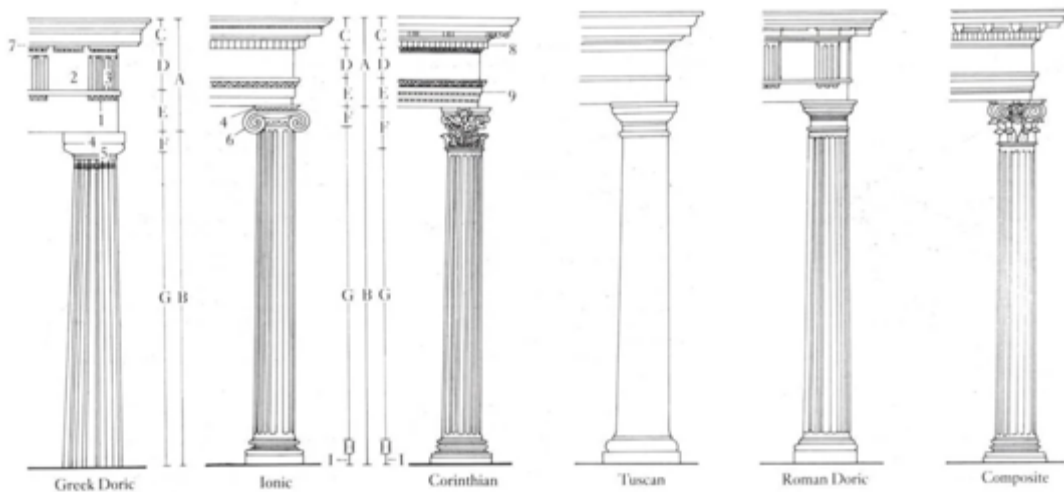


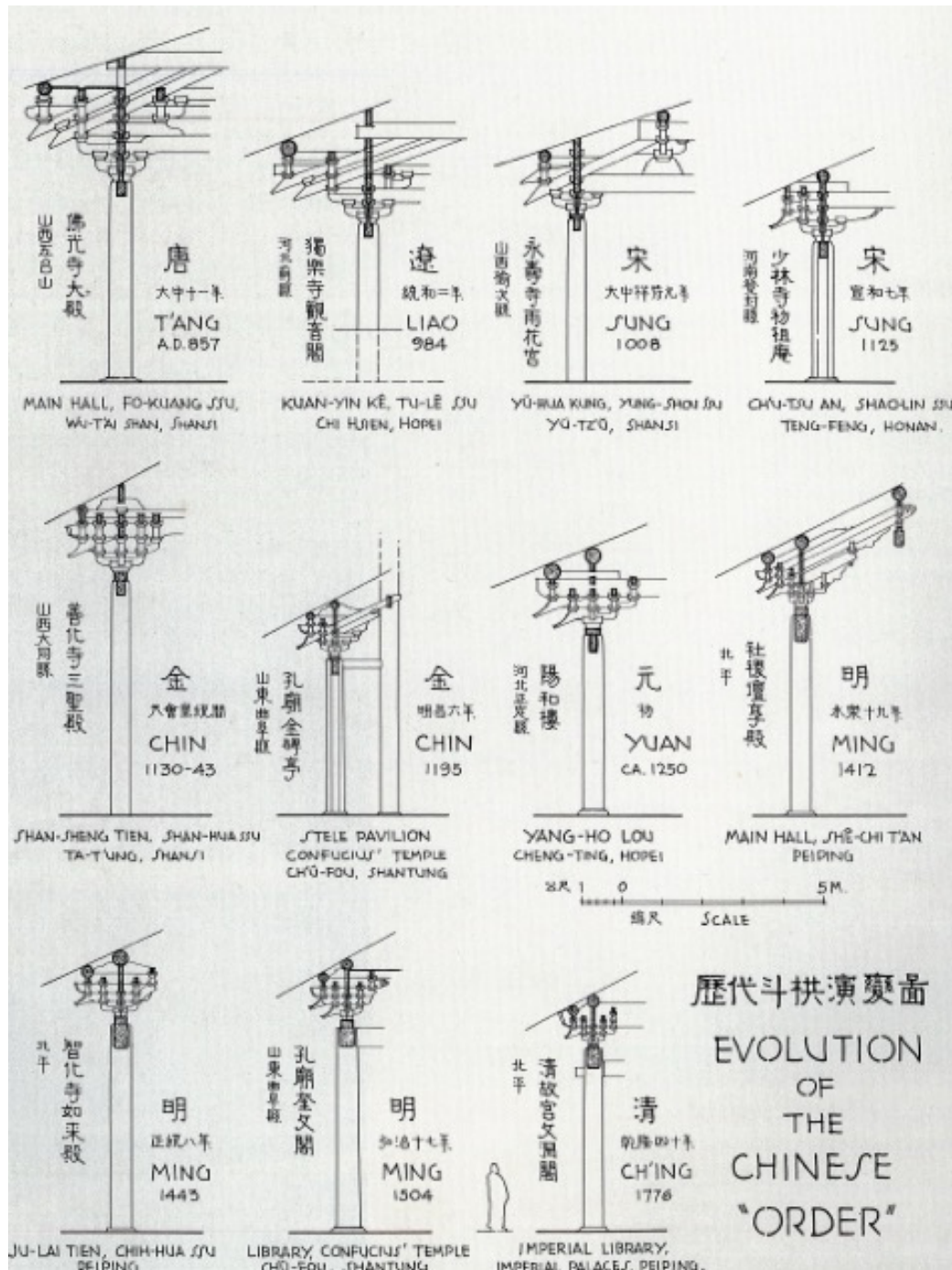
Figure 3.23. The Evolution of the Greco-Roman Order

(Source: <https://historicalmoldingsblog.wordpress.com/2014/03/30/greece-and-roman-classical-architectural-orders/>)

The Greco-Roman order evolved from the Doric, which the Romans changed by adding a base to the column to make it more comfortable for temple worshippers. However, the Romans preferred to build the porticos of their temples in the Corinthian order, which they felt was more majestic and expressed wealth. The Corinthian order became the most popular in Rome's religious structures, and Roman architects used

¹⁴¹ Feng, J. (2012). *Chinese Architecture and Metaphor: Song Culture in the Yingzao fashi Building Manual*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

marble or granite blocks to size their columns from a single stone. The evolution of the Greco-Roman order is part of the Classical Language of Architecture.



In contrast, the Chinese order has undergone modifications throughout different ruling dynasties, but these changes are not visually distinctive. This has created the perception of an unchanging architectural style. Builders and craftsmen have adhered to established design principles and techniques passed down through generations, one of which is inscribed in the *Ying Zhao Fa Shi* or Design Guideline for traditional Chinese construction. Guided by philosophical beliefs emphasizing Feng shui, cosmic and hierarchical order, and cultural continuity, these principles value tradition and have made the Chinese order relatively unchanged across different historical periods.

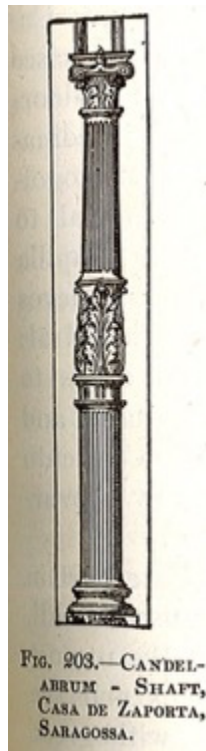


Figure 3.25. Spanish Renaissance Shaft Moorish Influence (Source: Hamlin, A. D. F. (1916). *A History of Ornament*. New York: The Century co.)

In Indonesia, the spirit of cross-cultural exchange has facilitated the assimilation of various architectural styles. One of the main differences between Chinese and Greco-Roman columns and the vernacular can be found in the basic column form, which is square instead of cylindrical. For example, the house of Oei adopted the simple wooden square shaft. Western influence can be seen in the Siek house, which adopted the Scottish cast iron column, and the Tjong A Fie Mansion and Margo Redjo, which adopted the Tuscan column. Lastly, Candranaya features the Dougong simplified bracketing system, modified using a square wooden shaft instead of a cylinder. As a product of assimilation, the column design has proven to withstand time and bear the roofing load.

The Roof

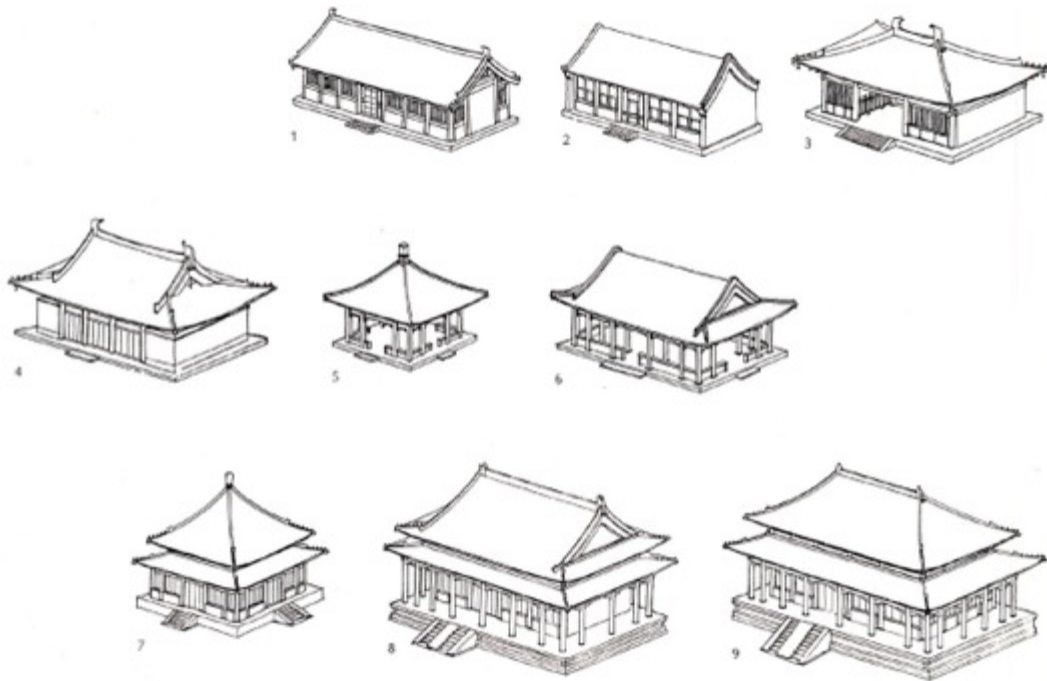


Figure 3.26. The Six Chinese Roofing Types: 1. Overhanging gable roof, 2. Flush gable roof, 3. Hipped roof, 4 & 6. Gable-and-hip roofs, 5. Pyramidal roof, 7-9. Half-hipped roofs (Source: Liang, S. (1984). *A pictorial history of Chinese architecture: a study of the development of its structural system and the evolution of its types*. (W. Fairbank, Ed.). Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Traditional Chinese architecture places great emphasis on roofing design as it not only showcases the artwork but also carries symbolic meaning for the building. Although there are variations to the roofing type, the basic design can be derived from four primary types of roofing used in Chinese architecture, each representing a different level of societal hierarchy. The side gable roof is commonly used in ordinary residential buildings or structures of lesser importance within the societal hierarchy. The hipped roof is used for government offices, educational institutions, or residences of higher-ranking officials. The half-hipped or Dutch roof is adopted for palaces, temples, gardens, and other official buildings. Lastly, the pyramid roof, especially when constructed in geometrically

intricate forms, is reserved for the most prestigious and significant structures, such as imperial palaces, temples, or other religious edifices representing the highest authority and spiritual importance. The more complex the roof is, with more tiers, the higher the rank of the occupants it represents.¹⁴²



Figure 3.27. The Delicate Queen Anne Trim of Margo Redjo's Roof
(Source: The Author's Collection)

Since the buildings discussed in this thesis are residences, they are seen only to depict a side gable roofing type or front-facing gable, as adapted from the Dutch. Margo Redjo is the only house among the case studies depicting the front-facing gable with a delicate blue Queen Anne decorative trim. Meanwhile, the house of Oei adopted the

vernacular-hipped roof without ornamentations on the roofing ridge. All roofing types utilize steeply pitched roofing frames. However, while both the vernacular and the Dutch were originally designed with steeply pitched timber frames, Chinese roofs were initially designed with a slight curve but were modified to adopt the steeply pitched frame while maintaining the ornamentations and traditional design of the roofing tiles.

