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THE CHINESE OF SUKABUMI: A STUDY IN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACCOMMODATION

GIOK-LAN TAN

MONOGRAPH SERIES

MODERN INDONESIA PROJECT

Southeast Asia Program
Department of Asian Studies
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

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Giok-Lan Tan

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Southeast Asia Program
Department of Asian Studies
Cornell University
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1963

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PREFACE

The study of the Chinese minority in Indonesia has formed a considerable part in the work of the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project since its establishment in 1954. The results of the valuable research undertaken by Donald E. Willmott in this field have already seen publication. (1) Miss Giok-Lan Tan's study of the Chinese of Sukabumi (centering on the Peranakan section of the community) represents a significant addition to the published material on this subject and an important contribution to the continuing work of the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project.

This study of a Chinese community in West Java complements that of Dr. Willmott on the Chinese of Semarang, Central Java, published three years ago, and the forthcoming M. I. T. -sponsored study by Edward J. Ryan of the Modjokerto Chinese of East Java. Having this amount of published material available, we can begin to comprehend the range of variation, and at the same time the underlying unity, of Peranakan culture in Java. With the publication during the next few years of Professor G. William Skinner's research (sponsored by the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project in 1956-1958), the picture will undoubtedly become even fuller and clearer.

Miss Tan, a Peranakan who lived briefly in Sukabumi during the Second World War, undertook this study in 1956-1957 while a student at the Sinological Institute of the University of Indonesia in Djakarta. Her research was carried out under the direction of Professor Skinner, who was then in Indonesia. After completing her research in Indonesia, and following completion of her studies at the Sinological Institute, Miss Tan came to Cornell University to do graduate work in anthropology. She was awarded her M. A. degree in 1961.

Following her return to Indonesia, Miss Tan has undertaken further field research among the Chinese. She has designed and directed a project which studied a number

---

(1) The Chinese of Semarang: A Changing Minority Community in Indonesia (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1960) and The National Status of the Chinese in Indonesia, 1900-1958 (Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Monograph Series; Ithaca, N. Y. 1961).

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of desas in the Tanggerang area (West Java) with special emphasis on the social interaction between Peranakan and indigenous farmers. Currently Miss Tan is an instructor in sociology at the Catholic University in Djakarta, and beginning in May 1963 was appointed research assistant in the National Economic and Social Research Institute of the Council for Sciences of Indonesia.

Ithaca, New York
May 25, 1963

George McT. Kahin
Director

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FOREWORD

This study is based on research undertaken between May 1956 and December 1957 in Sukabumi, a Sundanese town in West Java about 75 miles southeast of Djakarta. It has a population of about 65,000 including 10,000 ethnic Chinese, of whom 6,000 are Indonesian citizens and 4,000 are aliens.

The fieldwork was conducted under the direction of Professor G. William Skinner within the larger framework of his research on the Chinese in Indonesia, for which purpose he stayed in Djakarta from 1956 to 1958. It was sponsored by the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project in collaboration with the Sinological Institute of the University of Indonesia in Djakarta.

During the first year of the fieldwork, the writer stayed in the house of a Peranakan widow in the northern part of the town. Thereafter she made extended trips from Djakarta to Sukabumi whenever necessary. This long stay on the spot enabled the writer to observe a full year's cycle of activities in the Chinese community. The writer was not unfamiliar with the area of study as at the outbreak of the Pacific War her family took refuge in Sukabumi. She went to school and stayed there for about six months, from December 1941 until June 1942.

As a member of the Peranakan group of the Chinese community, i.e., the group made up of the socially, culturally, and politically non-China-oriented part of the ethnic Chinese, of which the majority are Indonesian citizens, the writer had no difficulty in establishing rapport with the group in general and with the western-educated in particular. Less rapport was achieved with the alien, Chinese-speaking part of the community, mainly due to the fact that these aliens are mostly engaged in occupations which are extremely vulnerable socially and politically, rendering them suspicious of any outsider. This difficulty was aggravated by the fact that the older generation Chinese speak only their local Chinese dialect and the younger generation mostly Mandarin, while the writer has no knowledge of the former and an inadequate command of the latter.

As a student at the University of Indonesia, where she was doing graduate work at the Sinological Institute, the writer received generous cooperation from the Indonesian authorities; and being a native speaker of Indonesian, she had no difficulty on that score in establishing rapport with the Indonesian population.

The methods used in collecting the data were personal observation and informal interviewing. She visited homes practically every day during the research period; she participated in family celebrations and observed meetings and programs organized by the government as well as by private organizations; she also observed the activities in the temple and in the Christian churches, and she visited schools and business enterprises. Except in the case of observations in institutions, where there is a more or less impersonal atmosphere, notes were usually not taken on the spot

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but were recorded as soon as possible afterwards.

The language used was primarily Indonesian. Dutch or a mixture of Dutch and Indonesian was used with western-educated Peranakans and several of the western-educated Indonesians. Some Mandarin was also employed with the younger generation alien Chinese.

Apart from these personal observations and contacts, the writer made intensive use of statistical data on the alien Chinese acquired from the Municipal Hall in Sukabumi and on the citizens of Chinese descent, derived from the registration lists for the election of the DPRD (regional assembly), acquired from the four Kelurahan (wards) in the town. Other official data were also collected for the chapters on occupations and enterprises and on education. It should be noted, however, that these statistical materials should be viewed with caution, for they were collected by inadequately trained personnel. The writer also reviewed as much as possible of the existing body of published material pertaining to the Chinese in Indonesia, especially those publications written by Peranakans.

The writer has attempted to be as consistent as possible in the spelling of the Peranakan form of terms derived from the Hokkien.

Peranakan terms of Chinese origin are brought together at the back of this volume in a glossary which also cites the Hokkien forms, in transcription and characters, from which the Peranakan terms are apparently derived.

The writer would like to express her gratitude to Professor Tjan Tjoe Som of the Sinological Institute of the University of Indonesia in Djakarta for her earlier training in sinology, which laid the foundation for her further study of the Chinese, especially the overseas Chinese.

Having been, at the outset of this study, a student without experience in fieldwork, she feels greatly indebted to Professor G. William Skinner for the training she received while in the field, for the subsequent organization of the data, and for valuable suggestions and improvements in the final draft of the study.

To Professor Robin M. Williams, Jr., the Chairman of her graduate committee at Cornell University, she is indebted for instruction and advice.

Despite the guidance and suggestions of these eminent professors, the writer is acutely aware of omissions and inadequacies in the study. For all these, she alone takes full responsibility.

The writer would also like to extend her special gratitude to Professor George McT. Kahin for his continuous moral support. Thanks are also due to Mrs. Skinner for editing the major part of the

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final draft of this study. To all her friends who have helped her in one way or another with the completion of the work go her deepest gratitude and appreciation.

Needless to say, the writer feels completely indebted to the people of Sukabumi, especially the Peranakan community, without whose cooperation this study could not have been made. It is impossible to list here all the people in Sukabumi who were of substantial help, and so the writer reluctantly refrains from mentioning any. Special gratitude is nonetheless extended to each and every one.

Finally the author acknowledges her deep gratitude to the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project for sponsoring the fieldwork, to the Cornell Southeast Asia Program for providing her with a Southeast Asia Training Fellowship, to the P. E. O. Sisterhood for the contribution to her living expenses during the fall of 1960, and to the Rockefeller Foundation for providing her with a generous travel grant.

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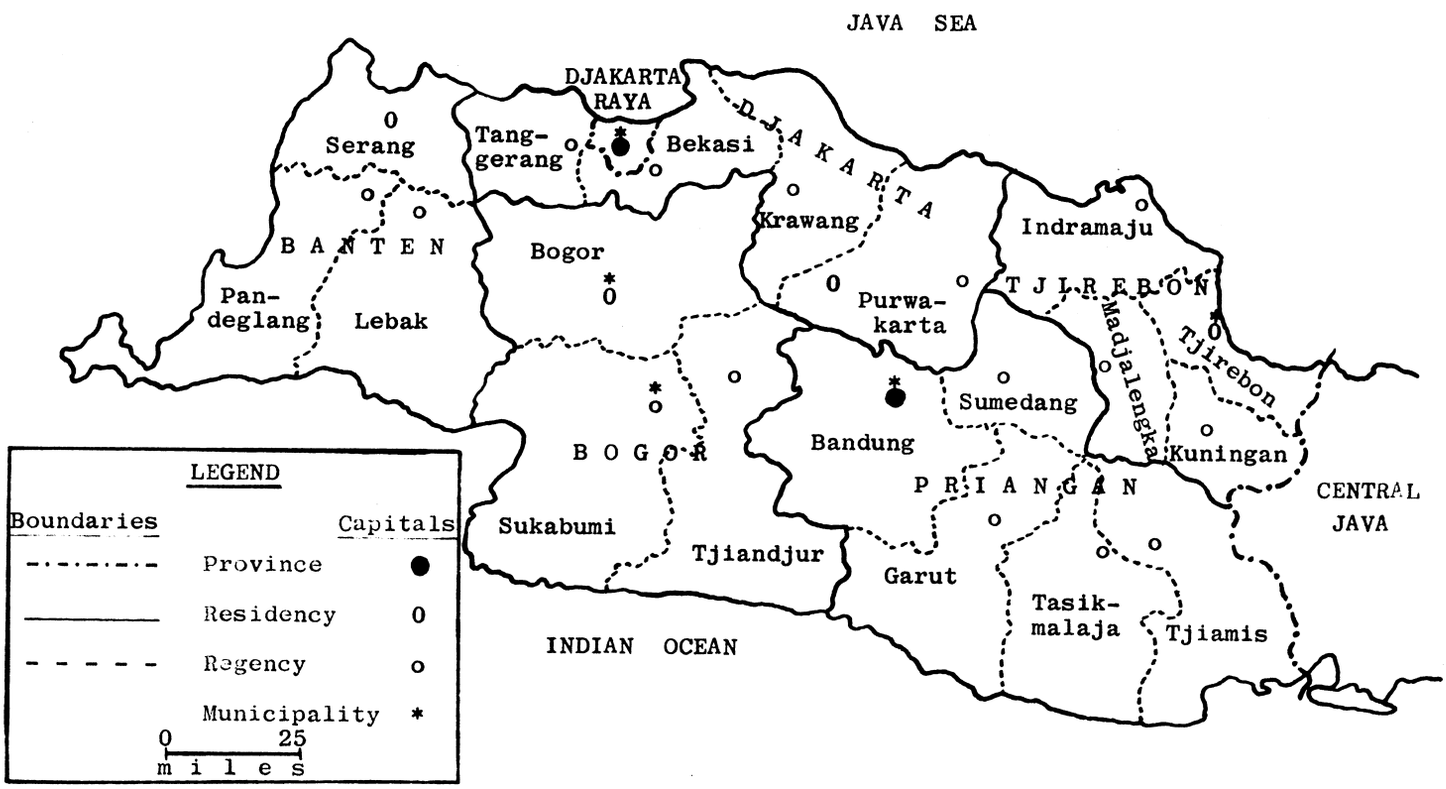

Map 1. Administrative Division of West Java.
(Based on: U. S. Office of Strategic Services, Research and Analysis Branch, "Java and Madura. Admonistrative Divisions," Washington, 1945.)

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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The town of Sukabumi, the capital of the regency of the same name, is situated in the Residency of Bogor in the Province of West Java, about 75 miles southeast of Djakarta along the southern route to Bandung. It has a population of approximately 70,000, including about 10,000 ethnic Chinese. The indigenous population is predominantly Sundanese, for Sukabumi lies well within Priangan, the heartland of the Sundanese ethnic group of the island of Java.

This chapter attempts to provide some of the salient historical facts relevant to the settlement and growth of the Chinese population in Sukabumi within the geographical framework of the western Priangan. (1) The concluding section outlines the present composition of the population and the position of the ethnic Chinese within the context of the larger contemporary society.

Historical Background

The traceable history of the western part of the Priangan goes back to the 15th century when it was ruled by the Sundanese Hindu kingdom of Padjadjaran. This kingdom, the remains of which were found in the vicinity of the present town of Bogor, must have existed from around 1433-1434 until 1579, when it was conquered by the ruler of Banten. (2) As the last and only known Sundanese kingdom, Padjadjaran has acquired a mythical aura for the people of this area, as evidenced by the numerous stories and legends that glorify its founder and other members of its court. It seems that after the fall of this kingdom, the western part of the Priangan was

---

(1) The material for this chapter is based primarily on the following sources: Frederik de Haan, Priangan: De Praenger-Regentschapp onder het Nederlands Bestuur tot 1811 (4 vols., Batavia, 1910-12); Pieter Johannes Veth, Java, Geographisch, Ethnologisch, Historisch (4 vols., Haarlem, 1875-1907); Otto van Rees, Overzicht van de Geschiedenis van de Preanger Regentschappen (1877); Hoesein Djajadiningrat, Critische Beschoeuwing van de Sedjarah Banten (Haarlem, 1913); Jacob Wouter de Klein, Het Preanger-stelsel (1677-1871) en zijn nawerlsing (Delft, 1931).

(2) See Djajadiningrat, op. cit., pp. 135-139, 232-236. The exact dates of the existence of Padjadjaran has been a source of much dispute among the various scholars. The Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indie, ed., A. Thomassen a Theussink van de Hoop, N.J. Krom, R.A. Kern (1938), I, 276, mentions that it already existed in 1333, while the Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie (1899-1905), III, 167, states that it already existed in the 12th century; see also Veth, op. cit., II, 275.

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left to go to waste with no clear indication of who nominally ruled over it. Early Dutch travel reports of this area described it as extremely sparsely populated and practically uncultivated. The people lived as semi-nomads with the cultivation of dry ricefields, gaga, as the main source of living. The cultivation of the wet ricefields, sawah, seems to have been a much later development, probably influenced by the Javanese. As de Haan pointed out, this technological change of the method of rice cultivation from dry to wet fields must have been a crucial point in the life of the Priangan people, for it changed the typical Sundanese from "a wanderer to a settled cultivator."(3)

Apparently all through the 16th century this area was a bone of contention among the three kingdoms then ruling the western part of Java: the Moslem kingdoms of Banten in the west and Tjirebon (sometimes also spelled Tjeribon or Cheribon) in the northeast, and the kingdom of Galuh in the southeast. At the end of this century a fourth contender came in the form of the kingdom of Mataram, the Javanese kingdom which was at that time rapidly expanding to the west. First, Galuh came under its domination in 1595, then the area west of it to the borders of Banten, and finally Tjirebon, which became a vassal around 1600. (4)

The 17th century saw a complete change of scene with the entree of the Dutch East India Company in 1602. In 1619, after the conquest of Jacatra (the present Djakarta, known during the colonial period as Batavia), the first Governor, General Jan Pieterszoon Coen, declared the limits of the Dutch territory to be as follows: Banten to the west, the Java Sea to the north, Tjirebon to the east, and the Indian Ocean to the south. Thus he included the western and central part of the Priangan. Actually, however, Coen regarded this area of so little value that in practice he continued to consider the area south of Jacatra as Banten's territory. (5) Mataram ignored this Dutch claim completely, recognizing Banten as its western neighbor, which is shown by the fact that Javanese migrants were sent to settle in this area. Soon, however, the Company imposed its rule through the treaties with Mataram in 1677 (with Amangkoerat II, who reigned from 1677-1703) and 1705 (with Pakoeboewana I, who reigned from 1703-1719), thereby bringing into its possession the entire area of the Priangan: Bogor (then called Buitenzorg), Krawang (the northern area between Djakarta and Tjirebon), the western part of Indramaju (to the north of Tjirebon), and the former regency of Tanggerang (to the west of Djakarta). (6) Dutch influence was extended westward as the power of Banten declined under Sultan Hadji (1682-1687), and in 1684 Banten became a protectorate of the Dutch Company.

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(3) de Haan, op. cit. I, 31-32.

(4) de Haan, op. cit., I, 1-34. See Map 1.

(5) de Haan, op. cit., I, 1.

(6) de Haan, op. cit., I, 69; van Rees, op. cit., pp. 50-55; and de Klein, op. cit., pp. 10-12. See Map 1.

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We have already mentioned that early Dutch travelers found the Priangan sparsely populated and practically uncultivated. Though initially uninterested in this mountainous area, the Dutch Company before long discovered its enormous possibilities and the cultivation of the berg-cultures (mountain crops) was started. This occurred after the treaty of 1677 when they established effective rule over the western part of the Priangan, which consisted of the regencies of Tjiandjur, Kampungbaru (Buitenzorg), Tanggerang, Krawang, Tjiasem, and Pagaden (the last two areas situated between Krawang and Tjirebon), by putting it under the direct administration of a Dutch official, the Gecommitteerde tot de saecken der Inlanderen, (7) and referred to it as the so-called "Jacatrasche Bovenen Benedenlanden."(8) As to the regency of Tjiandjur, we find that it was established only in 1691 through colonization from Tjirebon and headed by a member of this court. It was at that time an insignificant settlement.

The treaty of 1705 with Mataram marked the end of the Javanese supremacy over the western part of Java which had lasted for almost two centuries. This domination had a great influence on the Sundanese, even to the point where Javanese became the official language, used among the Priangan regents themselves in their correspondence. This influence is still markedly apparent, especially among the upper class, which constitute the former nobility, the menak, who "share many common parts of their

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(7) de Klein, op. cit., pp. 21-27, devotes an entire section to the task and function of this official. Van Rees, op. cit., p. 97, described the Gecommitteerde as the Oppertoezicht over de Preanger-landen (chief supervisor of the Priangan lands). It seems that originally his main task was that of opperkoopman (principal agent) for the government, charged with the purchase of the products of the compulsory cultivation. Due to the fact that he also functioned as moneylender to the regents, he acquired great power over them, so much so that, as de Klein stated (speaking of the position of this official in 1804 and counting its institution as from 1727): "in 75 years the 'gecommitteerde' developed from a petty official into a powerful despot. The regents and their subordinates were entirely dependent on him for their careers as well as their finances" (the present writer's translation). He was also the head of police and in charge of jurisdiction. His territory had always been primarily the Benedenlanden of Djakarta, but also the area between the rivers Tjisedane (to the west of Djakarta) and Tjitarum (to the east of Djakarta), thus including the regencies Tjiandjur, Bogor, Tanggerang, Pamanukan, Tjiasem, and Krawang.

(8) de Klein, op. cit., pp. 130-134. The limits of the so-called Jacatrasche or Bataviasche Ommelanden, Benedenlanden en Bovenlanden, seem to have been changed continually. Officially it seems that the boundaries of the Ommelanden (surrounding lands) were: from the Java Sea southwards to the mountains, between the rivers Tjitarum, Tjisadane, and Tjikaniki (an upstream river which forms one of the sources of the Tjisadane). The limits of the Benedenlanden (low lands) and Bovenlanden (uplands) were even more confusing. Some regencies, e.g., Bogor, were shuttled back and forth, at one time incorporated in the one region and at another time in the other.

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values, customs and beliefs with the upper class in the rest of Java."(9)

All through the 18th century the history of the Priangan area is characterized by the cultivation of compulsory crops, i.e., crops for the world market which were profitable for the Dutch Company and whose cultivation was therefore forced on the population of this area. It was in the beginning of this century, under Governor General Henricus Zwaardekroon (1718-1725), that the cultivation of coffee was first introduced in the Priangan--to be precise, in the regency of Tjiandjur which included the area which is today Sukabumi. This cultivation proved extremely profitable also for the regent Wira Tanoe II, who became one of the wealthiest men in the Priangan.(10) Clearly, it was only with the coming of the Dutch that the Priangan became a productive area. It is also obvious, however, that the Dutch merchants represented by the East India Company viewed this region as one vast estate to be exploited through the native rulers. Their only object was to get coffee and other desired crops, regardless of the sacrifices imposed on the cultivators in order to produce the desired quantity. As the Priangan proved to be a veritable treasure chest, the Dutch consequently guarded it like a miser guarding his hoard. Severe regulations were made in order to prevent Europeans, Chinese, and even non-Priangan natives from entering it. This involved the prohibition of travel, which of course automatically precluded any form of settlement.

It was especially towards the Chinese that this policy of exclusion was applied. In the words of de Haan, to this group of people the Priangan was "hermetically" closed. They were allowed to operate sugar mills in the Ommelanden of Batavia, i.e., the area bordered on the west by the river Tjisadane, on the east by the river Tjitarum, and on the south by the mountains, but they were not permitted to venture beyond Bogor and Tandjungpura (on the Tjitarum river). The reason for this special treatment was that they were viewed as a potential danger to the monopoly system; they were suspected of secretly buying the produce from the native cultivators. To illustrate the policy towards the Chinese, we will give a sampling of some of the regulations and measures applied to them.(11)

A decree issued in April 1764 prohibited Chinese from entering the Priangan without a special permit of the government on penalty of being deported, imprisoned, or sentenced to forced labor.(12) There are many examples of the implementation of this decree. In 1754 a Chinese found in Bandung was deported to Ceylon without any form of trial.

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(9) Samiati Alisjahbana, "A Preliminary Study of Class Structure among the Sundanese in the Priangan" (M.A. thesis, Cornell University, 1954), pp. viii, 7.

(10) de Haan, op. cit., I, 22, 119-120, 351.

(11) de Haan, op. cit., IV, 545-548, 550-553.

(12) Wouter Brokx, Het recht tot wonen en tot reizen in Nederlandsch-Indie (doctoral dissertation, Leiden University, s'Hertogenbosch, 1925), p. 32.

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In 1772 Governor General P. A. van der Parra (1761-1775) inserted a clause on the lease of land in Bogor requiring the tenants to forbid Chinese to travel on their lands and to allow them only within the boundaries of the market place.

Chinese were allowed to settle in Bogor (within the limits of the market place) but to travel beyond this place a special permit from the Commissioner for native affairs (Gecommitteerde tot en over de zaken van den Inlander) was required. In 1799, however, the Opziener (supervisor) of Tjiandjur requested the above Commissioner to cease granting permits to Chinese to travel to this area because, as he claimed, they took away the buffaloes and horses as interest to debts made to them, thus interfering with the transportation of coffee.

In 1804 a Chinese of the market of Tjibinong, a village along the highway about 9 miles north of Bogor, was arrested and sentenced to be beaten with a rattan stick for traveling with commodities on the estate of Bogor.

In 1806 a Chinese caught with commodities in Bandung was sentenced to confiscation of cash and goods, which were then divided among the persons who arrested him.

In addition to such illustrations of the prohibition on travel we might look at examples of prohibition of residence.

In 1787 plans for the operation of sugar mills beyond Tandjungpura were abandoned because the Dutch were afraid that they would lose control over the Chinese who were to be the operators of these mills if they settled so far from the center of the Company.

In 1792 several Chinese were deported to Ceylon because they had settled in the area of the regency of Tjiandjur which was out of bounds for them.

In 1797 a decision was made to establish markets in several places in the Priangan, but it was stipulated that no gambling was to be allowed and no Chinese admitted. (13) P. Engelhard, one of the Commissioners, mentioned in his journal of 1802 that there was one Chinese at Tjiandjur who had lived there for several years. We may assume, then, that at the turn of the century there were no more than a very few isolated Chinese in all of the Priangan.

The 19th century, precisely in 1800, saw the dissolution of the Dutch East India Company and the beginning of rule under the Dutch government. A new policy was introduced with the appointment of Herman William Daendels as Governor General (1808-1811). He started the sale of large plots of land, thus terminating the exclusion policy and opening up the possibility of private enterprise. This act was prompted by the depleted condition of the coffers of the Indies which could not expect replenishment from the Netherlands because it was at war with England. (14)

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(13) de Haan, op. cit., I, 401.

(14) de Haan, op. cit., IV, 861-866; Veth, op. cit., II, 603-604.

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Towards the Chinese the Governor General showed a more lenient attitude; for instance, he appointed the Chinese lessee of the market at Bogor to the position of Kapitein der Chinezen (Captain of the Chinese) in 1810 and the one at Tjikao (a place along the Tjitarum river south of Tandjungpura which was an important storage place for the transportation of coffee along this river) to Luitenant der Chinezen (Lieutenant of the Chinese) in 1811. He decided to build villages for Chinese near the regency capitals, where they were to cultivate tobacco, indigo, peanuts, and other crops. Thus in 1812 a small Chinese settlement was established in Tjiandjur with about 50 Chinese inhabitants. It is interesting to note that according to de Haan, the Chinese were not at all eager to settle in the Priangan, because for agricultural activities, they could just as well stay in the Ommelanden. So, "only by force could he [Daendels] transfer about ten families to the Priangan."(15) Daendels was a foreeful personality who managed to bring about quite a few important changes during the brief period of his rule. For instance, in the administrative field, he abolished the plots of land that many regents had in each other's territory (and which were the cause of many conflicts) by making each regency a geographic unit. In regard to compulsory cultivation he introduced certain revisions in the system, which curtailed the power of the regents over their subordinates. Daendels was also responsible for the construction of the Grote Postweg, the main highway running through the entire island of Java, but bypassing Sukabumi to the north over the mountains to Tjiandjur.

In 1811 the British fleet stationed in India invaded Java and established British rule in the island under Lieutenant Governor Stamford Raffles (1811-1816). His rule was characterized by major revisions and reorganizations. Towards the Chinese he also showed a lenient attitude by allowing Chinese traders to move freely in the Priangan, though not beyond a certain distance of the market place. In the administrative field he reorganized the Priangan area by incorporating the five regencies of Tjiandjur, Bandung, Sumedang, Garut (then called Limbangan), and Tasikmalaja (then called Sukapura) in the Residency of Bogor. A major revision was the introduction of the system of land revenue in lieu of the existing system of forced labor. He also attempted to abolish slavery, but succeeded only in curtailing slave trade.

Raffles continued the sale of large plots of land which was started by Daendels. These sales show how little actual power the regents possessed over their land. Though they did possess a certain amount of self-rule relative to their people, relative to the foreign ruler they functioned practically as "managers."(16)

Thus, in 1813, the sale was concluded of a large area in the western part of the Priangan, comprising the districts of Gunung Parang

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(15) de Haan, op. cit., I, 479-482, IV, 877-880; Veth, op. cit., II, 570; de Klein, op. cit., pp. 64-66.

(16) de Klein, op. cit., pp. 88-91; he points out that the regents had no power of jurisdiction, the government could terminate the appointment (which was made by the Governor General) unilaterally, while the compulsory cultivation involved radical measures encroaching on the power of the regents over their people.

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(corresponding with the present district of Sukabumi), Tjimahi (which does not exist as a district any more), Tjiheulang (corresponding with the present Tjibadak), and Tjitjurug (corresponding with the present area of the same name). The sale covered an area amounting to almost half of the northern part of the present Regency of Sukabumi. The ownership of this estate was shared by four persons, Raffles himself owning one-half, and Th. Macquoid (then Resident of the Priangan regencies), N. Engelhard (ex-Governor of Java's northeast coast), and A. de Wilde (a physician in government employ) owning one-sixth each. De Wilde acted as manager of the estate. In 1815, due to devastating criticism of his participation in private ownership of land in Java, Raffles sold his share to de Wilde, who then became the largest share-holder.

This vast estate was referred to as a Vrijland (literally free land, obviously indicating its status as being privately owned) and was divided into three parts, the Vrije landen Sukabumi, Tjiputri, and Tjikalong. The name Sukabumi seems to be a name which originally referred to the hoofdnegorij (main village) only, which was situated in the district of Gunung Parang. Apparently the Vrijland Sukabumi was called Tjicolle before because, in a letter to N. Engelhard dated 13 January, 1815, de Wilde wrote that at the request of the native heads he had changed the name Tjicolle to Sukabumi. In the literature concerning this estate we find the names Sukabumi and Gunung Parang (the name for the district) both used to refer to it. (Today the names Gunung Parang and Tjikole--as it is spelled now--are preserved in the names of two of the main streets in Sukabumi.) At that time landowners were virtual kings on their estates, so de Wilde also lived in grand style. For his residence he had built a mansion made of stone, which was so spacious (including a billiard room which must have been unique at that time) that in 1827 it was transferred to Tjiandjur to serve as the residence for the Resident. It was mentioned that in 1814 he possessed 23 slaves and in 1816 several more. This extravagance was made possible by the yield of rice and especially of coffee. Apparently during the British rule de Wilde was on good terms with Raffles, which was naturally to the benefit of his enterprises.

With the return of Dutch rule in 1816 a crucial change occurred in the position of de Wilde and, as a matter of fact, in the position of landownership in general. The new Governor General, G. A. G. Ph. Baron van der Capellen (1816-1826) seemed to be strongly against private landownership and consequently put out regulations which were aimed at terminating, or at least reducing, this phenomenon. With de Wilde disagreements arose in regard to the price of the coffee to be delivered to the government and even in regard to the legitimacy of the ownership of the estate. De Wilde launched a big fight against what he considered unjust treatment by the Indies government which, as we shall see later, was to end only in 1823 when he admitted defeat and sold the lands back to the government. The lands were then incorporated into the Regency of Tjiandjur. The restoration of Dutch rule meant major changes again in the field of administration, in the official attitude towards compulsory cultivation, and in the regulation concerning the Chinese in the Priangan.

In the field of administration a new residency was created--comprising the five Regencies of Tjiandjur, Bandung, Sumedang, Garut, and Tasikimalaja (all of which, under Raffles, had been incorporated into

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the Residency of Bogor)--with the name Residency of Priangan Regencies, thus leaving the Residency of Bogor as a separate unit. In connection with compulsory cultivation, an exceptional situation came into being in the Priangan in that the existing system of indirect rule was maintained, whereas in the other parts of Java a European system of administration was introduced with salaried indigenous civil servants, taxes, and increasingly intensive control. Due to its continuation in this area alone, this system became known as the Preanger stelsel. Essentially it contained the following: the people of this region were exempted from land revenue and other taxes, but they were compelled to cultivate coffee and other crops decided on by the government and to deliver them at a price lower than that paid for them in other areas. The regents were not salaried, but they were entitled to collect taxes from their people and they were also paid a percentage of the value of the products they delivered. In return for these deliveries and services, the Dutch government (and before its dissolution in 1800 the East India Company) agreed not to interfere with the internal government of the regency and also to confirm the hereditary position of the regents. (17)

As to the attitude toward the Chinese, we have seen how under Raffles Chinese traders were allowed to travel in the Priangan, though not beyond a certain distance of the market place. However, on June 6, 1820, a resolution of the Governor General in council put an end to all this. A memorandum was sent to all the Residents in the surrounding area to discontinue the granting of a pass to "foreign orientals" (read Chinese) who wished to go to the Priangan Regencies unless they were in possession of a special permit of the Resident of this Residency. In regard to settlement (or residence), this resolution stipulated a flat prohibition to all "foreign orientals" against living in this area, if not in possession of a "proper" permit to be issued in each case by the Resident. Those living there at that time without this "proper" permit were ordered to move out "as soon as their business was settled" and "insofar as the delivery of coffee would not suffer from it." Exempted were a small group of artisans who were allowed to live in the capitals of the regencies and those "Orientals" who had come to be known as "good citizens." Those who did not comply voluntarily with this regulation were to be put outside the boundaries by force. (18)

The negligible number of Chinese found in the Vrijland Sukabumi in 1822 as documented in the "Preanger Statistiek 1822" (19) is undoubtedly

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(17) de Haan, op. cit., IV, 948-949; de Klein, op. cit., pp. 1-9.

(18) Brokx, op. cit., pp. 31-32, 53.

(19) The "Preanger Statistiek 1822" are documentary materials (in manuscript) pertaining to the Priangan regencies, kept at the Arsip Negara (State Archives) in Djakarta. According to this material, the Priangan regencies in 1822 consisted of the following regions:

the regency of Tjiandjur
the Vrije landen Sukabumi, Tjiputri, and Tjikalong
the regency of Bandung

(cont.)

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a result of this stringent regulation. In the hoofdnegorij there were only four Chinese: one adult male, one adult female, and two children, obviously constituting one family only. In addition, de Wilde himself seemed poorly disposed towards Chinese, as evidenced by his statement that "unless they were needed as artisans, Chinese should be kept out of the Priangan lands ... because as soon as they settle in any place, they take away the profits that would otherwise be enjoyed by the natives."(20) As we have seen earlier, the resolution of 1820 was of course nothing new. The timing and severity, however, are very significant. There is obviously a direct relationship between these prohibitions on travel and residence, which were also applied to Europeans, though to a lesser extent, (21) and the policy of the restored Dutch government to reduce or eliminate private landownership, which would mean a return to the monopoly system. As far as the Chinese were concerned, this prohibition was also conducive to the formation of monopolies among them; from 1820 retail business in the Priangan was monopolized by a rich Chinese in Bogor through native agents. (22)

In the fifty years following this regulation, however, lapses occurred which were always followed by a renewal of this basic aim of keeping travel and settlement of Chinese at a minimum. In 1835 (Stb. 1835 no. 37), for instance, a regulation on residence was issued to check lapses which were observed to have occurred. It was stated that the "old custom" of segregating "foreign Orientals" in separate quarters or neighborhoods under their own head should be maintained and that no deviation

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the government land of Udjungbrung
the regencies of Limbangan and Sumedang.

These documentary materials are the result of an instruction by the government to the heads of these regions to submit a detailed report on the situation in their area. Thus the administrator of the Vrijland Sukabumi, L. Steitz, submitted a very detailed report dated August 3, 1821, that is still kept in its original form at the Arsip Negara.

The population in the hoofdnegorij was as follows:

	Male	Female	Children	Total
Europeans and their descendants	3	--	1	4
Javans*	186	207	202	595
Slaves**	21	7	3	31
Arabs, Malay, and others	4	5	1	10
Chinese	1	1	2	4
Total	215	220	209	644

* By Javans (Javanen) are meant the indigenous people of Java, but in this case probably Sundanese only.

**According to the Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost Indie, III, 805, 803, the slaves were Papuans, Balinese, Buginese, Macassers, Timorese. Slavery was abolished in 1860 (Indische Staatsblad /Indies Statutes, hereafter abbreviated Stb./, 1860 no. 46).

(20) A. de Wilde, De Preanger Regentschappen op Java gelegen (Amsterdam, 1830), p. 235 (the present writer's translation); see also de Haan, op. cit., IV, 878-880.

(21) See Veth, op. cit., p. 624, and Brokx, op. cit., p. 36.

(22) Veth, op. cit., p. 624.

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from this rule should be allowed. (23) In 1846, however, it was felt that this regulation of 1835 was too severe, and by decision of the Governor General an explanation was issued stating that this regulation should not be interpreted as a complete prohibition of Chinese and other "foreign Orientals" to settle in those places in the interior of Java where no quarters exist, but only to see to it that they settle "separately in quarters to be designated by the local authorities in the capitals of the residencies, regencies and some of the districts which are strategically situated for trade and where there is no danger for smuggling practices." Thus this official explanation opened up the possibility not only of residence in already existing quarters as had been the case until then, but also the possibility of residence in quarters not yet established though with the limitation that they would only be situated in the capitals. This more lenient attitude lasted only until 1852 when those who had settled outside the places where quarters had been designated were ordered to move into these quarters. (24) This policy of restricted residence is reflected in the fact that in 1857, for instance, there were only 373 Chinese in the entire Priangan Regencies--.046 of the total population of that area. (25)

Brokx quite correctly pointed to the inconsistency of the Dutch policy towards the Chinese in that, on the one hand, there were special restrictions on travel and residence and, on the other hand, there was the farming out to the Chinese of the collection of certain taxes from the indigenous population which would, naturally, entail traveling to the villages. This tax system which farms the right to collect the taxes to non-officials was a system adopted from the Dutch Company. To Chinese was farmed the collection of taxes in market places, of fishponds, ferries, cliffs of birds' nests, slaughter, opium, and pawnhouses. This policy seems even stranger if we consider the arguments of those supporting the restrictions on the Chinese--that these restrictions were necessary to protect the indigenous people from the "evil practices" of Chinese as "bloodsucking moneylenders"--for the system of farming out the collection of taxes put them in the very position of power from which the indigenous population was supposed to be protected. (26) A positively lenient attitude was finally manifest in the regulation of 1866 (Stb. 1866 no. 57) and explained in 1871 (Stb. 1871 no. 145) as follows: the Governor General designates the places where quarters will be permitted, while the head of the local government decides the location of these quarters. There were three clauses in this regulation which made it more lenient than the others before: (1) residence in the designated quarters is obligatory, but with a special permit from the head of the local administration it is possible to live outside this area; (2) settlement in places without quarters may be granted by the head of the Residential administration if in the interest of agriculture, industry, or the levy of state revenue and of public works;

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(23) Brokx, op. cit., p. 29.