In traditional Chinese architecture, the roof frame is designed using architectural principles based on the concept of point, line, and surface.¹⁴³ The idea of "point" in the roofing frame refers to specific structural components and decorative elements that serve

¹⁴² Lip, E. (1995). *Feng shui: environments of power: a study of Chinese architecture*. London: Academy Editions, 14.

¹⁴³ Li, X., & liu, Y. (2017). The "shape" and "meaning" of the roof arts in Chinese classical architecture. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 61, 012110. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/61/1/012110>

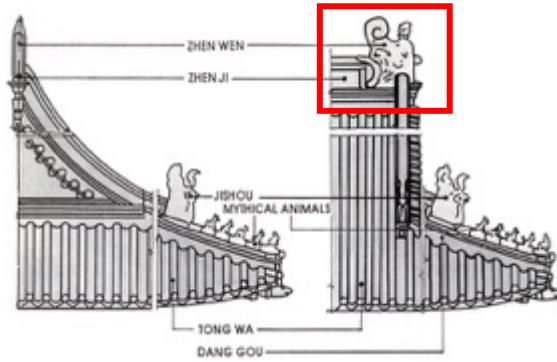


Figure 3.28. Chiwen or Zhenwen
 (Source: Lip, E. (1995). *Feng shui: environments of power: a study of Chinese architecture*. London: Academy Editions, 14.)

as focal points of the design. The point is often accentuated with a mythical creature, such as Chiwen or Zhenwen, placed on both ends of the main ridge. Chiwen, one of the dragon's nine sons with a dragon head but the body of a fish, holds the symbolic meaning of fire protection. In the Western context, Chiwen has a similar

symbolic meaning as the Gargoyle.

The line of the roofing frame encompasses the various linear elements that define the structure and form of the roof. This includes the ridges, eaves, and the intricate framework of beams and rafters that support the roof. For example, the curvature of the roofing frame, particularly in the hip roofing type, ends with a slightly curved upward roofing line. Lastly, the surface of the roofing frame refers to the broad surface of the

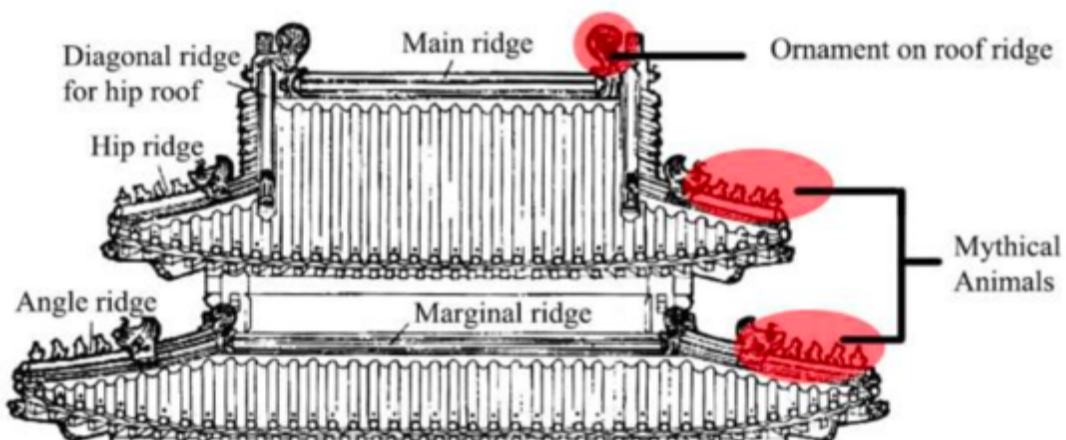


Figure 3.29. The Concept of Point, Line, and Surface in Chinese Roofing
 (Source: Li, X., & liu, Y. (2017). The "shape" and "meaning" of the roof arts in Chinese classical architecture. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 61, 012110. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/61/1/012110>)

roof covering tiles that are often arranged in a specific pattern. The surface material is primarily terracotta tiles to protect the building against fire since the primary construction material is wood.

Glazed ceramic tiles are placed on top of these tiles to provide smooth surfaces to disperse rainwater. This often forms a pattern known as "pan and roll." This includes the arched tile or the roll and the Tile-end or "Wadang" in a circular and triangular form.¹⁴⁴ In Lingnan regions such as Guangdong and Hongkong, the pan resembles the form of a half-cylinder, while in Fujian, the pan is much flatter, resembling a fan shape. The tile end is often provided with decorative patterns. From the case studies, the Khouw Kim An mansion and The Siek family house have flat roofing tiles forming ocean wave patterns that are common throughout Chindo residences from Fujian. Meanwhile, the Tjong A Fie



Figure 3.30. Glazed Ceramic Roofing Parts of the “Pan and Roll” Tiles
 (Source: Lip, E. (1995). *Feng shui: environments of power: a study of Chinese architecture*. London: Academy Editions, 14.)

¹⁴⁴ Lip, E. (1995). *Feng shui: environments of power: a study of Chinese architecture*. London: Academy Editions, 14.

mansion has the Lingnan pan and roll roofing tile with decorative flowers embossed on the tile end.

In addition to the principle of point, line, and surface in roofing design, the belief of Phoenix as a bearer of peace plays a significant role not only in the symbolic meaning but also in the roofing design, which is said to inspire the curvature of the roof which reminisce the outstretched wings of phoenix in flight. Based on folklore as old as time, “the Phoenix (Fenghuang) originates in the country of gentlemen in the East, and it roams the Four Seas If the phoenix is seen, the universe is at peace.” It symbolizes joy and peace and represents virtue. When paired with the dragon, the phoenix embodies the feminine role and together represents a powerful union. According to the book of rites (Li Ji), the phoenix ranks second after the dragon among the four spiritual creatures. It is also often associated with rebirth and renewal; just as Phoenix rises from the ashes, the buildings may burn but will be rebuilt in pristine condition.¹⁴⁵

A prominent feature of Chinese traditional architecture is the decorative ridge on the roof, which often has a swallowtail design on both ends. The art of creating these decorations is known as “Jian Nian” or “Chien Nien,” which involves the use of porcelain shards to create depictions of auspicious animals, plants, fruits, artifacts, and human figurines. These depictions are often inspired by ancient folklore and symbolize good fortune. Although deteriorating, this artwork can be seen in the Khouw Kim An and the Tjong A Fie mansion. The Chien Nien of two phoenixes facing a center bouquet can

¹⁴⁵ Li, X., & liu, Y. (2017). The “shape” and “meaning” of the roof arts in Chinese classical architecture. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 61, 012110. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/61/1/012110>

be seen in the main façade on the belt between the first and second floors, extending to a canopy roof.



Figure 3.31. The Two Phoenixes with the flower bouquet in between at the Tjong A Fie Mansion
(Source: The Author's Collection)



Figure 3.32. The Roof of Candra Naya, which ends with Swallowtails on both ends
(Source: KITLV: Woodbury & Page, Batavia)

In cases where the roofing type is side gable or on the front-facing gable of the side wings of the three bays mansions, the gable end design is derived from the five elements (Wuxing) in Fengshui. These five elements include fire, water, wood, gold, and earth.¹⁴⁶ The elemental gable is extensively used in traditional Southern Chinese architecture, particularly in Fujian, Chaoshan, Guangdong, and Taiwan. Two examples

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

can be seen in the Khouw Kim An Mansion with the wooden element and the Tjong A Fie Mansion with the earth element.

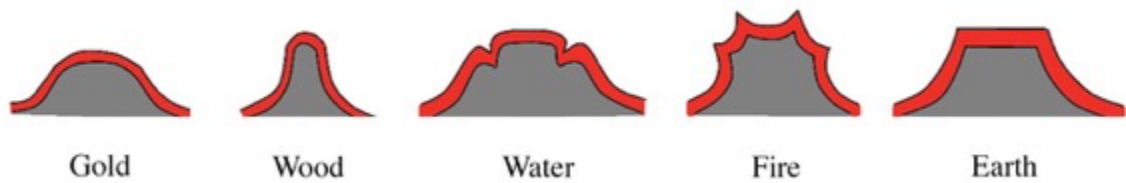


Figure 3.33. The Five Elements of the Front-facing Gables
(Source: <https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/五行山墙>)



Figure 3.34. The Front-facing Gables of the side wings of the Khouw Kim An Mansion bearing the wooden element (left) and the Tjong A Fie Mansion bearing the earth element (right)
(Source: The Author's Collection)

On the other hand, the Dutch or Flemish gable originates from the Renaissance and is often found mainly in Dutch architecture. In Amsterdam, the varieties of these gables can be found in townhouses, such as those lining the street of the Oudezijds

Voorburgwal by the canal, which feature various Dutch gable varieties, such as the Cape and Stepped Gables.



Figure 3.35. Townhouses on Oudezijds Voorburgwal Street facing the Canal
(Source: <https://www.booijoz.nl/aanbod/woningaanbod/amsterdam/koop/huis-5547854-Oudezijds-Voorburgwal-71Hs/>)

The Walls



Figure 3.36. The Wall at the Siek Family House
(Source: The Author's Collection)

The construction of a building can be determined by the type of walls it has. If the building was built in the early to mid-19th century, the walls are usually made of raw, unfired brick, such as in the Siek family house. However, if the building was constructed in the late 20th century, the walls were typically made of burnt clay bricks before cement bricks were introduced in the 1930s. The width of the clay bricks gradually increases towards the 20th century, from 1.5 to 3 inches.¹⁴⁷

Load-bearing walls in these houses range from 8 to 11 inches and are made of either composite (red soil + river sand + lime + water), lime (lime + river sand + water), or cement (cement + sand + water) mortars.¹⁴⁸ For houses built with load-bearing clay brick, lime mortar is preferred as it promotes breathable walls that allow ground moisture to rise and evaporate through the walls.

Until the 1970s, lime plasters with pozzolans were the prevalent plaster used in these buildings. Pozzolans can be made from brick dust, jaggery sugar, sticky rice porridge, paper pulp, or bamboo fiber before metakaolin was introduced.¹⁴⁹ Shanghai

¹⁴⁷ Tan, Y. W. (2015). *Penang shophouses: a handbook of features and materials*. George Town, Penang, Malaysia: Tan Yeow Wooi Culture & Heritage Research Studio.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

plaster, a mixture of cement plaster and exposed granite chips that give a similar texture to granite, was also popular between the 1930s and 1950s. However, most plaster was replaced with Portland cement after it was introduced in the 1960s.