(24) Brokx, op. cit., pp. 30, 31.

(25) Aardrijkskundig en Statistisch Woordenboek van Nederlandsch-Indie (Amsterdam, 1869), I, 612-613.

(26) Brokx, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

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and (3) those who at the time of the issue of the regulation are residing in villages, private estates or other places outside the designated quarters are allowed to remain there.

Thus in 1872 (Stb. 1872 no. 9) both Tjiandjur and Sukabumi were designated as places where quarters for Chinese would be permitted. Of Tjiandjur we know already that during Daendels' period (1808-1811) a Chinese settlement was established consisting of about 50 persons. We know also that it was an important place for the cultivation of coffee. Its importance is indicated by the fact that until 1864 it was the capital of the Residency of Priangan Regencies. The Regency of Tjiandjur also included the districts that today make up the Regency of Sukabumi. Of Sukabumi we have the information that in 1822 there were in the hoofdnegorij only four Chinese. Although we have no population figures of the subsequent years until 1905, we may infer from the fact that it was a district capital, situated along a good road with estates all around and from the very fact that it was designated as the only place in the western part of the Priangan besides Tjandjur to have a Chinese quarter, that it must have had a Chinese settlement prior to this designation in 1872. However, we can be sure that it was only then that large-scale settlement was made possible. From investigations made into many families this assumption is confirmed. It also appears that many of these first settlers came from Bogor, for many of the oldest Chinese families in Sukabumi today originated there. This is not surprising considering the fact that Bogor had been one of the first places opened to Chinese and that for decades it had been the farthest place southward where Chinese were permitted to settle. It will be recalled that as early as 1810, under Daendels, the title of "Captain of the Chinese" was conferred on the Chinese lessee of the market at Bogor, which indicates that there must already have been a fairly large settlement at that time. We may also infer from this long settlement that those Chinese who migrated southward to Sukabumi were for the most part Peranakans. Peranakan is an Indonesian term consisting of the rootword anak (child), with the prefix per and suffix an, generally used to refer to those Chinese born in Indonesia whose home language is not Chinese but a mixture of Malay and one of the local dialects (in this case Sundanese) and who in their diet, clothing, and belief system have adopted elements of the local indigenous culture.

One of the main attractions of this area must have been the possibility of acquiring land "in erfpacht" (long lease--75 years--of uncultivated land belonging to the government) established by the Dutch government after 1870. (27) In the early 1880's, in the Afdeling (corresponding to the present regency) Sukabumi there were already several estates owned and/or managed by Chinese (the earliest was a lease concluded in 1878) (28) and around 1900 there were 15 Chinese-owned rice mills in the area. This preoccupation of the Chinese with the exploitation of estates

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(27) Based on the Agrarian Law passed in 1870 (Stb. 1870 no. 55); see Brokx, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

(28) Regerings Almanak van Nederlandsch Indie (Batavia, 1898), Vol. 1, under the title Particuliere Landbouw Ondernemingen op gronden afgestaan in erfpacht.

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and the processing of their products is still reflected in the fact that at the time of this study about 10 per cent of the employed people among the WNI (Warga Negara Indonesia, Indonesian citizen, generally used to refer to Indonesian citizens of foreign and, primarily, Chinese descent) earned a living as members of the staff of estates and factories. (29)

Another commercial activity which brought Chinese to Sukabumi was the trade in native products (hasil bumi). Chinese traders went the rounds of the villages to buy the products of the native population to sell them in Sukabumi itself or to transport them to larger places. One of the wealthy Peranakans in town today, the owner of one of the large textile factories, spoke with admiration of his grandmother, an Indonesian-born Chinese, who, with her husband (a Chinese born in Bogor of a China-born father), was the first of his family to settle in Sukabumi. He mentioned her as an extremely industrious tukang dagang (businessman or woman) who every day went the rounds of the markets in the villages around Sukabumi. Today this particular occupation is also reflected in the great number of stores selling native products which are especially concentrated along the main street running through the south of the town.

The quarters designated for residence of Chinese in Sukabumi comprised the area around the market place, along the main street leading to Djakarta and Bandung, and the area south of the present railroad. Today this section of the town is still the center of the Chinese population and it is only here that we find old two-story houses with Chinese style roofs.

The town of Sukabumi, which had developed from the hoofdnegorij at the center of the Vrijland Sukabumi, had continued its important position as a servicing center for the surrounding plantations and as a storage place for further transportation. Its growth was accelerated by the construction in 1882 of the railroad which connected it with Djakarta, via Bogor, and again in 1883 and 1884 when connections were made with Tjiandjur and Bandung (see Map 2). In 1901 a connection by sea was opened via Plabuanratu in the south with Djakarta and with Tjilatjap in central Java, but this never became of much importance. Undoubtedly the great influx of Chinese must have occurred during and after this facilitation of communications, which also indicates the growing prosperity of the town. It must have been during this period also that Sukabumi began to overtake Tjiandjur in importance. In 1905 there were more Chinese and Europeans--both there because of business opportunities--in the former than in the latter:

	Sukabumi	Tjiandjur
Indigenes	12,000	15,100
Chinese	2,100	1,200
Europeans	600	170
Arabs	--	± 30

Source: Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Oost Indie (8 vols., s'Gravenhage, 1917-39), vols. III, IV.

(29) Data on occupations acquired at the Municipal Hall in Sukabumi.

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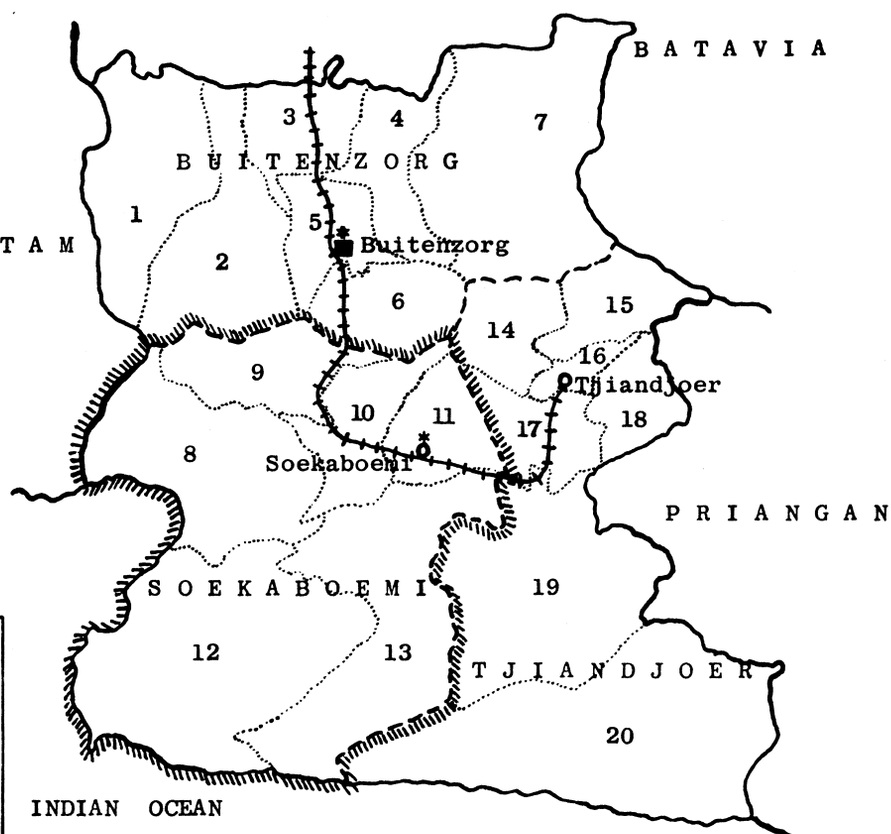
Districts of Buitenzorg:
1 Djasinga
2 Leuwilang
3 Paroeng
4 Tjibinong
5 Buitenzorg
6 Tjiawi
7 Tjibaroesa

Soekaboemi:
8 Palaboehan
9 Tjitjoeroeg
10 Tjibadak
11 Soekaboemi
12 Djampang-koelon
13 Djampang-tengah

Tjiandjoer:
14 Patjet
15 Tjikalong-koelon
16 Tjiandjoer
17 Tjibeber
18 Tjirandjang
19 Soekanegara
20 Sindangbarang



LEGEND
Residency
Regency
District
Regency of Soekaboemi
Capital of Residency
Capital of Regency
Municipality
Railroad
Scale: 1 : 1,000,000

Map 2. Residency Buitenzorg, Regencies and Districts; 1932 - Present
(Based on: Volkstelling 1930, vol. I.)

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Another indication that the major growth of the Chinese population in Sukabumi must have occured in this period is the fact that the first "Captain of the Chinese" was appointed in 1892. (The first one appointed in Tjiandjur was in 1883.) This person, Sim Keng Koen, came from Djakarta and was appointed February 7, 1892. None of the later officers was held in such high esteem as this kapitan (Malay) and his family, in no small part due to his wife, a European woman (according to one informant, an Armenian) with the surname Zecha, who must have been quite famous in town. Kapitan Sim was her second husband, whom she married after the death of her first husband, also a kapitan (in Djakarta) with the surname Lauw. (Her second husband had been the secretary of the first one.) She was a remarkable woman who, as one informant described it, ruled over her family and the people around her like Tzu-hsi, the last empress of the Ch'ing dynasty. The family resided in a large mansion on the Djalan Raya (the main street) and lived in grand style. Several old people recall the feasts, especially on Chinese New Year, which used to be held at the kapitan's residence. According to one of the informants, one of the reasons why the Lantern Festival, which should be held on the 15th of the first lunar month, is always held on the 20th and 21st in Sukabumi is that one of those days had been the birthday of the kapitan, and the festival was postponed till that date to make a double celebration, a custom that has been kept since. At the time of this study only two members of the family still lived in Sukabumi, a daughter-in-law of the kapitan, who was then over eighty and her daughter of over fifty.

After the kapitan's death, he was succeeded by luitenant and later (in 1924) kapitein titulair (titulary captain) Tan Tiam Leng, appointed on May 14, 1908, who came originally from Djuana (a place in the Residency of Semarang in Central Java). It was around this time (probably in 1910) that the position of wijkmeester (Dutch term for a neighborhood ward), or bek (a corruption of the Dutch word wijk), as it was called by the Chinese and Indonesians, was instituted in Sukabumi. His function was that of registrar of the Chinese population. He registered births, deaths, and changes of residence, acted as witness in important transactions, and gave information and advice on matters related to government regulations. In addition he collected the taxes of the small warongs (small grocery stores selling everyday household necessities), of which he received a certain percentage. The town was divided into two wijken or sections, called A and B. Section A comprised the eastern part of the town, north of the railroad westward to Djalan Tjiwangi and Plabuan II (see Map 4, District B, page 27 below), making a dividing line in the middle of these two streets, while section B consisted of the western part of the town, starting from the houses on the left-hand side of the two above-mentioned streets, and the area south of the railroad. Each section had its own wijkmeester.

These characteristics indicate the existence of a sizeable, well established, and stable Chinese community, and this conclusion is, of course, upheld by the fact that there were more than 2,000 Chinese in 1905. The assumption that this community must have been predominantly Peranakan is also supported by the existence, though short lived, in the first decade of this century of a "Chinese-Malay" weekly paper put out by adherents of the teachings of Confucius to express their views. The paper was published in the kind of Malay typical of Peranakans; this

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language is strongly influenced by Hokkien vocabulary and is very similar to the Malay spoken by the Straits-born Chinese in Singapore. We will give an explanation of the use of this language shortly.

This brings us to a brief explanation of the revival of Confucianism which accompanied the so-called "Chinese movement" which became strongly vocal at the turn of the century with the foundation of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan organization. We will not go into the details of this movement (a study of its genesis and further development is made by Lea E. Williams in his Overseas Chinese Nationalism [Glencoe, Ill., 1960]) but we will examine the participation of the Chinese in Sukabumi.

This organization found immediate response from Chinese all over Java and on the other islands, bringing about the establishment of local chapters or other organizations with a similar aim, i.e., the promotion of Chinese culture as based on the teachings of Confucfius. From the beginning, the Chinese in Sukabumi have been connected with this organization. It was a Peranakan from this town who generated the study of funeral practices, the results of which we can read in the anniversary book of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan organization put out in 1940 to commemorate its fortieth year. (Riwajat 40 Tahoen Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan Batavia, 1900-1939, by Nio Joe Lan. Further details of the role of this Peranakan in connection with funeral practices are found in Chapter V.) It was this same Peranakan who was probably the first among all Chinese in Java, and possibly in the other islands too, to cut off his queue. This act, accomplished in 1901, also generated a lively discussion through the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan organization as to its correctness. This organization concentrated its activities on education, Chinese-language schools for boys and, in the first few years, Malay-language schools for girls. In Sukabumi a Chinese-language elementary school was established by the above Chinese organization around 1906.

We have already mentioned the existence of a special kind of Malay which is typical of Peranakans. This Malay, usually referred to as Melayu Tionghoa (Chinese Malay) or Melayu Pasar (Bazaar Malay, in contrast to Melayu Tinggi, high or refined Malay, the prototype of the present Indonesian language), is a special development among the Chinese of the Malay spoken in the trading areas along the coasts of Java and other islands. We know that Chinese have always been, and still are, concentrated in these coastal trading towns where they learned the local language, Malay. The inclusion of a Hokkien vocabulary is not surprising and only substantiates the well-known fact that the early Chinese immigrants were predominantly Hokkiens. As they moved inland they brought with them the knowledge of this language, soon adding the local dialect of their new area of settlement. Thus, among the Peranakans in Sukabumi both Malay and low-style Sundanese are spoken at home. In some families Sundanese predominates, in others Malay. (30) Even when Dutch was

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(30) The ability to speak Malay was reinforced through the existence of small, private Malay-language schools prior to the foundation of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan schools. The Chinese Protestant Church for instance operated such a school.

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introduced among the Chinese through the children who had the opportunity to attend Dutch-language schools, (31) the language at home remained the same. One generation later, in the families of these Dutch-educated Chinese who, for the most part, sent their children to Dutch-language schools also, Dutch was sometimes added to the low-style Sundanese and Malay, making a mixture of the three languages.

Thus far we have made no mention of the large group of China-born Chinese we find in Sukabumi today. We may safely assume that there were also immigrants among the first Chinese settlers in this town. But they were part of the then already established Peranakan community. This inclusion was due to the fact that they formed a numerical minority, they were Hokkiens (a factor which almost immediately guaranteed their acceptance because most of the Peranakans are of Hokkien origin), and, if married, their wives were usually Peranakan women. Thus, for instance, the father of the present temple keeper of the Chinese temple, a Peranakan woman of over 70, was a China-born Hokkien. He was the person who took the initiative around 1910 to build the temple. The man who donated the plot of land on which this temple is built was also a China-born Hokkien. So were the first settlers (grandfathers of the present adult generation) of two of the wealthy families in town (and incidentally also the maternal grandfather of the present writer). All these men had one thing in common: they had Peranakan wives--the link which made them part of the Peranakan community and ensured the rapid Peranakanization of their children. It would appear that in that earlier period China-born men were favorably looked upon as sons-in-law because of their reputed industriousness, their thriftiness, and their general ability to work hard. The China-born men on the other hand looked upon Peranakan women as valuable assets in their commercial pursuits because of their general familiarity with the local language and the local customs.

The emergence of a distinct Totok community separate from the Peranakan community did not occur until the end of the second decade of this century, concurrent with the general influx of Chinese immigrants into the Indies. (32) Files available at the Municipal Hall in Sukabumi show that of the town's registered alien Chinese 73 per cent were born outside Indonesia. Of these, 79 per cent came to Indonesia in the period between the two World Wars, with the peak (35 per cent) falling between 1926-1931.

This influx of the Chinese even into the interior was no doubt facilitated by two important developments: the pass system (passenstelsel),

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(31) The first Dutch-Chinese schools--Hollands-Chineze school, abbreviated HCS--i.e., schools for Chinese children with Dutch as the medium of instruction, were established in 1908. We notice here the timing which coincides with the establishment of the Chinese-language, China-oriented Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan schools set up around 1900 by the Chinese themselves. The establishment of the HCS is generally interpreted as a countermove of the Dutch government to prevent the Chinese in their territory from becoming China Oriented.

(32) See G. William Skinner, "Java's Chinese Minority: Continuity and Change," Journal of Asian Studies, XX, No. 3 (May 1961), 357-358.

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whereby Chinese were required to obtain a special permit from local authorities to travel outside their town of residence, was finally abolished in 1914; and in 1919 the restriction on residence, which has been discussed in detail earlier in this chapter, was also removed.

Two crucial factors contributed to the formation of this separate community: first, with this influx female immigrants also came to the Indies; and, second, a change in the speech-group composition of the immigrants occurred. In the earlier period the Chinese population in Sukabumi was predominantly Hokkien. It is indicative in this regard to note that of the WNI the spelling of the surnames of only 5 per cent cannot be identified as positively Hokkien. However, an analysis of the data on alien Chinese available in the files at the Municipal Hall (33) shows clearly that by 1926-1931, the peak period of immigration between the two World Wars, a major shift had occurred in the composition of the immigrating population: the figures for the Hokkiens are minimum 36 per cent and maximum 43 per cent, and for the Hakkas (the largest non-Hokkien group), minimum 44 per cent and maximum 61 per cent. Thus among the more recent arrivals there was a marked shift in favor of non-Hokkiens. This phenomenon is substantiated by a distribution of students in the three Chinese-language schools according to the speech group of the parents, where we find that 50.3 per cent are Hakka and 36.6 per cent Hokkien, while of the smaller speech groups there are 8.9 per cent Hokchia, 3.1 per cent Cantonese, and less than one per cent each of the Teochiu, Hokchiu, Henghua, and Mandarin speakers.

During the present century, Sukabumi's size and importance steadily increased. In 1914 it was raised to the status of an autonomous gemeente. In 1921 the Afdeling Sukabumi, which was part of the Regency of Tjiandjur and had only a patih (second in rank to the Bupati, or regent) as its highest indigenous official, was made a separate Regency with its own regent. In 1925 the gemeente Sukabumi received the status of a

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(33) The speech groups found among the Chinese in Sukabumi are the Hokkien, Hakka, and Cantonese. The identification of the speech group is based on the Latin spelling of the surname as registered. Most of these surnames can be positively identified as either Hokkien or Hakka or Cantonese, but some can be Hakka or Cantonese but not Hokkien, others Hakka or Hokkien but not Cantonese, and still others can be any one of the three. For each of these distinctions we have made a category, from which we were able to conclude that among the aliens there is of the Hokkiens a minimum of 44 per cent and a maximum of 58 per cent, while of the Hakka a minimum of 32 per cent and a maximum of 54 per cent and of the Cantonese a minimum of about 1 per cent and a maximum of about 15 per cent. Among the citizens, the WNI, not surprisingly, there was only 5 per cent of which the surname could positively not be Hokkien. The fact that such a majority of the citizens, virtually all Peranakans, have Hokkien surnames does not mean that all of them are positively of Hokkien origin, because there are definitely non-Hokkiens among them who have adopted the Hokkien spelling of their name. This reflects the preponderance of the Hokkiens among the early immigrants and the predominance of the use of Hokkien.

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stadsgemeente (municipality). Also in 1925 electricity was introduced and in 1927 waterworks. During the quarter century between 1905 and 1930 the population of the town more than doubled:

Year*	Indigenous Indonesians	Annual Rate#	Ethnic Chinese**	Annual Rate#	Ethnic Europeans	Other non-indigenes	Grand Total
1905	±12,000	-	±2,100	-	±600	-	±14,700
1920	19,495	3.3%	2,766	1.9%	1,261	11	23,533
1930	27,183	3.4%	4,587	5.2%	2,259	162	34,191
1956	56,027	2.8%	10,033	3.1%	489	255	66,804

*1905 estimates from the Encyclopaedia van Nederlandsch-Oost Indie, vol. III, under heading "Soekaboemi."
1920 and 1930 figures from the Volkstelling 1930, vol. 7.
1956 figures from the Municipal Hall, Sukabumi.
**The Chinese figure for 1920 excludes the so-called gelijkgestelde Chinese, i.e., those assimilated to the legal status of the Dutch.
The Chinese figure for 1930 includes the gelijkgestelde Chinese as well as non-Chinese women married to Chinese men, but excludes Chinese women married to non-Chinese men.
#The rates given are the average annual growth in the population during the period since the preceding date.

In the above table the growth rates of the Chinese and indigenous Indonesian populations are compared. Whereas the Indonesian population of the town grew more rapidly than the Chinese during the fifteen years preceding the 1920 census, during the decade of the twenties the Chinese population increased far more rapidly than did the Indonesian. The 1920's was the period of peak Chinese immigration into the Indies as a whole, and it would appear that several hundred of these immigrants settled in Sukabumi, the capital of an area which, with the demise of the pass and quarter systems, seemed ripe for Chinese penetration.

It will be noted, in fact, that the rates of increase of the Chinese population during the 1920's are even higher in the outlying districts of the regency than in the town itself. As the figures below show, there is very nearly a perfect positive correlation between the rate of increase from 1920 to 1930 and the density of the Chinese population in 1930: the lower the density in a district, the higher its rate of increase.

Districts*	Area in km.	Tot. Chin. pop.	% Chin. of total	% Incr. 1920-1930	Density Chin. pop. 1930 (sq. km.)
Djamp. Kulon	1311.2	329	0.39	411	0.25
Djamp. Tengah	1105.0	681	0.61	226	0.62
Pelab. ratu	778.8	453	0.63	256	0.58
Tjitjurug	361.4	915	0.98	216	2.53
Tjibadak	365.3	1,364	1.26	252	3.73
Sukabumi	292.1	5,638	2.93	183	19.30

*See Map 2, page 13 above.

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This table shows clearly the inverse relationship between the two variables we are concerned with. This situation reflects the demise of the quarter system. In the western part of the Priangan, Chinese had been allowed to reside only in the Chinese quarters of the towns of Sukabumi and Tjiandjur. This restriction created a population vacuum as far as the Chinese were concerned, and when it was abolished in 1919, a rapid movement of Chinese traders into the countryside occurred.

In 1925 the Residency of Priangan Regencies was split into three Residencies: West Priangan, Central Priangan, and East Priangan. However, this split did not alter the existing regencies which were reincorporated in their entirety. The Regencies of Sukabumi and Tjiandjur became parts of the first, the Regencies of Bandung and Sumedang parts of the second, and the Regencies of Tasikmalaja, Garut and Tjiamus parts of the third Residency. In 1932 this division was again reorganized: Sukabumi and Tjiandjur were incorporated into the Residency of Bogor and the Residencies of Central and East Priangan were united under the name Residency of Priangan.

It is clear that when speaking of Sukabumi, we have to make a distinction between the Regency (Kabupaten) of Sukabumi, the District (Kawedanan) of Sukabumi and the Town (Stadsgeneente or Kota) of Sukabumi. The latter is the seat of the capital of the Regency, but since 1925 it has been in itself a separate administrative unit headed by a mayor. In this study we are concerned with the Town of Sukabumi only.

Situated on the southern slope of the volcanic mountain Gunung Gedeh, 2,007 feet above sea level, Sukabumi has a cool, constant, and fairly dry climate with mean temperatures ranging between 73-88 Fahrenheit and an average annual rainfall of 124 inches. The landscape is marked by fertile rice fields, dark-green tea plantations, and an abundance of other vegetation. There are no big rivers flowing through the town, but there are a great number of small streams with clear, rapid-flowing water. The only sizeable river close to the town is the Tjimandiri, which flows a few miles to the south.

There are people who claim that Sukabumi has the best climate in all of West Java. Before the war it was a favorite vacation and health resort for the Dutch population of Djakarta and also a center for retired Dutch civil servants. Just before the outbreak of the Pacific war there were three luxurious hotels, a public hospital (built in 1923, but in 1932 transferred to the Catholic mission), two machine factories (there were then about 116 estates around the town), a printing plant, modern for its time, and 26 educational institutions, among others the State Police Training School. (34)

The system of appointed Chinese officers was abolished around 1938 with the last officer Luitenant Tan Giem Hok (from Djatinegara--then called Meester Cornelis--near Djakarta) who had succeeded

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(34) Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Oost Indie, vol. VII, under heading "Soekaboemi."

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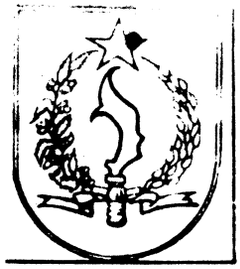

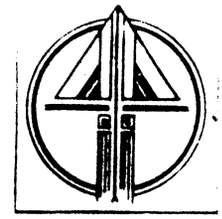

KOTA KALER

KOTA WETAN

KOTA KULON

KOTA KIDUL

Map 3.

PETA KOTA SUKABUMI
UKURAN 1:20.000

Nº L.53

DISALIN OLEH A.T.CHAMAMAT

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Kapitein Titulair Tan Tiam Leng in 1926 after the latter's resignation. At the outbreak of the war with Japan in December 1941, Sukabumi was one of the evacuation areas of people from Djakarta. Ironically enough, however, while Djakarta did not suffer any bombing, one clear morning in March a few Japanese planes dropped a few bombs on Sukabumi, causing casualties in a school and the destruction of several private residences. During the occupation period from 1942 to 1945 no changes were made in the administrative structure except that names were changed into Japanese.

During the revolutionary period, the area of the Regency of Sukabumi was the last in the Residency of Bogor to be occupied by the Dutch, being invaded only in July 1947. As a result of the scorched-earth policy followed by the revolutionary troops before they left the town, the three luxurious hotels were destroyed, as were the largest school operated by the Protestant mission and the storage places of estate products, causing damage to adjacent Chinese residences.

In 1949 when the transfer of sovereignty finally occurred, the Dutch troops left the town. For a brief period the Sukabumi area was part of the Pasundan State, but it soon withdrew its allegiance and pledged loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia in Jogjakarta.

Administrative divisions were determined by the Law of 1948 (Undang-undang no. 22, 1948) at three levels: propinsi (province), kabupaten or kota besar (regency or municipality with second level autonomy), kota ketjil or desa (municipality with third level autonomy or village). In 1951 the town of Sukabumi received the status of kota ketjil because its population was below the required number of 100,000 for a kota besar. The area of the town is 7.6 square miles and comprises four kelurahan, Kota Wetan, Kota Kaler, Kota Kulon, and Kota Kidul. (35) (See Map 3.) As a kota ketjil Sukabumi was an autonomous region of the third level and administratively under the kabupaten.

In January 1957 the town received the status of a Kota Besar, or Kotapradja, an autonomous unit of the second level, with the same status as a Kabupaten. Internally the administrative structure remained the same, but responsibility was no longer to the Kabupaten, but directly to the Keresidenan in Bogor.

The Present Situation

At the end of June 1956 the composition of the population of Sukabumi was as follows:

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(35) Kota is the Indonesian word for town, but in Sukabumi it refers to a section of the town. Wetan, Kaler, Kulon and Kidul are Sundanese words for east, north, west, and south, respectively.

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Nationality	Male	Female	Total
Ethnic Indonesians	26,450	29,577	56,027
Indon. citizens of Chinese descent	3,055	2,951	6,006
Indon. citizens of other Foreign Oriental descent	13	7	20
Indon. citizens of Arab descent	57	43	100
Indon. citizens of Dutch descent	139	110	249
Indon. citizens of other European descent	1	1	2
Foreign Chinese	2,343	1,684	4,027
Foreign Arabs	22	22	44
Other Foreign Orientals	46	45	91
Foreign Dutch	100	110	214
Other European aliens	10	14	24
Total	32,240	34,564	66,804

Ethnic Indonesians are sometimes called Asli, an Indonesian word meaning original which has the meaning of indigenous when applied to people. Asli is commonly used to distinguish indigenous citizens from Indonesian citizens of foreign descent. Indigenous Indonesians are otherwise referred to and refer to themselves as orang Indonesia (Indonesian) or bangsa Indonesia (Indonesian national), while the citizens of foreign descent are referred to and refer to themselves as warga negara Indonesia (Indonesian citizen) or simply warga negara (citizen) or the abbreviation WNI from Warga Negara Indonesia. This designation has come to be applied specially to Indonesian citizens of Chinese descent, probably because they constitute by far the majority of the Indonesian citizens of foreign descent.

Since the present study is focused on the Chinese population, little attention can be paid to the Dutch and other non-Indonesians and non-Chinese. In any case, these other minorities are negligible in size. The table shows that the Dutch form only 0.7 per cent of the total population, compared to 6 per cent in 1930. Before the war they occupied the beautiful residences in the northern part of the town. When the Japanese came, they were all put in concentration camps. At the end of the war, when the revolution started, the Indo's (Dutch Peranakans) were also gathered in camps to protect them against the wrath of the young revolutionists. Dutch troops occupied the town in July 1947, and the Dutch people who had properties in and around the town came in their wake. Due to the insecurity which continued in the area, caused in large part by illegal armed bands of the Darul Islam (organized adherents of a Moslem state of Indonesia), a considerable number of estates were abandoned by their Dutch owners. Those who were able to do so sold their lands and residences to Indonesians and Chinese. The former Dutch section of the town is now occupied by Indonesians and Peranakans. Actually, very few Totok Dutch people have remained. The majority of those registered as Dutch citizens are Indo's. These people are mostly connected with estate management. They form a rather exclusive group with their own unofficial club.

The Arabs, who form a mere 0.2 per cent of the total population, are concentrated in a single street close to one of the smaller mosques. According to one of our informants, they have considerable influence in this area in Moslem religious practice.

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Next to the Indonesians, who form 84 per cent of the total population, the Chinese, with 15 per cent, constitute the largest ethnic group. Between 1930 and 1956 the Chinese population more than doubled--from 4,587 to 10,033--though in proportion to the total population the increase in these 26 years was slight, from 13 per cent to 15 per cent.

This increase can be explained partly as natural increase, but partly also as a result of the postwar insecurity in the areas outside the town, resulting in the concentration in the town itself. This postwar flight away from the outlying districts, the reverse of the movement which occurred between the two World Wars, can be demonstrated by comparing the population figures for 1930 with those for 1956:

	1930*	1956**			
Districts	Tot. ethnic Chinese	Tot. ethnic Chinese	Alien	WNI	% of 1930
Djamp. Kulon	329	58	8	50	18
Djamp. Tengah	681	165	118	47	24
Pelabuhanratu	453	271	185	86	60
Tjitjurug	915	661	342	319	72
Tjibadak	1,364	1,098	850	248	81
Sukabumi***	5,638	10,561	4,332	6,229	187

*Volkstelling 1930, vol. 7.
**Biro Pusat Statistik: Penduduk Indonesia. 1958.
***Town included.

It will be noted that the smaller the Chinese population of a district in the prewar period, the greater the proportionate postwar exodus of Chinese from the district. Also relevant here is the advantageous position of Tjibadak and Tjitjurug, situated along the main communications lines (see Map 2, page 13 above), as compared with the first three districts, which are not.

Administratively the Chinese population is distinguished into Asing (alien) and WNI (citizen). There are Peranakans among the Asings (those who rejected Indonesian citizenship during the option period 1949-1951), but there are virtually no Totoks among the WNI. The proportion between the two groups is 6 to 4 (6,006 WNI, 4,027 aliens).

Of the 984 Asing family heads registered at the Municipal Hall in Sukabumi, 27.0 per cent were born in Indonesia, and 72.8 per cent in China, the remaining 0.2 per cent having been born in Malaya and Singapore. Although, of those born in China, 29 per cent were registered as born in China without further specification, we may safely assume that many of them came from Fukien Province. Of the 511 family heads who indicated their area of origin clearly, it could be ascertained that 52.6 per cent came from Kwangtung Province (mostly Hakkas, people from the northern part of this province), 45.7 per cent from Fukien Province (mostly Hokkiens, people from the coastal area around the bay of Amoy), and 1.6 per cent from areas outside these two provinces. We have noted earlier that there is a higher proportion of Hakkas than Hokkiens.

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Another speech group living in Sukabumi is the Cantonese or Kongfu, who form about 1 per cent of the alien population. Then there is another 1 per cent consisting of people from Hopeh and Shanghai.

The alien Chinese are strongly concentrated (70 per cent) in the Kelurahan Kota Wetan, the location of the former Chinese quarter. Of the rest, 17 per cent reside in Kota Kulon, 10 per cent in Kota Kidul, and 3 per cent in Kota Kaler. There appears to be no marked residential concentration according to speech group. According to the registration lists (available at the Kelurahan offices) for the election of the DPRD (regional assembly) which was held in August 1957, there were 1,000 WNI family heads registered.

The WNI Peranakans are more widely distributed in the city. Only half of them live in Kota Wetan. Their distribution in the other three Kelurahan is as follows: Kota Kulon 26 per cent, Kota Kidul 17 per cent, and Kota Kaler 6 per cent.

These population data should be viewed with reserve in the light of a system of registration which is not quite reliable or efficient. Each Lurah (village head in charge of a Kelurahan) must submit a monthly report to the Tjamat (subdistrict head) in the Municipal Hall concerning the population changes in his area. The registration at the Kelurahan level should not be accepted at face value, however, because there are no sanctions for failure to report. In addition, for citizens of foreign descent there is a special section at the Municipal Hall called Bagian Penjelesaian Urusan Golongan Ketjil (section for settling the affairs of the minority groups). Those who have reported to this office need not go to the Kelurahan. Then too, until July 1957, most Chinese, Totoks as well as Peranakans, reported to the office of the wijkmeester. (To the writer's knowledge, the office of wijkmeester was maintained in Sukabumi longer than in any other place in West Java. We have mentioned earlier that Sukabumi had two wijkmeesters. In 1937 the two sections were united into one under the very same person who held this function until its abolition in 1957). Thus, up until that date citizens of Chinese descent could report at three places: in the order of preference, the wijkmeester, at the Municipal Hall, and at the Kelurahan. Naturally this procedure does not help to provide a clear and reliable picture of the situation.

The town of Sukabumi can be divided into several areas: a combination business and residential area, a purely residential area, and a kampong area. Due to the character of business in the town, mainly retail and operated in "shophouses" (which also serve as a residence for the owner and his family) we cannot speak of a specific business area. Likewise there are no special areas for government buildings--these are scattered along Djalan Raja and throughout the central part of the town--or for factories, situated for the most part around and south of the railroad. (See Map 4.) However, we do find a concentration in certain parts of the town of shophouses, residences, and kampongs.

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According to the data collected at the offices of the four Kelurahan, the population in each of them is as follows:

Number of Indonesian Citizens in the 4 Kelurahan of the Town of Sukabumi

Kelurahan	Indonesians			WNI of For. Descent			Total
	Male	Female	Subtotal	Male	Female	Subtotal	
Kota Kulon	7,222	8,245	15,467	558	602	1,160	16,627
Kota Kaler	6,592	6,781	13,373	89	77	166	13,539
Kota Wetan	5,832	7,252	13,084	1,441	1,770	3,211	16,295
Kota Kidul	7,328	7,770	15,098	448	348	796	15,894
Total	26,974	30,048	57,022	2,536	2,797	5,333	62,355

Although Kota Wetan is not the most populous Kelurahan, it is by far the most densely populated. (Note its relatively small size on Map 3, page 20 above) It includes the former Chinese wijken, whence the fact that 60 per cent of the Chinese of Sukabumi still live in this area today. (To facilitate further description of the town, Map 4 is provided on the following pages, showing 14 districts labeled A through N.)

Districts B and C, both in Kota Wetan, are the center of business. It is here that we find Chinese shophouses, mostly two stories, lining Djalan Raja, the main street which runs straight through the center of the town, and its side streets. Djalan Raja is also the amusement center, for all six theaters are situated along this street. (Districts B, C, and D on Map 4) There are a great number of side streets and alleys coming out on this main street, some of the latter only a small opening between two shops. Quite often, however, they lead to a complex of houses, mostly occupied by Chinese. District C, for instance, is almost exclusively occupied by Chinese.

South of the railroad, along Djalan Pla buan II (District J on map), there are also shophouses, but here none has a second floor. Also, these shops are mostly food stores, selling rice, peanuts, salted fish, cooking oil, cheap cakes, etc. Further south on Djalan Plabuan II is a cluster of separate houses, occupied by those Peranakan families who are regarded as the old, respected families, the descendants of the first Chinese settlers in town. Beyond this group of separate houses, the line of small houses occupied by Chinese is continued almost to the border of the town. Some are residences only, other shophouses. These shops are called warongs (small grocery stores selling everyday necessities such as rice, cooking oil, salted fish, spices, sugar, tea, coffee, charcoal, firewood). We also find Chinese houses close to the entrance of the alleys along this street. They are mostly small two-room petak houses (housing is treated in detail in Chapter III) and the occupants can be regarded as representative of the lower-class section of the Chinese population. There is also a concentration of Chinese along Djalan Pedjagalan, but only from the beginning of the street at Djalan Plabuan II to the Chinese temple (District J).