The Openings (Doors and Windows)

As shown in the case studies, glass is not commonly used for partitions due to safety concerns and high cost. Instead, most of the houses featured in the studies use two-leafed solid wooden doors and shutters. Examples of this can be seen in the House of Oei, Khouw Kim An Mansion, and the Tjong A Fie Mansion. However, in the case of the



Figure 3.37. Two-leafed Solid Wooden Door at Candra Naya (left) and
Figure 3.38. Window Shutters over Cast Iron Grills at the Tjong A Fie Mansion (right)
(Source: The Author's Collection)

Margo Redjo and Siek family house, the main façade features a wooden door with a few ironworks and glass. Additionally, a Dutch door, which is a half-length door, is commonly seen in front of solid wooden doors, such as in the main façade of the House



Figure 3.39. A Collection of Dutch Doors in Lasem
(Source: The Author's Collection)



Figure 3.40. Two-leafed Glass Wooden Door at Margo Redjo (left) and
Figure 3.41. Two-leafed Glass Wooden Door at The Siek Family House (right)
(Source: The Author's Collection)

of Oei. For safety reasons, most of the windows have cast iron vertical bars layered over them. Prefabricated air vents with various patterns are often spotted above the openings.

One of the unique decorative features of Peranakan Chindo houses is the gold-gilded, wooden, carved screen that separates the entrance hall and the inner courtyard. This screen consists of four folded lattice works between two walkways and is a specialty of the Chaoshan region. The wooden panel features intricate wood carvings that are often inspired by various Chinese folklore and artifacts.



Figure 3.42. The Four-folded Gold Gilded Lattice Work Partition at the Tjong A Fie Mansion

(Source: The Author's Collection)

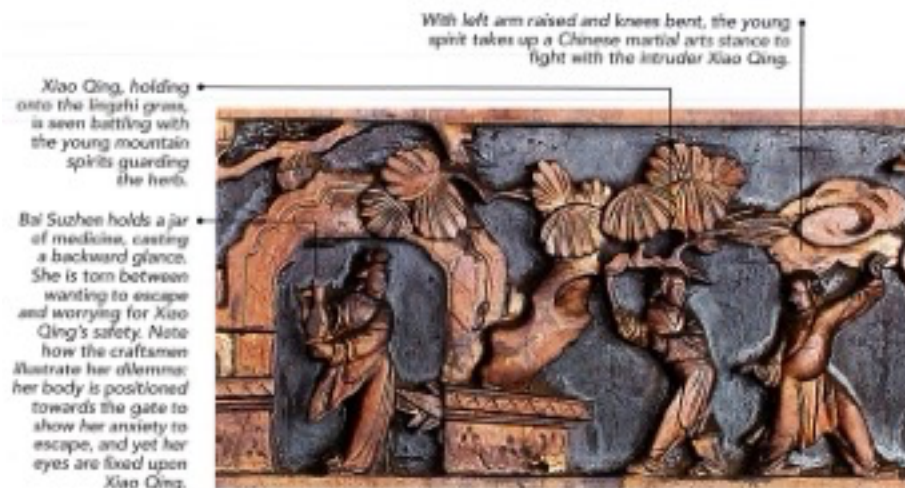


Figure 3.43. Carvings on The Four-folded Partition
(Source: Kang, G.-W., & Chern, J. D. (2013). *Decoration & symbolism in Chinese architecture: understanding Singapore's historic Chinese buildings*. Singapore: Preservation of Sites and Monuments.)

Ornamentations

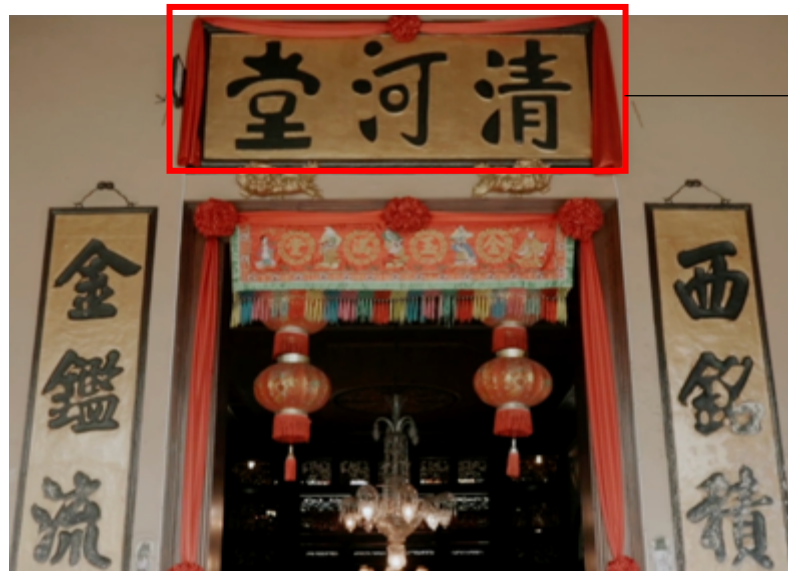
In traditional Chinese buildings, decorations often convey symbolic meanings through *chien nien*, calligraphy writings, or polychromatic paintings. The decorations



Figure 3.44. A Polychromatic Painting at Candra Naya
(Source: The Author's Collection)

reflect the aspirations of the owners and their self-expression, which can be seen in the scholar's garden, usually named and inscribed on top of the garden gate. The practice of naming buildings dates back to the Qin and Han dynasties.¹⁵⁰ The Tjong A Fie Mansion is the only example of an inscription carved above the

front entrance with the words "Qing He Tang," meaning the family hall for the "Zhang" family.



Qing He Tang

Figure 3.45. The Calligraphy Writing of "Qing He Tang" at the Main Entrance of The Tjong A Fie Mansion
(Source: The Author's Collection)

¹⁵⁰ Knapp, R. G., & Lo, K.-Y. (2005). *House Home Family: Living and being Chinese*. University of Hawaii Press.



Figure 3.46. The Interior of the Second Floor (left) and First Floor (right) of the Tjong A Fie Mansion, circa. 1905
(Source: KITLV, The Netherlands)

Regarding the interior, the Tjong A Fie Mansion has paintings on the walls with meandering stems and flower depictions that are more characteristic of Peranakan ornamentations, vibrant in colors, and gravitated more toward Moorish ornaments. The

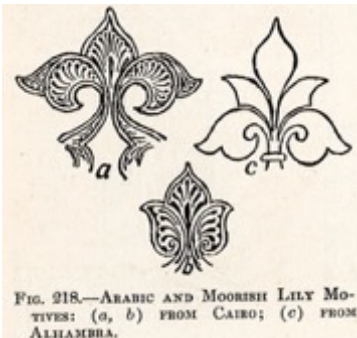


Figure 3.47. The Arabic and Moorish Lily (Source: <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001470762>)

tiles used in many of these houses can be traced to the patterns found in Spanish Moorish culture, which are also derived from the Renaissance, as shown in the "History of Ornaments" by A. D. Hamlin.¹⁵¹ The Arabic and Moorish

Lily was in the same form as the Fleur-de-lis, suggesting many influences from French and Flemish craftsmanship.¹⁵²

Many of the ornaments found in Peranakan Chinese houses

¹⁵¹ Hamlin, A. D. F. (1916). *A history of ornament*. New York: The Century co. Retrieved from <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001470762>

¹⁵² Ibid.

can be found in the "Complete Chinese Ornament: All 100 Color Plates" by Owen Jones.¹⁵³



FIG. 219.—PATTERNED TILES.



Figure 3.48. Spanish Moorish Patterned Tiles (left) (Source: <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001470762>) and Figure 3.49. Tjong A Fie Mansion's Floor Tiles (right) (Source: The Author's Collection)

Only Margo Redjo and the Tjong A Fie Mansion are two stories high among the case studies, with the former restricted to private access. From the Tjong A Fie Mansion, we can see that although the ceilings are inspired by auspicious animals and plants in Chinese culture, the drawings were interpreted as resembling more Renaissance characteristics. The animals presented include bats for good fortune and happiness and butterflies.

¹⁵³ Jones, O. (1990). *The complete "Chinese ornament": all 100 color plates*. New York: Dover.

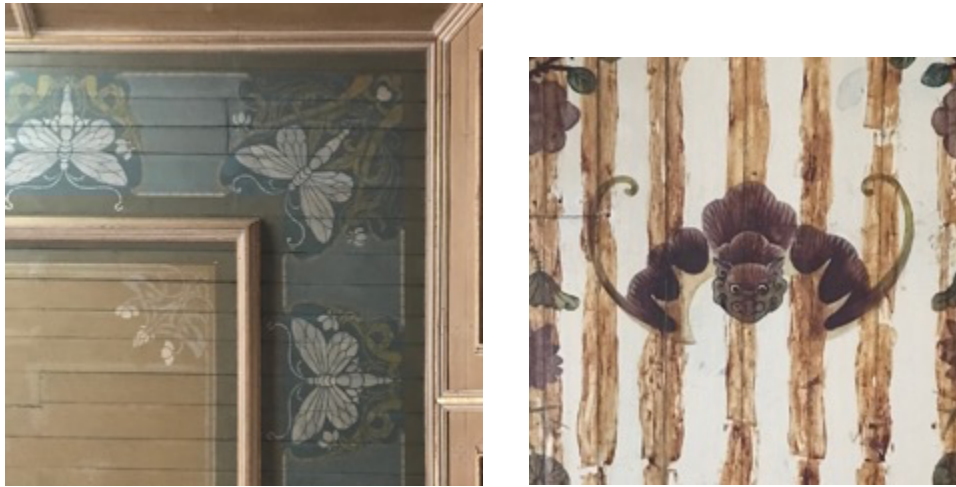


Figure 3.50. Butterfly Ornament (left) and Bat Ornament (right) on the ceiling of the Tjong A Fie Mansion
(Source: The Author's Collection)

In his book, "Decoration & Symbolism in Chinese Architecture," Kang Ger-Wen categorizes the ornamentations used in Chinese architecture into four categories: human figures, animals, plants & fruits, and artifacts.¹⁵⁴ These illustrations hold significant meaning and reflect the aspirations of the occupants. In the plants & fruits category, the illustrations include plum blossom, bamboo, cymbidium, chrysanthemum, pine trees, daylily, lotus, and curly grass.

The fruits section includes pomegranate, longan, pear, lychee, pumpkin, grapes, bean, water caltrops, water chestnut, peach, buddha's hand, tangerine, persimmon, bottle gourd, radish, peony, and camellia. The artifacts category includes the four arts of Chinese scholars, which are the zither, the game of Go, calligraphy, and Chinese painting. The Eight Treasures of Commoners depict the four arts: rhino horn, calabash,

¹⁵⁴ Kang, G.-W., & Chern, J. D. (2013). *Decoration & symbolism in Chinese architecture: understanding Singapore's historic Chinese buildings*. Singapore: Preservation of Sites and Monuments.

palm leaf, and banana leaf. Additionally, the eight treasures of the Taoist immortals and the eight auspicious symbols of Buddhism are also included in this category.