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Key-Map 4

Ranking of Density of the Ethnic Chinese in the Districts:

	Aliens	WNI
150 -	C-J-D	J
100 - 149	F	G
50 - 99	B	B-C-E-F-I-K
25 - 49	A-G-K	A-M
0 - 24	E-I-L-M-N-H	H-L-N

Public Buildings

1. Court of Justice
2. Regent's Residence
3. Bank Rakjat Indonesia
4. Post Office
5. Bus Station
6. Police Headquarters
7. Telephone Office
8. Public Meeting Hall
9. Regency Office
10. Municipal Hall
11. Public Hospital (new)
12. Catholic Hospital
13. Mayor's Residence
14. Police School
15. Jail
16. Railway Station
17. Abattoir
18. Pawn house

Private Schools

1. "Bethel" (Protestant)
2. Hsin Hua (Chin. lang., Peking oriented)
3. Ping Min (Chin. lang., KMT oriented)
4. Catholic
5. Public Primary School, for WNI
6. Catholic
7. Protestant
8. SMA "Pembina"
9. Catholic
10. School of the "Taman Siswa"
11. Protestant
12. Moslem
13. Protestant
14. Chung Hua (Chin. lang., Peking oriented)
15. School of the "Parki"
16. Chung Hua (Chin. lang., Peking oriented; new building)
17. Chung Hua (Chin. lang., Peking oriented)

0 Factories

1. Rice Mill
2. Ice plant
3. Machine factory "Sukabumi"
4. Machine factory "Braat"
5. Textile factory "Oey"
6. Rubber factory "Sunrub"
7. Tea factory

Places of Worship

1. Catholic Church
2. Big Mosque
3. "Sidang Kristus"
4. Protestant Church
5. "Pantekosta"
6. "Kie Tok Kauw Hwee"
7. Adventist
8. "Geredja Indjil Sepenuh"
9. "Pinkster"
10. Chinese Temple

* Marketplace

□ Office of the BPIT, Baperki and Sam Kauw Hwee

X Movies

From West to East: Indra, Rex, Flora and Garuda, Royal, Raya

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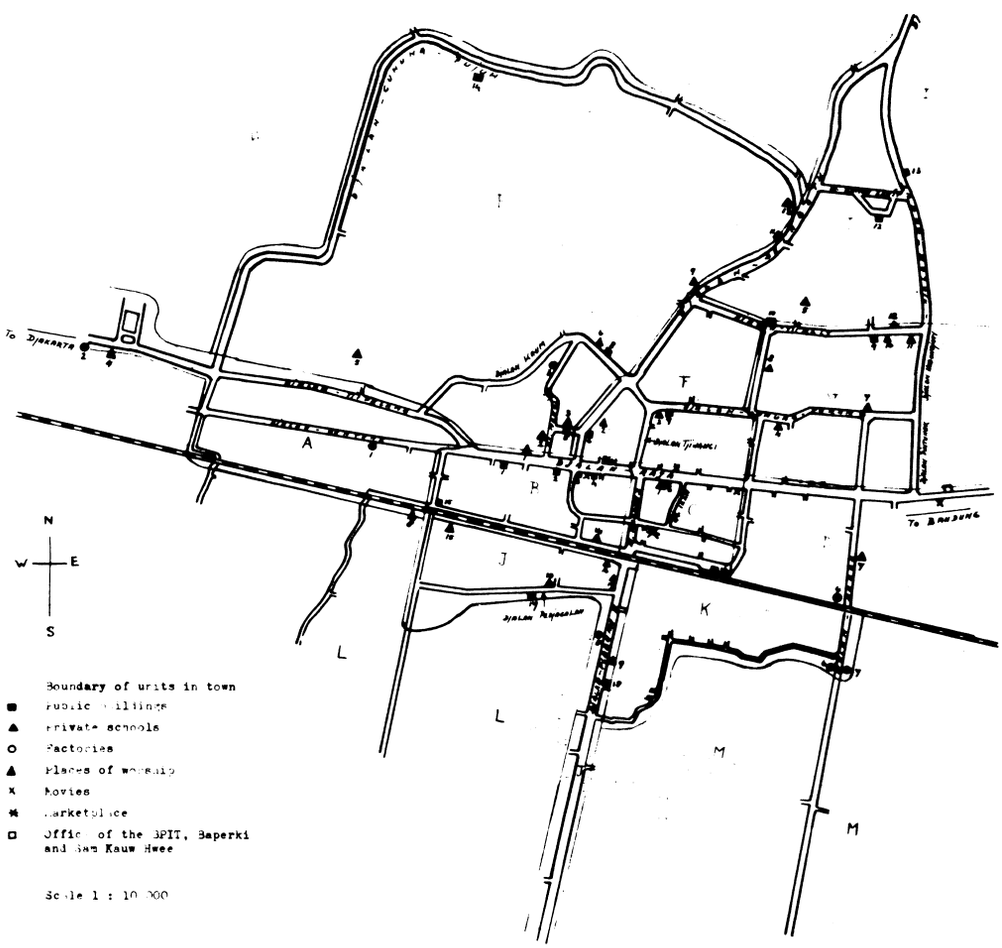

Map 4. Town of Sukabumi
(Copied from original of the Public Works Office, Sukabumi)

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Starting from Djalan Gunung Parang (center of Districts F and G) to the north, the residential area begins. These residences are all separate houses with a spacious yard in front and usually also at the sides and in the back. Up to Djalan Tjikole (northern limits of Districts F and G), the occupants are a mixture of Chinese (virtually all Peranakans, the few Totoks in this area are warong keepers) and Indonesians (government officials and wealthy business men). Further to the north in District I the occupants are virtually all Indonesians.

To the west, Chinese residences are also found along Djalan Tjipelang (northern limits of District A) and the southern part of Djalan Gunung Pujuh (District E). At the northern part of this street (northern limit of District E) is the large complex of the State Police Training School.

All other areas of the town consist of kampongs, surrounded by rice fields and fish ponds. North of the railroad: in the west from Djalan Gunung Pujuh to the north (District H), the large patch (District E) between this street to the south till Djalan Tjipelang, Djalan Kaum and Djalan Selabatu; in the east the whole area east of Djalan Selabatu, Djalan Bunut, Djalan Kebondjati, Djalan Pintuhek (Districts I, G, D). South of the railroad: the entire area comprised of Districts K, L, M. These kampong areas are all occupied by Sundanese. They are characterized by well-kept stone-paved paths and separate houses, of which many are built above ground, resting on low stone pillars about five feet high. Most of these kampong houses are surrounded by a yard, and many have a small fish pond as well.

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CHAPTER II

ETHNIC DISTINCTIONS IN THE ECONOMY

We have already mentioned that the importance of the town of Sukabumi flows in large part from its functions as the administrative, supply, storage, and social center of the estates in the surrounding area. The number of estates has declined since 1942 in response to prolonged insecurity, in particular the operation of illegal, armed groups in the area. A report of the Municipal Hall mentioned that before the war there were approximately 120 tea and rubber estates, of which about 80 were in operation after the war. Many of the town's major enterprises are directly related to the estates: two large machine factories, a considerable number of blacksmith shops and ironware shops, several rice mills and tea processing factories, a rubber processing factory, several tire retreading shops, and electric services workshops. After the cultivation of tea and rubber, the cultivation of rice is the next most important occupation of the population. Even within the boundaries of the town, much of the land that is not built on is planted with rice.

Another important function of the town is that of administrative center of the Kabupaten. It has two sets of civil servants, that of the Kabupaten and that of the Kotapradja.

Occupations

As a result of the particular resources of Sukabumi, we find that most of the ethnic Indonesians are mainly engaged as farmers, estate workers and civil servants. Next to this there is a sizeable number who work in the factories in town.

Most of the Dutch, or rather the Indo's, as well as the few Dutchmen, are connected with the management of estates and several factories.

As to the ethnic Chinese, we find that of the 1000 WNI family heads registered for the August 1957 election, 77.2 per cent were gainfully employed. The occupation of the remaining 22.8 per cent was not stated, but half of them (11.4 per cent of the total) consisted of female family heads.

The corresponding figure for ethnic Chinese of foreign citizenship as registered at the Municipal Hall was 91 per cent gainfully employed. Less than a quarter of the family heads whose occupation was not stated (2 per cent of the total) were females.

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As noted for other areas in Java, (1) in Sukabumi the Chinese often state their occupation as simply that of dagang, that is, trade. We must keep in mind, however, that this term encompasses all forms of trade, starting from the street hawker selling his commodities on a small mat on the curb to the stall owner in the market place, the warong owner in the back alleys, to the shop owner in the business section and also the middleman, who acts as liaison between the producer or importer and the retail store. The main characteristic that distinguishes the people in this type of occupation from the others (except the professionals such as medical doctors, dentists, lawyers) is that they are independent enterprisers, however small their capital may be.

The proportion of those stating their occupation as such is 66.6 per cent. Separating the Asing from the WNI, however, we find this preoccupation with trade more pronounced among the former (74.5 per cent) than among the latter (44.6 per cent). Distinguishing the Asing again into foreign-born and Indonesian-born, the percentage of the former engaged in trade is 80.5 per cent and that of the latter 57.1 per cent. (See table on next page.)

Hence in accounting for the difference in occupational distribution, the length of the period of exposure to Indonesia appears to be the crucial factor. The degree of occupational diversification increases steadily as we progress from the China-born who arrived since 1925, to the China-born who arrived prior to 1925, to Indonesia-born alien Chinese, to Indonesian citizens. Taking the group of alien Chinese only and correlating four types of occupation with the period of first arrival in Indonesia in the prewar period, we note that the longer the immigrant has been in Indonesia, the less likely he is to be in business for himself and the more likely he is to be employed. Furthermore, the longer he has been in Indonesia, the less likely he is to be employed as a laborer and the more likely he is to be employed as a shop assistant or staff member of a large enterprise. These distributions are suggestive as to the normal career pattern of Chinese immigrants.

Percentage Distribution of Gainfully Employed Alien Chinese According to Period of First Arrival in Indonesia**

Period of first arrival	Retail shop and business	Unskilled labor	Staff large enterprise	Shop employees
Born in Indonesia	21.4	43.8	51.9	64.0
Prior to 1925	26.2	12.5	11.1	12.0
1925-1941	52.4	43.8	37.0	24.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of cases*	(618)	(32)	(27)	(25)

*Cases for whom country of birth and/or period of arrival is known.
**Derived from the registration files at the Municipal Hall of Sukabumi.

(1) Cf. Donald E. Willmott, The Chinese of Semarang: A Changing Minority Community in Indonesia (Ithaca, N.Y., 1960), p. 38.

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Occupational Differentiation of the Three Subgroups among the Ethnic Chinese in Sukabumi (Percentages)

Occupation of family heads	All Ethnic Chinese	Asing			WNI
		All Asing	Foreign born	Indonesia born	
1. Owners large factories	1.4	0.3	0.3	0.4	2.7
2. Owners saw mills, trans. companies, contractors	1.5	0.8	0.5	1.7	2.3
3. Owners goldshops	0.6	0.9	1.2	0.0	0.3
4. Shop owners (unspec.), businessmen	60.6	74.5	80.5	57.1	44.6
5. Owners restaurants	0.3	0.6	0.5	0.9	0.0
6. Tooth artisans, trad. doct.	0.5	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.1
7. Owners photo shops	0.5	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.0
8. Owners repair shops	1.0	0.8	0.9	0.4	1.2
9. Professionals, semi-prof. govt. officials	2.6	2.6	1.8	4.8	2.6
10. Staff large enterprises	8.9	3.3	2.2	6.1	15.4
11. Students	1.3	1.1	0.0	4.3	1.6
12. Shop employees	3.8	3.4	2.1	6.9	4.4
13. Drivers	4.1	1.2	0.3	3.9	7.4
14. Artisans, service workers	2.1	2.1	2.6	0.9	2.1
15. Laborers	6.3	2.9	2.2	4.8	9.8
16. Unskilled labor for hire	3.8	3.9	3.2	6.1	3.6
17. Policemen and army rankers	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	(1,669)	(897)	(666)	(231)	(772)

Asing figures derived from the registration files at the Municipal Hall of Sukabumi. WNI figures derived from the registration lists for the DPRD elections available at each of the Kelurahan offices.

The following percentage differences are clearly significant at the level indicated:

Category 1 : WNI vs. All Asing (.05)
WNI vs. Asing Foreign born (.05)

2 : WNI vs. All Asing (.01)
WNI vs. Asing Foreign born (.01)

4 : WNI vs. All Asing (.01)
WNI vs. Asing Foreign born (.01)
WNI vs. Asing Indonesia born (.01)
Asing Foreign born vs. Asing Indonesia born (.01)

10 : WNI vs. All Asing (.01)
WNI vs. Asing Foreign born (.01)
WNI vs. Asing Indonesia born (.01)

12 : Asing Foreign born vs. Asing Indonesia born (.01)

13 : WNI vs. All Asing (.01)
WNI vs. Asing Foreign born (.01)

15 : WNI vs. All Asing (.01)
WNI vs. Asing Foreign born (.01)

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The figures for the Indonesia-born Asing give an indication of some diversity, primarily in the wage-earning section. The 42.9 per cent not engaged in trade and business include 6.9 per cent shop employees, 6.1 per cent staff of large enterprises, 6.1 per cent unskilled labor for hire, 4.8 per cent professionals and semi-professionals, 4.8 per cent laborers, 4.3 per cent students, and 3.9 per cent drivers.

The WNI figures show a still greater movement away from over-concentration in trade and business. The 55.4 per cent not so engaged include: staff of large enterprises 15.4 per cent, laborers 9.8 per cent, drivers 7.4 per cent, shop employees 4.4 per cent, unskilled labor for hire 3.6 per cent, and owners large factories 2.7 per cent.

If we look at each occupational category separately, we can note the relative representation of the three groups of ethnic Chinese (see table on next page). We find the China-born Asing dominating as independent enterprisers: owners of goldshops (80.0 per cent), photo shops (75.0 per cent), restaurants (60.0 per cent), shop owners and businessmen in general (53.0 per cent), and also as traditional Chinese doctors and tooth artisans (66.7 per cent). The Indonesia-born Asing occupy a position in between the China-born Asing and the WNI; they do not dominate in any of the occupations listed.

The WNI are dominant among owners of large factories (87.5 per cent), the operators of sawmills, transportation companies and contractors (72.0 per cent), but especially in the wage-earning section: staff of large enterprises (80.4 per cent), drivers (83.8 per cent), shop employees (53.1 per cent), laborers (75.2 per cent), and policemen and army rankers (100 per cent). This last category of occupation is, of course, only open to citizens.

As far as professionals, semi-professionals and government officials are concerned, we find western-trained medical doctors, dentists, Protestant ministers, and government officials only among the WNI (one of each).

Thus the data indicate positively the greater variety in occupational distribution among the WNI. When we compare these figures with comparable figures of the 1930 Census (see table on page 34), we find little difference in the occupational composition, which indicates that there has been a stable situation over time. The fact that by 1956 no Indonesia-born Chinese were engaged in the production of raw materials is doubtless explained by security considerations: Chinese have moved away from the villages and the outskirts of the town, the areas where it would have been possible to engage in this type of occupation as defined by the 1930 Census.

It is in the comparison among those born abroad that we observe striking differences. The proportion of those engaged in industry is drastically reduced, while that of trade is increased by one-third. The category of those with occupations described as "insufficiently described" is also cut down to one-third. These differences indicate the restricted opportunity since independence for foreign-born Chinese in occupations other than trade. In particular, they reflect the government's efforts to reserve industrial activity for Indonesian citizens.

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Occupation of the Occupied Family Heads of the Ethnic Chinese in the Town of Sukabumi According to Citizenship and Birth-place*
(Percentages run horizontally)

Occupation of Family Heads	Asing						WNI		All Ethnic Chinese	
	All Asing		For.-born		Indo.-born					
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Owners large factories	3	12.5	2	8.3	1	4.2	21	87.5	24	100
2. Owners sawmills, transport comp., contractors	7	28.0	3	12.0	4	16.0	18	72.0	25	100
3. Owners goldshops	8	80.0	8	80.0	0	0.0	2	20.0	10	100
4. Shop owners (unspec.), businessmen	668	66.0	536	53.0	132	13.0	345	34.0	1013	100
5. Owners restaurants	5	100.	3	60.0	2	40.0	0	0.0	5	100
6. Tooth-artisans, trad. doc.	8	88.9	6	66.7	2	22.2	1	11.1	9	100
7. Owners photo shops	8	100.	6	75.0	2	25.0	0	0.0	8	100
8. Owners repair shops	7	43.8	6	37.5	1	6.3	9	56.3	16	100
9. Prof., semi-prof., govt. officials	23	54.8	12	27.9	11	25.6	20	46.5	43	100
10. Staff large enterprises	29	19.6	15	10.1	14	9.5	119	80.4	148	100
11. Students**	10	45.5	0	0.0	10	45.5	12	54.5	22	100
12. Shop employees	30	46.9	14	21.9	16	25.0	34	53.1	64	100
13. Drivers	11	16.1	2	2.9	9	13.2	57	83.8	68	100
14. Artisans, service workers	19	54.3	17	48.6	2	5.7	16	45.7	35	100
15. Laborers	26	24.8	15	14.3	11	10.5	79	75.2	105	100
16. Unskilled labor for hire	35	55.5	21	33.3	14	22.2	28	44.4	63	100
17. Policemen & army rankers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	11	100.	11	100
Number of cases	897	53.7	666	74.2	231	25.8	772	46.3	1669	100

*Asing figures derived from the registration files at the Municipal Hall of the town of Sukabumi. WNI figures derived from the registration lists for the DPRD elections in August 1957, available at each of the Kelurahan offices.

**Most of these students were counted as family heads, as they were single individuals living in a dormitory.

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Percentages of Occupational Differentiation among the Ethnic Chinese in the Town of Sukabumi in 1930 and 1956 by Place of Birth

Occupation@	Born in Indonesia 1930* (682)	Born in Indonesia 1956** (981)	Born outside Indonesia 1930 (594)	Born outside Indonesia 1956 (666)
Prod. of raw materials	2.2	0.0***	0.2	0.0
Industry	19.4	18.0	23.4	3.0***
Transportation	6.6	6.7	1.5	0.3
Trade	54.0	57.2	57.0	89.5***
Professionals	1.9	3.5***	2.5	1.8
Public Services	1.0	1.2	0.0	0.0
Insufficiently described @@	14.9	13.4	15.4	5.4***

* The category of those "living on their income" are excluded from the 1930 figures.

** The categories of "students," "female family head without occupation" and "occupation unknown" are excluded from the 1956 figures.

*** The differences between these percentages within each subgroup are significant at .01 level.

@ For an outline of what is included in each of these occupational categories see Appendix 2.

@@ For the 1930 figures, the great majority in this category consists of "koeli roepa-roepa," which may be regarded as comparable with the categories "laborers" and "unskilled laborers" in the 1956 figures. The 1930 Census explains "koeli roepa-roepa" as those workers who are not permanently employed in any enterprise, but who might be working in a sugar-estate today, for his neighbor tomorrow, and in a factory the day after.

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Enterprises

The distribution of occupations has shown that the majority of the ethnic Chinese, the Asing more so than the WNI, are engaged in retail business. The office handling enterprise licenses in the Municipal Hall listed no less than 636 retail shops for the town as a whole at the end of 1956--a number far larger than that of all other enterprises combined.

The retail shops are concentrated along Djalan Raja and several of its larger side streets. During the time of the study it was not difficult to distinguish the Totok-owned from the Peranakan-owned shops. The former always had their sign in Chinese characters, usually accompanied by a romanized transcription.

The Peranakan-owned shops do not use Chinese characters on their signs, though the use of Chinese names is fairly common. In most cases, however, it is usually the name (full name, personal name, or surname only) of the owner or the founder of the shop. Thus, there are shops called Toko Beng, Toko Tjeng (personal names of the founder); Toko Lie (surname of the owner). Many of these shops have Indonesian names, often names of places, as e. g., Toko Surabaja, Toko Bogor, Toko Solo, also Toko Laris (laris is an Indonesian word meaning easily sold, i. e., in great demand) or Toko Pengkolan (the corner shop, pengkolan being a Sundanese word meaning corner). Some have western names, usually personal names, as for instance, Toko Rita, Toko Clara.

As to the other types of enterprises, we found that in 1956 the Sukabumi office of the Ministry of Industry listed 52 categories of enterprises (excluding retail shops), with a total of 385 enterprises. According to nationality (see tables below) this list shows that almost one-half (47.5 per cent) of the enterprises are owned by Indonesians.

Business Enterprises Exclusive of Retail Shops Classified According to the Ethnicity/Nationality of the Owners, Showing the Number of Workers and Types of Equipment in the Enterprises of Each Group*

Ethnicity and Nationality of Owners	Enterprises		Workers		Type of Equipment			
					Mech.		Non-Mech.	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Indonesian	47.5	(183)	21.8	(644)	15.5	(11)	54.8	(172)
WNI Chinese desc.	13.5	(52)	33.1	(980)	29.6	(21)	9.9	(31)
WNI Arab desc.	0.3	(1)	1.5	(45)	0.0	(0)	0.3	(1)
WNI Indian desc.	0.3	(1)	0.5	(14)	1.4	(1)	0.0	(0)
WNI Dutch desc.	0.3	(1)	0.5	(15)	0.0	(0)	0.3	(1)
Foreign Chinese	34.5	(133)	32.6	(965)	45.0	(32)	32.3	(101)
Other Foreigners**	3.6	(14)	10.0	(296)	8.5	(6)	2.5	(8)
Number of cases	100.0	(385)	100.0	(2959)	100.0	(71)	100.0	(314)

*Ministry of Industry, Sukabumi Office, September 1956.
**All Dutch owners.

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Type of Enterprise and Nationality**

Type of enterprise	Indonesian %	Indonesian No.	WNI %	WNI No.	For. Chin. %	For. Chin. No.	Other For. %	Other For. No.	Total %	Total No.
I.	55.3	(63)	14.0	(15)*	29.8	(34)	1.8	(2)	100	(114)
II.	30.0	(6)	15.0	(3)	55.0	(11)	0.0	(0)	100	(20)
III.	0.0	(0)	70.0	(7)*	30.0	(3)	0.0	(0)	100	(11)
IV.	72.7	(16)	0.0	(0)	27.3	(6)	0.0	(0)	100	(22)
V.	50.0	(3)	33.3	(2)	16.7	(1)	0.0	(0)	100	(6)
VI.	65.5	(36)	14.5	(8)	18.2	(10)	1.8	(1)	100	(55)
VII.	42.3	(41)	4.1	(4)	49.5	(48)	4.1	(4)	100	(97)
VIII.	30.0	(15)	24.0	(12)*	36.0	(18)	9.8	(5)	100	(51)
IX.	50.0	(1)	0.0	(0)	0.0	(0)	50.0	(1)	100	(2)
X.	33.3	(2)	16.7	(1)	33.3	(2)	16.7	(1)	100	(6)
Total	47.9	(183)	13.6	(52)	34.8	(133)	3.7	(14)	100	(382)

*Excluded in Type I : One WNI of Indian desc.
III : One WNI of Arab desc.
VIII: One WNI of Dutch desc.

**Ministry of Industry Sukabumi Office, September 1956.

Classification of Enterprises

I. Enterprises preparing food for direct consumption, including: butchers, dairies, ice plants, bakeries, confectioneries, noodles, krupuk (fish- and shrimp-chips), tahu (bean-curd), tempe (fungus-fermented soya-bean cake), peanut oil, soya-sauce, salted peanuts, lemonade and syrup, ice cream.

II. Enterprises processing food, including: rice mills, rice hullers, remilling, tapioca, coffee packing, green tea, red tea.

III. Textile and weaving factories, including: textile mills, knitting mills.

IV. Sawmills and tanneries.

V. Printing plants and cardboard factories.

VI. Workshops making clothing and shoes, including: dressmaking, making Indonesian caps, cobblers.

VII. Enterprises making articles other than clothing or food, including: musical instruments, furniture, soap, rubber goods, tiles, sheet metal articles, measures and weights, precious metals and jewelry, blacksmiths, toys, chops, seals and stamps, leatherware.

VIII. Enterprises providing technical services, including: photography, tire retreading, electric services, bicycle repair, clock repair, car dealers, motor service.

IX. Enterprises providing business transport services, including: forwarding companies.

X. Drug stores and traditional Indonesian and Chinese medicine shops.

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Ranking of Type of Enterprise
and Nationality

Ranking	Indonesians	WNI	For. Chin.	Other For.
1	I, IV, V, VI	III	II, VII, VIII	--
2	II, VII, VIII	V	I, III, IV, VI	--
3	--	I, II, VI, VIII, VII	V	--
4	--	--	--	I, VI, VII, VIII

Next come the Asing Chinese with 34.5 per cent, then the WNI-Chinese with 13.5 per cent, "Other Foreigners," with 3.6 per cent, and finally the WNI of other than Chinese descent. For practical purposes this last category of WNI of non-Chinese foreign descent will be excluded from further examination of this subject.

Although Indonesian enterprises outnumber the others, by far the majority of them must be considered as cottage industry. The average number of workers is 3.5. Most of the enterprises have between two to five workers, a few between six to ten. The only Indonesian industrial firms with more than ten workers have 18 and 38, respectively. As to equipment, only 6.1 per cent of the Indonesian-owned enterprises have some form of mechanization. The preponderance of the cottage industry type of enterprise is a clear indication of the lack of capital in this subgroup. Consequently we will notice that Indonesians rank highest (see tables on page 36 and above) in those enterprises that can be operated on a small-scale basis with a minimum of capital, equipment and workers: in enterprises preparing food for immediate consumption, e.g., bakeries, the production of tahu (bean-curd), and tempeh (fungus-fermented soya-bean cakes), in dressmaking, making of Indonesian caps, and in the production of articles made of sheet metal. They do not participate at all in such large-scale enterprises as textile factories or machine factories.

Next in number of enterprises are the Foreign-Chinese with 34.5 per cent. The average number of workers among them is 7.3. The prevailing range is actually between one to five, but there is a sizeable proportion with from six to ten workers, while one of them employs 100, another 83 workers, and five more have between 30 and 50 workers. The proportion using mechanized equipment is 24.1 per cent. This figure, high by comparison with that for Indonesian-owned enterprises, is rather misleading, however, because these enterprises are also for the greater part small workshops, e.g., for photography, mechanical repair and coffee mills. The alien Chinese rank first in three types of enterprises: processing food, making articles other than clothing or food and providing technical services. The food-processing enterprises are eight coffee mills, small establishments where the coffee is ground and packed in paper bags and tins. The enterprises making articles other than clothing or food are eighteen furniture workshops and eight gold- and silversmiths. Those providing technical services are eight photography shops and six bicycle repair workshops.

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Among the WNI enterprises, ranking third in number with only 13.5 per cent, the average number of workers is 18.8. This average is raised by one enterprise with 296 workers, one with 193, one with 133 and one with 100. Of the WNI enterprises, 40.4 per cent are mechanized, the most notable of these being textile-factories, tea-factories, a rubber-factory, printing-plants, lemonade and syrup factories, and confectioneries. In every instance, these WNI-owned mechanized plants are among the largest enterprises in town. The WNI rank highest only in one type of enterprise: textile factories, of which they operate seven of the ten existing in Sukabumi.

The enterprises operated by "Other Foreigners" are few in number. All of the foreign owners in question are Dutch. Most of these enterprises operate on a large scale basis. Six of the fourteen enterprises listed have twenty-five or more workers and the average number (21.1) surpasses that of the WNI-owned enterprises. The proportion of enterprises which are mechanized is highest of all (42.9 per cent) for enterprises owned by "Other Foreigners." This might be expected, considering the fact that they own the largest and best-equipped bakery and confectionery and the only ice plant in town, the two largest machine factories, the only electric supply company, the largest car dealer and service station, and one of the largest dispensaries. Since the outburst of anti-Dutch feeling in December 1957, however, these enterprises have been put under the supervision of the military authorities.

The preponderance of large enterprises among the WNI is clearly seen by examining the enterprises with 25 and more workers (including management and administrative personnel). Of the 33 enterprises listed as such, thirteen were operated by WNI, six by Indonesians, eight by Foreign-Chinese and six by "other Foreigners."

Type of Enterprise	Ethnicity/Nationality of Ownership				
	Indon.*	WNI	Asing	Oth. Aliens	Total
I	0	3	0	1	4
II	0	1	1	0	2
III	0	5	3	0	8
IV	0	0	1	0	1
V	0	1	1	0	2
VII	0	1	0	0	1
VIII	2	0	2	4	8
IX	3	2	0	1	6
Total	5	13	8	6	32

*Excluded one hotel.

Source: From the "Kantor Penempatan Tenaga," the Sukabumi office of the Employment Bureau, a section of the Ministry of Labor, files collected in 1956-1957.

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As to personnel, there seems to be a strong tendency for each ethnic group to employ people of the same ethnic group in the management and for administrative work. Thus, in Indonesian enterprises there are practically no ethnic Chinese in the management, nor among the clerical personnel, nor among the production workers. There seems to be a mutual reluctance on both sides. The small size of most of the Indonesian enterprises leaves little scope for the employment of outsiders.

In WNI enterprises there are Indonesians among the administrative personnel, but all are clerks. We found only one case in one of the large textile factories of an Indonesian employed in the management. The production workers, however, are practically all Indonesians. There are only a few Totoks employed in WNI enterprises and these are also virtually all production workers. Thus the management and greater majority of administrative personnel consist of WNI. We find many WNI among the production workers, too, but in almost all cases they are the supervisors or department heads.

In Foreign-Chinese enterprises the same situation exists, though there are several with WNI clerical personnel. As for production workers, here too they are usually Indonesians.

In regard to enterprises owned by "Other Foreigners," the management is usually entirely in Dutch hands, while in the clerical section there is a mixture of Eurasians, Indonesians, and WNI, the latter usually as bookkeepers. As in the case of the other subgroups, the production workers are all Indonesians.

This tendency for each ethnic group to use members of its own ethnic group in the management and as administrative personnel is clearly illustrated by the situation in three of the largest WNI-owned textile factories, as shown in the table on the next page.

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Composition of Labor Force in Three of the Largest WNI Owned Textile Factories in the Town of Sukabumi

Enterprise*	Management						Clerical						Production						Total
	Ind.		WNI		For.		Ind.		WNI		For.		Ind.		WNI		For.		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	3	0	0	0	54	30	7	0	0	0	99
2	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	1	2	1	0	0	103	25	12	12	0	0	161
3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	101	69	21	4	1	0	205
Total	1	0	6	0	0	0	5	2	11	1	0	0	258	124	40	16	1	0	465

*Enterprise 1 : C. V. Textiel Industri "Oey," Sukabumi.
Enterprise 2 : "Tjiongboenhok" P. T. Bagian Pabrik Tenun "Suka-Warna," Sukabumi.
Enterprise 3 : Perusahaan Tenun N. V. Handel Mij. Sin Lie Hin, Sukabumi.

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CHAPTER III

PERANAKAN SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS

In this chapter we will be concerned with that particular aspect of acculturation which focuses on the adoption of the tangible, material objects, such as food, housing, and clothing. For each set of objects we will describe the Peranakan pattern and then examine some of its specific traits to determine whether their origin is Indonesian or Chinese, i. e., Totok. This will help us decide whether the subsistence patterns of the Peranakans are closer to those of the indigenous people or to those of the Totok Chinese.

Food

Rice constitutes the staple food of both Indonesians and Totok Chinese, so the case could hardly be different with Peranakans. In cooking rice Peranakans use the same equipment as the Indonesians: a large boiler made of copper or zinc and a cone-shaped container made of woven bamboo. This equipment works as a double boiler; therefore, when done the rice is fairly dry. In this respect Peranakans are closer to Indonesians than to Totoks, as the latter prefer soft-cooked rice, which they usually cook in a regular pot. Rice forms the main ingredient for the noon and evening meal in all three groups. There is not such a definite pattern for the morning meal, however. In the first place there are quite a number of people, especially among the lower class in all three groups who only take a snack, often bought from one of the numerous snack vendors who go around in the morning hours. Also, among the western educated of both Peranakans and Indonesians there is a trend toward eating bread for breakfast. This trend doubtless arises from the habit picked up in their schooldays, when, following the custom of the Dutch children, they learned to eat a sandwich during recess. In general, however, bread is considered a snack, something one eats like cookies. Of those who do take a substantial meal in the morning, among the Peranakans and Indonesians the main ingredient is also rice, while among the Totoks it is often rice gruel.

As to the dishes that go with the rice, Indonesian, or rather West Javanese, food is clearly basic to the Peranakan menu in Sukabumi. We have to emphasize this regional distinction, because there are differences in the flavor of the food depending on the region. For instance, people of West Java claim that food from Central and East Java has a predominantly sweet taste and, conversely, people from the latter area claim that food from the former area has a predominantly sour taste. This refers to the food prepared by Indonesians as well as Peranakans.

The preference for Indonesian food is especially evident among the lower-class Peranakans. As a matter of fact, there is little difference between the menu of lower-class Peranakans and that of lower-class

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Indonesians. In both cases a regular meal consists of a large amount of rice with some vegetables (the indigenous, inexpensive kind), either raw or cooked, sambel (a kind of dip, made with mashed, hot red pepper), salted fish and often tempe (fungus-fermented soya-bean cake) and ontjom (fungus-fermented peanut cake). Occasionally fresh fish or buffalo meat is added.

We will list here some of the dishes of clearly Indonesian origin which have become completely incorporated in the Peranakan menu. The fact that they appear daily in Peranakan homes gives an indication of their food preferences and provides a measure for their acculturation in regard to food.

Of the vegetable dishes, one of the most favored is a vegetable soup called sajur asem. (Sajur is Indonesian for vegetable and is used to refer to most vegetable dishes; asem is Indonesian for sour. The name of this soup is derived from the fact that it is made sour with young tamarind fruit.) Another popular vegetable dish is a kind of salad, consisting of cooked, or a mixture of cooked and fresh, vegetables, garnished with fried potato slices, fried tempe and tahu (bean curd), hard-boiled eggs and shrimp or fish chips (called krupuk), served with a sauce made of peanuts. This kind of salad is called gado-gado, an Indonesian name which is also used to designate something one eats without rice, a kind of snack. There are numerous gado-gado vendors in Sukabumi; they either have a permanent stall on the curb in front of a shop, or they go around carrying their stuff on a pole. One of them is quite well-known, even to people outside the town. His stall is on the curb along the road leading to Plabuanratu, the picnic spot to the south of Sukabumi. It has become almost a "must" among these picnickers to stop at his stall and buy several packages of his gado-gado. The popularity of this dish is indicated by the fact that it appears at the table of even the elaborate parties of wealthy Peranakans. Two kinds of vegetables which are greatly favored by Peranakans are pete and, to a lesser extent, djengkol. Both are varieties of bean which grow on trees. They are eaten raw, cooked, fried or roasted on a charcoal fire. A special characteristic is that they leave a strong and even repulsive smell in one's mouth. That it is considered repulsive is indicated by the fact that most people take pains to neutralize it by chewing betel leaves or the leaves of a certain fruit tree or by smoking a cigarette. During the Dutch period, in Djakarta at least, the consumption of these beans was associated with servants and other lower-class Indonesians. Therefore, Peranakans who considered themselves well educated never ate these beans or, if they did, never admitted it. Today these feelings still exist in Djakarta. In Sukabumi, however, there is none of this inhibition. On the contrary, the pete is a great favorite also among the western-educated young people. Dishes prepared with these beans are a common feature at parties.

Of the Indonesian meat dishes, one of the most popular among the Peranakans is sate, a kind of shishkebab, which can be made of any kind of meat: chicken, goat, pork, or beef, though the latter is much less used than any of the three other. Sate made of goat meat is considered a treat by Indonesians and Peranakans alike and frequently appears at parties, especially at the ones held after the usual offering performed when a new building or a new house is finished.

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Chicken is one of the most expensive kinds of meat. To have a chicken dish is therefore considered a treat, even among wealthy Peranakans. The favorite way of preparing it is to fry or roast it on a charcoal fire. Roast chicken is cut open at the breast and spread out flat. Chicken prepared in this way is one of the indispensable dishes at a traditional Sundanese wedding banquet.

The kind of meat one most frequently observes among Peranakans is beef. It is almost always prepared in the Indonesian way with Indonesian spices. Among the young women, however, especially the western educated, it is fashionable to experiment with western recipes for beef.