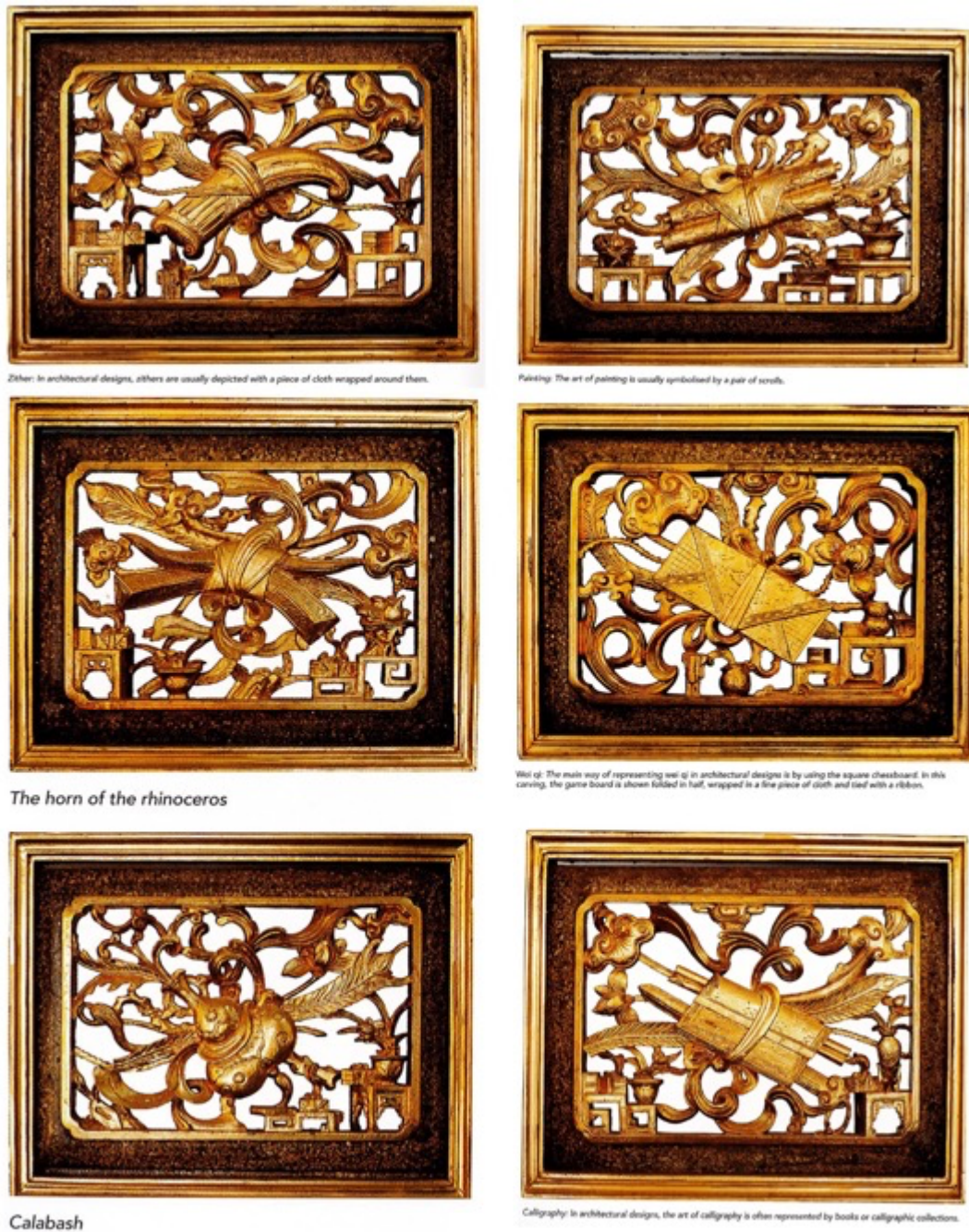


Figure 3.51. Gold-gilded Wooden Carvings of the Artifacts
 (Source: Kang, G.-W., & Chern, J. D. (2013). *Decoration & symbolism in Chinese architecture: understanding Singapore's historic Chinese buildings*. Singapore: Preservation of Sites and Monuments.)

CHAPTER IV.
THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVES OF THE RESIDENCES

Introduction

This chapter describes six impressive residences built over a century, each with its family history. Although often altered after they were built, when taken together, these representative examples provide insight into their evolution, form, lot arrangement, and architectural characteristics. Below is the map exhibiting the location of these examples across Java and Sumatra.



Figure 4.1. A Map Showing the Location of the Six Examples
(Source: The Author's Collection)

The House of Oei, Jatirogo Street No.10, Lasem



Figure 4.2. The Main Entrance of The House of Oei

(Source: The Author's Collection)

Constructed in 1818 by Oei Am, the House of Oei has been in the hands of family members for seven generations. Although most of the relatives have left Lasem for Australia, Europe, Hong Kong, and the U.S., one has managed to remain to care for the family house. In the seventh generation is Grace W. Susanto, a.k.a. Oei Lee Giok, who is the main caretaker of the building.¹⁵⁵

Oei Am (1798-1838) was born in Fujian, China. At 15, he sojourned to Lasem, where he lived until he passed away at 40. In Lasem, he married a local woman named Tjioe Nio, who was skilled in making batik and dancing. From this marriage, they had approximately 500 descendants across seven generations, and the house has since been in the hands of these descendants for seven generations. During the fifth generation, Oei Tiong Djioe bought the house from his relatives in 1965-1970, regaining sole ownership and passing it down to his descendants.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Mulyanto, R. (2018, May 28). *700 years of Chinese Indonesian history at risk as young quit Java Town*. South China Morning Post. https://www.scmp.com/lifestyle/travel-leisure/article/2147773/chinese-indonesians-work-preserve-700-years-history-lasem?campaign=2147773&module=perpetual_scroll_0&pgtype=article

¹⁵⁶ Silvia Galikano. (2020, October 8). *Untuk LASEM, Roemah Oei Buka Gerbangnya*. <https://silviagalikano.com/2018/02/25/roemah-oei-lasem/>

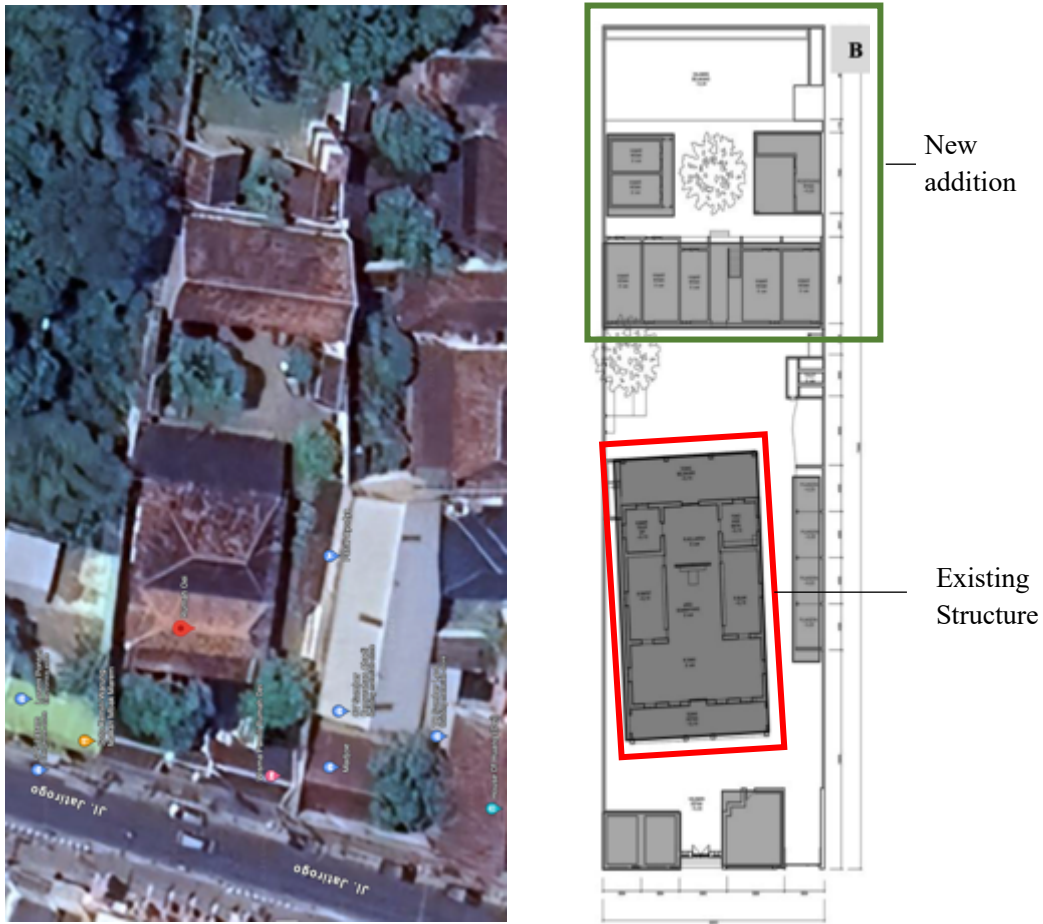


Figure 4.3. Site Plan of The House of Oei (Left) (Source: google maps) & Figure 4.4. Ground Floor Plan of the House of Oei (Right) (Source: Kwanda, T. 2020)

Aside from being used as a residence, the house has undergone various changes and repurposing throughout its history. The second-generation owner, Oei Thian Ho, was a tapioca and black sticky rice merchant. Following this generation, Oei Joe King was a carriage maker, which led to the house being known as a "koplak" or horse station at one point in its history.¹⁵⁷ Oei Gwat Ie, the fourth generation, produced batik textiles. The fifth-generation owner, Oei Tjong Djioe, who bought the house from his relatives, grew up in the house but later moved to Semarang and was involved in various political

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

movements, including the Five Days Battle in Semarang. In 2002-2003, the ownership of the house shifted from male to female ownership for the first time.¹⁵⁸ Under seventh-generation ownership, the house was renovated in 2016 and transformed into a house museum, which also serves as a cultural center for arts and culinary arts.



Figure 4.5. Back Elevation of the House of Oei (Top),
Figure 4.6. The Interior of the House of Oei (Bottom Left) & Figure 4.7. The Ancestral
Hall of the House of Oei (Bottom Right) (Source: The Author's Collection)

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

The House of Oei was originally owned by a "hua shang" or merchant, followed by "hua yi" who left to reside in another foreign land, as described by Professor Wang Gung Wu. This is discussed in the history section of the different types of migration patterns. The architecture of the house is an example of early 19th-century Chindo residences with influences from Java's architecture. The classic hip roof and wide porches in the front and back facade without any moldings or cut-and-paste porcelain ornamentation, which came in the late 19th century, are examples of this influence. The interior is not ornate, as seen in the flooring tiles. Overall, it has an austere wooden house look with clay roofing tiles, which is very Javanese.

The entrance of the building depicts the Chino elements with the signature perforated ceramic glazed air vents, the flowers of the "dougong," and the "wadang" tile-end, in addition to the building plan with the ancestral hall and the use of the dougong structure for the roofing frame. It is also important to note that Lasem is one of the oldest Chinatowns in Indonesia, and the walls surrounding the houses were as high as the residence. This was normal for many ancient villages in China and is very common for Chindo residences throughout Central Java. In this house, the only telltale sign of Dutch influence is the Dutch door (Figure 4.2.) that greets visitors at the main entrance.

The Tio Swan Sien House (Nyah Museum), Alley No. 5, Building No.2, Lasem



Figure 4.8. The Main Entrance of the Nyah Museum (Source: <https://www.alisson.id/museum-nyah-lasem-bisa-nikmati-sajian-menu-sambil-lihat-koleksi-masa-lampau/>)

The original owner of the house was Tio Swan Sien, who used to operate a batik company that unfortunately no longer exists.¹⁵⁹ Today, the Nyah Lasem Museum showcases the historical timeline of Indonesian Batik trading internationally through a collage of photos on a gypsum board display. The museum also houses antique sewing machines and various documents that recorded batik trading during that time. Additionally, it includes kitchenware used by most women during that period as side materials.

The house was constructed in 1850 using a simple wooden design with board and batten walls.¹⁶⁰ It has three bays with a dougong roofing structure and a clay tile roof without any ornaments. The main structural support, including the columns and main wooden rafters, is painted in a turquoise shade, while the walls and roofing underside are painted white. Based on the board and batten walls and the choice of plain cement and wood tiles, it is suggested that the building may have been a workshop instead of a

¹⁵⁹ Red. (2024, February 28). *Museum Nyah lasem Diusulkan Menjadi Memori Kolektif Bangsa*. NyalaNusantara.com. <https://nyalanusantara.com/amp/read/ragam-nusantara/1570/museum-nyah-lasem-diusulkan-menjadi-memori-kolektif-bangsa?page=all>

¹⁶⁰ Kwanda, T. (2020). Adaptive Reuse and interventions of Chinese architectural heritage in the city of LASEM, Indonesia. *International Journal of Environmental Science & Sustainable Development*, 5(1), 68–79. <https://doi.org/10.21625/essd.v5i1.718>

residence. There is another mass built in the Dutch-Indies style on the side, which may be the owner's private residence.

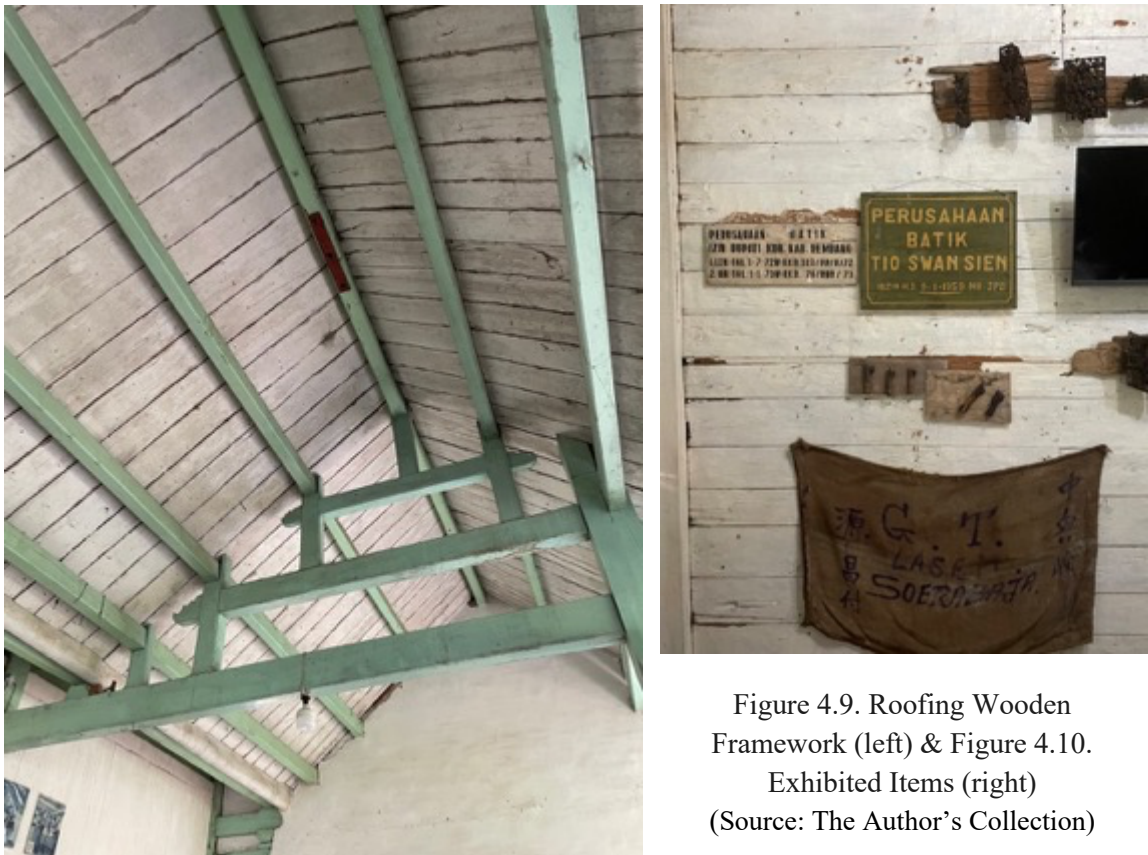


Figure 4.9. Roofing Wooden Framework (left) & Figure 4.10. Exhibited Items (right)
(Source: The Author's Collection)

The Nyah Museum deserves mention for celebrating the grassroots efforts of the women of Lasem to preserve their heritage. Most of these women were in their late 60s or 70s, and they were worried about the future of their ancestral homes. The museum is maintained by a local native who was granted permission to run his café in the museum in exchange for taking care of it, which involves basic cleaning and providing guided tours. The museum is open upon request, and although it is currently dilapidated, the educational materials provided during the tour have been inspiring.



Figure 4.11. Sewing Kit
(Source: The Author's
Collection)

The women of Lasem are renowned for their exceptional skill in producing hand-drawn batik. In the past, almost every lady in the household was able to produce such craft, a tradition passed down from generation to generation. However, the tradition faded when stamped batik was invented in the 1960s. Despite this, Batik Lasem remains one of Indonesia's six biggest batik producers, alongside Surakarta, Yogyakarta,

Pekalongan, Banyumas, and Cirebon.¹⁶¹



Figure 4.12. Main Exhibition Hall (Left) &
Figure 4.13. Historical Information on Batik displayed on Gypsum Board (Right)
(Source: The Author's Collection)

¹⁶¹ Unjiya, M. Akrom. (2014). *Lasem Negeri Dampoawang*. Yogyakarta: Salma Idea.

On February 22, 2024, the State Archival and Library Service, in collaboration with Lasem Heritage, proposed the Nyah Lasem Museum as part of the Collective Memory of the Nation (MKB), including a future presentation at the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI).¹⁶² The records of Tio Oen Bien-Tio Swan Sien's batik company, which operated from 1900 to 1930, were deemed valuable. These records include letters, postcards, receipts, and photographs, providing insights into the batik trade networks and the purchase of materials outside the region, such as wax from Atapupu Timor and cloth from Surabaya and Solo.¹⁶³ Moreover, the 73 textual files of Liem Kioe's An Batik company, which operated from 1922 to 1940, highlight the trading network from Sumatra to Sulawesi.¹⁶⁴

Nevertheless, the most significant aspect of the Nyah Lasem Museum revolves around the pivotal role of Lasem's women in shaping history. Among the treasure trove of archives lies evidence of these women, particularly batik business owners, who played a crucial role in supporting the Indonesian Republic Army by establishing public kitchens.¹⁶⁵ This discovery sheds light on the often-overlooked contributions of women in wartime efforts and underscores their resilience and ingenuity in the face of adversity.

¹⁶² Red. (2024, February 28). *Museum Nyah lasem Diusulkan Menjadi Memori Kolektif Bangsa*. NyalaNusantara.com. <https://nyalanusantara.com/amp/read/ragam-nusantara/1570/museum-nyah-lasem-diusulkan-menjadi-memori-kolektif-bangsa?page=all>

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

The Siek Tjing Liong's Residence, Gambier Street No.9, Parakan



Figure 4.14. The Main Façade of Siek Tjing Liong's House
(Source: The Author's Collection)

The history of the Siek family dates back to Siek Hwie Soe, who traveled from Shanxi and arrived in Parakan in 1821.¹⁶⁶ He is the father of Siek Tjing Liong, and their houses are next to each other. Many houses from this family have been documented, most of which can be found on Gambier Street. One of these houses belonged to Siek Tjing Liong and was built in the mid-19th century in the Dutch-Indies style.¹⁶⁷ It consists of three separate parts, with the first two connected by an inner courtyard, while the third is used as a warehouse. The façade has three classic bays, raised by two steps from the street, with cast iron columns skirted with decorative railings and an array

of Queen Anne trim extending vertically from the roofing edge as shades. The house is painted in shades of green, yellow, and white.

¹⁶⁶ Silvia Galikano. (2023, June 10). *Rumah Dua Langgam di Lereng Sindoro-sumbing*. <https://silviagalikano.com/2017/03/23/rumah-dua-langgam-di-lereng-sindoro-sumbing/>

¹⁶⁷ Wibisono, L., Murtiyoso, S., & Wijayanti, W. (2021). *Parakan Living Heritage*. Semarang Contemporary Art Gallery.

Parakan is situated in the valleys of the volcanic mountainous region of Kedu, in the heart of Central Java. The locals claim that this land was once the former residence of the Gods.¹⁶⁸ Parakan is surrounded by some of the most notorious volcanic mountains in Java, including Mount Krakatau and Mount Raung in the west and east, respectively. Kedu is bounded by the "two siblings," Mount Sumbing and Sindoro to the west, Mount Menoreh to the south, Mount Merapi and Merbabu to the southeast, and Mount Ungaran to the east.¹⁶⁹ The Progo River divides the land of Kedu into two halves, with its springs in Jumprit, where people retrieve water to celebrate Waisak Day.



Figure 4.15. The Map of Parakan City circa. 1907
(Source: KITLV)

Parakan has experienced political turmoil and upheaval, similar to Lasem, due to territorial division and conflicts. This includes the Anglo-Dutch period, when Yogyakarta was briefly occupied by the British Governor-General T.S. Raffles before being claimed

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

back by the Dutch Governor-General H.W. Daendels, and the Java War led by Prince Diponegoro. In addition, the railway construction of the Secang-Parakan line was more favorable to its neighboring region, Temanggung, and hindered Parakan's economic growth, thus encapsulating its history.



Figure 4.16. & 4.17. Parakan Station (Top: circa 1910 from KITLV, Bottom: 2024 from the Author's Collection)

The region's primary economic driver at that time was agriculture, especially in cultivating rice, tobacco, and gambier. Gambier was a dying ingredient to create the color of “khaki.” The tobacco produced in the region, especially from the slopes of Mounts Sumbing, Sindoro, and Prahū, was highly esteemed for its quality and was exported to Europe beginning in the late 18th century.¹⁷⁰ There were different types of tobacco

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

processing, from creating finely chopped tobacco for chewing or “lembutan” to garangan tobacco favored by betel leaf chewers and for rolling into cigarettes “pepeyan.”¹⁷¹

Siek Hwie Soe, father of Siek Tjing Liong, came to Parakan and worked for the gambier merchant Loe Tjiat Dji. He later married his daughter and became successful. Siek Hwie Soe invited his cousins, Siek Hwie Kie and Siek Tiaw Kie, to join him in Parakan.¹⁷² The business continued to flourish, but a dispute arose between Siek Tjing Liong and his cousin Siek Tiau Kie, which continues to this day. Therefore, the author was only permitted to visit the house of Siek Tjing Liong's family.