The frequency and the amount of pork in the menu of the Peranakans in Sukabumi is much less than one would expect, considering the stereotype among Indonesians and other non-Chinese associating Chinese food with pork. It may be used mixed with noodles or vegetables, but seldom does a dish consist of pork only. According to the head of the kongsi of porksellers, which monopolizes the sale of pork, only two or three pigs are killed daily (for an ethnic Chinese population of 10,000). Around Chinese New Year it increases to about twelve a day and around the Lantern Festival to about eight a day. As far as the price is concerned, next to chicken, pork is one of the most expensive kinds of meat. This, of course, may very well be the limiting factor to the frequency and amount of pork consumed. It would appear, however, that Peranakans actually are not so fond of pork, because even those who can afford to eat pork daily do not do so. According to a wealthy Peranakan woman, this is one of the reasons why the special meat offering, still generally presented by Totoks, has almost disappeared from the Peranakan offering table. Could it be that this is also influenced by the Sundanese attitude towards pork? Pork is forbidden food for Moslems; consequently for the Sundanese, who are considered the strictest Moslems in Java, it is something one should not eat or even touch. If one wishes to eat pork, one has to prepare it oneself and even clean the equipment used, because the servant refuses to come in contact with it. It seems not unlikely that perhaps unconsciously this may have discouraged people from using pork.

Buffalo meat is hardly ever eaten by Peranakans. It is considered very inferior in quality and, according to some, it even has a bad smell. It is the cheapest kind of meat and is usually eaten only by lower-class Indonesians.

A significant characteristic of the Indonesian food prepared by Peranakans is that the method of preparation and the spices are exactly the same as those employed by the Indonesians. This is, of course, also due to the fact that all the ingredients and the necessary equipment are easily available. A Peranakan kitchen, for instance, looks in virtually all aspects the same as an Indonesian kitchen: one finds the same equipment and the same spices. Practically all households use charcoal ovens made of earthenware, called anglo, from the Hokkien hang-lo, which is used by Peranakans and Indonesians alike to designate this kind of oven. Only the wealthy can afford a modern oven with burners, which workswith kerosene. Sukabumi does not have a gas supply.

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In the more wealthy Peranakan homes we usually find Chinese and western food added to the daily menu. However, the substance and flavor of these dishes are often modified from the original to such a degree that it would be more proper to refer to them as Peranakan dishes. Thus, for instance, the Chinese food prepared by Peranakans does not taste the same as that prepared by Totoks. In talking about Chinese food in Indonesia, however, we have to keep in mind that the Hokkiens, the speech group from which most Peranakans have originated, have never been known for their good cuisine. Thus, Peranakans have no tradition of excellent cooking to draw from as would have been the case had their ancestors been Cantonese, for instance. (We might note that most of the Chinese restaurants in Indonesia are operated by Cantonese or other non-Hokkiens.) Moreover, the special Chinese spices and ingredients are very expensive, because they are imported goods. It would appear, however, that Peranakan taste differs from that of Totoks--from Hokkiens and Hakkas in any case. Quite a number of Peranakans have told the writer, for instance, that they cannot appreciate the food given at Totok banquets, because it is too rich due to the great amount of pork and pork fat used. As we mentioned earlier, Peranakans use pork and pork fat only in much smaller quantities and mainly to give the food a special "Chinese" flavor.

One of the most popular Chinese ingredients is noodles. They are either fried or made into a soup. Noodles are called mie, from the Hokkien mi, by all ethnic groups. As with most of the food of Chinese origin a Peranakan noodle dish looks and tastes different from a Totok one. The popularity of noodles is also indicated by the fact that the two Chinese restaurants specializing in noodle soup always have quite a number of Peranakan customers. (As a matter of fact they are patronized by Indonesians too, but inasmuch as Sundanese, being Moslems or nominally so, are not supposed to eat in a Chinese restaurant, which reflects the association of Chinese food with pork, they are likely to sit in a back room.) Other ingredients of Chinese origin which have become part of the Peranakan diet are bean sprouts, called taoge, bean curd, called taohu or tahu, bean sauce, called taotjio, soya sauce called ketjap, dried shrimp, called hebi. These are inexpensive ingredients, locally grown or locally made. Besides these there are the more fancy imported foods. It is to be noted that all of these Chinese ingredients are known by terms derived from the Hokkien, another indication of the Hokkien origins of the Peranakan population.

An interesting example of the influence of the Chinese diet on the Indonesian diet is the incorporation of noodles, bean sprouts, and bean curd in the daily Indonesian menu. The popularity of noodles is indicated by the considerable number of Indonesian food vendors selling noodle soup. There is a difference from both the Peranakan or the Totok type, however, in that they use no pork and only occasionally chicken. Beef is used instead, and coconut oil replaces pork fat. At banquets of the more wealthy Indonesians a noodle dish is almost always included, prepared with chicken and shrimp. Bean sprouts and bean curd are inexpensive, and even the poorest Indonesians can afford to buy them. The bean sprouts are consumed in great quantities, either raw or cooked, while the bean curd is usually fried. A good measure of how completely bean curd has been assimilated in the Indonesian diet is the fact that of

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the 16 producers (all small cottage industry with at the most four workers each) registered at the office of the Ministry of Industry in Sukabumi, all but one, a Peranakan, are ethnic Indonesians. Another indication is the great number of food vendors selling cooked bean sprouts with fried sliced bean curd and a sauce made of ontjom, the fungus-fermented peanut cake.

To sum up, food among the Peranakans is basically Indonesian in origin with important elements of Chinese origin, plus a few western items. The significant thing is that these elements have in almost all cases been modified from the original, although the origin is still recognizable. It would appear that western items are most radically modified, Totok Chinese items next, while items of Indonesian origin have been modified the least. We might also say that Peranakans have reintegrated the influences they have encountered so that something new has been created, which might very well be called Peranakan food. We have also noted that in the realm of food we find one of the few clear instances of reverse acculturation, whereby traits of Chinese origin have been incorporated into the Indonesian way of life.

Housing

In this section we will describe the types of houses that exist in Sukabumi and examine the relationship between house type and the ethnicity of the residents. In selecting their houses, do Peranakans follow Totok or indigenous preferences?

The houses in Sukabumi can be distinguished into four categories: rumah toko (shop houses), rumah petak (petak houses), rumah kampong (kampong houses), rumah gedong (separate residences of the more well-to-do situated along the main streets in the specific residential area especially in the northern part of the town).

Rumah toko (shop house)-- As the name implies this type of dwelling is a combination of shop and living quarters. The shape is usually a deep rectangle with a narrow frontage on the street. The front part constitutes the shop, consisting of one room only, while the living quarters are to the rear. A number of those situated on Djalan Raja and Djalan Plabuan II have a second floor where the bedrooms are situated. The floor is covered with stone slabs or cement tiles. In virtually all cases the lower part of the walls is built of brick, while the upper part consists of plastered wooden planks. The ceiling and the beams are also made of wood, while the roof has earthenware tiles. A characteristic of these dwellings is the structure of the roof which, in many cases, has the curved lines typical of Chinese architecture. Another characteristic is that the entire front wall consists of vertical planks on either side of a central door. The planks are put in place every night and removed every morning. The wooden door which has an upper and lower section that can be opened independently, is also removed during the day. Thus, passersby have a view of the complete interior of the shop. These houses are built so close to each other that hardly any sunlight can enter. Therefore there is usually an open space inside in the living quarters which is open to the sky. This is

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the place where the well is situated and where the laundry and dishwashing are done. The part of Djalan Raja which constitutes the business section, as well as the main side streets close to it, are lined with these houses. Similar to those in Chinatowns all over the world, these shop houses are the typical dwellings of the China-born Chinese shopkeepers. In Sukabumi not all the occupants are Totoks, however; a number of the Peranakan shopowners also live in them.

Rumah petak (petak house)--The term petak is an Indonesian word meaning plot in the sense of plot of land or plot of ground. A rumah petak consists of a number of complete residences built under one roof. In this sense the structure is comparable to an American apartment house. The entire building as well as each component part of it is referred to as a rumah petak. When speaking of the number of residences in such a house type, however, they are referred to as so many pintu, i.e., doors. As to the construction we may distinguish three "classes" of rumah petak: first, those made of the same material and constructed in much the same way as the shophouses, but with no curved roof or second story; second, those which have walls partly made of plastered planks and partly of plastered woven bamboo, a floor covered with stone slabs, and a roof construction made of bamboo with earthenware tiles; and third, those which have walls entirely made of plastered or plain woven bamboo, a dirt floor, and a roof also made of bamboo with earthenware tiles. Similar to the shophouses, these houses usually have a front door consisting of two sections which can be opened independently. A favorite way of looking out on the street is to open the upper half and lean on the lower half. This type of house complex can be very large, consisting of up to twenty residences, as, for instance, the one of which the Chinese temple forms a part. As the front comes right up to the street, they have no space for a yard.

The first type of rumah petak is found mostly in the side streets of the business area and along Djalan Plabuan II and its side streets. They are usually occupied by Peranakan skilled workers such as factory supervisors, drivers, and other low-income wage-earners, and by Totoks who have no regular shop but sell their goods in stalls inside or outside the market place. The second and third types are clustered in the back alleys, especially in the area south of the railroad. The occupants represent the lowest class of Peranakans and Totoks: unskilled workers, street hawkers, food vendors. This type of house seems to be highly popular with the Peranakans as well as the Totoks (an entire complex of these rumah petak have recently been built on a plot of land right behind several shops on Djalan Raja which is mostly occupied by Totok shop owners). The name itself indicates an Indonesian origin, however, and it is not unlikely that it originated in the proto-Malay "longhouse."

Rumah kampong (kampong house)--Kampong refers to those areas of town where the lower-class Indonesians live: in the back streets, in the alleys, and in the outskirts of the town. The streets in this area are very narrow and usually inaccessible to any motor vehicles or even a betja (trishaw). There is only room for bicycles, but since children usually make the street their playground, it is often wiser to walk the bicycle than to ride it. By comparison with kampongs in such big cities

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as Djakarta, those in Sukabumi are clean and neat. The houses are built of plastered woven bamboo or planks for the walls, wood or bamboo for the beams, woven bamboo for the ceiling, and earthenware tiles for the roof, while the floor is either tamped earth, or covered with stone slabs or, in the case of houses which are off the ground, made of strong woven bamboo. A characteristic of the kampong house in Sukabumi--in fact of the Sundanese area in general--is the open space under the floor, the kolong. The house rests on stone pillars, about two feet high, placed at regular intervals. It is customary not to use chairs in these houses; people sit on the bamboo floor. A floor which is shiny from the rubbing of clothes on the bamboo is a source of pride to the occupant; it suggests that many people came to visit him and hence indicates his popularity. These houses are usually small, but separate, and surrounded by a yard which is generally kept neat and planted with flowers. Many of them also have a fishpond. The residents of these houses are virtually all ethnic Indonesians: factory workers, petty officials, operators of cottage industry and farmers.

Rumah gedong (separate residences of the more well-to-do, situated along the main streets) -- Of this type of house we distinguish three "classes": first, the residences built in prewar times by Dutch people which have been abandoned since the war broke out and which through lack of care have become dilapidated and shabby looking; second, the big residences also built in prewar times, by Dutch as well as Peranakan owners, which have been kept in good care (those owned by Dutch people having come into either Indonesian or Peranakan hands); and third, the modern residences of wealthy Indonesians and Peranakans built shortly before and after the war.

Residences of this type are concentrated along the main streets in the northern part of the town, while clusters of them are also found in a section of Djalan Plabuan II and along Djalan Tjipelang, the main street coming from Djakarta, before it goes over into Djalan Raja.

Rumah gedong of the first type, built long before the war, were constructed basically in the same way as the better-class shophouses: the walls made of plastered bamboo or plastered wood, sometimes the lower half made of brick, the floor covered with cement tiles, the roof framework made of wood and the roof tiles made of earthenware. A characteristic of these old residences is that they are closed on all sides without terraces, and that they have shutters and doors made of wood. Several old inhabitants informed the writer that the rather flimsy construction of these houses is due to the fact that people were afraid to build houses of brick after the big eruption of the Gunung Gedeh around 1900. Some of these old houses are occupied by the small number of Eurasians still in town, others have been turned into government offices, while still others have become army barracks. In the second decade of this century houses with walls entirely built of brick started to appear. A number of these large sturdy-looking residences can be seen along Djalan Gunung Parang and Djalan Tjikole (see Districts F and G on map, page 27 below). They are mostly occupied by Peranakans. The growth of the town can be traced from the style of the houses. North of Djalan Tjikole one finds the houses of "modern" appearance, built shortly before the war: low

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structures with big doors of colored glass opening on wide patios, big windows of plain or colored glass also, spacious rooms, bathroom facilities including a flush toilet adjoining the bedrooms (in the old houses bathing facilities were always situated in the rear near the kitchen and the well or in a special structure in the back yard, while the toilet was a hole in the ground with a cement rim on which to squat), a kitchen with a kerosene oven instead of the open charcoal oven, a sink, and cabinets against the wall. After the war the building of these "modern" houses has been continued. A characteristic of all these houses, both the old type as well as the "modern" type, are their setting amidst spacious flower gardens, and many of them including several fruit trees.

Thus we find that in regard to housing the wealthy Peranakans resemble the wealthy Indonesians in their aspiration towards the "modern" outlook. This seems to be true for some wealthy Totoks too, but the majority of them appear to prefer houses constructed as a petak house, though with each component part designed in "modern" style. The less wealthy and lower-class Peranakans appear to resemble the Totoks in their preference for the rumah petak style houses; the less wealthy in the "first-class" petak houses and the lower class in the "second-" and "third-class" petak houses. Practically no ethnic Chinese live in the typical Sundanese kampong houses.

Clothing

In dealing with this topic we will first discuss the clothes of men and then those of women.

Clothes of men--As we might expect, there is little difference among the cothing of Indonesian, Totok, or Peranakan men, at least as far as the townspeople are concerned. The daily wear of all men is slacks and shirts, sometimes with long sleeves, but usually with short sleeves. A strictly Indonesian item of clothing is the black cap, petji, worn by many, though not all, Sundanese men. In addition, it is the custom among Indonesian men to wear a kain. Kain is an Indonesian word used in a specialized sense to refer to the length of material worn by men or women as a wrap-around skirt. For men it is generally of striped or plaid woven design and is usually sewn into a tube. It is especially worn by men for the communal prayer in the mosque on Fridays and on the occasion of the celebration of Lebaran. This kain is worn with a shirt, tails out, or with shirt, tie and coat. At home the favorite clothes of Peranakan and Totok men are pajamas, usually of striped design. Indonesian men seem to favor the kain, although they often also wear pajamas.

Clothes of women--In discussing the clothes of women there is first the broad distinction to be made between younger and older women; or, perhaps better, between the not-yet married and those who have already been married.

In all three communities the younger women wear western clothes: a dress or a combination skirt and blouse. It is only on national holidays such as Independence Day that Indonesian school girls wear the national dress of kain and kabaja. (A description of this dress follows shortly.)

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Asked why they do not wear it every day, they invariably answer that it is impractical. As for Totok girls, the writer has not observed any wearing the Chinese dress with the slit on the sides, not even at the reception on the Chinese National Day, the first of October. Asked why, they usually answer that it is too conspicuous and often too fancy. (This attitude might be attributed to the influence of the drive towards simplicity in women's clothes in Mainland China. The girls in Chinese schools in Sukabumi, for instance, often wear uniformly grey slacks or skirt and white blouse.)

Peranakan girls almost always wear western dress. However, on various occasions the writer observed a total of five Peranakan girls and young women wearing the Chinese dress with the slits: at a Peranakan wedding, a young girl belonging to one of the old wealthy families; at a charity concert two young women also belonging to wealthy old families; on Chinese New Year a young widow (of the fourteen families visited by the writer, she was the only one in Chinese dress); in the wardrobe of a young girl who had attended the Peking-oriented Chinese senior high school (these were made of batik material). It would appear that although they would like to wear it, Peranakan girls are hesitant to put on a Chinese dress, partly because they claim it does not suit them and partly because they think it too conspicuous. As to the Indonesian national dress, the writer has never observed any Peranakan girl wearing it. If they do wear a kain and kabaja, it is always the Peranakan style, which will be discussed shortly, and it is put on only at home. It seems that especially girls of school age are embarrassed to be seen in this dress, presumably because it is considered old-fashioned and therefore fit only for older women.

Thus, in the case of girls and young women, all three communities present a similar picture in regard to clothing. Differences among the three communities appear much sharper, however, when we turn to the matrons--older women who have already married.

Totok women basically wear either a western dress or Chinese jacket and trousers. Dressed in the latter one can usually tell from the material and the colors what speech group they belong to. Hakka women practically always, even at weddings, dress in simple cotton trousers and jacket of plain or printed design. Their hair is usually short and straight, held in place with a pin at the sides. Hokkien women, on the other hand, often have a combination of black trousers, made of satin for dressy occasions, and a plain or printed jacket of fine cotton or silk. Their hair is always neatly combed in a bun low in the neck, often with tiny gold pins stuck in it. A characteristic among the old Hokkien women are the bound feet, clad in tiny shoes or embroidered slippers.

Indonesian women wear kain and kabaja, though they often also wear western dress, at least the younger ones among them. The kain, as worn by women, is a piece of batik cloth with a length of about 2-1/2 yards and a width of about 1-1/4 yards, reaching down to the ankles. Batik refers to the particular process of dyeing cloth, which is essentially a technique of covering with wax those areas which are to be a certain color while the material is being dyed another color. Then some or all of the wax covering the first area is removed, and the

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material dyed a different color, perhaps after certain other areas have been protected with wax. This can go on for as many different colors as desired. There are kains which are made entirely in this way, with the wax "painted" by hand on the cloth. There are two other techniques for acquiring the batik design, however: one is to stamp the design on the cloth and the other is the regular print. Needless to say, the kains made according to the first technique are very expensive, since they are real pieces of art. Traditionally the kains of Sundanese and Javanese are of simple design and predominantly brown in color. This type of kain is usually referred to as batik Solo and batik Jogja, because Solo and Jogja (in Central Java) are the center of their manufacture.

The kain is worn wrapped tightly around the hips and fastened around the waist with a kind of cumberbund called angkin, which is made of plain, rather stiff material, about six to seven yards long and about six inches wide. It is wound around the body from low on the hip around the waist up to the breasts. Often, especially for dressy occasions, a colorful piece of cloth is fastened on top of it.

The kabaja is a kind of jacket worn like an overblouse over the kain and reaching down to the hips. It is open in the front from top to bottom and fastened in several ways; sometimes a V-shape opening is left in the neck, sometimes a square-shaped opening by attaching a rectangular piece of cloth to the front. The sleeves are long and narrow, sometimes tight, sometimes wider at the wrist. It can be made of many different kinds of material; depending on whether for use at home or for special festive occasions, it ranges from cotton to silk and lace. For accessories a veil or stole called selendang is draped over one shoulder or around the neck. This selendang was originally meant to cover the head as protection against the sun. It still has this function for the people in the villages and in the kampongs, but for the higher-class women it serves merely as a decoration piece. It is usually made of sheer material: embroidered tulle or nylon or lace. To complete the outfit, high-heeled slippers made of wood or leather are worn.

The dress of Peranakan women is basically similar to that of Indonesian women: kain and kabaja. But there is a clear difference in design and style. The kains of Peranakans are usually of plain background with large flower and/or bird design, and of bright colors--red, pink, blue, purple, or green, for instance, one of these being clearly dominant. Furthermore, the ends of the Peranakan kain are sown together so that it is like a skirt. It is not wrapped around the hips; one steps into it and folds it over in the front. This type of kain is usually referred to as a sarong. The cumberbund is the same as that of the Indonesians and is called angkin by the Peranakans too, but it is worn by them only around the waist, not from low on the hips up to the breasts. For dressy occasions a broad belt, made of brocade or some other fancy material is fastened on top. The Peranakan type of kain is usually referred to as kain Pekalongan, for Pekalongan (the capital of the Residency of Pekalongan in the northern part of Central Java) is the center of their manufacture. Except for those who have become Peranakanized through marriage with an ethnic Chinese, ethnic Indonesian women almost never wear this kind of kain. This indicates the existence of the association of certain types of kain with certain ethnic groups. There

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is a trend among Peranakan women, however, to wear kains which resemble the Indonesian kind in color and which in design show a combination of the simple Indonesian pattern and the birds and flowers of the Peranakan pattern.

In addition to colorful kains, Peranakans have a special one which is just a blue design on the original white piece of cloth. This is always combined with a plain white cotton kabaja without embroidery. It is the dress worn during the mourning period after the heavy mourning clothes of unbleached cotton are discarded (discussed in detail in section on mourning in chapter on religion), when visiting bereft people and when participating in the funeral procession.

Thus we come to the general conclusion that the subsistence patterns of Peranakans are closer to those of Indonesians than to those of Totoks. But we have to make certain qualifications in respect to socio-economic status. In regard to food we find that whereas the menu of the lower-class Peranakans hardly differs from that of the lower-class Indonesians, the more wealthy Peranakans have incorporated Chinese and western food in their daily menu, which, however, have been reintegrated in such a way that it would be more proper to refer to it as Peranakan food. In regard to housing, wealthy Peranakans live in houses similar to those of the elite Indonesian administrators and wealthy businessmen, whereas the less wealthy and the lower-class Peranakans live in houses which are more similar to those favored by the Totoks. As to clothing the difference is primarily found among the older women; in this regard the difference is greater between Peranakan and Totok women than between Peranakan and Indonesian women.

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CHAPTER IV

FAMILY AND KINSHIP

The first part of this chapter deals with the socialization and enculturation of the Peranakan child, including prenatal and postnatal ceremonies, infancy and childhood, kinsmen as the child differentiates them, and ancestor veneration as the child meets it. This part will also extend into young adulthood, covering relations with parents and relatives outside the family environment.

The second part will deal with marriage and associated ceremonies, while the third part is concerned with kinship terminology, comparing Peranakan kin terms with those of the Hokkiens and the Sundanese.

Socialization and Enculturation

Prenatal Care and Ceremonies

Newly married couples are a center of interest for relatives and friends for some time after their marriage. When several months have passed, women who know them will start wondering whether the young wife is expecting yet. If she is, the news will be spread immediately among her relatives and friends. By the time her condition becomes visible, the female members of her environment will discuss it openly when they meet her, inquiring as to how long she has been pregnant. Among those most happy about the event are her mother and mother-in-law because this means that soon they will have a grandchild, a possession in which women especially take great pride. Both these women and other older female relatives will start giving a great deal of advice pertaining to her food and behavior. She has to observe a number of precautions that are essentially aimed at preventing the coming baby from falling into harm through her. Some of these are recognized by the Peranakan women themselves to be of Sundanese origin. For instance, she is not allowed to eat pineapple and salak. Because of its biting acidity, pineapply is considered harmful to the bowels and therefore also to the womb. Some older women among Sundanese and Peranakans alike even prohibit the young girls in their family from eating of this fruit. Several Sundanese women told the writer that it is possible to induce abortion by eating a great number of pineapples as soon as one suspects pregnancy. Salak is also regarded as potentially harmful to the bowels because it can cause constipation, and a pregnant woman must avoid everything that resembles a difficult birth. Generally, however, people around her are very indulgent in regard to her wishes, as it is considered normal for a woman in the first few months of her pregnancy to have cravings for particular things or certain kinds of food, especially sour young fruit. The craving for the latter kind of fruit is considered typical of pregnant women among Sundanese and Peranakans alike. Her relatives will take great pains to gratify her wishes

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as quickly as possible. When a child continues drooling longer than is considered usual, people will say this is an indication that the mother was not given a certain kind of food she craved during her pregnancy.

She will also be advised to avoid looking at ugly people or animals; she must not mock others nor get upset when others mock her. On the other hand she is encouraged to look at handsome people or at their portraits. The belief behind these precautions is that whatever happens to the mother may affect the child in her womb.

The first ceremony that may be observed on account of the coming baby takes place when the woman is seven months pregnant. Then a salametan is held. (1)

This obviously Sundanese custom is only one of a whole series of ceremonies which are traditionally observed during the entire pregnancy period. The one that takes place in the seventh month is the most important one and even has a special name: tingkeban. Moestapa (2) describes this ceremony as being more elaborate than those held every month (during the pregnancy period). He mentions that this tingkeban, originally a Javanese custom, is observed by many rich people and members of the nobility, especially in the big towns. This ceremony involves also rituals that are aimed at securing an easy birth and the good health of mother and child. For this the woman has to submit to several acts that symbolize an easy childbirth. The wife of the head of one of the government offices, who has eight children, of which the eldest is about sixteen years old, told the writer that today among the Sundanese in town, the observance of these ceremonies is disappearing. She herself, a Sundanese with practically no formal education who does not speak Indonesian fluently, observed the tingkeban up till the fifth child only because, according to her, when you have many children there is somehow not much time to think of those ceremonies.

Among the Peranakans who observe this custom (usually those who have an old mother of around sixty in the house), the ceremony is very simple, consisting of a food-offering only.

During pregnancy, grandmothers-to-be among the Peranakans also like to speculate as to the sex of the coming grandchild. One of the ways to find out, which seems to be of Hokkien origin, they believe to be as follows: on the day of the feast of the winter solstice, which

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(1) Hadji Hasan Moestapa's book on the customs of the Sundanese, in the Dutch translation by R. A. Kern, Over de Gewoonten en Gebruiken der Soendanezen (s'Gravenhage, 1946), pp. 86, 215, uses salametan as a synonym for sidekah, both referring to the meal or banquet that is always part of a ceremony. He explains it as derived from the word salamet, which is of Arab origin, meaning security or well-being; R. M. Koentjaraningrat in A Preliminary Description of the Javanese Kinship System (New Haven, 1957), p. 19, says: "Behind the salametan seems to be the idea of giving away sacred food which will give security (slamet) to the host and family."

(2) Op. cit., p. 20.

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they call tang tjeh from the Hokkien, they will take one of the small balls made of rice flour that is eaten especially on that day and put in on a fire made of charcoal; if the ball becomes stretched out lengthwise then the child will be a boy, and if it breaks open then it will be a girl. These shapes are believed to indicate the genitals of the coming child.

Postnatal Care and Ceremonies

Childbirth today usually takes place in the public hospital run by Catholic nuns, in the private clinic of an Indonesian doctor, or in the private maternity home of a qualified Indonesian midwife. About twenty-five to thirty years ago, however, childbirth took place at home with the help of a paradji, (3) an old Indonesian woman who acts as midwife and has a considerable knowledge of medicinal herbs. She looks after the young mother and the baby until it is forty days old. She makes extracts of herbs to restore the mother's strength and increase her production of milk. It is primarily from these women, also called dukun, (4) that Peranakan women have acquired their knowledge of Indonesian medicinal herbs, called djamu, and their knowledge of Indonesian, or rather Sundanese, customs and beliefs.

One of these beliefs is connected with the special treatment given to the placenta, called bali or ari-ari in Sundanese. This is buried with a special ceremony, because according to traditional Sundanese belief it is the brother of the baby. (5) A Peranakan woman who was helped by a paradji when she gave birth to a girl about thirty years ago told the writer that the placenta was cleaned and then put in an earthenware jar together with a needle, thread, and a piece of cloth and buried in a corner of the yard. A simple food-offering is put on top and incense burned. When it is the placenta of a boy, other articles, like a pencil and a sheet of paper are put in the jar. The entire procedure was taken care of by the paradji, the mother providing her only with the money needed for the requisites.

Another Peranakan woman who has two sons of about thirty-five has the following story: the placenta of her sons were thrown into the

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(3) Moestapa, op. cit., pp. 43, 51, 214. The word paradji is explained by Moestapa as referring to a person who has a profound knowledge of adji's, prayers or formulae to ward off something evil. This person can be a woman as well as a man. The female paradji performs the work of a midwife, while her male counterpart is the person who performs the circumcision.

(4) A dukun is a person, either male or female, who is believed to have the powers and the means to cure sickness of which the cause is difficult to explain and also to help people who cherish desires which are difficult to realize. They belong to the category of people to whom one goes with one's problems, because they are old and honorable: dukun, pandita (a religious man, a wise man), ulama (a Moslem scholar), kuntjen (guard of the cemetery), paradji (midwife or a man who performs the circumcision. See Moestapa, op. cit., pp. 141, 214.

(5) Moestapa, op. cit., p. 36.

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river Tjimandiri, the only big river in the vicinity of Sukabumi. This was done by a Sundanese man, a person used to doing this kind of work. According to this informant, the Sundanese believe that children whose placenta are thrown in a big river will later follow it, that is they will make far and long trips across the sea. She explained that she had followed this belief because her husband is a very home loving man and she wanted her sons to be different. Of course, this could very well be an explanation after the event occurred, because her sons indeed spent quite a number of years abroad for study purposes and have only recently returned from a long stay in Europe.

These Peranakan women confessed to be ignorant of the precise cause for this special treatment of the placenta; they only say to have heard that it is regarded by the Sundanese as a brother of the baby. A statement commonly given to the writer is: "We just follow the customs that are prevalent here, because we live in this country."

As mentioned above, today almost all childbirths among Peranakans take place either in the public hospital, the clinic, or the maternity home. People prefer the public hospital because, besides being the largest and best equipped, it is well known for the excellent care given by the nuns. So, during visiting hours, Indonesians, Peranakans, and Totoks of all social strata can be seen visiting sick relatives and friends. The private clinic rates second in preference and the maternity home third. The latter is mostly patronized by uneducated lower-class women, partly due to the lower rates and partly also to the fact that they seem to feel more at ease with a midwife than a western-trained doctor.

In regard to the placenta, Indonesian as well as Peranakan women who have been treated in these places, told the writer that they do not know what is done with it. They assume that it is simply thrown away, and by the way they talk about it they do not seem to be concerned about it at all. This is the case even in the maternity home, where it is most likely that this custom would be observed. A Peranakan woman who had almost all her babies born there, said that she does not know what happened to the placenta, but she assumes that it is buried, although whether according to Sundanese custom or not she was not sure. She does not seem to care much about it either.

After the baby is born, the mother normally stays in the hospital for five days to a week. Her husband, her mother, and her mother-in-law usually have been waiting during the delivery. If her mother does not live in Sukabumi in almost all cases she will make it a point to be with her daughter at this hour, especially if it is the first child. These three are the persons who turn up at virtually all visiting hours. One of the things they will not fail to bring along is a chicken soup called ajam mayou (ajam is the Indonesian word for chicken and mayou is from the Hokkien for sesame seed oil), a soup in which sesame seed oil and red or white Chinese wine is mixed. This is the main diet of Totok and Peranakan women for a month to forty days after giving birth because it is considered excellent for recovering strength and increasing the quantity of mother's milk. None of the young women asked about it like this soup, but they all agree that they should eat it.

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The arrival of a baby is always immediately known to all relatives and friends because, besides the fact that they know when the baby is about due, the news is spread around very rapidly. It is obvious that the coming of a new baby is considered a happy and joyful event. Among the western-educated Peranakans it has become a fashion to send flower baskets to the hospital and to bring gifts when they come to visit the new mother. These gifts mostly consist of things for the baby, such as blankets, baby sets, toys, and so on. Many of the Peranakans also follow the western custom of giving articles in blue color when a boy and in pink when a girl. As can be expected, the visitors are mostly women. Although men are not excluded from these visits, those who come are sure to be close relatives or friends accompanying their wives.

In the public hospital as well as in the private clinic the baby is kept separate from the mother and only brought to her for feeding. Virtually all mothers who are able to do so breast feed their children. This is considered the normal way of feeding a baby. Peranakan women speak with great disapproval of "modern" women who do not want to breast feed their babies. They claim that this refusal is usually based on trivial considerations as, for instance being forced to keep to a rigid schedule which will make it difficult for a mother to leave her baby for a long time or being afraid that her figure will suffer. The mothers who are really unable to feed their babies speak with obvious regret and quite apologetically about it.

Generally the diet is as follows: in the first three months the baby is fed exclusively on mother's milk every three hours; then the number of breast feedings is reduced and mashed banana and orange juice are added to the diet. After about six months the number of breast feedings is reduced and mashed soft steamed rice mixed with vegetables and chicken liver is added to the diet and, usually, powdered milk. Weaning starts between the tenth to the twelfth month. Often, however, feeding is continued as long as the mother has milk. When in the hospital feeding is strictly according to schedule. When home again, however, the mother often relaxes the regimen and suckles the baby whenever it cries. These mothers are of the opinion that when a baby cries it surely means that it is hungry. They claim that when suckling a baby there is no way of knowing how much it has drunk; therefore, when it cries, it is quite possible that it has not had enough.

A baby is usually clad in diapers (among the poor these are often pieces of cloth torn out of an old kain) and flannel or cotton jacket and then wrapped loosely in a small blanket. Under the diaper the umbilical bandage, called by the Indonesian name gurita by Peranakans, is used during the first month or even longer. The purpose is to keep the baby warm and to prevent it from catching cold in the stomach. This bandage may be changed to a binder or oto (6) when the baby is a little older and starts toddling around. It has the same purpose of keeping warm and

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(6) A word which seems to be of Hokkien origin, according to Francken and De Grijs, Chineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek van het Emoy-dialekt (Batavia, 1882).

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preventing cold. Today, however, we find these binders only worn by the babies of some poor Peranakan, as well as Sundanese, women living in the kampong area. Those who have had a western education consider this old fashioned and adopt the western method of dressing the baby in as few clothes as possible, to the horror of the grandmothers who predict that the baby will certainly get sick from being so lightly clad.

Babies generally have a separate bed in the parents' room or, in a few cases, in a separate room next to it. Recently those mothers who have had a western education decorate the baby bed: blue for a boy and pink for a girl. Poor families who obviously cannot afford a special bed for the baby have it sleep in the same bed with the parents.

When the baby is one month old, the first ceremony on its behalf may take place. It is called sembahjang potjia (sembahjang is the Indonesian word for offering or praying, thus offering to potjia) or sembahjang randjang (randjang is the Indonesian word for bed, thus offering to the bed. This refers to the fact that the table with offerings is put in front of the bed.) Judging from the name potjia this ceremony must be of Hokkien origin. According to a second generation Lam-oa (Hokkien for the Mandarin Nan An, a district in southern Fukien province) woman, married to a second generation Eng Tjhun (Hokkien for the Mandarin Yung Ch'un, a district in central Fukien province) man, the Eng Tjhuns call this an offering to po bu (po means bed and bu means mother). The Chinese-Dutch dictionary of the Emoy dialect mentioned above has the term pô̂ tsía bú, meaning 'good genius of children, nurse'. Indeed, according to Peranakan women, the potjia is believed to be a kind of guardian angel of the child. They picture her as an old woman who looks after the child, keeping it from hurting itself, getting sick, and so on. When a baby makes sounds or smiles to itself, they will say it is playing with or smiling to its potjia. (7) As to the position of the potjia, we may infer from the fact that three incense sticks, three cups of tea, and kim tsoa (from the Hokkien for gold joss paper) are used, that it is not regarded as an ancestor because for these two incense sticks, two cups of tea, and gin tsoa (from the Hokkien for silver joss paper) are used. As a matter of fact, the first type of items is used in praying to deities, so apparently the potjia is considered in the same category with them.

For the sembahjang potjia a table with food offerings is put in front of the bed where the baby sleeps. In Peranakan families the offering usually consists of the following:

1. A small quantity of cooked rice kneaded in a cone shape put on a saucer together with a cooked chicken egg.

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(7) It is interesting to note that Moestapa, op. cit., p. 39, mentions a similar figure playing a role in the life of infants. This figure is called nini maranak. In a note of the translator this term is translated as meaning "guardian ('goede genius') of infants." The original meaning of the term is a combination of the terms for grandmother and grandchild. Nini is the Sundanese term for grandmother, but also for any old woman who could be one's grandmother.

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2. One kue mangkok (kue is the Indonesian word for cake and mangkok for bowl). This is the Indonesian name for a Chinese cake called hoat koe in Hokkien. It is made of rice flour mixed with brown or white sugar only, or given a pink color, and yeast. These cakes are steamed in small bowls until they break open on top like a flower. Therefore the name hoat koe and therefore also these cakes are used as a symbol of prosperity. The Peranakans use the name hoat koe for a similar kind of cake, but of a bigger size and used only for the New Year offering.

3. One bunch of bananas, preferably of the kind called pisang radja (pisang is banana and radja means king in Indonesian).

4. One small bowl of kue onde. This is also the Indonesian name for a Chinese cake especially eaten on the feast of the winter solstice. It is made of rice flour mixed with water. The dough is then divided into three parts: one part is given a red color, another green color, while a third part remains white. Usually, however, only red and white dough is used. This dough is kneaded into tiny balls and after cooking in boiling water, they are put into white sugar-syrup. In the section on marriage, we will see that this cake is a very important item in the wedding ceremony, because it is considered a symbol of fertility.

5. Te liao, from the Hokkien for sweets especially used for offerings, consisting usually of three kinds of sweets made of fruit or candy.

6. Three cups of tea.

7. Two small red candles.

From the information given by the second generation Nan An woman mentioned above, we gather that the Totoks present a different kind of food offering. The Eng Tjhuns, for instance, use the following offerings:

1. One whole cooked chicken, of which the legs, wings, and head are fastened in such a way that it remains in a sitting position with head upright resting backwards on its body. For this offering the chicken is cooked with sesame seed oil and Chinese wine.

2. Glutinous rice mixed with small cubes of chicken meat, fried onions, fried peanuts and oil. This is a special Hokkien dish, called iet peng.

3. Kue mangkok or kue ku (ku is Hokkien for turtle). This is a round cake made of rice flour mixed with water and given a red or green color, pressed in a wooden mold in which the shape of a turtle is carved. Since this animal is considered

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a symbol of longevity, the cake is also considered as such; however, even without this design on top, it is still called kue ku. It is stuffed with sweetened white beans.

4. Red painted chicken and duck's eggs.

Looking at the Peranakan offerings, we notice two items that seem alien to the Hokkien custom: the cooked rice kneaded in cone shape, called tjongtjot by the Peranakans, following the Sundanese name for it. Also the fact that it is kneaded in a cone shape; rice served in this way is one of the main items at a salametan. The other extraneous item is the banana; apparently this fruit is used as a symbol of fertility.

Praying is done by the mother only. Here again there is a slight difference between the Totoks and Peranakans in that the Peranakan mother prays with incense sticks, while for the Totok mother this seems to be optional. She may do without them and pray only with her hands clasped together. The prayers they utter, however, have the same content. Both invoke from the potjia all the blessings a mother may wish for her child. The offering over, usually when the incense sticks are burned out, gold joss paper is burned. This burning of joss paper is sometimes also done when the baby cries and the mother is unable to make it stop. She then burns a few sheets of this paper behind the door where the baby sleeps.

For this offering the baby is dressed in bright colored clothes, for instance, red pants and red jacket or a combination of red and green or red and blue; at any rate, they should be new clothes and in bright colors. Among the Hokkiens it is customary to send red painted eggs and kue ku (the cakes symbolizing long life) to relatives and neighbors. When it is the first son, they may even give a banquet, inviting relatives and friends. Peranakans do not have this custom of sending eggs and cakes, neither do they give a banquet on this occasion. With them it is usually a simple family affair.

Older Peranakan women informed the writer that the hair of the baby used to be cut for the first time on this occasion, but apparently today most mothers do not think this necessary and wait till the baby is three or four months old. Some even wait till much later.

The offering to potjia may again be held on the first birthday of the child. In a few families it is repeated every year until the child is seven years old or even until marriage. The writer has come across only one instance, however, where the grandmother insisted on her grandchildren, including the oldest one, a girl of around twenty, making this offering every year. This occurs on New Year's Eve for all children simultaneously on one offering table set up in front of the bed of one of the smaller children.

The next ceremony that may take place occurs when the baby is forty days old. The Sundanese origin of this ceremony which is called salamet beberesih (literally, safe purification) is beyond doubt. (8)

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(8) This is a custom which has its roots in the Moslem religion. Women

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The name indicates that after forty days the lying-in period of the woman is considered over. She is then allowed to resume her duties as a wife and housekeeper. Before that, however, she has to be cleaned completely of the impurities that are considered to be connected with childbirth. This purification is performed with water made fragrant with seven kinds of flowers over which a prayer is uttered by the leader of the ceremony. These flowers may consist of any kind available; among them are roses and other sweet-scented flowers and also fine cut pandanus leaves. These flowers, used especially for offerings, are called collectively kembang rampe (literally, assortment of flowers). It is an essential requisite at every salametan. The young mother washes her hands in this water and the baby is bathed in it. Traditionally this is also the occasion when the hair of the baby is cut for the first time. This has to be performed by seven honorable men, versed in reciting the Koran. One after the other, each of these men has to cut some of the hair of the baby while uttering a prayer.

Among the Peranakan families who observe this custom the writer has found that it is usually a simple affair, consisting of the food offering only. The procedure is then to ask two or three persons to perform the praying. These are quite often the male servant and his friends or relatives of the female servants or just several men from the kampong nearby. Some families make a small party of it, asking more people for the food offering and inviting relatives and friends to participate in the meal after the offering.

The food for the offering as observed by the Peranakans usually consists of the following:

1. Nasi tumpeng, cooked rice mixed with a meat dish (chicken, beef, or buffalo meat) that is cooked with string beans, coconut milk and spices, among which is turmeric. This meat dish is called begana, so the rice mixed with it is called nasi begana. The name nasi tumpeng refers to the shape in which the rice is served. Rice is commonly cooked in a kukusan, a basket made of split bamboo which has the shape of an overturned cone. This basket is put in a special rice boiler which has a narrow neck and a wide belly. In this way the rice is steamed, the basket not coming in contact with the water. When it is done, the meat dish that has been cooked separately is put in the center of the rice. After waiting a while for the meat and the sauce to soak the rice, it is turned over on a big plate, with the kukusan kept on top and only taken off when the praying begins. It is considered well cooked when, after the kukusan is taken away, the rice does not collapse, but remains in a cone shape. Instead of nasi tumpeng, nasi kuning (yellow rice) can be used as the main offering. This is rice cooked

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are considered "ritually impure," during menstruation and during the forty days after a childbirth. In these periods she is prohibited to perform the salat, to go to the Ka'abah, to fast, to touch the Koran, to cite verses from it and to enter a mosque. See Theodoor W. Juynboll, Handleiding tot de Kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet (Leiden, 1930), p. 168.

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with turmeric, therefore the name yellow rice, served with meat, fried peanuts, eggs, cucumber, fried onions, and the young leaves of a strong-smelling plant called kemangi.

2. Fried fish, large, edible goldfish or any other kind of fish.

3. Cookies of the cheap kind made of sago, tapioca flour or rice flour.

4. Bananas, preferably pisang radja, but usually pisang ambon, the kind most available in Sukabumi.

5. Coffee and tea.

The salametan usually takes place in the dining room or the back porch. A mat is spread on the floor and the offerings are arranged in the center of it. The participants, men only, sit around it cross-legged. The incense pot is placed in front of the man who is to lead the praying, usually the oldest man in the group. Before beginning the praying, the mother of the baby informs this person of the purpose of the salametan. He then sprinkles the incense on the charcoal in the incense pot and starts the doa (prayer or invocation). The other men join in the praying by saying at regular intervals amin, amin. The praying over, they eat of the food placed on the center of the mat. Usually, however, the nasi tumpeng is not touched, but for each person a small container made of split bamboo filled with this rice that has been cooked separately is made ready to be taken home. After the praying they only eat the cookies and drink the coffee and tea. The nasi tumpeng is then taken away to be eaten by the family.

As an illustration we will give here the account of a forty-day ceremony as told to the writer by a young Peranakan woman who observed this ceremony for her third child, a boy. The older children are a boy of about five and a girl of about four. Both she and her husband are in their early thirties. They are second cousins, both coming from Bogor and belonging to one of the rich old families in that town. Both have had a Dutch secondary school education. At the time of the study they had been living in Sukabumi for about two years. The man is manager of several estates around the town. They live in a large house with no other relatives around.

The baby was born in the public hospital. When she was home again the woman used the services of a bibi orok. Bibi is the Sundanese term for father's or mother's younger sister, but also the usual term for addressing older female servants, and orok is Sundanese for baby. Thus we may regard this person as the equivalent of a nurse. Actually she is more than that, for she also takes care of the mother, preparing djamu (Indonesian medicine made of herbs) for her and giving her a special massage treatment with the purpose of getting the womb back in its original position. She told the writer that this bibi orok, who comes from Bogor, is much in demand and all her relatives use her services. She therefore had given her a down payment to ensure her coming.

The offering for the baby took place in mid-afternoon. In the morning the head of the baby had been shaven by an Indonesian barber she

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had requested to come. During the shaving the baby was held in the arms of the bibi orok. Some of the hair was wrapped in a piece of white cloth and buried in the yard in the front of the house. She told the writer she was informed that when the child is a girl, the hair is buried at the back of the house.

For this occasion the couple had invited several friends, Peranakans as well as Sundanese, to have lunch with them after the offering. None of the baby's grandparents, who live in Bogor (about an hour's drive away), were present because they were unable to come.

The food consisted of yellow rice, sate kambing (a kind of shish-kebab made of goat meat), Indonesian vegetable dishes made with coconut milk, seven kinds of cake, seven kinds of fruit, water with seven kinds of flowers and incense. These were all laid out on the dining table. The woman told the writer that she was unable to find a man to do the doa for the baby, so the bibi orok performed this ceremony. When all the guests were assembled around the dining table, the bibi orok, with the baby in her arms, started the doa, while sprinking incense on the charcoal in the small pot. After that the young woman herself uttered a doa. She had received this prayer from her mother who used to do it. This doa, which she showed to the writer, starts with the explanation of the purpose of this offering and continues by invoking the blessings of a great number of prophets of the Moslem religion, among others, Nabi Mohamad and Nabi Soleman, radja Galoe, which obviously refers to the ruler of Galoeh of the Padjadjaran period, malaikats (angels), female deities, among which are Nji Pohatji (9) and karuhun-karuhun (ancestors). This prayer is a clear evidence of the mixture of Moslem and pre-Moslem beliefs that is inherent in the salametans in general. When asked, the young woman explained that the meaning of this prayer is only to invoke the blessings and protection from evil of the above persons. She confessed, however, that she does not know who these persons really are. When the bibi orok was consulted about the meaning of the prayer, she also said that the purpose is only to invoke blessings, but she added that because on that day she stops caring for the mother and child, the special blessings and protection of good spirits have to be asked. This indicates that she attributes to herself certain abilities to ward off evil spirits.

The significant factor in this account is the fact that both the woman and her husband are western-educated young people living on their own, with no older relatives around who would induce them to observe this ceremony. It is important to note, however, that the woman apparently was raised in an environment where it was still customary to observe these ceremonies. Clear evidence of this is the fact that her mother seems to know the appropriate prayers and apparently even performs the ceremonies herself. The attitude of this young woman seems to deviate from the attitude the writer has found prevailing among most young women, especially those who have had a western education, who usually do not care for these precautions and ceremonies. They state that they regard them as superstitions; out of respect to their mothers, they agree to observe them but leave the arrangements to her.

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(9) In Moestapa, op. cit., p. 234, we find poehatji as referring to female deities in general.

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The first birthday of a child may also be an occasion for celebration. In fact, for many western-educated women, this is the first time something on behalf of the baby is done. They may give a small party in western style, with a birthday cake decorated with one candle, and they invite relatives and intimate friends with their children. After his first birthday, no ceremonies mark the life of a Peranakan child until he gets married.

The Growing Child and his Kin

The preference for sons as found in traditional China seems to have disappeared. Of course, when a couple has two daughters, they would like the next child to be a son, but the reverse is also true. A couple with children of only one sex is often the subject of teasing by friends, who will ask them when they will have a son or daughter, depending on the sex of the children they already have. One of the jokes is to advise the husband of a couple with daughters only to exchange belts with the husband of a couple with sons only. The ideal combination is to have two sons and two daughters, and a couple whose second child is of the opposite sex of the first child is considered extremely fortunate.

Relations with parents -- The person most intimate with the child is naturally its mother. Due to the difficulty of getting servants, it is now very rare to have one specially to look after a child, a situation which was fairly common in prewar times. In most families, even among those who would be able to afford the high wages demanded by servants at the present time, the care of a baby is entirely in the hands of its mother. The mothers say this is no problem when the baby is still very small and does nothing but sleep. Trouble begins when the baby starts toddling around. Then there must always be someone to prevent it from falling, pulling at tablecloths, putting things in its mouth, and so on. Here the presence of other relatives in the house becomes a great advantage. Usually it is the grandparents who function as babysitter when the mother is busy with the household chores. It is also very common for girls of six or seven to look after their baby brother or sister. Even girls of five can be seen carrying a baby around in a sling. Not only girls, but boys also are expected to look after a baby, expecially in poor families without daughters. If she has no one at all to help her, the mother does her household chores carrying the baby on her hip, supported by a *kain*, used as a sling. The practical solution of a baby pen is increasingly resorted to. Introduced by the Dutch it was first adopted by western-educated Peranakans, but now even in poor families living in the *kampong*, one may see a baby pen.

Fathers, especially those who have acquired this status for the first time, pay a great deal of attention to their baby. After coming home from work they invariably take a look at the baby and when it is awake they play with it, putting it on their knee, and so on. When it is big and strong enough to be taken along on visits--not before the forty days are over, however--it is usually the father who carries the child, while the mother carries the bag with the baby's extra clothes. Changing diapers or even giving the milk bottle, however, is seldom done by the

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father, at least not when outsiders are around, because this is regarded as a purely female task. In this attitude they seem to be supported by the women themselves who consider it odd for a man to take care of a baby.

The usual term for addressing the mother is mammie or mie, which is an indication of Dutch influence, or mama or ma which is regarded as the more traditional Chinese form. The term for father is pappie or pie when the mother is called mammie, and papa or pa when the mother is called mama.

Insofar as child training is concerned, there seem to be few notions about toilet training. The mothers leave it to the child and "nature," as they put it, to learn cleanliness. No conscious efforts to train the child seem to be made. This lenient attitude applies more to urinating than to defecation. When a child begins talking, it is expected to warn its mother or anyone near when it feels a need to defecate. Should the child fail to do so, it might receive a scolding or even a slight spanking. The writer has found, however, that mothers who have had a western education do make attempts to train the child in this respect, for instance, by putting it on the chamber pot after every meal and making it urinate at regular times. These mothers usually have a special stool, a small chair with a hole in the seat to put the pot in, for the baby. The most common procedure, however, is to put the baby on an ordinary pot or, in the kampong area, to take it to the well over the gutter.

Parents and especially mothers are also very indulgent about food. A mother practically never refuses a child food, cakes, or sweets that he asks for. The writer observed many examples of this. For instance, while the writer was visiting a young widow, her small son of about five came home from kindergarten. As he always has his lunch after school, his mother asked him what he wanted to eat with the rice. The boy said he would like to have fried chicken; the mother answered that she had not bought chicken that day. Then he asked for fried chicken egg, whereupon the mother said she had only duck eggs. The boy refused this and insisted on having chicken egg. So the mother ordered the servant to buy one chicken egg in the grocery shop about one block away. In another family, when the daughter of four refused to eat the food cooked for that day, the mother asked what she would like to have and then she prepared it for her. To buy prepared food from the numerous vendors in the street is quite common. Often the food served for every meal is partly cooked by the wife herself, partly bought from food vendors. It is also common for children to ask for money to buy something from these vendors. The writer observed an example of this, for instance, when visiting a poor Peranakan family in the kampong area. A vendor of cheap ice cream passed the house. One of the children, a boy of about four, immediately asked the mother for money to buy some. The mother at first objected, saying that his younger brother was just having a slight diarrhea. This indicates that the mother is aware of the danger of such food, yet when he continued asking for it, she finally gave in.

Language in Peranakan homes in Sukabumi is a mixture of Malay (so-called bazaar Malay) and low style Sundanese (basa kasar). (10) As

(10) The style here refers to the three levels of speech in Sundanese: basa kasar (low style), basa panengah (middle style) and basa lemes (high style). What style one uses is determined by the social status of the addressee as related to the speaker.

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several informants have told the writer, unlike many Peranakans in Tjiandjur who are able to speak high style Sundanese exactly as the high-class Sundanese do, few Peranakans in Sukabumi are able to do so. This situation in Tjiandjur can be attributed to the fact that the settlement of Chinese there is of much older date. We have noted earlier that during the time of Daendels (1808-1811) a number of Chinese were ordered to settle in this area. Although older people almost always speak Sundanese, it is the low style or at the most the middle style. Younger people, even those who have attended Dutch schools, also seem to prefer to speak Sundanese, although mixed with Malay. When they speak Malay, it is always mixed with Sundanese exclamations and interjections. This is the way Peranakans speak to friends and acquaintances; to strangers, Indonesians, as well as other Peranakans, they try to speak Indonesian. The extent to which Sundanese is the home language can be measured by the fact that most baby talk is Sundanese. For example: nong or enong, to sleep; emam or mamam, to eat; nenen, to drink, in the sense of to suckle at the breast or from a bottle; ies, to urinate; e-e, to defecate. These words are used by the Sundanese and they have come to the Peranakans through Sundanese servants.

Another indication of the incorporation of Malay and Sundanese is in the choice of nicknames and housenames. Housenames are different from nicknames in that they are used exclusively by the members of the family with whom one lives and those relatives who live outside but with whom one has intimate contact, while a nickname is used also by friends and outsiders.

Both types of names are in many instances very unflattering because they often refer to physical irregularity; often also they refer to an event that occurred on the day of birth. Many persons retain their given name mispronounced, however, as they themselves or an older sibling mispronounced it in their childhood. To mention a few examples: there are women in Sukabumi who are called Tanda (mark, because she has a birthmark on her face), Tinta (ink, because she has a dark skin), Bulan (moon, because of her round face), Empong (from ompong, toothless, because as a child she lost all her front teeth), Onde (the name of the cake eaten on the feast of the winter solstice, because she was born on that day), Bebe (a mispronunciation of the Hokkien name Bwee); and there are men and boys with the name Tompel (because of a big black mark on his face), Idup (from hidup, Indonesian for to live, because before this person was born, his mother had a couple of miscarriages and to make him stay alive she called him Idup), Klintji (Indonesian for rabbit, because of his smallness), A-ie (a mispronunciation of the Hokkien name Heng Ie), Bibit (Indonesian for seed, a name usually given by Peranakans to the oldest son). All these persons have a Chinese (Hokkien) name, but this turns up only on formal occasions. In school, for instance, the teacher calls them by their Chinese name. In the house, among relatives and friends, they are usually known by their housename or nickname. Often the Chinese name is so seldom used that people do not even know what the Chinese name of a person is.

Thus, the language a child hears and learns at home is Malay and Sundanese, and this mixture is the language he speaks with his siblings and playmates.

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When about five years old, a Peranakan child starts a new period in his life. His parents send him to kindergarten. Here he comes in contact with children his age who are not his siblings or cousins or neighborhood friends, and here he learns Indonesian songs and games. In almost all cases parents choose the school run by the Protestant or Catholic mission because these are regarded as the best schools with the best teachers.

In the Catholic kindergarten there is a mixture of Indonesian, Peranakan, and Eurasian children. Most of these children belong to the well-to-do families in town. There are both boys and girls.

The language used in school is Indonesian. The Eurasian children who talk Dutch at home speak this language among themselves, but with the Indonesian and Peranakan children (none of whom can speak Dutch) they speak Indonesian.

Kindergarten is only two or three hours a day. The children are usually brought and fetched by one of the parents, one of the grandparents, or any other relative in the house who happens to be free at the moment. At home they have their lunch, usually alone, because the older siblings are still in school and the mother has lunch with the father after he comes home from work or during the break for lunch. After the meal, the children play by themselves or with other children in the neighborhood. They seldom take a nap in the afternoon. At about four o'clock they will be given a bath and then they play again until about five or six o'clock when supper is served. Usually when twilight falls mothers call their children into the house because it is believed that at this time of the day the evil spirits start roaming about. After supper they play in the house, make drawings they have learned in kindergarten, or look at picture books, and at about seven or eight o'clock they go to bed.

This daily schedule does not change much when they enter elementary school. They may have lunch a little later because school is over at a later hour and they usually go to bed a little later too, but generally their contact is still limited to the relatives in the house and the children in the neighborhood.

Relations with siblings--The traditional Chinese pattern of distinguishing between older and younger siblings is still apparent among the Peranakans. To his older siblings a child is expected to show a certain respect. This is plainly evidenced by the fact that he has to address them by the proper older sibling term and never by their personal name only. The term for older brother is engko, koko, or ko and for older sister atji, tjitji or tjie. (11) Indeed the writer has found no family where younger siblings call their older siblings by their personal name, not even among those who have been to Dutch schools or whose parents have had a Dutch education. This is because mothers teach their children very early how to call each other. When a new baby is coming, the mother will tell her small son or daughter that he or she will soon have an ade (Malay) or

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(11) Both terms are derived from Hokkien usage. A detailed treatment is given to kinship terminology in a subsequent section of this chapter.

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adi (Sundanese) (both pronunciations are used and this is the term for younger siblings regardless of sex). She and other female relatives will often speak of the coming baby, asking the child whether he wants to have an ade, and they prompt him to say yes. If he does so, everyone praises him. In this way the little child becomes used to the term. When the baby arrives he is told that this is the ade and that he himself is now koko (or tjitji) and the mother will also tell him that now he is a big brother and therefore he must behave better and be a good example for his little ade. Thus at a very early age children are taught how to regard each other.

It would appear, however, that this traditional attitude of respect towards older siblings has its overt expression mainly in the way of addressing them. Especially when there is little difference in age, they behave as equals, play together, do things together, fight each other, and generally behave as good companions do. Only when there is a great difference in age is this attitude of respect also seen in behavior, for instance, towards eldest brother and eldest sister. Because very often a great part of the care of younger children is left to the oldest daughter, the younger siblings have learned to come for their needs more to the eldest sister than to the mother. Therefore the eldest sister often acquires a certain authority over her younger siblings, an authority that is supported by the mother herself. As mentioned before, when a new baby has arrived, a feeling of responsibility towards it is inculcated in the older siblings. Girls are expected as a matter of course to help look after their younger siblings. In poor families without daughters this is also expected of boys.

Relations with other kin--Outside his family of orientation a Peranakan child has considerable contact with other kin. Of the one thousand-odd units of people living at one address as registered for the DPRD elections in 1957, 63 per cent can be identified as nuclear families (distinguished into 54 per cent nuclear, i.e., father, mother and unmarried children and 9 per cent broken nuclear, i.e., either father or mother and unmarried children); 16 per cent as nuclear families plus extra relatives of the couple's own age group and/or parents' age group; 9 per cent as broken nuclear plus other relatives; 7 per cent as composite families, i.e., stem families (either patrilocal or matrilocal or an indication of either of the two), broken stem with either a male or female as senior relative, two or more siblings with or without a relative of parents' generation; and 5 per cent as not yet married males and females with or without other unmarried relatives. Of five units the composition could not be determined.

The detailed picture the writer was able to construct from the list is as follows:

Types of Unit Registered at One Address (12)

1. Not yet married male, with or without other not yet married persons 38 (4%)

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(12) The determination of the family type in each unit is based primarily on the identification of the names (plus age) listed as living at one

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2.	Not yet married female, with or without other not yet married persons	11 (1%)
3.	Broken nuclear, male heading, with or without children	15 (2%)
4.	Broken nuclear, female heading, with or without children	72 (7%)
5.	Broken nuclear, male heading, plus other relatives, including one that could be a widowed mother	10 (1%)
6.	Broken nuclear, female heading, plus other relatives, including one that could be a widowed mother	27 (3%)
7.	Broken nuclear, male heading, including other relatives not of parents' generation	11 (1%)
8.	Broken nuclear, female heading, including other relatives not of parents' generation	40 (4%)
9.	Full nuclear family (father, mother, and unmarried children)	536 (54%)
10.	Full nuclear family plus other relatives not of parents' generation	43 (4%)
	Units with uncertain indications of composite family structure	
11.	Nuclear family with married So, indicative of patrilocality	9 (1%)
12.	Nuclear family plus married Da, indicative of matrilocality	12 (1%)
13.	Nuclear family with one married relative, indicative of married siblings living together	28 (3%)
14.	Nuclear family with one male relative of parents' generation	7 (-1%)
15.	Nuclear family plus one female relative of parents' generation	59 (6%)

address. The name at the top of the unit is supposedly the one responsible for the unit and indicated as the kepala keluarga (head of the family). From the names listed under this individual it is usually possible to identify those related to him (or her) as spouse, child, or sibling. Others are harder to determine and are for convenience sake indicated as possibly a parent or a relative not of parents' generation. The marriage status as it appears on the list is distinguished into three categories:

1. belum kawin - not yet married
2. sudah kawin - already married
3. pernah kawin- formerly married

There is an ambiguity in the indication of the second category, sudah kawin, in that this is applied to those individuals who are clearly married at the time of the registration (one of the other names in the unit can be identified as that of a spouse), and also to those cases in which it is impossible to identify a spouse among any of the other names listed in the unit. It is possible that the spouse is not residing at the same address or that he or she is an alien or perhaps that it is meant to be pernah kawin. Whatever the situation is, these sudah kawin cases are in effect incomplete nuclear families, and therefore they are classified in the category of broken nuclear families. The third category, pernah kawin, includes both those widowed and those divorced. Unfortunately, however, these distinctions are not indicated in the list.

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Units positively constituting composite families:

16.	Broken stem (2 generations; senior is male)	6 (-1%)
17.	Broken stem (2 generations; senior is female)	20 (2%)
18.	Patrilocal stem	17 (2%)
19.	Patrilocal stem plus a relative of parents' generation	4 (-1%)
20.	Matrilocal stem	6 (-1%)
21.	Married siblings living together (Brothers: 8; Sisters: 2; Brothers and Sisters: 2)	12 (1%)
22.	Married siblings living together plus a relative of parents' generation	6 (-1%)
23.	Three married couples, consisting of parents and married So and married Da	2 (-1%)
24.	Two or more married couples of which the relationship is completely unclear	5 (-1%)
	Total number of units	996 (100%)

Thus, in about 40 per cent of the units, a Peranakan child is daily surrounded by relatives other than his parents and siblings. Even among the units identified as nuclear families, often the grandparents or siblings of parents live very near, on the same premises, next door, or just a few houses away. In the following sections we will discuss the effect of this environment on the Peranakan child.

Relations with grandparents--Grandparents seem to have a special claim on their grandchildren. This is evidenced by the fact that grandparents and more specially grandparents of the man's side are almost always consulted about the name of the grandchild, that is, his Chinese name, usually regarded as the formal name. To choose a generation name, called djie jan by Peranakans from the Hokkien, however, is now practically obsolete, due to the fact that most Peranakans do not know Chinese. Therefore, instead, a name is usually chosen because it has a nice sound and nice meaning which can be easily asked from any person who knows Chinese.

When both sets of grandparents live in Sukabumi, the child has contact with all four of them and there seems to be no preference or difference in affection based on the fact that one set is from father's side and the other from mother's side. Both sets of grandparents are also called by the same terms: engkong or kong for grandfather and ema' or ma' (13) for grandmother. If they want to distinguish them it is often

(13) Eng- in engkong and e- in ema are prefixes that we do not find used among the Hokkiens. The only prefix used by the latter is á-, as e.g., á-kong for grandfather, á-peh for uncle, á-ko for older brother or cousin. Peranakans also use this prefix, but only for older sister as in atji. Next to the two already mentioned they have in addition the prefixes en- as in entjek (FaYBr) and entjim (FaYBrWi) and em- as in empe (FaOBr). In our attempt to trace the origin of these prefixes, we will find that there are strong indications pointing to Sundanese usage, where we find the prefix e- in emang (PaYBr), em- in embi (PaYSi and PaYBrWi)

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done on the basis of residence, for instance, ema' tonggoh for the grandmother living north of the railroad and ema' lebak for the one living south of it. (The railroad that runs straight from west to east divides the town in a northern part called tonggoh, the equivalent of uptown, and a southern part called lebak, the equivalent of downtown. Both terms are Sundanese.) Any preference or difference in affection a child may show to certain grandparents depends on the frequency of contact which is, of course, directly related to proximity of residence. If he lives in the same house with his paternal grandparents or near them, naturally he is more intimate with them than with his maternal grandparents, and the reverse. If he lives apart from any of them, both sets of grandparents, especially the grandmothers, will usually come and see him at almost equal frequency.

Grandparents generally are very indulgent towards their grandchildren. Consequently children are very fond of their grandparents, to the extent that they sometimes seem to have more affection for them than for their parents. Often, when a new baby arrives, the older child is given almost entirely into the care of the grandmother.

Young mothers, however, especially those who have read or heard about western methods of child care (Dr. Spock's book on child care commonly adorns the bookshelf of western-educated families), do not agree with this indulgent attitude of their parents. It is not infrequent, therefore, that a child becomes the cause of disagreements between his mother and grandmother. These conflicts are, of course, simply the result of the conflict of "old-fashioned" and "modern" ways of child care.

As a young mother of two children of four and one who recently moved to a separate house after living with her parents for about five years said: "Of course it is nice to stay living with your parents after marriage, because in some way they still look after you and you do not have the full responsibility of a household. Also when you want to go out there is always someone to look after the children. Yet I am glad we have moved and live on our own now, because though my mother is not of the 'old-fashioned type,' but on the contrary always tries to follow modern ways, still we often have disagreements on the care of the children. Quite often it happens that when I scold my daughter she will seek consolation with my mother and often also if I refuse her something she will run to her. This situation is not good for the child, because in this way she does not know whom she must listen to and obey." The writer found that this is the attitude of the young people in general. Their ideal is to set up a home of their own. They do not object to its being situated near the parents' house or even on the same premises, if only they have their own household and are able to raise their children in the way they think best.

Relations with parents' and grandparents' siblings--A child has frequent contact also with his parents' and grandparents' siblings. He is

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and eng- in engkang (term of address for OBr or older cousin). The existence of the prefix en-, though we do not find it in the Sundanese terminology, can undoubtedly be explained as an analogy of the use of the other prefixes.

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taught very early by his mother or grandmother how to call his kinsmen. They are usually very strict about it and see to it that a child does not use the wrong terms. Many older women commented to the writer that nowadays young people tend to be indifferent as to the proper way of addressing their older relatives, and they speak with great disapproval about the use of the Dutch term oom for uncle and tante for aunt. The writer has found, however, that in Sukabumi very few young people make this "mistake," though it is true that children under ten are often taught by their mother to call their parents' close friends by these Dutch uncle and aunt terms. It seems that these terms are not felt as kinship terms. This can be seen from the fact that the older women who object to the use of them for relatives do not object to the use of them for non-relatives. In Central and East Java these terms are the usual terms applied by young people to non-relatives much older than the speaker.

All male relatives of father's generation older than father, i. e., father's older brothers and cousins, are called by the same term, pe or empe. If the father has older brothers, they are distinguished according to relative age by adding numerals: toa for the oldest, dji for the second, sha for the third and so on. These distinctions may also be applied to father's cousins, but this is optional and depends on the degree of intimacy. Another way of distinguishing among them is to add the personal name after the kinship term. Their wives are all called by the same term, em, and the same distinctions may be applied to them.

The term for father's younger brothers and younger male cousins is tjek or entjek. No distinction according to age is made, but when necessary the personal name is added. Their wives are all called by the same term, tjim or entjim.

The terms pe or empe and tjek or entjek are extended to male non-relatives of an age older or younger than father respectively. The term tjim or entjim is extended to female non-relatives about the same age or older than mother. It is interesting to note that the term em for wife of father's older brother is never applied to non-relatives.

Father's sisters and female cousins are called koh or o-oh, disregarding relative age. The older sisters, however, are distinguished according to age by the attributes toa, dji, sha, and so on. This may also be applied to cousins. Their husbands are all called kothio.

The term for mother's brothers and male cousins is ku or engku, regardless of relative age. The older brothers, however, are distinguished according to age by the same numerals as above. Their wives are all called by the same term kiem or engkiem.

The term for mother's sisters and female cousins is ie or ie-ie, regardless of relative age. To mother's older sisters the same distinctions is used as applied to mother's older brothers. Their husbands are all called iethio.

With the relatives in the grandparents' generation, the kin term used by the child follows his parents' usage. The relatives whom the

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parents call pe, tjek, koh, ku, and ie are called pekong, tjekong, kopo, kukong, and iepo by the child. Thus, what happens here is that a generation modifier is added: kong for males and po for females.

To all these relatives a child should show the respect due parents and grandparents. This is expressed in the way of greeting them and the way of talking to them. Whenever a child meets an older relative he is taught by his mother to pai (from the Hokkien). This is the traditional Chinese way of greeting a person, by folding the hands and shaking them up and down several times at breast level and asking the question: "Entjek (or empe, or kopo, etc.) baik?" ("Younger uncle [or older uncle or greataunt, etc.] are you well?"). Before they learn to talk, small children are taught how to pai and the parents are delighted when they are able to do so. When talking to older relatives, in fact to older persons in general, a child should never argue but should listen respectfully and obediently. It is considered bad manners for children and young people to argue with or contradict older people.

Relations with cousins--To all his cousins a child applies the same term as to his own siblings. He calls his older male cousins engko (older brother) and his older female cousins atji (older sister). His younger male and female cousins he calls by their personal names, as he does his own younger siblings. Though there is no difference in the terms of address, there is in the terms of reference. This distinction is based on whether a cousin is related through males only, through males and females, or through females only. To the first type the attribute tjintong is added after the sibling term, and to the other two the attribute piao is added. This distinction is very important because cousins who are piao (his FaSiDa, MoBrDa, and MoSiDa) can be potential marriage partners, while the cousins who are tjintong to him cannot. This is clearly an indication of sib-exogamy. These sibling terms are extended to non-relatives who, according to their age, could be siblings of the speaker.

As mentioned before, the relation of a child and his kinsmen depends largely on the proximity of residence. There seems to be no difference in behavior towards father's or mother's relatives. A child may be more intimate with his mother's relatives if they also live in Sukabumi because the mother would be more inclined to visit her own relatives rather than those of her husband. For a child to have many relatives is something to be happy about because this means that he will have many New Year's visits to make. These visits are great fun for a child. Besides getting cakes and sweets to his heart's content, he will receive a small money gift, ang pao (literally, red package, because it is wrapped in red paper. This is derived from the Hokkien.). Therefore, the more relatives a child has, the more money gifts he will receive.

Ancestor Veneration

Ancestor veneration is one of the aspects of Chinese culture a Peranakan child is familiar with from the time he perceives his environment. He will notice the offering table with the pictures of his grandparents or great-grandparents on the wall above it, and his mother will

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tell him who they are. He will see his mother light candles and burn incense sticks at regular times. Whenever an ancestor veneration ceremony takes place, all the children participate in it. A baby is carried in its mother's arms, and she helps it to hold the incense sticks in its small hands. A bigger child stands in front of the ancestor table with his other brothers and sisters and repeats the prayer his mother prompts him to say. Boys are taught to perform the sodja kui, kow tow, in the proper way.

On the occasion of Chinese New Year, the writer witnessed a family, consisting of a young couple with a small son of about five, performing the New Year ceremony. All the preparation, the cooking of the food, placing it on the table, and lighting the candles, was done by the wife. When everything was ready she called her husband. He prayed alone, holding the incense sticks, and, putting them in the incense pot, he knelt down on the little mat placed on the floor especially for this purpose and performed the sodja kui. After him it was the turn of the small son to do the same. The child did it very neatly with a serious expression on his face. His great-aunt from father's side, his kopo, who is herself converted to Protestantism and therefore not allowed to pray with incense sticks, praised him, saying that he was a clever boy. Also present on this occasion were an aunt (father's widowed first cousin) with her two children of about five and seven. They are also Protestants and, like the great-aunt, prayed by standing in front of the offering table with bowed heads, closed eyes, and folded hands. They did this after the son was through and at the same time as the wife, who prayed with incense sticks. It is interesting to note that the children did not seem to feel strange about the difference in their ways of praying.

Girls are taught at an early age to help prepare the offerings and arrange the offering table. Often, when the mother is away from home, it is the older daughter who will make the small offering on the first and fifteenth of each lunar month. Girls do not have to perform the sodja kui; they only pray with incense sticks.

For a child, the ceremony of ancestor veneration, usually called by the Indonesian term sembahjang (praying, offering), is a happy and joyful event, especially if he belongs to a rich, old family and his father is the eldest son, for this means that his house is the place where the ancestor table is kept. The father's relatives will then have to come to his house to participate in the ceremonies. For a child this is great fun; there are the cousins to play with and great quantities of cakes and sweets and good food to eat all day.

The Young Adult

Relations outside the family environment--It is in secondary school that the scope of contact of the child expands beyond the limits of family and neighborhood. He becomes a member of the youth organizations sponsored by the school or by church organizations. In the Catholic and Protestant schools, the schools attended by the majority of Peranakans, there is coeducation on all levels, with the exception of the Catholic junior middle school.