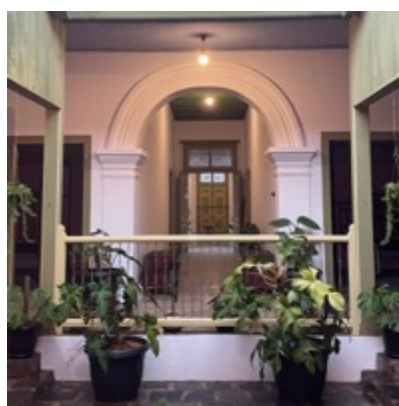
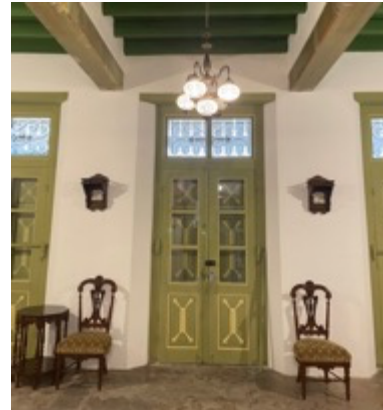


Figure 4.18. The Interior of Siek Tjing Liong's House before Restoration (Left, Source: Wibisono et al. 2021) Figure 4.19. The Interior after restoration in 2024 (Source: The Author's Collection)

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Silvia Galikano. (2023, June 10). *Rumah Dua Laggam di Lereng Sindoro-sumbing*. <https://silviagalikano.com/2017/03/23/rumah-dua-langgam-di-lereng-sindoro-sumbing/>

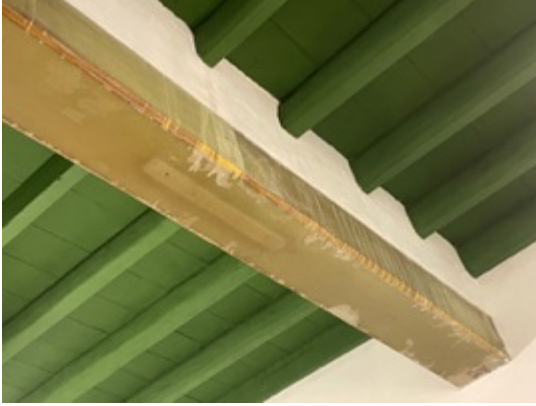


Figure 4.20. Efflorescence on Roofing Beam (Source: The Author's Collection)

During the visit, it was observed that the house had recently undergone restoration. However, there had been signs of water leakage from the roof, and the walls, which were made of raw, unfired brick (a common material used in Fujian) had been peeling.

Additionally, bamboo was inserted with cement drilled into the mud wall to maintain

its strength. It is worth mentioning that this house doesn't have a partition wall upon entering, which is uncommon for Chindo residences.

In his book "Parakan Living Heritage," Chris Dharmawan referred to the house as an "Urban Indische House" due to its efficient use of space. Despite having the smallest total area in comparison to other Siek family residences on Gambier Street, the house gives a spacious feeling. The Siek family residences on Gambier Street range from the largest, Siek Oen Soei at 2,400 m², to the smallest, Siek Tjing Liong at 400 m², with Siek Hwie Soe at 1401 m² and Siek Kim Tan at 500m² in between. There is another residence belonging to the Siek family members on Sebokarang Street, which is owned by Siek Kim Ing and spans 800m².¹⁷³

¹⁷³ Wibisono, L., Murtiyoso, S., & Wijayanti, W. (2021). *Parakan Living Heritage*. Semarang Contemporary Art Gallery.

**The Tan Tiong Ie Residence (Margo Redjo), West Wotgandul Street No. 14,
Semarang**



Figure 4.21. The Main Façade of Margo Redjo

(Source: <https://javaprivatetour.com/exploring-coffee-and-its-stories-at-dharma-boutique-roastery-home-to-semarangs-oldest-coffee-roasting>)

The “House of Coffee” was once the residence of Tan Tiong Ie (1883-1949), a well-known coffee roaster and trader in Semarang.¹⁷⁴ He sold his coffee under the brand 'Margo Redjo,' the most expensive one among his subsidiary brands Tjap Pisau, Tjap Orang Matjoel, Koffie Sentoso, Koffie Mirama, and Koffie Sari Roso with Tjap Grobak Ijo being the least expensive.¹⁷⁵ Margo Redjo, formerly known as Koffie Branderij Margo Redjo, began its operations in Cimahi, West Java, in 1915 and later moved to

¹⁷⁴ Silvia Galikano. (2019, October 17). *Jalan Leluhur Rumah kopi Semarang*.
<https://silviagalikano.com/2017/11/26/rumah-kopi-semarang/>

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

Semarang after several years of production. Unfortunately, the business did not survive Indonesia's war for independence.



Figure 4.22. Margo Redjo Coffee

(Source:

<http://yogifajri.blogspot.com/2018/09/margoredjo-koffie-and-struggle-against.html>)

In the 19th century, coffee was an extremely valuable commodity for the VOC. In Europe, the name "Java" was synonymous with a cup of coffee, a testament to Indonesia's significant role in the European coffee industry.¹⁷⁶ During the 1920s, Semarang was one of the largest coffee producers in Indonesia, contributing around 69% of the coffee exported, with a total production of 326 tons.

Tan Tiong Ie faced several business failures, including selling bread and wood, before succeeding in the coffee industry, mainly dominated by European traders.¹⁷⁷ He became the first Chinese-Indonesian entrepreneur to establish himself in the coffee industry, with approximately 2.2 million pounds of exports annually. This made him one of the wealthiest people in Java and the largest coffee roasting company in the region.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Fajri, Y. (2018, September 19). *Margoredjo Koffie and the struggle against Europeans hegemony over coffee commodity*. Margoredjo Koffie and The Struggle Against Europeans Hegemony Over Coffee Comodity. <http://yogifajri.blogspot.com/2018/09/margoredjo-koffie-and-struggle-against.html>

¹⁷⁷ Silvia Galikano. (2019, October 17). *Jalan Leluhur Rumah kopi Semarang*. <https://silviagalikano.com/2017/11/26/rumah-kopi-semarang/>

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

Born and raised in Java, Tan Tiong Ie was the fourth-generation member of his family. His ancestors can be traced back to Tan Bing, who settled in Indonesia in 1790.



Figure 4.23. Coffee Beans in display (Source: The Author's Collection)

The current owner of the house is Mr. Basuki Dharmowijono, who belongs to the eighth generation of the family. The front yard now serves as a café called “Dharma Boutique Roastery,” which offers traditional coffee tasting and showcases a wide range of coffee bean varieties in three arrays of jars.¹⁷⁹ The construction date of the house is uncertain, but it is estimated to be around the 1850s, based on the family tree.¹⁸⁰ Tan Ing Tjong (1837-1899), Tan Tiong Ie's

grandfather, purchased the house from his relative who was facing financial difficulties.¹⁸¹

The house is divided into several blocks connected by pergolas. Upon entrance, the coffee display room is on the right corner. Meanwhile, the warehouse where the roasting equipment is located is situated at the back of the house, considered a museum. Most of the equipment is



Figure 4.24. Northeast Elevation of Margo Redjo (Source: The Author's Collection)

¹⁷⁹ Kompasiana.com. (2023, March 21). *Wisata Kopi di kedai Kopi Tertua di Semarang*. https://www.kompasiana.com/yustisia.kristiana/6418f12208a8b5085972ae32/wisata-kopi-di-kepai-kopi-tertua-di-semarang?page=all&page_images=3

¹⁸⁰ Silvia Galikano. (2019, October 17). *Jalan Leluhur Rumah kopi Semarang*. <https://silviagalikano.com/2017/11/26/rumah-kopi-semarang/>

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

approximately 100 years old. Most of the spaces in the house are not open to the public except for the café and the front yard. Additionally, access to the warehouse is by request only and guided by one of the people from the café.



Figure 4.25. Coffee Equipment displayed at Margo Redjo
(Source: The Author's Collection)

The Khouw Kim An Mansion (Candra Naya), Green Central City, Gajah Mada, Jakarta



Figure 4.26. Candra Naya circa. 1872
(Source: KITLV)

The Khouw Kim An Mansion is located in the former Molenvliet, Batavia, now Gajah Mada, Jakarta. The construction of the mansion is believed to have taken place either in 1807 or 1867.¹⁸² There is a panel inscription in the house written in the year of Rabbit during the mid-Autumn, which has led to a debate about whether Khouw Tjeng Tjoan (1808-1880) or his father, Khouw Tian Sek, built it as a gift to celebrate his birth.¹⁸³ However, based on the roofing style, it is believed that early residences of Chinese Indies built before the 1850s did not have ornamented roof ridges, as the construction was kept simple and practical without the cut-and-paste (*chien nien*)

¹⁸² Widayati, N. (2008). *Rumah mayor China di Jakarta: Mansion of the Chinese major in Jakarta*. (Cet. 1). Jakarta: Subur Jaringan Cetak Terpadu.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

ornaments on the roofing ridge. Since the roofing ridge of the mansion has been extensively decorated, it is more likely that the house was built in 1867.

The Khouw family was part of the prominent Chinese gentry or “Cabang Atas” in Batavia. Known as the Khouw family van Tamboen, the family has roots in Zhengzhou, Fujian, beginning as early as the three brothers who settled in Indonesia sometime in the late eighteenth century, including Khouw Tjoen, who first went to Tegal before settling in Batavia and established himself as the Khouw family of Tamboen.^{184 185} His son, Khouw Tian Sek, began as a moneylender and pawnbroker, owning multiple real estates in the city (Kota) and the hinterland of Batavia (Ommelanden), in addition to plantations in Tangerang and Bekasi. Khouw Tian Sek then had three sons, Khouw Tjeng Tjoan, Khouw Tjeng Khe and Khouw Tjeng Po.

Khouw Tjeng Tjoan, the eldest son of his family, had a wife, ten concubines, and twenty-four children. However, his wife did not bear him any children. Khouw Kim An was the only son born to the ninth concubine. When Khouw Tjeng Tjoan passed away, Khouw Kim An inherited his property¹⁸⁶. On November 18, 1893, Khouw Kim An married the only daughter of Phoa Keng Hek. Phoa Keng Hek was known for founding

¹⁸⁴ *Khouw family of Tamboen - Famousfix.com List*. FamousFix.com.
<https://m.famousfix.com/list/khouw-family-of-tamboen>

¹⁸⁵ Erkelens, M. (2013, October 15). *The Decline of the Chinese Council of Batavia*.
<https://hdl.handle.net/1887/21954>

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

the THHK (Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan) school in Batavia when he was 18.¹⁸⁷ He lived at Prapatan in Weltevreden before moving to the Molenvliet mansion.