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The students in Catholic schools can join the Serodja (abbreviation for SEdjahtera ROhani DJAsmani, literally spiritual and physical well-being), a youth organization aimed at the promotion of the healthy development of mind and body. It is run by the youths themselves under the guidance of one of the priests. Membership is open to Catholics and non-Catholics, students and non-students alike. Meetings are held three times a week in one of the Catholic schools, mainly for sports such as badminton, table tennis, and volley ball, to play cards and other games, or to listen to western classical music. They also make trips to picnic spots outside Sukabumi. The patterns of the other youth organizations are similar.

The Peranakan students in Protestant schools can join the youth section of the Chinese Protestant church. Like the Serodja, it is open not only to students but to all young people, Protestant and non-Protestant.

Besides these church-sponsored organizations open to students and non-students alike, there is an organization exclusively for middle school students called by the Mandarin name Chung Lien Hui, Organization of Middle School Students, very recently changed to the Indonesian name, Perhimpunan Peladjar Sekolah Menengah Indonesia, abbreviated PPSMI (Organization of Students of Indonesian Middle Schools). Membership is open to all students; actually the members are virtually all Peranakans.

For those who do not go to school and do not have connections with either of the Christian groups, there is the Tribudaja (from the Sanskrit, meaning "The Three Cultures"), the youth section of the Sam Kauw Hui (from the Hokkien, meaning "Organization of the Three Religions," i. e., Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. A discussion of this organization will follow in the chapter on Religion.).

Thus for young people there seem to be adequate opportunities to participate in social activities. As one of the Peranakans who has always been active in social organizations said: "We need these youth organizations, especially for those who do not go to school, because for many of them this is the only opportunity to meet people their age in a friendly and companionable way." This is especially true for the girls who do not go to school. Their mothers usually keep a close watch over them and disapprove of their going out in mixed groups; they have very few opportunities to meet young people of the opposite sex.

Even for those who go to school, however, contact with the opposite sex is limited to the school and organization environment. Boys and girls seldom go to the movies or the swimming pool together, for instance; girls go with their girl friends and boys with their boy friends. This is due to the prevailing opinion in the Peranakan community that girls should not mix too much with boys. In school this cannot be avoided and parents have confidence in the organizations because there is always a priest or an older person present. Outside school and club, however, parents discourage social interaction between boys and girls. The girls themselves are acutely aware that they will incur the disapproval of older people if they are often seen on the streets with boys, and so strong is

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the control of parents that practically no rebellious acts have occurred among them. For a boy to meet a girl alone, virtually the only way is to visit her at her home. This is an accepted procedure, for the parents feel that they have complete control of the situation. It requires a certain degree of courage on the part of the boy, however, to take this step, because if the parents do not approve of his coming, it is very easy for them to prevent his seeing their daughter. And, as mentioned before, so strong is parental influence that few girls dare to act contrary to their parents' wishes in this respect.

Relations with parents--The relationship between parents and children in the Peranakan families in Sukabumi is characterized by the reserve that exists in Chinese families in general. Boys, especially, seldom if ever have a confidential talk with their parents; they do not come to them with their problems and difficulties. Instead they go to outsiders, to one of the Catholic priests, the Protestant minister, or an intimate friend.

Among those high school students who, through European teachers (this applies to Catholic schools only, where there are Dutch priests, brothers, and nuns in the teaching staff at all levels) and through reading books by western authors, are exposed to the western ideas of warmth and companionship between parents and children, there seems to be an awareness of this gap. A young man of twenty-three, for instance, who belongs to one of the rich old families in town, told the writer that there is no understanding at all between him and his parents, especially his father. He complained that parents think it sufficient to feed and clothe their children and send them to a good school. They do not realize, he says, that children need spiritual contact and guidance too. He has discussed this father-son relationship with friends and insists that others have similar difficulties.

At the same time, however, the attitude among these young people seems to be that it is impossible to bridge this gap for the simple reason that their parents have never been made aware of this need in their grown children and, even if they were, they would not know how to handle the situation. Information on the facts of life, for instance, are virtually never acquired from parents but from outsiders, usually friends, or from reading books and pamphlets (mostly questionable ones, read in secrecy) on the subject. No doubt Peranakan youth in Sukabumi are not spared the frustrations that usually accompany adolescence, though apparently not to the extent that they erupt into overt protest or action. In general, parental authority is considerably respected, in the sense that few young people will consciously and directly act contrary to their parents' wishes.

This undoubtedly is rooted in the traditional Confucian idea of filial piety, referred to among the Peranakans as hao, from the Hokkien(14).

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(14) The opposite is put hao, from the Hokkien. Similar to the traditional Chinese situation, to be called an unfilial child, referred to by Peranakans as anak put hao (anak, Indonesian for child), is one of the worst epithets that can be applied to an individual.

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Filial obedience and filial respect are concepts that are still very much adhered to among the Peranakans. To care for one's parents in their old age is a duty that is taken as a matter of course, a natural consequence of the recognition that one owes one's life to one's parents. There is an awareness, however, that inroads are being made into these ideas. The writer believes that the process of weakening of these ideas began in the early nineteen-hundreds when the Dutch lured Peranakans away from Chinese-language schools, with the result that formal training in Confucian ethics was discontinued for a large number of them. (A Peranakan who had been to one of these schools as a boy told the writer that every day, before classes started, all the students had to assemble in front of a picture of Confucius and bow to it three times. Also, one of the forms of punishment in the school was to stand for a certain length of time in front of this picture.) (15)

The relationship between mother and son is usually much better, and in some cases very good. Because mothers tend to be indulgent to sons, conflicts seldom arise between them. On the contrary, due to the fact that, in conflicts between son and father, the mother often takes the side of the son, the latter not infrequently becomes the cause of conflict between the parents. The relationship between son and mother cannot be called intimate, however, for, while he turns to her for physical and financial needs, with most personal problems he goes elsewhere.

A daughter generally has more contacts with her parents than a son has, if only because a girl stays at home more than a boy, which, in turn, reflects the prevailing opinion among Peranakans that the place of a girl is at home. In poor families, girls from about ten years old or even younger have to help with the household chores. In many families there is only one servant for the heavy work such as laundering; consequently, the daughters have to help with the light work such as keeping the rooms in order, setting the table, and so on. They also have to help in the kitchen and are taught to prepare all kinds of dishes. All girls are able to prepare simple everyday dishes. In several of the rich old families the daughters are very good cooks, able to prepare fancy dishes. The writer found that, in general, girls do not resent helping at home. On the contrary, they themselves agree that they should be trained in housekeeping. The majority of the girls drop out of school after finishing junior middle school. They are then about fifteen or sixteen years old. Thereafter they stay at home and help their mothers. Many of them take

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(15) That Confucian ethics were basic to the philosophy of the Chinese-language schools established by the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan (the school attended by the above informant), is evidenced by the description of the aim of this organization as outlined in the old statutes (in 1900), article 2: "the promotion of Chinese customs and ethics, as much as possible following the precepts of Nabi Khong Hoe Tjoe." (This is the name Peranakans use to refer to Confucius, following Hokkien usage. Note the title Nabi, used also by Moslems in referring to their prophet Mohamad.) Again in the change of the statutes of this organization in 1930 it was stated: "the promotion of education, especially Chinese culture education." Taken from Nio Joe Lan, "De Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan-Beweging," De Indische Gids, LVI, no. 1 (1934).

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cooking, baking, or sewing lessons. To be competent in these skills is considered an asset for a girl and will raise her value in the eyes of mothers with eligible sons. Although she is under the complete supervision of the mother, the relationship between daughter and mother is usually good. As a child she may resent the restrictions put on her by her mother. When she is older, she realizes that mothers are strict with daughters for the daughters' sake. Quite often a great intimacy exists between a grown daughter and her mother due to this close daily contact. Especially when she no longer goes to school, the daughter is a great help in doing the household chores and looking after younger siblings. In families where the father does not earn enough to cover the household expenses, the mother often makes cakes or food to sell or she becomes a dressmaker. Then often mother and daughter form an economic unit. There are several families where the unmarried daughters of over twenty are the wage earners because their parents are too old or unable to work.

A daughter is usually on very good terms with her father. Indeed, a father tends to be indulgent with his daughter, while the mother tends to be severe with her. Quite often a daughter, especially when she is still a child, will turn to her father for something she knows her mother will refuse her, for instance, sweets or permission to play with friends. Generally a father does not interfere with his daughter's training at home, but he does have an interest in her formal education. When she grows older she sometimes replaces the mother in caring for the father, for instance, attending him at his meal and rendering him other small services.

Courtship and Marriage

Ideas About Marriage

The general opinion among Peranakans is that an individual is not "complete," unless he is married and raising a family. Older people say jokingly, but with a definite undertone of seriousness, that prior to marriage a person is belum djadi orang, literally, not a human being yet. Only after marriage is he recognized as a human being, djadi orang, in the sense of having achieved the status of a full-fledged individual. An apt description of this view of an unmarried individual is given by a Peranakan woman, 70 years of age: "He is like a blind road. It just ends there and there is no further way ahead." She added that when one isstill young this is no problem, because one has the strength and the opportunity to care for oneself, but what happens when one gets old and weak? The question posed is then: "Who will take care of you if you do not have children?"

The writer found that among the older generation this traditional view of marriage as constituting a means of security for old age still prevails. Consequently, parents, especially the mother, consider it their duty to see to it that their children are properly married. Only after this is achieved do they feel themselves released of the responsibility to care for their children and free to settle down towards a peaceful and well deserved old age, surrounded by grandchildren and, if

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possible great grandchildren. Before that a mother keeps worrying about the unmarried status of a son or a daughter. The writer has even heard remarks about a mother who did not die peacefully because of a child who had not yet married. A mother whose children have made good marriages is considered very wise and fortunate, because all her children are "taken care of." The phrase used is anak-anaknja sudah beres.

When a child has reached marriageable age, around eighteen for a girl and twenty-two for a boy, the mother keeps her eyes open for possible candidates. Should a child show a tendency to run wild, then a mother will immediately take steps to have it properly married. Mothers dread the prospect of a child, especially a daughter, remaining single. Although today for a woman to be unattached even though she has long passed the marriageable age is not as strongly condemned as it was some thirty years ago, people still consider it unnatural, and a woman in this position is looked upon with a certain pity which extends to her family.

Despite this strong social pressure in favor of marriage, however, the writer has observed that there are a considerable number of unmarried women in Sukabumi. The election registration list shows that of the women twenty-one years old and over, ten per cent are unmarried or never married. This situation cannot be explained as being caused by a discrepancy in the sex ratio, which is approximately equal among young Peranakan adults. Besides, of men twenty-three years old and over, thirteen per cent are unmarried or never married. Thus there must be other factors whch may account for this situation.

The writer acquired valuable information on this topic from a Peranakan woman of about fifty who belongs to one of the old families in town and who knows virtually all the Peranakan families of any significance. She explained that the role of the mother in this matter is of great importance. Even today, where consultation with the girl is recognized, the mother still exerts such an influence that, in effect, in the last analysis her opinion plays a decisive role. This informant strongly emphasized the great responsibility of a mother, adding that if she has many daughters she would be wise to consider each proposal seriously before thinking of turning it down. If it is known of a girl that several proposals have been refused, other potential suitors will gradually stay away, even though the girl may be very attractive because it is regarded as a great "loss of face" to be turned down.

It is interesting to consider the opinion of an unmarried woman of about forty on this subject. When the writer brought up the subject of marriage, she rather defiantly asserted that today women have ceased to be dependent on men because they are able to earn their own living. This assertion of independence is indicative of the change of the position of women as compared to the traditional situation. Many of these unmarried women who are between thirty and forty have had some exposure to western ideas through school and books. This exposure must have had an impact on ideas on marriage and especially on the idea of the freedom to choose one's husband. When they were at an age when they should have been given the opportunity to meet young people of the opposite sex,

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however, they were kept at home to learn housekeeping. Hence, they did not get the chance to choose for themselves, and on the other hand they refused to comply with their parents' choice. As a result they remain single.

This claim on freedom of choice or, at least, participation in choosing a spouse shows a wide divergence from the traditional Chinese idea, adhered to only one generation back, when it was simply unthinkable that the couple involved would be consulted as to their wishes in this respect. This insistence also implies a positive view of the personal involvement of the young people concerned, the idea that marriage should be based on mutual attraction or, more precisely, on mutual love. It is interesting, however, as an indication of the extent of acceptance of these ideas, that in the presence of others the behavior of a couple, either engaged or married, is characterized by great reserve even to the point of ignoring each other. Holding hands, for instance, or even looking at each other is completely disapproved of, because it is felt to be improper to show affection in public.

Patterns of Marriage Arrangement

To what extent these ideas of mutual attraction and mutual love as a prerequisite for marriage are expressed in reality can be examined by investigating the existing patterns of marriage arrangement.

The traditional method of employing professional matchmakers has disappeared and with it marriages that are concluded without consultation of the young people concerned. The other extreme, marriage without the consent of parents is very rare, because Peranakans, the older as well as the younger generation, believe that no happiness rests on a marriage devoid of the blessing of the parents. Thus the pattern that prevails among the Peranakans of Sukabumi today seems to be: either parents choose, children approve; or children choose, parents approve.

Due to the greater freedom of social interaction between the sexes, the second pattern seems to be more frequent than the first. The procedure of this pattern is generally as outlined below.

When a son is about twenty-two the mother starts giving hints and asking him whether he has found a girl to whom he feels attracted. If he has a girl in mind, he is usually reticent about it and feels embarrassed to talk about it. The mother has to find out for herself. This is not difficult because, even when her son is seen only once or twice with a particular girl, her relatives and friends will give hints about it. If the girl is the daughter of one of the families in town that she knows well, she will likely approve her son's choice and no complications will arise. She will ask her son whether he is serious about it and whether he would like her to ask formally for the hand of the girl. The Indonesian term ngelamar is generally used for this act. If he consents, accompanied by a female relative or friend who should also be known to the family of the girl and sometimes accompanied by the young man himself, she will make a formal visit to the family of the girl. Even though the two families know each other well and they are aware of the

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relationship between their children, this formal request has to be made. This event marks the formal acceptance of the young man as a suitor. He is then allowed to visit the girl regularly and occasionally to take her out. A formal engagement may or may not follow, culminating in marriage.

There are cases, however, where a boy wants to know a girl he feels attracted to, but has never had the chance to be introduced. He may then ask the help of a friend, in which case the same procedure as the above may follow. But he may also ask the help of his mother. In this case, if the mother does not know the family of the girl or knows them only slightly, she will seek among her relatives or friends someone who knows the family well. She will first find out from this person whether the girl is still free and whether she thinks she would be a suitable wife for her son. If the mutual friend thinks she is, first she herself will go to the family of the girl and tell the mother that Mrs. So-and-so is looking for a daughter-in-law. If the mother shows willingness to hear about it she will then give some details of the character of the young man and his occupation. By the time she comes to the point, the mother already knows what the real purpose of the visit is. She will usually not give a direct answer but tell the visitor that she will consult her daughter. A mother of several married daughters told the writer how a girl usually reacts when she is informed that a certain young man desires to get acquainted with her. It seems indicative of the degree of the influence of western ideas among the girls in Sukabumi that, according to her, a girl is usually very shy and reserved about giving an answer. Apparently there are certain conventional phrases in this matter from which the mother will know what her daughter thinks of the request. If a girl is not willing, she is apt to say that she has belum niat (no intention as yet to marry); if she is, she will be even more embarrassed about it and say that she will leave it to her mother to make the decision. When the mutual friend thinks sufficient time has elapsed for the girl and her family to consider the proposal, she will visit again. If the answer is favorable, the young man and his mother will make a formal visit, accompanied by the mutual friend. The young people will be introduced to each other, and they may or may not be left to themselves for a while. The boy is then established as a formal suitor and the subsequent procedure will be the same as above.

These are the usual procedures in the case of the second pattern, whereby the choice is initially made by the young people or rather the young man. How is the procedure in the case of the first pattern, i.e., parents choose, children approve? Apparently it is only when a young man does not show any indication that he has made a choice after he is twenty-five that a mother feels justified in interfering directly. If she herself does not know a suitable girl, she will ask the help of an older relative or close friend. This person will, in turn, tell her relatives and close friends about the plans of Mrs. So-and-so. Usually the older women in the community know very well which families have marriageable daughters. From among the girls pointed out to her, the relative whose help had been asked will choose the ones who seem most suitable to her and report to the mother of the young man. They both will then make a choice from among these girls.

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What are the considerations taken into account in the choice of a daughter-in-law? First and foremost, a good and healthy descent; secondly, but of almost equal importance, a pleasant personality, i.e., well-mannered, not sharp-tongued, industrious, home-loving. It is important to note that the first consideration seems to be regarded as of superior importance to the second one. This is indicative of the still existing adherence to the traditional idea of marriage constituting a kind of contract between two families, rather than establishing a relationship between the two individuals concerned. This criterion of a good and healthy descent is evaluated as follows: if it is known of a girl that there is mental illness, hereditary disease, or moral misconduct (as for instance elopement or divorce) among the near kin, it will be very difficult for her to make a good match. The personality and behavior of the mother is also of great importance. This is a clear indication of the recognition of the role of the mother as model and exemplar for the daughter. As to the question of whether wealth comes into consideration in the choice, the answer generally was that in the case of a girl, wealth is not so important, because it is the man who is expected to provide for that. This again is indicative of an adherence to the traditional idea of hypogamy for a boy and hypergamy for a girl. Most informants agree, however, that the best combination is that "rich marry rich and poor marry poor."

The same two main considerations are taken into account in considering the proposal of a young man. The mother of the girl pays special attention to the question whether or not he is nakal, Indonesian for naughty, but in this context meaning licentious. In general, heterosexual experience on the part of the man is not a factor that receives much consideration in the evaluation of his eligibility because it is regarded a natural urge in men that should be gratified; it is even believed that lack of sexual outlet may lead to abnormality. Mothers do object, however, to young men who are known to have more or less permanent extra-legal relations, especially when there are children involved. This situation not infrequently occurs with young men employed on the estates around Sukabumi, where they have the opportunity to live with a Sundanese girl. For these men there is still a chance of being accepted, however (depending on their eligibility of course), if they break off the relationship completely.

When the mother of the young man has made a definite choice, she will consult her son about it. If he approves of her choice, the relative and the friend who has pointed out the girl to her, will visit the mother of the girl to explore the possibilities. The relative will then report her impression of the girl to the mother. If both decide that she is suitable, the mother herself with the relative and the friend will make a formal visit. In the meantime the mother of the girl has been informed by the friend of the real purpose of the first visit. When it comes to the point where the mother of the young man herself makes a visit, in almost all cases this means that the proposal will be accepted or that at least the opportunity for getting acquainted will be given. If the chances for acceptance are very small or doubtful, no formal visit will be made, because a refusal is regarded as a great loss of face. Older women recalled that it was on the occasion of these visits that they were ordered by their

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mothers to come out with tea and cakes with the tacit intention of giving opportunity to the guests to have a look at them. Today young girls object to his, viewing it as humiliating treatment. The phrase used to pose the important question is conventionally whether the mother of the girl has no objection (tidak keberatan) for the girl to get acquainted with the young man. If the answer of the daughter to the mother had been that it is up to her, the mother of the young man will be informed that there are no objections. If the young man has come along on that visit, the young people are introduced to each other. From this point the procedure is the same as outlined above.

Thus we may conclude that, although there is a noticeable shift of emphasis from family to the individual in the matter of marriage, the authority of the parents isstill secure, though tempered by the realization that today young people have the right of participation in matters that concern them directly. This implies the recognition of the value of the individual as a person in his own right, which is a far cry from the traditional view that an individual has only significance as part of a family.

Preferences in Spouse Selection

In regard to marriage preferences there is no clear evidence of the existence of the type of cross-cousin preference that prevailed in traditional China. The young people themselves seem to be of the opinion that marriage with piao cousins, FaSiDa, MoBrDa, or MoSiDa, is not advisable because they are too closely related, and this, they believe, may have a harmful effect on the descendants. Marriage with second and more remote cousins, however, does often occur and especially marriage with people to whom one is related through affinal relatives.

Insofar as proscriptions are concerned, there is a marriage taboo between people of the same surname, between a man and a relative of a higher generation and between step-siblings. Except for the latter, is is perhaps too strong to use the terms proscription and taboo. It would be more correct to speak of strong disapproval, because there is an increasingly lenient attitude towards marriage between non-relatives of the same surname and several such unions exist. Less leniency is shown towards the marriage of a man with a relative of a higher generation. The writer was acquainted with one such union--the young man married a cousin of his mother. Thus he is tjutju (child of a sibling or of a cousin) to her, and she is ie (mother's sister or mother's female cousin) to him. The families of both were very much opposed to this union; the couple managed to get it through by refusing to marry anybody else. (A strong consideration in favor of allowing the marriage must have been the fact that both were in their late twenties.) In less than a year the woman died in childbirth. Those who disapproved of this marriage viewed this event as proof of the unsuitability of the union.

The reverse situation, the marriage of a girl with a relative of a higher generation, seems to be acceptable. The writer was closely connected with one such couple throughout the period of the study. Apparently the reasoning behind this view is that this type of union is not a breach of the idea that a husband should in no way be a junior or inferior to his wife.

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Another regulation is that younger siblings should not precede older siblings in marriage. This applies to siblings within the sexes; thus a younger sister may not precede an older sister nor a younger brother an older brother, but a younger sister may precede an older brother and a younger brother an older sister. There is an increasingly lenient attitude towards this regulation, although evidence of its observance is still reflected in the fact that, should an older sibling be passed over, a compensation is presented to him in the form of some specified gifts. In some families this regulation seems to be still applied to the daughters. Thus a younger daughter has to wait for all her older sisters to be married before she herself can marry. This is, of course, a device to prevent the reduction of the marriage chances of the older sister.

Marriage of a man with a woman his senior in age is not advised and is even frowned upon, in accordance with the general opinion that a husband should not in any respect be inferior to his wife. This is reflected in the data derived from the election registration list showing that, of the marriages among Peranakans, only 3.6 per cent were cases in which the wives were older than the husbands, while in only 6.4 per cent of the cases were the spouses of the same age.

Courtship

As outlined in the section on the young adult, social interaction among the young Peranakans in Sukabumi is largely limited to group activities, to the exclusion of any form of dating as found in the United States, for example. When a boy and a girl are attracted to each other, they will, of course, interact more closely and more frequently, but always within the group context. To see the girl alone, the boy will have to visit her at her home; the girl will receive him in the front room where they can sit and chat. No chaperon is required, but the mother will usually appear, presumably to inquire after his mother's health or to exchange some pleasantries but, in reality, to make her presence known. When it is known that a boy is visiting a girl regularly, their friends will regard them as a couple. There is a more or less tacit acknowledgment of this relationship in the sense that their friends will refrain from teasing them openly in the presence of each other because this would make them, and especially the girl, feel extremely embarrassed. Not until the mother of the boy has come to ask formally for the hand of the girl, at which point he will have established himself as a formal suitor, will the mother of the girl allow him to take her out alone. There are still mothers, however, who insist on a third person accompanying the couple, either a younger sibling, a cousin, or some other relative or friends. Thus the courting period is characterized by a more or less reserved and restrained relationship, precluding the opportunity for more intimate contact and exploration. These restrictions are, of course, precisely aimed at the prevention of the latter.

Basic to these restrictions is the high valuation given to virginity on the part of the girl. Therefore, premarital sexual relations are strictly prohibited. The most frequent advice a mother gives to her young daughters is to be careful in the company of men because, once a girl has lost her virginity out of wedlock, she is regarded as maimed for

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life and her chances for making a respectable marriage are almost nil. Older women told the writer that formerly it was required of a bride to show proof of her virginity to her mother-in-law after the wedding night.

Due to the strong social control in this matter and the inculcation on the part of the girls that their virginity is their highest treasure, a breach of this prohibition seldom occurs. If it does, the families concerned will cover it up as quietly as possible and take measures by, for instance, advancing the wedding date. In the case where this occurs prior to the formal proposal, the parents of the girl, who are in these matters of course the injured party, will demand a marriage. Depending on the social status in the community of the girl's family, the family of the boy will cooperate and consent to the marriage. If the girl's family is socially of low status, however, the boy and his family will refuse to acknowledge any responsibility. One such case was known to the writer during the period of study. A girl of mixed Eurasian and Indonesian descent was made pregnant by a Peranakan boy. Because this girl was already considered as somewhat loose, the writer found little sympathy for her among the Peranakans. On the contrary, the prevailing opinion was that the girl was entirely to blame.

When the period for getting acquainted proves satisfactory for both parties and the couple decides to get married, the formalization of the agreement takes place by the presentation of gifts by the boy's family to the girl's family. For this purpose a formal visit is made, usually by the mother of the boy accompanied by the person who made the first contact with the family of the girl and sometimes also by the person who will direct the ceremony during the wedding. The articles to be presented are considered traditionally prescribed and consist of the following: first, one pair of long red candles with a dragon painted on each (hence the name lilin liong, i. e., dragon candle; lilin is Indonesian for candle, and liong is from the Hokkien and means dragon). These are the candles used at the wedding ceremony; second, fruits and cakes; third, a certain amount of money wrapped in two packages of red paper. The money in the one package is called uang susu or uang tete (Indonesian, meaning literally milk money and nipple money, respectively) and in the other uang uah or uang dapur (what uah stands for none of the informants could explain, but uang dapur means literally kitchen money). The first amount is usually a nominal sum and symbolizes a compensation for the care bestowed by the mother on the daughter, while the second amount is intended as a contribution to the expenses to be made for the wedding and especially for the trousseau of the girl. The general procedure is for the milk money to be accepted and the kitchen money to be returned. This is especially true when the family of the girl is well-to-do. Sometimes these gifts are placed on elaborately decorated baskets and trays. On this occasion, sang djit, the wedding date is confirmed. Traditionally this event marks the formal conclusion of the marriage agreement. Older people recalled that in their time no celebration occurred on this occasion. Among the Peranakans in Sukabumi, to observe an engagement celebration is recognized as a western custom and therefore mostly adhered to by the western-educated. Even among these, however, it is often omitted, usually to save expenses which is, of course, an indication of the low importance attached to it. Another indication of

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this is the form of the engagement announcements in the papers; as compared with the wedding announcement, it is disproportionately simple, consisting only of the names of the young couple and the date of the betrothal.

If a formal engagement celebration does occur, as a rule it takes place at the residence of the girl. This would indicate the alien nature of the ceremony because, according to Chinese tradition, except in special matrilocal marriage, no celebration takes place at the residence of the girl. It may also be an indication, however, of the influence of Sundanese custom where, traditionally, the wedding takes place at the home of the bride. (16)

The proceedings of such a celebration were described to the writer by a young married Peranakan woman who belongs to one of the rich old families in Sukabumi. She is married to a young man from Djakarta who belongs to one of the rich old families in that city. Both have had several years of Dutch secondary school education. Theirs is one of those marriages where "children choose, parents approve." The celebration she recounted was that of her own engagement that occurred in 1956 at her home in Sukabumi. The young man arrived from Djakarta accompanied by his mother (his father was deceased), his siblings, and their spouses. For this occasion the girl was dressed in a long white dress and the young man in a light western suit. The ceremony of the exchange of rings was performed in front of the ancestor altar of the girl's family, where a simple offering of cakes and fruits was placed. The betrothed couple first prayed with incense sticks and then, still facing the altar, they put the rings on the ring finger of each other's left hand. Thereafter they paid their respects to their mothers (the girl's father was deceased also) by performing the pai to them. It is obvious that the idea behind this ceremony is that the ancestors should witness the conclusion of this union. It is significant as a measure of the extent of the deviation from the traditional Chinese pattern that the man should honor the woman's ancestors and that this ceremony should precede the one that would be performed for the man's ancestors on the wedding day.

The Wedding

When speaking of weddings, the older people always recall how elaborate the celebration used to be when they were young. It usually lasted for at least three days. For the bride, especially, it was a period of suffering. Around 1900, however, there were already Peranakans who suggested a simplification of these lavish ceremonies which they considered

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(16) According to traditional Sundanese custom, two to five days before the wedding day the groom is brought in procession to the bride's residence together with the articles his family presents to the family of the bride. The term for this ceremony is seserahan, derived from the word pasrah, meaning to surrender. See Moestapa, op. cit., pp. 77, 78; also A. Prawirasuganda, "Adat Perkawinan di Tanah Pasundan," Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde, LXXXIV (1951), 216-219.

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unnecessary and a waste of money. (17) One of the most radical changes that occurred was the discarding of the elaborate and heavy traditional Chinese robes; they were exchanged for the western white dress and veil for the bride and the dark or light suit for the groom. The wearing of western apparel was already taking place around 1920. The writer was informed that the last time a bridal couple was dressed in traditional Chinese style in Sukabumi was around 1930, but this was only for the ceremony; thereafter they put on western style dress. Since that time Peranakan bridal couples of all social levels have always dressed in western style.

It is becoming increasingly obsolete to consult a horoscopist, usually a traditional Chinese doctor, for the most auspicious date. Older people told the writer that weddings used to take place mostly in the eighth month of the lunar calendar because this was considered the most auspicious month. Next best was the fourth month and then the second and the tenth months. Today, however, weddings occur in all months, even the ninth, traditionally taboo for weddings. According to older people the ninth month was called the month for perkawinan andjing (Indonesian, meaning literally mating of dogs). The preference for the eighth month still exists, however.

As to the day, for practical reasons and perhaps influenced by the western idea that Sunday is a good day, weddings usually take place on a Sunday. One month or three weeks before the wedding, the invitations are sent and an announcement published in a newspaper, usually in Keng Po, the Peranakan-owned, Indonesian-language paper published in Djakarta which is the most widely read paper among the Peranakans in Sukabumi. (18) The invitations are always in Indonesian, printed on pink-colored cards, following an almost standard formula. It is interesting to note that in the indication of the date the Chinese lunar calendar is followed using the terminology derived from the Hokkien. Next to it, connected with the word atau (Indonesian for or) or in parentheses the date according to the western solar calendar is given. (19) If the groom's family as well as the bride's family gives a party, then separate invitations are sent. If not, only one invitation is sent, with the names of the parents of both as the hosts. This is usually the case when the party is not held in either of the residences but in a public building (in Sukabumi in the building of either the Hakka or the Eng Tjhun organization, the only two speech-group organizations in town, or in the largest Peranakan-owned restaurant). Thus there are three alternative arrangements as to the locale: either both the ceremony and the party are held at home; or both the ceremony and the party are held in one of the public buildings available for this type of celebration; or the ceremony is held at home and

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(17) Nio Joe Lan, Riwajat 40 Taon dari Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan-Batavia 1900-1939, pp. 206-209, contains articles on this topic which give specified suggestions as to what rites should be dropped. (Hereinafter cited as THHK anniversary book)

(18) After the war there were no local papers in Sukabumi.

(19) For the most important rites de passage among the Peranakans, marriage and death, and for the observance of the ceremonies connected with ancestor veneration, Peranakans adhere to the Chinese lunar

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the party in one of the public buildings.

The third alternative appears to be getting more popular. This seems to be an indication of the trend towards simplification of the celebration, in terms of expenses, length of time and labor put into it. In fact, one might say that it is the factor of convenience that plays an important role in the selection of the place. The prevailing opinion seems to be that it is more convenient to have the party in one of the public buildings which are fully equipped for this type of celebration, including kitchen facilities.

Depending on the refreshments and food served, parties can be distinguished into two types: the thee-hwee, which is the simple type with only cakes, snacks and drinks served, and the perdjamuan, the Indonesian term for a banquet, which is the elaborate type with a complete meal. The type of party is always indicated on the invitation card.

As to form, the wedding among the Peranakans is perhaps one of the best examples of the incorporation of elements from each one of the three cultures--Hokkien, Sundanese, and western--that the Peranakans of Sukabumi have been and are exposed to. No rigid rules as to what rituals to observe seem to exist, and no consensus is found among the people themselves as to what is considered the correct procedure. A wide range of selection is possible, and apparently no social criticism is attached to the choice or omission made. Naturally, the more westernized families tend to prefer the wedding forms most strongly influenced by western models. Although the younger generation may participate in the decision making, in ceremonial matters they tend to defer to the wishes and opinions of the older generation. This is of course an indication of the recognition of their greater knowledge in these matters and at the same time it is an indication of the recognition that a wedding should be concluded with some form of ceremony. The older generation in this case is represented by the mother, in accordance with her leading role in regard to marriages, together with the grandmother if still living. Thus in families where the female part of the older generation has had no western education or exposure whatsoever, it is most likely that a great number of rituals will be observed that can be traced to Hokkien or Sundanese origin. Conversely, the more they have been exposed, the less likely that this kind of ritual will be observed. There is one ritual, however, which is never omitted, except in families converted to Christianity. This is the honoring of the groom's ancestors by both the bride and groom, which is essentially the traditional Chinese ceremony of presentation of the bride to the groom's ancestors, thereby incorporating her in his lineage. In a subsequent chapter dealing with mourning customs, we will notice that this idea of the incorporation of a woman into her husband's family is still reflected among the Peranakans in the fact that a woman observes a shorter mourning period for her own parents than for her husband's.

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calendar. Therefore, in virtually all Peranakan homes there is at least one calendar that indicates the dates according to the Chinese lunar system, given in a derivation from the Hokkien.

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Another indication of the greater importance attached to the groom's family is the adherence to the idea of patrilocality which is shown by the fact that, as a rule, the bridal room is set up in the groom's house. Deviations from this rule often occur, however, based on practical considerations such as accommodation available and the financial position of the parties concerned.

The bridal room forms an important feature of all Peranakan weddings, including those couples who have become Christians. Generally much fuss is made about it. The way the room is furnished and decorated can be viewed as an indication of the degree of western influence in the family. A room with a bridal bed made of wood and curtainless is considered modern, while a bed made of iron with a draped curtain is considered old-fashioned. The former is usually found among the upper-class families, while the latter is found among the lower-class families. The importance attached to the bridal room is, of course, closely related to the importance attached to posterity. Older people informed the writer that formerly rites symbolic of fertility were performed after the room was ready. One of the rites, for example, was for a little boy to roll over the bed three times. This is explained as an expression of the wish for the firstborn to be a boy. The basic furniture pieces are a double bed, a wardrobe, and a dresser. Depending on the financial position of the families, more pieces can be added. If the financial position of the bride and groom is equal, the expenses for the bridal room is divided; the bed and covers are the expense of the groom; the wardrobe, dresser, and pillows and cases are the expense of the bride. This division is not rigid, however, and much room is left for deviations from it. If the bride is financially of a much lower status, the bridal room may be furnished entirely by the groom's family. During the wedding, this room is open to all guests to be admired or criticized. The women especially make a point of visiting the room. With the bridal gown and the food served it is the most discussed part of every wedding.

As mentioned before, there is no consensus as to the correct procedure of a wedding. There is general agreement, however, as to simplification and economizing. Even the older women, who recall the elaborate ceremonies they were subjected to, state that most of these rituals were superfluous. Due to lack of knowledge concerning the procedures to be used, the service of an expert is usually employed. Use of such a person has been the general rule at Peranakan weddings, and it is understandable, considering the elaborate procedures that used to be observed.

In Sukabumi there is only one such professional "expert." He is a Peranakan in his late forties, uneducated, and of the lower class. He lives in a small house made of wood and bamboo, a kampong house, in a back alley in the market area. He is dark skinned and his features are such that he can easily be taken for an ethnic Indonesian. His mother, who died during the time of the study, also looked more Indonesian than Chinese. She had resided with him and sold betel leaves with the accompanying spices and banana leaves, all arranged on a basket, on the sidewalk in front of a shop in the market area. His house is cramped

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with requisites for the wedding ceremony, the offering tables, candlesticks, holders for the incense sticks, vases, and so on. He even provides bridal gowns and accessories, of a very plain and simple type, of course. These articles can be rented together with his services. Besides conducting the ceremony he may also be asked to decorate the bridal room and to make up the bride. Therefore, he is considered a tukang rias (Indonesian for a person who makes up a bride). Because the tukang rias have always been women, he seems to be considered rather peculiar in the community. There are people who hint that there must be something wrong with him because he performs feminine activities. Many Peranakans agree that it is unusual, in fact not quite proper, for a bride to be made up by a man. Therefore, those families who can afford the services of the professional make-up women, i. e., beauty-shop operators, will employ the man to conduct the ceremony only. Shortly after the writer came to Sukabumi, however, he had started to make use of a female assistant, a young married Peranakan women, for decorating the bridal room and especially for the make up of the bride.