Figure 4.27. Portrait of Khouw Kim An
(Source:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khouw_Kim_An)

Based on a wooden panel inscribed in 1918, Khouw Kim An recounted the political unrest during his time as the Mayor of Batavia. At the time, a coup d'etat was underway in China to overthrow the dynasty, while the younger generation in Java rebelled against the old order.¹⁸⁸ Khouw Kim An was assigned as a lieutenant in 1905 and was subsequently promoted to captain in 1908 and Major in 1910.¹⁸⁹ He was respected among the Dutch, indigenous, and Chinese communities in Batavia. In 1920, he received an "Officier der Orde van Oranje Nassau" by Royal Decree, and in 1927, he was received by Queen Wilhelmina during his visit to the Netherlands.¹⁹⁰ He was also decorated with the "Groote Gouden Ster voor Trouw en Verdienste" during his twenty-five-year jubilee as a Chinese officer. However, during World War II, the Chinese gentry were known to be soft-spoken. One day, Khouw Kim An was in his pajamas after buying refreshments for his grandchildren when a Japanese soldier stopped by with a

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

truck.¹⁹¹ Khouw Kim An told his grandchildren to head inside and that he would soon follow, but he would never be seen again. The Japanese soldiers detained him in an internment camp in Cimahi with the intention of using his house, but they never did. He was then decapitated, and the mansion was returned to the Khouw family. However, the family did not wish to return and leased it to Sin Ming Hui (the New Light Association) instead, which was later renamed Candra Naya after 1962.¹⁹²

Established on January 26, 1946, Sin Ming Hui was an institution focused on health, education, and wellness clubs. Ir. Wastu Pragantha Zhong, the founder of the architecture program at Tarumanagara University, shared his recollection of his second visit in September 1962, during which he, accompanied by Mr. Goernawan Ranadiraksa and Mr. Toto Atmodiwiryo, met with social figures, including Khoe Wen Sioe and Oei Tjoe Tat, to establish the Faculty of Architecture and Engineering of Tarumanagara University.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Widayati, N. (2008). *Rumah mayor China di Jakarta: Mansion of the Chinese major in Jakarta*. (Cet. 1). Jakarta: Subur Jaringan Cetak Terpadu.



Figure 4.28. The Main Hall of Candra Naya (Top) & Figure 4.29. The Former Ancestral Hall of Candra Naya (Source: The Author's Collection)

In early October 1962, thirty students filled the main courtyard of the house, becoming the first graduates of Architecture from Tarumanagara University.¹⁹⁴ During the G30S riot, Candra Naya became a haven for students. However, the Department of Architecture eventually had a conflict regarding space availability with the Economics

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

and Law Departments, which led the Architecture Department to move to Slipi, where it built three modest buildings, which still stand today.¹⁹⁵

In 1974, the governor of Jakarta, Mr. Ali Sakidin, who was a former military navy man, began to revitalize Fatahillah Square along with several museums. His right-hand man, Mr. Aji Damais, proposed designating Candra Naya as a heritage building due to its unique characteristic as a sole surviving mansion with Chinese characteristics. Candra Naya was officially designated as a heritage building with a letter from the governor and the Department of Education and Culture.¹⁹⁶ Additionally, the mansion has long been recognized by the Dutch colonial government as a heritage site in 1931 under the Monumenten Ordonantie, for its historical and architectural significance.

In 1992, the Modern Group developer bought the house, and Sin Ming Hui was relocated to 'Jembatan Besi II' Street no. 26. The hotel development demolished the mansion's right and left wings, but the overall development came to a halt due to the monetary crisis in the 1990s. In 2001, a proposal was made to dismantle and relocate the Khouw family manor to Taman Mini Indonesia Indah, a cultural park in Jakarta.¹⁹⁷ However, the proposal was denied due to concerns about the structural integrity of the building.

The building was then sold to a subsidiary of PT. Wismatama Propertindo, a Hong Kong property developer in 2007.¹⁹⁸ They constructed a twenty-four-story

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

apartment tower and a twenty-one-story hotel called the "Star City."¹⁹⁹ Despite the loss of the side wings, preservationists and community activists continue to advocate for the recognition of Candra Naya's cultural and historical significance.



Figure 4.30. Molenvliet Street circa.1872 by Woodbury & Page (Batavia)
(Source: KITLV, The Netherlands)

Prof. Dr. Ir. Naniek W. Priyomarsono, M.T., the head of the Architecture Postgraduate Study Program at Tarumanagara University, is among those who support the preservation of the building. The preservation of privately owned assets is highly dependent on the property owner's decisions. Local regulations on historic properties prohibit their demolition to safeguard their existence, but the owner holds most of the responsibility for making major decisions and financing the upkeep of the building. The remaining part of the Candra Naya building was the last piece of Molenvliet glory which survived the Japanese invasion and the riots during the 1990s monetary crisis.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

The Tjong A fie Mansion, No. 105 Kesawan Street, Medan



Figure 4.31. The Tjong A Fie Mansion circa. 1905
(Source: KITLV, The Netherlands)

In his 1936 book "A Glimpse of Sumatra," Mr. Shen Lei Yu introduced several influential figures from the Overseas Chinese community in North Sumatra, including the Zhang Brothers (Zhang Yaoxuan and Zhang Rongxuan), Zhang Gongshan, Wen Fajin, Zhang Nianyi, Xie Liantang, and Chen Shundan. Medan, which became the capital city of North Sumatra in 1886, had a population of only 200 people when British Governor General John Anderson visited in 1823.²⁰⁰ However, Medan started to thrive after

²⁰⁰ Anderson, J. (1971). *Mission to the East Coast of sumatra: In M. DCCC. XXIII, under the direction of the government of prince of Wales Island ; including historical and descriptive sketches of the country, an account of the commerce, population, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and a visit to the batta cannibal states in the Interior*. Oxford University Press.

Dutchman Jacob Nienhuys founded the tobacco company "Deli Maatschappij" in 1869 with a land concession from the Sultanate of Deli in Sumatra.²⁰¹

Tobacco was the city's earliest primary economic driver and was embedded in the center of the city's emblem. It replaced Parakan, which previously held most of the tobacco exports.²⁰² Although Kedu tobacco from Parakan remains the most popular domestically, its popularity for export-quality tobacco declined with the expansion of tobacco plantations in North Sumatra in the late 19th century. During this era, Medan was nicknamed Het Land Dollar (the Land of Money) and attracted various Overseas Chinese from Southern China, including merchants and coolies.

The two Hakka brothers, Zhang Yaoxuan and Zhang Rongxuan, commonly known as Tjong Yong Hian and Tjong A Fie, originated from Meixian Village, Meizhou, Guangdong. Tjong Yong Hian, the elder brother, began his career in Batavia in 1868, working under Cheong Fatt Tze.²⁰³ Cheong Fatt Tze, who was known as the Rockefeller of the East, J.P. Morgan of China, the Last Mandarin, and the First Capitalist of China, started his career as a 16-year-old boy who left Dapu, Chaozhou, Guangdong.²⁰⁴ He worked in various fields before investing in tin mining. With the support of his father-in-

²⁰¹ Water, M. P. van de. (2023, September 20). *The road to drain or gain: Dutch private investment and economic development in late colonial and early independent Indonesia*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3641503>

²⁰² Wibisono, L., Murtiyoso, S., & Wijayanti, W. (2021). *Parakan Living Heritage*. Semarang Contemporary Art Gallery.

²⁰³ 张荣轩、张耀轩、张步青家族历史文化研究. Toutiao.com. (2022, September 22). <https://www.toutiao.com/article/7145984674236891688/?wid=1709691933685>

²⁰⁴ *Memoir: Cheong Fatt Tze's Blue Mansion Hotel in Penang*. Cheong Fatt Tze - The Blue Mansion. (2020, February 25). <https://www.cheongfattzemansion.com/about-the-mansion/memoir/>

law, he grew successful and later had eight official wives and multiple children, out of which only 8 sons and 6 daughters were acknowledged by him.²⁰⁵



Figures 4.32., 4.33., 4.34. From left to right: Tjong A Fie, Tjong Yong Hian, Cheong Fatt Tze (Source: KITLV, The Netherlands)

Some of the testaments of his success still exist today, such as the Blue Mansion, which he built for his favorite wife, and the Changyu winery, one of the largest wineries in the world, supplying 25% of all Western wines in China.²⁰⁶ Cheong Fatt Tze established the trans-Pacific shipping line to connect the US and China. He started as a financier, became a tycoon, involved himself in politics as a diplomat and minister, and ultimately became a philanthropist.²⁰⁷

As a multinational conglomerate, Cheong Fatt Tze trusted Tjong Yong Hian with his business in Batavia. With Cheong Fatt Tze's permission, Tjong Yong Hian decided to venture independently in Medan and founded the Wan Yongchang Company, investing in

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

commerce and plantation.²⁰⁸ Following this, Zhang Bishi, who believed in the prospect of Deli, co-established the Liwang company in 1878 with Tjong Yong Hian, which invested in plantations including rubber, coffee, coconut, tea, etc.²⁰⁹ Shortly after, Tjong A Fie arrived in Deli at 18 in 1879 and began building his career alongside his brother.



Figure 4.35. Tjong A Fie Mansion as the Mayor (Source: KITLV, The Netherlands)

Tjong A Fie settled in Labuhan Deli where he worked in Tjong Sui Fo's grocery store. He started socializing with locals, including those from the Deli Maatschappij and the Sultanate Deli. Due to his wisdom in conflict management, he was appointed as the community leader of Labuhan in 1886. He continued to rise through the ranks of the Chinese Council, becoming Lieutenant (Luitenant der Chineezten te Medan) in 1893, then Captain-Titulair (Kapitein-titulair der Chineezten) in 1898, and finally the Mayor (Majoor der Chineezten) in 1911.

Despite being a Hakka, The Zhang brothers were able to hold a position in the Chinese council dominated by Hokkien (Fujian). Cheong Fatt Tze was the trailblazer, and Tjong A Fie became one of the most influential officers. According to the 1930 Bureau of Statistics, 24.3% of the

²⁰⁸ 张荣轩、张耀轩、张步青家族历史文化研究. Toutiao.com. (2022, September 22).

<https://www.toutiao.com/article/7145984674236891688/?wid=1709691933685>

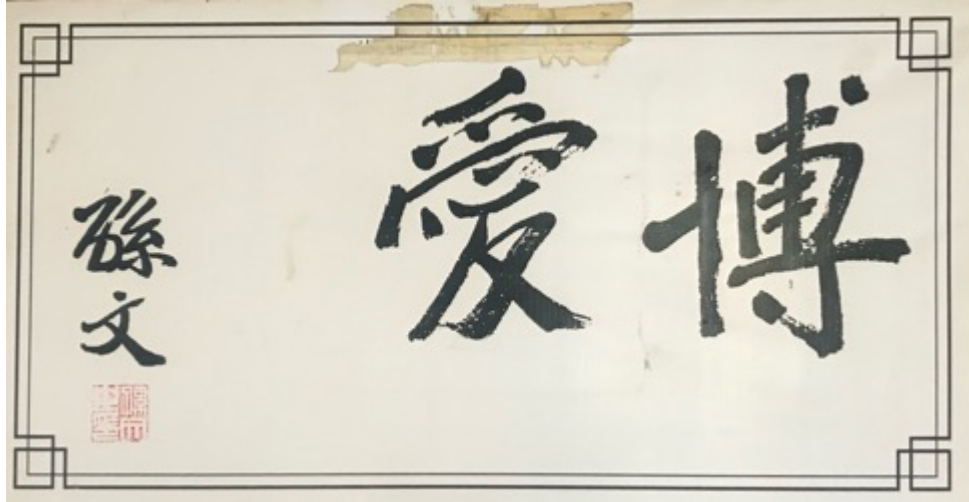
²⁰⁹ 黄浪华. (2011). 华侨之光: 张榕轩, 张耀轩, 张步青, 学术研讨会文集. (第一版.). 北京: 中国华侨出版社.

Chindo were Hokkien (Fujian), followed by Teochew (Chaozhou) at 21.8%, then Cantonese at 21.1%, and finally Hakka at 8.7%. As a leader among the Hakka, Tjong A Fie embodied their values of frugality, hard work, and honesty. He later established the first Chinese Commercial Bank (Bank of China) in 1917 following the successful revolution led by Sun Yat Sen.

With the economic boom at the turn of the 20th century, there was a significant influx of Hua Shang (Merchants) and Hua Gong (Coolies) coming into Medan. To regulate the financial system of the coolies, the Zhang brothers founded the first Chinese Remittance Bureau, Tong Sian Kok, in June 1905 under the recommendation of Hoetink.²¹⁰ This laid the foundation for the later establishment of Deli Bank on June 20, 1907, the first Chinese Overseas bank under the Dutch Indiesche Law.²¹¹ Tjong A Fie became a skilled businessman and financier, eventually owning his plantations and real estate investment holdings.

²¹⁰ Sukardi, D. (2022). Deli Bank: The Tjong Brothers and Chinese Overseas Banking in the East Coast of Sumatra. *Talenta Conference Series: Local Wisdom, Social, and Arts (LWSA)*, 5(3). <https://doi.org/10.32734/lwsa.v5i3.1387>

²¹¹ Ibid.



Figures 4.36. A Calligraphy Letter from Mr, Sun Yat Sen to Tjong A Fie
(Source: The Author's Collection)

Tjong A Fie received many accolades, including a calligraphy writing from Sun Yat Sen that spelled “博爱” bo ai, which means “brotherly love,” in recognition of his support for the Industrial Revolution and contributions to society.²¹² In China, he established Chinese schools and financed school buildings in various locations to promote education and enlightenment. He also founded and financed medical institutions such as the Ji'an Hospital and a leprosy hospital in Medan, providing free medical care. He contributed to infrastructure development by funding projects like the “Titi Berlian” Bridge and supporting public welfare initiatives, including bridge and road construction. Moreover, he donated significantly to educational institutions like Songkou Middle School, the University of Hong Kong, and Lingnan University.²¹³ Additionally, the

²¹² 黃浪華. (2011). 華僑之光: 張榕軒, 張耀軒, 張步青, 學術研討會文集. (第一版.). 北京: 中國華僑出版社.

²¹³ Ibid.

University of Hong Kong awarded him an honorary doctorate degree for his contribution to education.

His philanthropy also extended to disaster relief efforts, aiding flood victims in Fuzhou and Guangdong and supporting areas affected by famine and disasters across multiple provinces.²¹⁴ He also supported health crises by donating to the fight against the plague in Beihai.²¹⁵ His efforts aimed to enhance societal well-being, promote education, and alleviate suffering across various communities.

In his memoir, W.J.M. Michielsen, a member of the Council of the Dutch East Indies, wrote about Tjong A Fie, who played an essential role in his life. Tjong A Fie helped Michielsen's family members with their career advancement and provided them with opportunities.²¹⁶ Tjong A Fie trusted his business matters to his superintendent, Dolf Kamerlingh Onnes. Michielsen's son-in-law, Emil Hugenholtz, worked in Kamerlingh Onnes's administrative office in Medan.²¹⁷ Dolf Kamerlingh Onnes was the younger brother of Heike Kamerlingh Onnes, a Dutch physicist and Nobel Laureate of 1913.²¹⁸ Heike Kamerlingh Onnes made a groundbreaking discovery in 1910 that the electrical resistance of mercury disappeared entirely at low temperatures, only a few degrees above absolute zero.²¹⁹

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ M., M. W. J., & Hugenholtz, W. R. (2015). *Een buitenbezittingse radja: Herinneringen van W.J.M. Michielsen (1844-1926)*. Verloren.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Delft, D. van. (2005). *Heike Kamerlingh onnes: Een Biografie*. Bakker.

²¹⁹ *The nobel prize in physics 1913*. NobelPrize.org.

<https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/physics/1913/onnes/facts/#:~:text=In%201911%20Kamerlingh%20Onnes%20discovered,phenomenon%20became%20known%20as%20superconductivity.>



Figures 4.37. Tjong A Fie with Karel Michielsen and family on March 28, 1920
(Source: M., M. W. J., & Hugenholtz, W. R. (2015). *Een buitenbezittingse radja: Herinneringen van W.J.M. Michielsen (1844-1926)*. Verloren.)

Tjong A Fie received the “Kleine Gouden Ster” in 1904 and the “Orde van Oranje Nassau” in 1912 from the Dutch Royal Government for his contributions to society. According to the Royal Tropical Institute archive, Tjong A Fie donated 25.000 guilders to the institute in 1913, which made him its founder. He also donated to the Tropen Museum in Amsterdam, where his name is engraved on the museum wall.

When J.T. Cremer succeeded Nienhuys, he established the Coolie Ordinance that bound workers to the plantation with a three-year contract which included the penal sanction that allowed planters to punish the coolies mainly Chinese and Javanese, if they were to misbehave. Tjong A Fie was one of the figures who spoke against the harsh punishment of slavery. In the effort to abolish this law, Tjong A Fie commissioned two large intricately carved elephant tusks in 1919, which cost 15,000 guilders to J.T. Cremer,

the president of the Deli company, which is now displayed in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.²²⁰



Figures 4.38. The Carved Elephant Tusk in Rijksmuseum, the Netherlands
(Source: Rijksmuseum.nl)

The early development of Medan, particularly the old town of Kesawan, is largely attributed to Tjong A Fie. The mansion located at 105 Ahmad Yani Street and the clock tower at the old city hall are the remaining testament to his legacy and contribution to this city. The Zhang brothers, the Overseas Chinese, went from being Yumin or sojourners who left their ancestral land and would not be missed to becoming Imperial Capitalists.²²¹ Their achievements, especially the Chao-Shan railway construction, were so significant that they were granted an audience with the last Qing Empress Dowager Ci Xi. The Chao-Shan railway began its construction in 1903 and was completed in October 1906,

²²⁰ Budiman Minasny. (2023, July 26). *The dark history of slavery and racism in Indonesia during the Dutch Colonial Period*. The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/the-dark-history-of-slavery-and-racism-in-indonesia-during-the-dutch-colonial-period-141457>

²²¹ Sukardi, D. (2022). Deli Bank: The Tjong Brothers and Chinese Overseas Banking in the East Coast of Sumatra. *Talenta Conference Series: Local Wisdom, Social, and Arts (LWSA)*, 5(3). <https://doi.org/10.32734/lwsa.v5i3.1387>

costing 3.02 million taels of silver, with 1 million taels capital from each Zhang brothers.²²² The establishment of the Chao-Shan railway marked a significant milestone in the history of China as it was the first commercial railway construction in the country and contributed significantly to the economic advancement of the region.²²³



Figures 4.39. An Article about the Tjong A Fie's Housewarming Party (Source: Deli Courant)

Determining the year of construction for many Chindo residences has been challenging due to the lack of written records. However, the year of construction for the Tjong A Fie Mansion can be determined based on Quenny Chang's recollection of her family's move into their new house. She was just five years old, as mentioned in her book 'Memories of a Nonya' and was born in 1896.²²⁴ Therefore, it can be inferred that the move to the Mansion took place in 1901. Additionally, an article in the local newspaper 'De Sumatra Post' dated February 21, 1901, confirms the celebration of the family's move into the mansion in 1901, which suggests that the building was completed in 1901.

The architectural influence and craftsmanship of the Tjong A Fie Mansion can be traced back to the

²²² 黃浪華. (2011). 華僑之光: 張榕軒, 張耀軒, 張步青, 學術研討會文集. (第一版.). 北京: 中國華僑出版社.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Chang, Q. (2016). *Memories of a nonya*. Marshall Cavendish Editions.

hometown of the Zhang brothers in Nanxia Village, Songkou Town, Meixian District, Meizhou, Guangdong, in southern China. The “Gan Yin” Ancestral Hall was the home of the Zhang brothers, and it was recently restored by Tjong Yong Hian’s grandson, Zhang Hongjun, and his wife, Mrs. Linda.²²⁵

Nanxia Village has a rich history dating back to the Southern Han Dynasty, when it served as a refuge for Emperor Liu Yan.²²⁶ Over the centuries, it became known as a hometown of overseas Chinese, with a significant population of returned overseas Chinese and compatriots from Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan.²²⁷ The village is renowned for its traditional Hakka houses and cultural heritage, including ancestral halls, memorial archways, temples, and ancient trees.²²⁸

²²⁵ Chinaqw. (2017, March 1). 梅州松口南下村:侨宅"梳洗"一新焕荣光(图). 中国侨网.

<http://www.chinaqw.com/qx/2017/03-01/129186.shtml>

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid.

CONCLUSION

The exploration of the Peranakan culture, while focusing on the Peranakan Chinese and its architecture, has shed light on the broader history of Indonesia. Beginning with exploring the relationships of trade in Chapter One, the research traces the origins of Chinese Indonesians, predominantly from Southern China, observing their assimilation into Indonesian society dating back to the Hindu-Buddhist Empire. Chapter Two navigates through the impact of Dutch colonialism and political upheavals in China, bringing forth Confucian values, influencing migration waves, and shaping Peranakan culture. Following this, Chapter Three meticulously examines architectural elements across six Peranakan residences, dissecting styles, beliefs, layouts, and materials. Finally, Chapter Four personalizes the narrative by delving into the historical backgrounds of residential owners.

This research indicated that the early migration wave of Chinese Indonesians began with trading activities during the Tang dynasty, which promoted internationalism and inspired architecture worldwide. Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, in her book "The Borders of Chinese Architecture," provided insight into how the Tang dynasty influenced architecture outside China, especially in Japan. Since Chinese Indonesians are regarded as "Tang Ren" or Tionghoa, this study suggests that the influence extended to Indonesia, which would require further research.

As the Dutch began settling in the country, the historical research provided insight into an early Portuguese occupation, which contributed to the current culture in

Indonesia. Due to the Batavia Massacre, the emperor's response shed light on the Confucian values that existed during the early Dutch occupation. This further explains the relationship between the monarch and the overseas Chinese and how Confucian values shifted among Chinese Indonesians.

By first understanding the historical narrative, the architectural elements began to be analyzed according to the rationale of the presence of foreign influence and how it shaped the architecture of these residences. Several major elements from an overall perspective were highlighted, beginning from the layout plan, structural support such as the Greco-Roman, Dougong, and Vernacular columns, the belief systems with the provision of space and how it correlates to the ornamentation of the building and the roofing. However, this study has limitations, such as the limited time allowed for providing self-documented technical drawings and the extensive knowledge from each culture (Chinese, Roman, Moorish, and the Vernacular) to explain the elements better.

The final chapter provides a much more personalized historical context of the occupants of these residences to provide more nuance to the residences introduced in the previous chapter. As the word "Peranakan" originates in Malaysia, Indonesia could have its term that is Chindo (Chinese Indies) as a name of style, just as Singapore refers to it as Straits Chinese.

The study acknowledges the challenge posed by the extensive knowledge required for analyzing diverse cultural influences, highlighting the need for interdisciplinary collaboration to gain nuanced understandings. Moving forward, the influence of the Tang dynasty on international trade and architecture, as well as the Portuguese occupation and

the Batavia Massacre, could be examined in greater detail to elucidate their significance in shaping Peranakan architecture. Moreover, the comparative analysis between Peranakans in different regions, such as Penang and Singapore, offered valuable insights into the diversity of Peranakan culture. Further comparative studies could explore additional regions, such as Thailand, the Philippines, Vietnam, etc., to comprehensively understand regional variations in Peranakan architecture and culture.

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