With the exception of weddings of those who have become Christians, the majority of the wedding ceremonies among the Peranakans are conducted by this "expert." We may therefore expect that the ceremonies in Sukabumi would follow one pattern. This is not quite true, however, because he does not impose a rigid compliance to his directions and leaves much room for the wishes and ideas of the families concerned. The impression he gives is that it is not very important in any case. Maybe he realizes that his status in the community is such that it would be unrealistic to expect an unqualified acceptance of his authority.

To give an illustration of the variety in the forms of marriage, a description will be given of three of the weddings observed by the writer. The choice of these cases is based on the consideration that each gives a good example of the variation possible as determined by the location of the wedding celebration.

The first is that of a wedding where both the ceremonies and the party were held at the residence of the groom. The groom is the 21 year old son of a Fukien-born (Ch'uan-chou near Amoy) man and a Peranakan woman from a small village in the vicinity of Bogor. He is the only child of this couple and a rumor that the writer was not able to verify has it that he is an adopted son. This Hokkien man is in his early fifties and has lived in Sukabumi since his arrival in Indonesia more than thirty years ago. He is the largest shareholder in the cooperative (kongsi) of pork sellers. He is not engaged in the manual part of the work, but has left this to his son. Among the lower-class Peranakans south of the railroad, he is considered a wealthy man. Although he is a Totok, he associates mostly with Peranakans. He is an admirer of the gambang kromong, an orchestra that is considered typically Peranakan. For the wedding he hired such an orchestra from one of the small villages near Bogor. The family occupies the best section of a petak-house (20)

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(20) For a description of the types of houses, see the section on housing in Chapter III.

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situated close to the Chinese temple and the slaughterhouse. (This section of the town is still popularly called Odeon, though the theater from which it derived its name and which stood in this area as a landmark had already burned down before the war.) To accommodate the guests, an open pavilion-like construction, made of bamboo and covered with canvas, was erected in the open space in front of the house.

This wedding was considered traditional in the sense of having the allures of the elaborateness of thirty, forty years ago, in terms of duration, the ceremonies observed, and the decoration of the bridal room. The preparations were already in full swing on the Friday before the actual wedding day which was held on a Sunday as usual. This Friday was the day of the decoration of the bridal room and the ritual connected with it.

The furnishings consisted of a double bed, in a more modern version of an iron bed, a small dresser with a round mirror on top, and a wardrobe. These three pieces formed one set in the same two-tone color of green and silver. There was also a tea shelf which was not part of the set and a table to display the gifts. The decorating was done by the above-mentioned professional "expert" and his female assistant. The bed was draped with a curtain made of lace with a design of angels. In the center, on top of the opening, was a centerpiece consisting of an angel decorated with silver ribbon, white icicles, and stars, all decorations of a Christmas tree. That they are recognized as such is shown by the fact that a younger sister of the groom's father told the writer that it was very difficult to get them because the stores were not selling them any more (the wedding was in March). She added that she knew they were usually sold during Christmas time. On the bed was a two-layer spread, green satin, and white emroidered linen on top. The pillows, two for the head and two "Dutch wives," had cases in the same pattern. A green and white blanket was folded in the shape of a goose, with pearl buttons for the eyes and the beak made of yellow ribbon. This was made by the "expert" and put in the center of the bed. In front of the bed was a small rug. At the door was a curtain made of the same material as that of the bed and also decorated with Christmas decorations. Around the edge of the mirror little colored lamps were attached, also of the kind used for a Christmas tree. On the wall and under the glass top of the dresser were pictures of American and Chinese movie stars. On the dresser were separate pictures of the bride and groom.

The sidekah, a term apparently used as a synonym of salametan, started around two o'clock in the afternoon. This is a ritual that is supposed to take place after the bridal room is ready. A mat was placed on the floor in front of the bed. In the center were one plate with nasi tumpeng, three plates with wet cakes (called thus because they are cooked by steaming), four cups of black coffee, two glasses of water, kembang rampe (the seven kinds of flowers) and the incense pot. Under the bed were placed a miniature rice container (of the kind children play with) filled with uncooked rice and a raw egg on top, one small bowl with cooked glutinous rice, a similar bowl with the same kind of rice but mixed with brown sugar. These two bowls were flanked by a bowl with a tasbeh plant and another with a tales plant. According to one of the old women present, seven days after the wedding these two plants will

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be transplanted in the garden--the tasbeh plant by the groom and the tales plant by the bride. If they grow well, it is an indication that the couple will have many children. The rice in the toy container must be put back in the main rice container to symbolize prosperity which is indicated by the ever-filled container. Five women participated in this ritual: an old woman who was identified for the writer as the mother of the groom's father; another old woman identified as her younger sister; the mother of the groom; an old relative from Bogor; a Sundanese woman in her late forties, the wife of a Fukien-born man who is a member of the pork seller's cooperative. All, including the Sundanese woman, were dressed in Peranakan-style sarong-kabaja and they spoke Sundanese with each other. The leading person at this ritual was the woman identified as the younger sister of the grandmother of the groom. She sat cross-legged with eyes closed sprinkling incense in the small pot while her lips moved as in prayer. At one point her whole body trembled slightly and she uttered words in Sundanese. The other four women who were also sitting on the mat strained to catch what she was saying. They were very excited. Obviously they believed her to be in a trance and communicating with dead persons. They put questions to her in Sundanese, addressing her with aki, the Sundanese term for grandfather and old men in general. She did not mention names but described the persons she was communicating with, for instance a fat man, a young woman, whereupon the other women started guessing, saying that that must certainly be so-and-so. The writer was informed later that she was believed to have been possessed by the spirit of a well-known Sundanese holy man. The groom's grandmother told the writer with some pride and awe in her voice that her sister was often kesurupan (Indonesian, meaning possessed by a spirit). The trance over, the woman drank a cup of coffee and a glass of water, whereupon the other women competed with each other to get hold of what was left of the contents. The writer had been observing the ritual from the doorway because the room was too small to accommodate more than the five women already in it. After the woman came out of her trance, however, two of the participants invited her to join them on the mat and to partake of the cakes and coffee, saying that they were very good because a doa had been uttered over them. The rice was not touched, only the cakes and the coffee. The ritual lasted for about forty-five minutes. Little interest was shown by the people present in the house; only a few young girls were watching it from the doorway.

That Friday there was already a festive air in the house. There was music from a tape recorder playing gambang kromong and djali-djali, the type of music that was popular among the Peranakans several decades ago and today still attracts the older people. In the space under the canvas top there were about five tables where people were playing cards, men as well as women. All the people present that day were Peranakans except for a China-born Hokkien neighbor married to a Peranakan woman. On the day after, the festivities continued in this vein and apparently no other rites were observed.

On the wedding day proper the writer arrived on the scene around nine o'clock in the morning. At that time the groom had just left to fetch the bride. One of the old female relatives informed the writer that the tjio tao ceremony (described in a subsequent account of a

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wedding) had already taken place at five o'clock that morning, first the boy and then the girl. The fact that the girl performed this ceremony at the boy's home is an indication that financially she was of a lower status, because the usual procedure is for the girl to perform it at her home. After the ceremony, she was taken home again.

The bridal room was all set to receive the couple. On a table were placed three plates with fruit, apples and two kinds of Indonesian fruits, and four silver colored cups, the two in the center each filled with red and white kue onde (the cake that symbolizes fertility) and the outer two filled with a liquid that looked like either tea or wine. The table set aside for gifts was mainly covered with pieces of dress material, several small table sets, and several trays on which the gifts were displayed in a very decorative manner under a wrapping of transparent paper.

Around nine-thirty the bridal couple arrived in a rented car. The orchestra, called Irama Masa and consisting of Indonesian and Peranakan members and including an Indonesian female singer, played a western march. Before the couple entered the house, they were stopped for the sawer to be performed over them. (21) The expert held a green, lady's umbrella, and the old female relative from Bogor held a red one over them. The mother of the groom then showered the rice, coins, and flowers over them and in the four directions of the compass. Thereafter they entered the house and went into the bridal room, followed by a stream of young girls and boys carrying food containers, luggage, decorated trays with gifts and, in a basket, a cock and hen bound together. The older women present seemed highly amused when they saw these birds. Everybody crammed into the small bridal room. The couple was seated at the table with the fertility cakes. During the rite of feeding them these cakes, however, there were only these young boys and girls in the room and the "expert." Not even the parents were present. The

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(21) The Peranakans recognize this rite to be of local, i. e., Sundanese origin, although we find in Jan Jakob De Groot, Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken onder de Emoy-Chineszen (1880), mention of the belief among the Hokkiens that by scattering rice around one can ward off evil spirits. Moestapa, op. cit., pp. 19, 20, 40, 58, 88, 90, 91, emphasizes the great importance attached to the sawer in most of the rituals observed in traditional Sundanese custom. There is usually a special tukang sawer (an expert in the sawer ceremony) because among the Sundanese this rite does not consist of the scattering with rice (made yellow with turmeric), coins, and flowers only, but also consists of a recital of special verses. Prawirasuganda, op. cit., pp. 227, 228, explains the use of the articles as follows: rice symbolizes "what causes life" (jang melantarankan hidup); the coins symbolize "worldliness or something valuable" (dunia-berana atau barang jang berharga); the turmeric, called by the Sundanese koneng temen, i. e., symbol of honesty, in Sundanese temen wekel. The meaning is that in the search for good fortune (ridjki or rezeki) one has to be honest and patient in order to meet happiness; the purpose of the umbrella is that in all circumstances one has to keep an umbrella ready to guard oneself, one has to be cautious and watchful continuously.

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"expert" fed each of the couple in turn a red and white onde cake, then exchanging the cups, fed them again. He did the same with the liquid in the two outer cups. This over, the couple left the room and the "expert" told them to look for the groom's parents. They were in the inner room where the bridal seat was set up. This seat was part of the usual furniture in this room, but was now covered with green satin and decorated with green and silver-colored ribbon. The couple, the groom's parents, and his grandmother all suddenly began to weep. At one point the bride was weeping on the right shoulder of the groom's father and the groom on the left shoulder. Then followed the pai, the tea-serving ceremony. First the grandmother was seated on a chair. The couple stood before her holding a tray on which were two silver colored cups with tea. There was no formal presentation of a cup, however; the grandmother took one herself, brought it to her lips but, without touching it, she put it back again, at the same time placing a "red packet" on the tray. Then followed the parents together, and after them all the older relatives, two at a time. Some young people of a generation older than the groom were also served. The groom's father sometimes gave a kind of introduction; for instance, when two China-born Hokkien women dressed in trousers and jacket were seated, he said of one of them that she is their (the couple's) go tjim, which could mean his fifth younger brother's wife or his fifth younger first cousin's wife. None of those served actually drank of the tea, except for one nervous-looking young girl (her performance made several other young girls watching the ceremony burst into smothered giggling), but all presented a "red packet." This ceremony over, the couple took positions in front of the bridal seat to receive the congratulations of the other guests, the non-relatives, and those relatives younger according to age and generation than the groom. The prevailing way of greeting was the pai; only a few young people shook hands.

The bride was dressed in a western wedding gown made of white lace with long sleeves and open collar and a slip made of white satin. She had a short white gauze veil and a small silver colored crown on her head and wore a pearl necklace and pearl earrings. The bridal bouquet consisted of white Easter lilies. The groom was in a cream colored western suit with red tie. The groom's father was also dressed in a western suit but of brown color, and the mother had on a sarong with a bright green kabaja.

About an hour after arrival in the groom's house the couple left again to present an offering in the Chinese temple, which is at about two minutes walking distance. They went there in the car rented for the wedding, accompanied only by the "expert" and a few young girls. One of these girls carried along a small pot with kue onde. At the temple the "expert" put the latter into little cups and placed three at each altar. The couple then lighted two small red candles and prayed with the incense sticks at each altar. Immediately thereafter they left the temple, leaving the burning of the gold joss paper to the caretaker.

These were the parts of the wedding that the writer was able to observe. Because there was no invitation to return after she left to follow the couple to the temple, she felt she could not come back to the house. The ceremonial part was over, however, and the festivities

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continued in the usual way with a banquet, card playing, and the orchestra providing the musical background.

The most significant feature of this wedding is the fact that, although the groom's father is a China-born Hokkien, the celebration was completely dominated by Peranakans and followed what is considered Peranakan customs. This, in the writer's opinion, indicates two important aspects in the Peranakan community: first, women play the leading part in matters concerning marriage and, second, women are the perpetuators of ceremonial behavior. Evidences of this role will be seen even more clearly in the chapter on religion.

The second description is of a wedding where the writer was invited by the family of the bride, so she was able to follow the procedure from the bride's side. At the time of the marriage the girl was sixteen. She had several years of elementary education at the Ping Min School, the KMT-oriented Chinese-language school in Sukabumi. She lives in a back street with her mother who left her husband years ago because he took another woman, an older brother and his wife, and a younger brother of about twelve. The mother is the daughter of a China-born Hakka man and a Peranakan woman. The son who lives with her is married to a local-born Hakka girl of China-born parents, while two of her sisters are married to China-born men. Yet in dress and behavior she herself is completely Peranakan and several times she stated to the writer that, on her part, the wedding would be according to Peranakan custom.

The groom is a young man of twenty-six who lives next door to the bride. He is a graduate of the Chung Hua senior middle school, the Peking-oriented Chinese-language school in Sukabumi, and at the time of his marriage was employed as a traveling salesman with a Chinese firm in Djakarta. His mother is a China-born Hokchia woman, as was her late husband. He is an adopted son and, in fact, the offspring of a China-born Hakka man and an Indonesian woman, which explains his dark complexion and his more Indonesian than Chinese features.

The mother of the bride explained to the writer that she is very much opposed to this marriage because he is Hokchia, therefore lain bangsa (literally, of another race). Another reason she mentioned was that he is so ugly. It was clear to the writer, however, that the real objection to this union is based on the mother's belief that with the daughter's good looks, which indeed she has, she could have made a much better match, socially and financially. This mother proved to be a good example of the syncretism as manifested especially among older Peranakan women. She told the writer that she had been to a dukun belanda (a Eurasian woman who is believed to be a fortune teller and who lived in the northern part of the town), to a Sundanese old woman living in the market area who is also believed to possess the power to look into the future, and then to the Chinese temple, to consult about her daughter.

As to the wedding ceremony, the mother informed the writer that each party was going to follow its own customs. Both, however, employed the services of the "expert." He and his female assistant

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arranged and decorated the bridal room which was set up in the house of the groom. He also conducted the tjio tao rite (dressing the hair) for both the bride and groom. That of the bride was held at her home, but that of the groom at the Eng Tjhun Kong So, the meeting hall of the Eng Tjhun speech group association, rented by the groom's family for the entire wedding celebration because their house was too small. There was to be no party at all on the bride's part because, as the mother explained, she did not approve of the match and, besides, she had given a party on the occasion of the betrothal about a year earlier.

On the Friday before the wedding day, a Sunday, a sidekah was held in the bride's house. The time was set at twelve, but when the writer arrived at the house there were only the mats spread in the center room and she was told that it was postponed until one o'clock because the Sundanese woman who was to provide the offering was delayed. It was not until half past one, however, when the woman finally arrived accompanied by two men. One of them was her husband, a man in his late forties and the gardener of the Kabupaten office, the other a friend of his. A little later two other men arrived. The woman, who looked much older than her husband, at once set out to put the offerings on the mat. They were the following: one plate of kue kering (dry cookies, usually made of sago flour); one plate of kue basah (wet cookies, usually made of rice flour and cooked by steaming); one plate of nasi begana, the cooked rice mixed with a kind of curry made of meat and string beans; one bowl containing the kembang rampe; and a small oven for the incense.

Before placing the little oven on the mat, the mother made a round with it through the house. When everything was ready the husband of the Sundanese woman, who was to do the doa, asked who the bride was, whereupon the girl came forward and also sat down on the mat. The mother then said that she wanted to minta berkah buat anak saja, meaning to ask blessings for her child. The man started the doa, with eyes downcast and hands held in a position as if reading a book. The prayer was scarcely audible and very short. At the end he rubbed his face. The other men who had been sitting passively did the same, and the doa was over. The bowl with flowers was put before him and he uttered a doa over it. The mother poured water in it and, when asked, she explained that it would be used by the bride to wash her face. Another bowl with water only was treated in the same way, and this was to be used by the bride to bathe with. All this done, the men started to eat. As the writer observed at other sidekahs, they ate only a few mouthfuls of the rice that had been put on plates for each of them, took some of the cookies and drank of the coffee. Then they lighted a cigarette which was also placed on the mat. This was an indication that they were through with the meal. The woman wrapped the rice that was left on the plates in banana leaves to be taken home by the men. Some of the rice that was still left in the container was put on plates and presented to the family of the groom and a few neighbors.

On Saturday the offering table for the sembahjang samkai (from the Hokkien sam kài, translated by Freedman (22) as the trinity of divine

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(22) Maurice Freedman, Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore (London, 1957), p. 141.

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powers) was set up. To the Peranakans the meaning of sam kai is extremely vague. They usually equate it with Thi-kong, meaning Lord of Heaven, or Tuhan Allah, the Indonesian term for God. Before the application of the Dutch Civil Law (in Java in 1919), when the Chinese followed customary law, a marriage was considered legitimate by the performance of the sembahjang samkai. Therefore this offering is usually associated with the tjio tao rite. The mother of the bride informed the writer that on the morning of that Saturday a large food offering had been made to the ancestors of her family at her younger brother's house, where the family altar is kept. On this day also, the bridal room was made ready at the groom's house. It was done by the "expert" and his assistant. In this case, however, no ceremony was performed when the room was ready.

As mentioned earlier, the tjio tao rite of the bride was performed at her house, while that of the groom was at the meeting hall of the Eng Tjhun association. Both were held early in the morning on the wedding day and both were conducted by the "expert." The writer did not observe the one performed by the groom, but she was informed by the "expert" that it was similar to that of the bride.

For this ceremony, the medja samkai (medja is Indonesian for table, thus a table used for the samkai offering) was placed in the center of the front porch in front of the main door of the house, facing the street. It was made of copper, brightly polished for the occasion, about five and one half feet high with four legs made of copper tubes, on the sides reinforced by tubes fastened diagonally from one leg to the other. The table top was also made of copper and on the back, at three sides, there was a small decoration. A colorful red Chinese drapery with flower design was put in the front, hanging down from the edge. On the table the following articles were arranged from the front to the back:

In the first row: at left and right a candlestick in the shape of a pagoda. In the center an incense pot with a lid on which was the figure of a lion.

In the second and following rows: a small bottle with Chinese white wine placed in a decorated copper container.

One small copper container with fragrant pieces of wood.

One small empty copper container.

One plate with a bunch of bananas, one orange and one pomegranate.

Nine small silver colored cups, resembling egg-holders.

One small oval-shaped plate with gula batu, literally, rock sugar, called thus because they have the shape of small pieces of rock (they are specially used for offerings); two kinds of Indonesian fruit (pala and kingkip) made into sweets.

One vase with the following flowers: siantan, tasbeh and kembang kotok.

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At the back in the center: one big container made of china to put the incense sticks into, and at the corners at left and right another pair of candlesticks.

Right in front of this table a rice measure called gantang (Indonesian for a measuring unit the equivalent of 3.1 kg.) was placed on a small table covered with a colorful Chinese cloth. This rice measure was made of wood, square at the bottom and widening at the opening, in the center a crossbar to be used as a handle. It was painted red with the patkwa, the eight trigrams, painted on the front side. It was filled to the brim with uncooked rice and in it the following articles were stuck:

In the front in the center a small, shallow container with oil in it to be lighted during the ceremony.

One pair of scissors.

One comb, a black old-fashioned one that has the shape of a half moon.

One cheap small mirror.

One Chinese knife in a sheath.

One pair of Chinese scales, of the kind used by Chinese goldsmiths.

One wooden measuring rod of about one foot long, with silk thread in several colors wound around it at one end.

Five small copper articles resembling traditional Chinese weapons.

A torn and shabby-looking Chinese book, open at a certain page, supported by a copper bar behind it. This book turned out to be an old copy of a t'ung shu, a Chinese almanac.

One small bottle with several kinds of seeds.

Flanking this container were two small red candles. At the back of the table fastened to the legs were two long sugar cane stalks, one at each side.

All these articles have a symbolic meaning. Of some the writer has been given several meanings.

The gantang filled with rice symbolizes life filled to the full with happiness. Another explanation is that it symbolizes prosperity, because the rice filled to the brim means that in the house the rice container is never to be empty.

The oil lamp reminds the couple that all their acts must be honorable, i.e., able to face the light.

The pair of scissors symbolizes harmony between man and wife, because a pair of scissors is only useful when the two parts work together.

The comb--to put in order everything that is in disorder.

The mirror--all acts must be considered carefully, to prevent hurting other people's feelings.

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The Chinese knife--nobody seemed to be able to explain this.

The pair of scales--each has to weigh who is right and who is wrong.

The measuring rod--same meaning as the pair of scales.

The silk thread--husband and wife should be nice and tender to each other.

The small copper articles--explained as having only a decorative function.

The Chinese almanac--all advice and meaning of these symbols should be printed in the mind of the bridal couple as in a book. It is more likely, however, that a magical meaning is attached to this book, because it gives information on the most auspicious days for the performance of ceremonies, marriage, funeral, and other ceremonial activities.

The bottle with seeds--symbol of fertility.

The sugar cane--symbol of sweetness of life.

According to several informants and also according to two articles on Peranakan wedding ceremonies in the publication of the Sam Kauw Hwee (23) this ceremony can also be performed in front of the ancestor altar.

The time for the bride to perform the ceremony was fixed at six, but the "expert" was delayed half an hour because he had to conduct the ceremony of the groom first. The procedure was as follows:

The officiator of the ceremony was the married older brother of the bride. He was supposed to substitute for the father who did not come, although he was informed of the wedding. The brother was assisted by the mother's younger sister who had come from Tjitjurug (a village about an hour's drive north of Sukabumi) the day before. She was supposed to substitute for the mother. The reasons for the substitution were explained: first, the mother is opposed to the marriage, so she does not want to participate actively in the important parts; second, the person who assists in this ceremony should be someone who is happily married and this definitely does not apply to the mother.

The brother and the aunt each lighted one of the candles on the sides with a small red candle--first the two big "dragon" candles placed at the back of the table, then the two small red candles in the front, then together the oil lamp on the rice measure and, finally, the two small red candles on the table in front of it. The two small candles used to light the others were put on the gate in front of the house. Thereafter the older brother prayed with three big incense sticks, of the kind used only to pray to deities and to Thi-kong, while the aunt prayed with three of the ordinary ones. The "expert" poured white wine in one of the cups and gave it to the brother, telling him to throw it on the floor in front of the altar. After performing the pai, the task of the brother and aunt

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(23) Second year, no. 3 (February 1956) and no. 5 (September 1956).

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was finished. The mother then led the bride, who was dressed in Chinese trousers and jacket of white cotton, to the altar. In front of it a large bamboo tray was placed on the floor. It is of the kind used for winnowing rice and drying things in the sun. This kind of article is termed a tampah (Indonesian word, also used by Peranakans).

Among the younger generation this rite is commonly referred to as duduk di atas tampah (Indonesian, meaning to sit on a tray). The tray had a diameter of about thirty inches and was painted red all over; in the center in black and white was the Yin-Yang symbol, the Chinese symbol of the male and female principle. That this tjio tao rite is a rite de passage, as stated by Freedman (24) in his account of this same rite among the Chinese in Singapore, is clearly evidenced by the explanation given to the writer that the tray, by its roundness, symbolizes the world. Thus, by stepping onto the tray, an individual establishes his entrance into the world and is thereby recognized as an adult. The Yin-Yang symbol indicates the uniting of male and female which is established by the marriage. A chair, covered with a red Chinese cloth, was placed on it, facing the table. The bride was directed to stand on the tray and pray with three ordinary incense sticks. Then she was seated on the chair. The "expert" took the black comb from the rice measure and gave it to the older brother, telling him to comb her hair three times. At the first stroke the "expert" said softly tsai (Hokkien, wealthy), at the second tsu (posterity), and at the third siu (long life). The comb was given to the mother and then to the aunt to do the same. The bride once again prayed with three incense sticks and, after making the pai gesture, the rite was over and she was led into her room. Here she was left in the care of the female assistant of the "expert" for dressing and make up. She was dressed in a white western wedding dress, consisting of a gauze skirt and white brocade bodice with straps, a satin half slip fastened under the skirt and a jacket on top made of the same gauze material as the skirt, with long sleeves and Peter Pan collar. The short veil was made of plain gauze and fastened to the hair with white artificial flowers. The accessories, consisting of a pin, pearl necklace and earrings (all imitation jewelry) and white cotton gloves, were also provided by the "expert." The bride added her own gold bracelet and two gold rings. Her face was made up with Max Factor and locally made cosmetics. When ready she remained in the room to await the arrival of the groom.

Around eleven o'clock the groom arrived in a blue, American-made rented car, decorated in front with a red piece of cloth fastened to the upper edge of the windshield. Two other cars followed, filled with relatives and friends of his mother, all China-born Hokkiens, the women dressed in trousers and jacket. In the car with the groom were only men. The groom was dressed in a cream colored western suit with a grey tie and white gloves. He entered the house alone. At the steps the "expert" held a green umbrella over his head and the mother of the bride showered rice made yellow with turmeric, rose petals, and coins over him. Then he was led to the room where the bride was waiting in front of the door, her face covered by the veil. The "expert" handed her a small corsage

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(24) Freedman, op. cit., pp. 104, 134, 135.

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to put in the buttonhole of the groom. She failed to do this, however, and the "expert" did it for her. The groom then lifted her veil and presented her the bouquet. Arm in arm they proceeded to the inner room where refreshments were displayed. Here they were seated on two chairs and the "expert" fed them kue onde, fertility cakes. In the meantime, the people who had accompanied the groom, among them his mother, had also entered the house and were invited to partake of the refreshments. In less less than fifteen minutes, however, they all rose to leave, without touching anything. The bride also rose to bid farewell to her family. The wife of a younger brother of her mother, whom she called mama (she had been given to her in nominal adoption), started to cry and told the bride to behave and told the groom to be kind to her. The couple made the pai gesture to the mother, the mother's younger sister, and the bride's two older married sisters who had arrived that morning with their husbands from Djakarta. In the meantime the trousseau of the bride was put in the cars. This trousseau consisted of the following: one big leather suitcase decorated with a red ribbon; two pillows and two bolsters, bound together with a red ribbon; toilet articles--one washing bowl, two soap containers, two glasses and two toothbrushes, all wrapped in red paper; one chamberpot also wrapped in red paper; one filled food container (on the first evening in her husband's home the bride is not supposed to eat of her mother-in-law's food); several containers with cakes. In the bridal car were also a cock and a hen, the legs fastened together with a red ribbon. This was brought by the groom and was to be taken to the bridal room later.

In the bridal car were seated the bridal couple, two of the bride's girl friends, and her younger brother of twelve. The second car was used by the bride's family. In it were squeezed seven adults and five little children. These adults were: the aunt from Tjitjurug and her married daughter, another younger sister of the mother (she was dressed in Chinese trousers and jacket, and is one of the two younger sisters of the mother who married China-born men), the two married sisters from Djakarta, the wife of the older brother, and the writer. These people and the older brother (who, together with some of the men who originally came by car to accompany the groom, walked to the meeting hall which was only five minutes away) were the only relatives to accompany the bride. The third car was occupied by the relatives of the groom. With loud hooting the three cars left the house and proceeded to the meeting hall.

From this point the wedding proceeded according to what is considered the custom of the groom's family. This resembled closely the form of modern marriage among the Singapore Chinese, called "Reformed Wedding" by Freedman. (25) The main characteristics of this type of wedding were present: the officiator (who told the writer that he is a good friend of the groom); the master of ceremony calling off in Mandarin the fifteen items which were written on blackboard in Chinese characters; the guardians (for the bride, her brother and his wife; for the groom, an old relative to represent his late father and his mother); an introducer;

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(25) Freedman, op. cit., pp. 163-165.

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the exchange of the rings followed by the signing of the marriage certificates, first by the couple, then the family of the groom, the family of the bride and, finally, the officiator; a speech in Mandarin by the officiator; an invitation to all present to make a speech (nobody responded); a vote of thanks by the officiator. The certificates, one for the bride and one for the groom, were made of thick red paper. They were written in Chinese and decorated with flowers and birds. On the front were the four characters, chieh hun cheng shu (Mandarin, meaning marriage certificate) written in silver.

After the ceremony the guests were invited to go to the dining hall where a special Hokchia noodle soup was served. This over, the family of the bride was taken home again in the car. They thought that the couple were also leaving for the groom's house and that they were going to accompany them. They were somewhat upset when a relative of the groom told them that the couple was not leaving yet and that from then on the bride was entirely in their care. Their indignation is an indication that they considered their task as escorts of the bride over only after delivering her at her new home, which is the correct procedure according to the traditional pattern.

Around noon the couple finally left for the groom's house. They went immediately to the shelf altar of the groom's father, to pay their respects to him. The groom prayed with big incense sticks and the bride with the ordinary kind. Neither moved the lips, but an old Hokkien woman, who had been with the groom's mother all the time, stood with them and prayed loudly in Hokkien. Then the bride retired to the bridal room accompanied by her two friends who served as a kind of bridesmaids. She told the writer that she was not going to undress, because it would be too difficult to dress up again for the reception that was to be held at five o'clock. That this reception was paid entirely by the groom's family was evidenced by the information given in an indignant tone by the bride's mother that she had been provided with only ten invitation cards for guests.

The type of marriage that occurred in the meeting hall as described above, a ceremony which is essentially a public declaration of the union established between the parties concerned, had in fact already been advocated among the Peranakans in the early nineteen hundreds. In 1901 the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan organization produced a list of rites, then observed among the Peranakans, which should be omitted because they were considered superfluous or superstitions. In 1906 the organization produced another list giving the procedure of the ceremony itself according to the regulations as stipulated by the organization. This was essentially the reading of the marriage certificate by the president of the organization in the meeting hall in the presence of the members of the wedding party and those members of the organization who wished to attend. (26) In the wedding to be described next, something resembling a meeting occurred, but it was not for the purpose of declaring the marriage as a fact, but for

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(26) Nio Joe Lan, THHK anniversary book, pp. 206-208b.

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the presentation of a lecture advocating the preservation and better understanding of what the speaker called a "wedding according to Chinese tradition."

The third wedding will now be described. Here both the rites to be performed after the meeting of the bride and groom, and the party afterwards, took place at the meeting hall, in this case that of the Eng Tjhun association. The marriage was that of a boy from Sukabumi and a girl from Bogor. The boy lived with his parents in a fairly large house with a sizeable garden where his mother raised flowers to be sold to the local flower shops. These people were members of the Sam Kauw Hwee, which most probably accounts for their having a speaker of the Khong Kauw Hwee from Bandung give an explanation of the meaning of the sembahjang samkai at this wedding. When the writer arrived at the meeting hall in the company of a Peranakan woman in her early sixties who had invited her for this wedding, there were not many guests yet. The speaker was already present, however, and informed the writer that the lecture was postponed until two o'clock because the groom, who had gone by car to fetch the bride in Bogor, was to leave that town at one o'clock, and it takes about an hour to return to Sukabumi. The Peranakan woman and the writer were invited by the mother of the groom to sit at the medja teh (literally tea table). This table was loaded with all kinds of cakes, Chinese, Indonesian, and western. At virtaully all Peranakan weddings this kind of table is set up. All the female guests are brought to this table as soon as they arrive. A cup of tea is presented and the guest is expected to make a choice of the cakes displayed. In practice, however, few of the guests do so, for Peranakans customarily show a restraint in matters of food in company.

Around two o'clock the bridal couple arrived. The bride was dressed in a white western bridal gown with a long veil and a small crown on her head. There were two bridesmaids, girls of around ten, dressed in long white dresses, short veils, and with their faces made up. The groom was in a light western suit.

The couple was brought to a small room at the back of the main hall. Here a table was set up with two cups of the kue onde and two cups of tea. The couple was made to sit on two chairs at this table. The usual "expert" was present, but it was the mother of the groom who fed them. After this rite, they went to the front porch where two altars were set up, one the medja samkai, and the other for a picture of Koan Im, the Chinese Goddess of Mercy of Buddhist origin. Under the direction of the "expert" they prayed with incense sticks, first for the former, then for the latter. When the writer asked the Khong Kauw speaker whether it is common at weddings to pray to Koan Im he answered that it is completely wrong. He stated emphatically that one should not pray to Koan Im, but to one's ancestors. He spoke rather loudly, causing several people to look at him. The "expert" approached him saying soothingly that this is indeed not correct but that this building belongs to the Eng Tjhun people and they pray to Koan Im, so he has simply adjusted himself. The speaker thereupon replied that for this occasion they could have removed the picture.

After the praying, the tea serving ceremony took place. Then followed the reception. The couple stood in front of the bridal seat which was set up in the main hall. Practically all the guests made the

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pai gesture. Then the lecture started. In front of the seat, chairs were arranged in rows. The audience consisted of about forty women and twenty men. (These were the guests who were not playing cards. Since early morning there had been men and women, mostly in their fifties and older, engaged in card playing in the second hall at the back of the building. Card playing is a common feature at many Peranakan weddings.) During the speech the couple remained standing.

The speaker started by introducing himself as a member of the Khong Kauw Hwee of Bandung and stating that he is always willing to speak at weddings which are conducted in what he called the "traditional Chinese" way. He went on to express his happiness that there are still young people who value the teachings of Confucius. He then addressed himself primarily to the bridal couple, calling them by their given name, advising them to love each other's parents because without them they would not have existed. (He thus stressed the idea of filial piety.) The theme of the speech was the explanation of the meaning of the articles used for the sembahjang samkai. The purpose was, as he stated it, to impress the couple with their meaning so that they will realize why they performed the offering. The articles he referred to were the rice measure and the articles placed in it. The explanation given is the same as the one in the description of the tjio tao rite above.

After this speaker a member of the executivebboard of the Sam Kauw Hwee of Sukabumi also made a short speech. He addressed himself mainly to the bridal couple and the gist of the speech was also the expression of pleasure that this wedding was conducted according to the "old Chinese tradition."

These two speeches are indicative of the attempts of the Sam Kauw Hwee and the Khong Kauw Hwee to revive what they refer to as "Chinese culture" or "Chinese tradition." Curiously enough, however, in the list of rites advocated to be omitted by the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan organization (27) there is the following statement: "It is not necessary for the bride (and groom) to dress and make up, facing the gantang filled with all kinds of articles; it is also unnecessary to sit on the tray, because these things are related with superstitious practices." No doubt these early advocators were attempting to be "pure" Confucianists, which meant that everything which resembles superstition should be discarded. It is significant, as an indication of what is considered "Chinese tradition," that more than fifty years later a professed follower of Confucian teachings should advocate the use of the very same articles that were condemned as an expression of superstitious beliefs. This kind of regression seems indicative of an individual or a group attempting to maintain or preserve the identity they consider ideal.

The three weddings described above were all of marriages between young people in their early twenties who could have had no more than a couple of years of Dutch education, if that, for when the war broke out they could not have been more than seven or eight years old. No marriage between persons who both have had Dutch secondary school education occurred during the period of the study. The writer did get information, however, from two young married women in their early thirties, whose

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(27) Nio Joe Lan, THHK anniversary book, p. 207.

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educational background falls in the latter category. One of them married in 1945. She and her husband attended Dutch schools before the war. They still speak Dutch among themselves and even with their children of between seven and ten, who at the time of the study were just transferred from the Dutch-language school (the only one still operating at that time in Sukabumi) to an Indonesian-language school. At the time of the marriage (she was then 24) her parents had already died and she was occupied as a dressmaker. She considers herself as belonging to a poor family. Her husband, however, is the son of one of the wealthy men in town and is related to the owner of the largest textile factory. On the wedding day the only rite she performed was that of praying at her father's altar before she left her house and praying at the altar of her husband's family when she entered his house. Neither of them performed the tjio tao rite or any other rite. She described her husband's family as modern, which the writer found especially true of the mother, who speaks Dutch well. This mother once stated to the writer that she considers the observance of ancestor rites very burdensome and old-fashioned. Therefore, she said, after her death she does not want her children to observe the ancestor rites for her.

The other woman who recounted her wedding to the writer was married in 1952. After the war she finished her Dutch secondary school education and studied for about one year at the academy of fine arts in Bandung. Her two older brothers have advanced degrees from universities in Holland and Germany. Her husband also had a Dutch secondary school education and then four years of study of printing techniques in Holland. They were engaged before he left and married after his return. On the wedding day neither of them performed the tjio tao rite but each did pray at their own ancestor altar separately before she was fetched by the groom, and then they prayed together. They also performed the fertility rite in the bridal room. She stated that she considers the observance of this rite nonsense, because it is meaningless to her. She is of the opinion that, in general, the rites that are still performed at old-fashioned weddings should be omitted because, she said, the performers themselves usually are completely ignorant of their meaning and are simply following what they are told to do. Asked whether they had made use of the services of the "expert," she answered that they did not, because he follows "the old-fashioned tradition."

The cases presented above show that, in the form of the wedding celebration itself, there is a basic core which has as its focus the ancestor altar. Outside this basic core a process of elimination rather than selection occurs in regard to the rites that may be observed. The greater the influence of westernization and modernization, the more of the traditional rites (of Hokkien as well as Sundanese origin) that will be eliminated. Conversely, the lesser the exposure to western and modern ideas, the more of the traditional rites that will be observed. The decision makers in this situation are primarily the female members of the older generation of the family, in particular the mother and/or grandmother. Depending on the educational achievement and age of the young people involved, more or less voice will be granted to them in this decision making. The higher the educational achievement, the older their age, the more readily their right of participation in the

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decision making is recognized, which reflects clearly the traditionally high evaluation given to education. Among the younger generation itself there is an emulation of western forms or of modern Chinese forms, depending on the education they have received.

We have observed in the beginning of this section that it is especially in the rites that may be observed for the wedding that the influences of Hokkien, Sundanese, western and modern Chinese customs are most clearly expressed. Each of these rites can be traced as to its origin. Reviewing the procedure of the weddings described above, we will arrive at the following list of rites:

The sidekah--either connected or not connected with the fixing of the bridal room.
The tjio tao rite.
The sembahjang samkai.
The sawer.
The eating of the kue onde (fertility cakes).
The offering to the ancestor altar.
The pai (tea serving) ceremony.
The offering at the temple.

The sidekah as such is clearly a Sundanese rite. As mentioned earlier in the section on prenatal care, the explanation for the observance of this rite is usually, "We live in this country, so we just follow the customs prevailing here." Another, though less frequently given, explanation is, "Most of us must have an Indonesian woman among our ancestors, therefore it is only natural that we should honor her the way her people do it."

In the second case especially, it is quite obvious that a Sundanese rite was being performed. All the characteristics of a sidekah were present: the food offering consisting of nasi begana, the kembang rampe, and the incense; the participants all Sundanese men; the officiator praying in Arabic (presumably--it was inaudible). The occurrence of this rite on Friday can perhaps be explained as the influence of the belief among the Sundanese that Friday is the day for praying and offering. But again this is not a hard and fast rule and the writer has been informed that this rite may also be performed on the day before the wedding day, on a Saturday.

In the first case the sidekah was connected with the completion of the decoration of the bridal room. Here we notice a striking deviation from the regular pattern in that the participants were all women. It would appear that in this case a combination of a sidekah and a spirit-medium performance took place, with the emphasis more on the latter than on the former. The only attributes that indicates a sidekah were the food offering: nasi tumpeng, kembang rampe and the incense pot. There was not a single man present and no praying in Arabic occurred.

Spirit-medium performances are not an uncommon part of Hokkien religious life, as shown in Elliot's study of spirit-medium cults

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in Singapore, (28) nor are they an uncommon part of Sundanese religious life. The significance of this particular performance lies in the fact that the medium was believed to have been possessed by the spirit of a Sundanese holy man. This is an indication of the strong influence of local beliefs, besides being a good measure of the use of the Sundanese language among the Peranakans in Sukabumi.

We have already pointed out that the tjio tao rite is a rite de passage, marking the recognition of an individual as an adult. This idea attached to the tjio tao rite is confirmed by the statement made by many informants that it may only be performed once in a lifetime, at the first marriage. Its Hokkien origin is conclusively demonstrated by the vocabulary used and also by the fact that a similar rite is observed among the Hokkien-Chinese in Singapore. (29)

The tjio tao rite is always performed facing the medja samkai or the ancestor table. Due to the influence of modern ideas, however, it is being increasingly omitted and labeled old-fashioned and superstitious. Among the younger generation it is even considered something to make fun of. To most of them the term tjio tao is virtually unknown; they usually refer to it as duduk di atas tampah.

Those who omit this rite may still perform the sembahjang samkai, however, as this is considered an invitation to the samkai--among the Peranakans regarded as synonymous with Thi-kong or Tuhan Allah--to witness the conclusion of this union. It would appear that among those who have a permanent ancestor altar, the sembahjang samkai may be dispensed with.

The sawer is a rite recognized by Peranakans themselves as a Sundanese custom. What they perform, however, is only part of what is prescribed according to traditional Sundanese custom. The belief that rice has the power to ward off evil spirits is also found among the Hokkiens. During the annual procession of the deities of the temple of Sukabumi, for instance, rice was scattered in the four directions of every crossroad. In the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan list of wedding rites, however, it is advised that the sawer be omitted, because it is related to "superstitious practices."

The eating of the kue onde is undeniably of Hokkien origin. In de Groot (30) we read the following description:

> ...Two cups with little, round pills, mixed red and white ones, are then brought in and put on the table in front of the bridal couple. The red ones represent the male principle of nature, the Yang, the white ones the female principle, the Yin. With

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(28) Alan J. A. Elliot, Chinese Spirit-medium Cults in Singapore (London, 1955).

(29) Freedman, op. cit., pp. 134, 135, 139-141.

(30) de Groot, op. cit., pp. 68, 69.

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a spoon both eat one red and one white pill at a time. Then the cups are exchanged and both eat some more, whereupon bride and groom bow to each other. Thus the marriage is considered sealed in accordance with the dualism of nature.

As might be expected, this sophisticated explanation is virtually unknown among the Peranakans. This rite is recognized only as symbolizing fertility, which is reflected in the advice usually given to the young couple to eat as many of the little balls of cake as possible, because "the more you eat of them, the more children you will have."

Apparently this rite is still widely observed in Sukabumi because even the young woman who stated that they did not use the services of the "expert," because he follows "the old-fashioned tradition," did perform this particular one. It seems that it might be explained as an indication of the adherence to the idea that a marriage should be blessed by children, which can be considered a reflection of the traditional duty to provide for posterity in order to continue the family line.

The offering to the ancestral altar is performed by virtually all Peranakans who are non-Christians. Those who do not have a permanent altar will convert a table into one. Before the groom fetches the bride, each prays at his own altar, and after the bride enters the groom's house they both pray before the groom's altar. These observances are recognized as having the purpose of informing the ancestors and making them witnesses to the conclusion of the union. They are therefore part of the ideas underlying ancestor veneration. From Freedman's account we know that this is also an important part of a traditional wedding ceremony among the Chinese in Singapore.

The Hokkien origin of the the pai, tea serving ceremony, is quite obvious. Essentially it is the expression of the deference that should be shown to older people. In fact it is part of the deference and honor shown to the ancestors by burning incense sticks and offering tea to them. Therefore this ceremony usually follows immediately after the praying to the ancestors. Among the younger as well as the older generations, however, there is a growing feeling that this ceremony is unnecessary. Basically this is a result of the emancipation of youth, in the sense that the younger generation considers it an exaggeration of the deference required of them. The clear break with this custom of showing special deference to the older generation on certain special occasions occurred with the discarding of the kowtow that used to be required of children to their parents and grandparents on New Year's day.

During the tea serving ceremonies the writer attended, there was a noticeable reluctance on the part of the relatives qualified to be served to sit on the chairs designated for the people to receive this honor. This reluctance can be attributed to a feeling of embarrassment to be put in focus for everybody to watch. Thus it would appear that the two forces of refusal on the part of the younger generation and reluctance on the part of the older generation will soon result in the complete elimination of this ceremony.

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The offering at the Chinese temple seems to be an uncommon procedure and usually observed only by those who have direct or active relations with the temple. In the second case, where this occurred, the father of the groom was a one-time low tjiu, a function which involves essentially the management of the finances of the temple. (A more detailed treatment of this function is given in the chapter on religion.)

As to the type of "Reformed Wedding" that occurred in the second case described above, this is recognized by Peranakans as a Totok custom and the writer has not heard of any Peranakans observing this type of ceremony.

The wedding with a lecture, as occurred in the third case, is also an uncommon procedure and may be adhered to only by those who are active in either the Khong Kauw Hwee or the Sam Kauw Hwee.

As to the western elements at a Peranakan wedding, we have noticed the bridal attire, which requires an adjustment of the small ceremony that occurs at the moment the groom meets the bride. At the time when the traditional Chinese attire was worn, the groom lifted the veil made of beads from the face of the bride and the bride opened the upper button of the groom's dress. Today the groom lifts the white gauze veil and the bride puts a flower in the buttonhole of the groom. Then there is the tiered wedding cake and the reception, whereby the guests come to the couple, instead of the couple going around greeting all the guests, the traditional pattern.

Another important element from the legal point of view is the application of Dutch Civil Law to the Chinese as from 1919. This requires registration of the marriage at the special office of the Municipal Hall. Among the Peranakans there seems to be no fixed time for this. It may be a few weeks or a few days before the actual wedding celebration, but it may also be several months before. The writer was acquainted with at least two cases where the registration occurred months before, for reasons of convenience and expediency. In the one case because it is much easier to acquire a house when one can produce a marriage license and also because this entitles one to receive the extra allowance given to a married person on the government payroll. In the other case it was related to the filling-in of the documents required for going abroad. In these cases and in others similar to this, the relationship between the couple is still that of the engagement stage. De jure the couple is married but it will be considered de facto as such only after the formal celebration. In general no festivities accompany the civil registration and often only close relatives and friends will know that the couple is already lawfully married.

The general conclusion we may draw as to the marriage forms among the Peranakans seems to be that there is a positive trend towards adopting western or modern forms, discarding the traditional, old-fashioned, and superstitious elements of Hokkien and Sundanese origin. This trend can be seen in Djakarta, for instance, where in many cases the locus of the celebration has moved completely from the home to a public building, usually a restaurant, a hotel or the meeting hall of an organization. In these cases the wedding celebration usually consists only of a western-style reception, either with light refreshments or a banquet.

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Kinship Terminology

In this section a description will be given of the kinship terminology prevalent among the Hokkien-speaking Totoks, among the Sundanese, and among the Peranakans, with the purpose of accounting for the origin and nature of the Peranakan system.

An explanation is given for each section as to how the material is acquired. Based on this information, the writer set up four lists of kinship terminology: of consanguinal relatives through father and through mother, and of affinal relatives through husband and through wife. (The four lists for each of the three groups set up by generation are presented in Appendix 3.)

The Hokkien System

This description is based primarily on interviews with Hokkien-speaking Totoks in Sukabumi and Djakarta. Of the three formal informants in Sukabumi, two came from Yung Ch'un (to the north of Ch'uan-chou) and the third from Amoy. Their ages range from forty to sixty. There were also informal informants from Nan An (in Ch'uan-chou). The most important informant was a man of about sixty from Yung Ch'un, married to a woman from the same region. He came to Indonesia before the war. He operates a shop in the market area, selling Indonesian and Chinese medicine, and is one of the active members of the Hokkien-speaking section of the Protestant church. Although he does not speak Mandarin fluently, he is a literate man and showed evidence of a surprisingly active interest in the experiments in the change of the Chinese script in mainland China.

Of the four formal informants in Djakarta, the main one was a local-born Totok whose parents were from Hai Ch'eng (on the continent around the Bay of Amoy), and who was himself married to a China-born woman from Hsia-men. He was raised in a completely Totok milieu and his mother tongue is Hokkien. He operates a printing and book shop. His information has been corroborated by that of another man from Hai Ch'eng. The two other informants were a widow of about sixty from Nan An and her son-in-law who was born in Java of Amoy-born parents.

In Hokkien terminology there is a distinct set of terms for the nuclear family of orientation and procreation, the primary relatives, as differentiated from the secondary and tertiary relatives.

Primary relatives--The terms for parents are quite distinct from those for any other relative:

Fa	lāu-pē (31)
Mo	lāu-bū

(31) The Hokkien form followed is that of the Rev. Carstairs Douglas, Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy, with the Principal Variations of the Chang-chew and Chin-chew Dialects (London, 1899).

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The terms for siblings are differentiated according to sex and relative age:

OBr	hia^{n} or tōa-hia^{n}
YBr	sío-tī
OSi	chí or tōa-chí
YSi	sío-mai

The terms for spouse are:

Hu	ta-po-lâng, tiong-hū or ang (vulgar)
Wi	tsa-bó-lang, hū-jîn-lâng or bó (vulgar)

The terms for children are differentiated according to sex:

So	kía^{n} or hau-si^{n}
Da	tsa-bó-kía^{n} or tsau-á

Secondary, tertiary, and more remote relatives--For these relatives the criteria as outlined by Murdock (32) will be applied to define the underlying system. These criteria are: generation, sex, collaterality, bifurcation, affinity, relative age, speaker's sex and polarity.

The criterion of generation is clearly demonstrated by the use of a distinct set of terms for the relatives of each generation. No overlapping of terminology occurs, as shown by the following:

Br, FaBr, FaFaBr	hia^{n}, peh, peh-kong
BrSo, BrSoSo, BrSoSoSo	sun-á or tīt, tīt-sun, cheng-sun or ka^{n}-ná^{n}-sun

The use of generation modifiers is apparent in the second and third ascending and descending generations:

Second ascending generation:
kong for males
pô for females, excluding PaMo

Third ascending generation:
tsó or tāi for both males and females

First descending generation:
sun-á or tīt for males and females, except for the children of sisters and female cousins

Second descending generation:
sun for both males and females, except for the children of sisters and female cousins

Third descending generation:
cheng or ka^{n}-ná^{n} for both males and females

There is one kin category, however, where an ambiguity exists. This is in the case of the children of brothers and male cousins. For BrSo, the alternative terms sun-á and tīt (sun-á being the colloquial and tīt the written form) are used, and for BrDa, tsa-bó-sun-á and tīt-lú.

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(32) G. P. Murdock, Social Structure (New York, 1959), pp. 102-106.

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It seems that the sun in sun-á is the same as the sun for ChCh, although this cannot be checked from the written form, which is pronounced t'i. This merging has been pointed out by Freedman (33) who notes that the colloquial term sun-á is a diminutive of sun, which seems to be considered by the Chinese themselves as the same sun used for ChCh. Except for this one ambiguous case, however, we notice that in regard to consanguinal relatives the criterion of generation is consistently recognized.

As to affinal relatives, there is a deviation from the rule in that an overriding of generation occurs in the spouse's own generation and upwards: to SpSb the terms used for PaSb are applied, thus moving them one generation up. Hence, a man applies to his WiSb the terms used for his MoSb, while a woman applies to her HuSb the terms used for her FaSb. This practice is also applied to SpPaSb. The informants explained this phenomenon as the expression of politeness that should be observed between affinal relatives. They add, however, that today it is used mostly in reference only and dropped in address: spouses call each others' relatives by the terms used by their respective spouses.

The criterion of sex is recognized consistently in the three ascending generations, in ego's own generation, and in the two descending generations; it is ignored in the third descending generation, where the term cheng-sun or ka^n-$ná^n$-sun is used for all relatives in this generation.

The recognition of the criterion of collaterality is seen most clearly in the use of a distinct set of terms for lineal relatives as differentiated from all collateral relatives. An exception is made in the third descending generation where the terms cheng-sun or ka^n-$ná^n$-sun are applied to all relatives in this generation.

Among these collateral relatives an important overall distinction is made between agnatic and non-agnatic kin, in that for the latter the attribute piáu is added to the elementary or modified kin term. In tracing the extent of the recognition of collaterality the writer found that, understandably, the informants became vague and unsure beyond the second collateral line. The main distinctions made are chek-peh or tông for the first collateral line and chhin-tông for the second collateral line.

In the second ascending generation we notice, however, that no distinctions seem to be made between grandparents' siblings and cousins. The reason is, of course, that in reality few of this category of relatives exists for any individual.

In the first ascending generation recognition seems not to extend beyond father's first cousins, who are indicated by the modifier chhin-tông. Father's second cousins may also be recognized, in which case the same modifier chhin-tông is used.

In ego's generation the distinctions are the most elaborate. These distinctions are made by adding the modifiers to the elementary sibling

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(33) Freedman, op. cit., p. 82.

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term. We notice, for instance, that for first cousins modifiers are used that indicate the type of connection with the parental generation:

FaBrSo	chek-peh hia^{n}
FaSiSo	ko -piáu-hia^{n}

The same practice is applied to first cousins from mother's side:

MoBrSo	kū-piáu-hia^{n}
MoSiSo	î-piáu-hia^{n}

For ego's second agnatic cousins the modifier chhin-tông is used and is extended to his third agnatic cousins. Thus, in effect, no distinctions are made beyond the second collateral line.

These collateral modifiers are extended downwards to their descendants in the first and second descending generations.

The criterion of bifurcation is recognized in that different terms are used for relatives linked to ego through a male or a female. The main distinction is made between relatives connected to ego through his father or through his mother. Then, within the group of relatives from father's side, a distinction is made between those linked to ego through males only and those linked through both males and females.

We notice, however, that there are several exceptions to the rule:

1. In the second ascending generation the terms for siblings and cousins of MoFa are the same as for siblings and cousins of FaFa, while the terms for siblings and cousins of MoMo are the same as for the similar relatives of FaMo. Hence the decisive link is the second connecting relative. The system operating here is that of analogy: the mother refers to her FaBr as peh, and her child as peh-kong, adding the generation modifier of the grandparent's level. To distinguish between the two sets of relatives the attribute piáu may be added to indicate those connected to ego through his mother.

2. In ego's generation first cousins are distinguished according to the link on the parental level:

FaBrSo	chek-peh-hia^{n}
FaSiSo	ko -piáu-hia^{n}
MoBrDa	kū-piáu-hia^{n}
MoSiDa	î-piáu-hia^{n}

Often the first attributive terms ko, kū, and î are omitted and added only when required to specify the relationship. Then only the term for FaBrSo stands out as different from the other three. This distinction has an important function in regard to marriage regulations, because in the case of cousin marriage, only those who are piáu to ego are potential marriage partners.

We will notice that the attribute piáu plays a crucial role in that it not only distinguishes mother's relatives, but also those connected to ego through both males and females, thus creating a kind of unilinear bifurcation, separating agnates from non-agnates.

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The criterion of affinity is consistently recognized in all generations, giving terms to affinal relatives that are different from consanguinal relatives. This applies to relatives of father's side as well as mother's side as, for instance:

FaBr, FaSiHu, MoBr, MoSiHu	peh, ko'-tīu^n, kū, î-tīu^n
FaSi, FaBrWi, MoSi, MoBrWi	ko', ḿ, î, kīm

It is interesting to note that the attribute to indicate husband is the same tīu^n for husbands of the sisters of father as well as mother, and likewise on the grandparents' level. This reflects the traditional lineage system, where this category of relatives would be residing in other lineages, thus making it unnecessary to make clear distinctions between them.

In referring to spouse's relatives there is an overriding of generations as noted in the section dealing with the criterion of generation.

The criterion of relative age is recognized in ego's generation and in the ascending generations, but is ignored in the descending generations. Thus, in ego's generation there are different terms for older and younger brothers and male cousins and for older and younger sisters and female cousins. The recognition in the ascending generations does not go beyond the first ascending generation, however, where it is only recognized for males of father's side and ignored for males of mother's side and females of both sides, as shown by the following:

FaOBr, FaYBr	peh, chek
MoOBr, MoYBr	kū, kū
FaOSi, FaYSi	ko', ko'
MoOSi, MoYSi	î, î

There is a secondary distinction applied to all these relatives by enumerating them according to age, taking the father or the mother as the reference point. Thus, father's eldest brother is tōa-peh, father's second brother is ji-peh, and so on; mother's eldest brother tōa-kū, mother's second brother is ji-kū, and so on. This enumeration may also be applied to father's cousins, but this is optional and depends largely on the proximity of residence and degree of intimacy. In ego's generation the preeminent position of the eldest brother and also the eldest sister is indicated by the addition of the enumerative term tōa to the sibling term, thus making it tōa-hia^n and tōa-chí. This enumeration seems not to be extended to older siblings younger in the sequence of age.

There is no evidence of the recognition of the criterion of speaker's sex, while the criterion of polarity is ignored, at least in the written form, in the third descending and the third ascending generations, where the modifier cheng is used in both.

The Sundanese System

The material presented here has been collected in Sukabumi from interviews with four Sundanese government officials and their wives, none of whom belong to the menak class (nobility), and from a lecturer in

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Sundanese at the University of Indonesia in Djakarta. (34)

From the lists of terms we will see that in the Sundanese system also there is a distinct set of terms for the primary relatives of the family of orientation and procreation as differentiated from the secondary and more remote relatives.

Primary relatives--The terms for parents are distinct from those of any other relative:

Fa	pun bapa
Mo	pun biang, indung (pun is high style Sundanese for the possessive pronoun first person singular)

For siblings the criterion of sex is ignored, but that of relative age recognized. Thus older brothers and sisters are referred to as pun lantjeuk, while younger brothers and sisters are referred to as pun adi. In address, however, sex is recognized, although for older siblings only:

OBr	kang, akang, kakang, engkang
OSi	atjeuk, eutjeu

There is also a term which classifies all siblings and cousins: dulur.

The terms for spouses are:

Hu	pun lantjeuk (= OBr), salaki, teknonymy
Wi	pun bodjo, pun adi (=YSi), pamadjikan, teknonymy

For children the criterion of sex is ignored. All children are referred to as anak or budak. When necessary, sex differentiation is added with the attributes (a)nu lalaki for a boy and (a)nu awewe for a girl (anu or nu is used adjectively, meaning who is).

Secondary, tertiary, and more remote relatives--For these relatives we will again apply the criteria as outlined by Murdock.

The criterion of generation is recognized throughout, resulting in classificatory and generation terms.

PaPa; PaPaPa	ejang, embah, aki (PaFa only), nini (PaMo only); bujut

These terms are extended to all collateral relatives within each generation, making them classificatory terms. Where sex is ignored,

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(34) As in the Javanese system (see Koentjaraningrat, op. cit., pp. 79-91), different terms are used, depending on the rank as determined by social status and age of the addressee and the referent. For the purpose of this study the writer is mainly concerned with the vocabulary of kinship; no references will be made to these differences, which are, in effect, more related to behavior in kinship than to the vocabulary as such.

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distinctions can be made by adding the attributes pameget for males and isteri for females.

SoSo; SoSoSo intju; bujut

These terms are complete classificatory terms applied to all the relatives within each generation. This is also true of the other ascending and descending generations:

bao	fourth ascending and descending generation
djanggawareng	fifth ascending and descending generation
udeg-udeg	sixth ascending and descending generation
kait siwur	seventh ascending and descending generation

The criterion of sex is recognized only in the case of parents' younger siblings and cousins: mang or emang for males and bibi or embi for females; in the case of one set of the terms for grandparents and other relatives in the second ascending generation: aki for males and nini for females; in the case of ego's older siblings and cousins in regard to terms of address: kang for males and eutjeu for females. When necessary to distinguish between the sexes, the attribute pameget (male) and isteri (female) are added to the relatives in the ascending generations and (a)nu lalaki (male) and (a)nu awewe (female) to the relatives in the descending generations.

That the criterion of collaterality is recognized is shown clearly in ego's generation, where first cousins are referred to as dulur misan or dulur sabrajna, second cousins as dulur mindo, and third cousins as dulur mintelu. These distinctions are extended downwards to the descending generations. In the ascending generations, collateral relatives may be distinguished from lineal relatives by adding the term tigigir (on the side) after the kinship term. There is also another attribute, kapi, which is added before the kinship term and is used to distinguish all collateral relatives from lineal relatives.

The criterion of bifurcation is ignored throughout. The terms for relatives connected to ego through a male are therefore quite the same as those connected to ego through a female which indicates that the Sundanese kin grouping follows the rule of bilateral descent.

The criterion of affinity is ignored for the spouses of parents' siblings who have the same terms as the parents' siblings themselves. It is recognized for SpSb, where SpOSb are referred to as dahuan and SpYSb as adi beuteung. The term for SpPa is mitoha or mertua, for ChSp minantu, and for ChSpPa besan.

The criterion of relative age is recognized in parents' generation, ego's generation, and child's generation. There is a peculiar characteristic in the recognition of this criterion in that, in ego's generation, the terms of address for cousins are not based on the age of the cousins relative to ego, but on the age of their parents relative to ego's parents. Thus the children of PaOSb are called by the older sibling terms regardless of whether they are younger than ego, while the children of PaYSb are called by the younger sibling terms regardless of whether they are older than ego.

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The same practice is applied in the first descending generation, where children of older siblings and senior cousins are referred to as alo and children of ego's younger siblings and junior cousins are referred to as suan.

The criterion of speaker's sex is ignored throughout.

As already explained when dealing with the criterion of generation, the criterion of polarity is ignored from the third generation up and the third generation down.

The Peranakan System

The list of terms shows that here again there is a distinct set of terms for the primary relatives of the family of orientation and procreation as differentiated from the secondary and more remote relatives.

The primary relatives--The terms for parents are distinct from all other relatives:

Fa	papa
Mo	mama

The Peranakans themselves consider these terms to be of Chinese origin, in contrast to pappie or pie and mammie or mie which are considered of western, i. e., Dutch, origin. They are not derived from the Hokkien terms of reference, however, which are lāu-pē and lāu-bū, but from the terms of address, á-pa for Fa and á-mah for Mo.

For siblings the criterion of relative age is recognized, giving different terms for older and younger siblings. The criterion of sex, however, is recognized for older siblings and ignored for younger siblings, thus:

OBr	engko
OSi	atji
YBr and YSi	ade or adi

In defining the children terms the criterion of sex is ignored and all children are referred to as anak. When necessary, the attributes lelaki (male) and perempuan (female) are added after the term.

The terms for spouse are:

Hu	laki or "papanja anak-anak" (Fa of the Ch) or "papanja si X" (Fa of X)
Wi	bini or "mamanja anak-anak" (Mo. of the Ch) or "mamanja si X" (Mo of X)

The terms laki and bini are Malay words. The Indonesians themselves tend to regard the use of these terms as rather vulgar. As a matter of fact the same connotation is attached to these terms among the Peranakans. The most common form among them is therefore the teknonymy.

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Secondary, tertiary, and more remote relatives--For these relatives we will again apply the criteria as outlined in Murdock. In this analysis we will limit ourselves to seven generations, three ascending and three descending generations from ego.

The criterion of generation is recognized in the three ascending generations, in ego's generation and in the third descending generation, while a merging appears in the first and second descending generations. Thus we have the following:

Br, FaBr, FaFaBr	ko or engko, pe, pekong
BrSo, BrSoSo, BrSoSoSo	tjutju or keponakan, tjutju, bujut

Tjutju, keponakan, and bujut are all Indonesian terms. In the Indonesian system, however, tjutju is used exclusively to denote grandchildren. The merging that appears in the Peranakan system has been observed also in the Hokkien system. Freedman, in his discussion of this phenomenon among the Chinese in Singapore, (35) has noted further that "when it is necessary for them to translate into Malay, they sometimes use the Malay term for grandchild, chuchu, for brother's son." Apparently an analogy has occurred here, taking the Hokkien system as the model. Hence this is also a plausible explanation for the phenomenon in the Peranakan terminology.

Generation modifiers are used in the second and third ascending generations:

Second ascending generation:
kong for males and po for females, excluding PaMo

Third ascending generation:
tjo for both males and females

In the second and third descending generation we notice the use of classificatory terms: tjutju for the former and bujut for the latter.

For affinal relatives a similar overriding of generations as shown in the Hokkien system occurs. Thus, a person who is engko or ko (OBr) to the husband is pe (FaOBr) to his wife, while a person who is engko or ko to the wife is engku or ku (MoBr) to the husband. The same practice is applied to SpPaSb. This phenomenon is called by Peranakans ikut anak (Indonesian, meaning literally to follow the child), because these are the terms used by a child to his parents' siblings. It is possible therefore that, besides being an expression of politeness, it serves as a device to help children use the proper kinship terms.

The criterion of sex is recognized consistently only in the three ascending generations; it is recognized partly in ego's generation and ignored completely in the three descending generations.

In ego's generation recognition is only limited to older siblings where engko or ko is used for OBr and entji, atji, or tji for OSi. To

(35) Freedman, op. cit., p. 82.

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younger siblings the term ade or adi is used both for YBr and YSi.

In the first descending generation a distinction is made between own children, anak, and children of siblings and cousins, tjutju. In each case, however, the term serves to denote both males and females. In the second and third descending generations the terms tjutju and bujut are used respectively, disregarding sex.

In all the cases where sex is ignored, distinctions, when necessary, are made by adding the Indonesian terms lelaki for males and perempuan for females.

The criterion of collaterality is recognized in that it differentiates between lineal relatives and all collateral relatives. This applies to the three ascending generations, ego's generation, and the first descending generation, but it does not apply to the second and third descending generations, where the classificatory term tjutju is used in the former and bujut in the latter.

In the three ascending generations we will notice, however, that recognition of collaterality does not go beyond the siblings of the lineal relatives, resulting in the existence of classificatory terms for collateral relatives within each generation. Thus, for instance:

FaBr, FaFaBrSo	pe
MoBr, MoFaBrSo	ku

In ego's generation the distinctions between the different degrees of collaterality are the most pronounced:

Br; FaBrSo; FaFaBrSoSo	engko, or sudara; engko, or sudara tjintong; engko, or sudara satu kongtjo (Br of the same greatgrandfather) or masih tjintong or tjiongtong (still of the same surname)

The term tjiongtong for second cousins is now practically obsolete; only some older people recognize it.

No distinction is made between the different degrees of cousins from mother's side. They are all indicated with the attribute piao. When necessary a distinction is made by description.

Many Peranakans, and especially the younger generation, know only the distinctions tjintong and piao, the former being relatives of the same surname as speaker and the latter being relatives not of the same surname as speaker. Very often, even to refer to a close relative, they resort to description, for instance for FaBrSo, instead of engko tjintong or sudara tjintong, they say anak empe or anak entjek; for SbCh, instead of tjutju or keponakan, they say anak engko or anak sudara.

Cousins beyond second degree and other persons with whom kin relationship can still be traced, are usually designated by the Indonesian expressions:

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masih ada pernahnja	(literally, there is still a relationship) When asking about the relationship between two persons, Peranakans say: "Bagimana pernahnja?" ("How is the relationship?" Actually the meaning of the Indonesian word, pernah, is ever.)
beraja	A Sundanese expression meaning relatives.
bukan orang lain	(literally, not another person, meaning, not a stranger)

Thus, insofar as collaterality is recognized, we find in the ascending generations that it does not go beyond the siblings of the lineal relatives; in ego's generation that it does not extend beyond second cousins, while in the descending generations the distinctions are made along sex lines.

The criterion of bifurcation is recognized optionally in the third and second ascending generations, positively in the first ascending generation, unilinearly in ego's generation and in the three descending generations.

For great-grandparents and grandparents generally no distinction is made between father's side and mother's side, but when necessary a distinction can be made based on residence or by adding dalem (Indonesian, inside) or pihak papa (pihak is Indonesian for side) for father's side, and luar (Indonesian, outside) or pihak mama for mother's side.

In ego's generation and the three descending generations the distinction is based on the sex of the connecting relative(s): those connected to ego through males only are referred to as tjintong, while those connected to ego through mixed males and females and females exclusively are referred to as piao. Similar to the Hokkien situation these distinctions are important for the purpose of marriage regulations: in cousin marriage a choice can only be made from among those who are piao to ego.

To ego's grandchildren similar attributes as for grandparents are used: dalem for SoCh and luar for DaCh.

The criterion of relative age is recognized in ego's generation, and in the ascending generations, but ignored in the descending generations.

In ego's generation there are different forms for older and younger brother and older and younger sister.

In the ascending generations this criterion is recognized for males of father's side only and ignored for males of mother's side and females of both sides. In parent's generation a secondary distinction for the older siblings is made by enumerating them with terms derived from the Hokkien: toa, dji, sha, and so on. These distinctions may also be applied to parents' cousins, but this is optional and depends on the degree of intimacy. In the case of father's sisters only, instead of the Hokkien

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enumeration, the Indonesian words de (abbreviation of gede, meaning big, eldest) is used for father's eldest sister; ngah (abbreviation of tengah, meaning middle) for father's middle sister; tjing (derived from the Indonesian ketjil, meaning small) for father's youngest sister. Then also, instead of the term koh for FaSi, the diminutive term o-oh is used. Thus father's eldest sister become oh-de, middle sister o-ngah, and youngest sister o-tjing.

The criterion of affinity is recognized throughout, making a distinction between consanguinal and affinal relatives:

FaBr, FaSiHu, MoBr, MoSiHu	pe, kothio, ku, iethio
FaSi, FaBrWi, MoSi, MoBrWi	koh, em, ie, kiem
Br, SiHu	engko, tjihu
Si, BrWi	atji, enso

In regard to Sp relatives there is an overriding of generations as already noted in the section dealing with the criterion of generation.

For Pa-in-law the Indonesian term mertua is used to refer to both collectively or to each separately. When necessary, sex differentiation is added by the attributes lelaki or perempuan. To ChSpPa the terms tjhinkhe for ChSpFa and tjeem for ChSpMo (both derived from the Hokkien) are used in reference and address. Quite often, however, the Indonesian term for ChSpPa, besan, is used, but in reference only. Again, when necessary to differentiate sex, the attributes lelaki and perempuan are added after the term besan.

To refer to ChSp the Indonesian term for ChSp, mantu, is used. Among Peranakans this is the classificatory term used for all in-laws in the descending generations; thus SbChSp is tjutju mantu and ChChSp is also tjutju mantu. For ChSp a special distinction can be made by adding the attributes njonja for SoWi and babah for DaHu. Thus SoWi becomes njonja mantu and DaHu babah mantu. Formerly these terms were used in reference and address. Today, however, only older women may use them in reference. The usual way now is to refer to ChSp by the term mantu only and to address them by their personal name.

In ego's generation SbSp and SpSb are usually referred to by the Indonesian term for this category of relatives, ipar.

The criterion of speaker's sex is recognized only in the case of YSiHu, where the man uses the term moaihu and the woman the term enthio. These terms are now virtually obsolete, especially among the younger generation. The most common form is to describe the relationship or to refer to them by the Indonesian term ipar.

The criterion of polarity is recognized throughout.

Discussion and Comparison

Having presented the kinship terminology prevalent among the Hokkiens, Sundanese, and Peranakans, we will now compare the three systems. There is no doubt that the Peranakan system is based on and

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derived from the Hokkien system. We will therefore examine what differences there are as compared to the latter system and attempt to account for them.

The most striking feature in the Peranakan terminology is the clearcut division along generation lines in the language used. In the generations above ego, although inevitably a modification has occurred in the pronunciation and the spelling, there is no mistake as to the Hokkien origin of the terms. In the generations below ego, an almost complete adoption of the Indonesian terminology has occurred: anak for ego's own children; tjutju or keponakan for the children of siblings and cousins; tjutju also for ego's own grandchildren and the grandchildren of siblings and cousins; bujut for all relatives in the third descending generation; mantu for all affinal relatives in the descending generations. Ego's generation forms the dividing line with terms derived from the Hokkien for older siblings and cousins and terms adopted from the Indonesian terminology for younger siblings and cousins.

A major linguistic difference with the Hokkien system is the shift of the position of the attribute from before the noun to after the noun. This is shown clearly in the cousin terminology:

	Hokkien	Peranakan
FaBrDa	chhin-tông-chí	atji tjin tong
FaSiDa	piáu-chí	atji piao

This shift, which has taken place consistently, is obviously the influence of the Indonesian terminology or the Indonesian language in general, where the rule is to put the attribute after the noun.

In our comparison we will follow the criteria as used in the analysis of each system separately.

The Peranakan system is similar to that of the Hokkien in that it recognizes the criterion of generation completely, except for the same deviation in the first and second descending generation, where a merging appears of the term for children of siblings and cousins with the relatives in the second descending generation, i. e., grandchildren of ego himself and of his siblings and cousins: sun in the Hokkien system and tjutju in the Peranakan system. In the Hokkien system this merging is not quite clear, because sun-á, which is assumed to be a diminutive of the term sun, seems not to be used at all on the grandchildren's level, while no checking from the written form is possible. Besides, the possibility of merging is limited to the children of the male siblings and cousins, the term for the children of female siblings and cousins being gōe-seng.

In the Peranakan system on the other hand the merging is complete; the children of all ego's siblings and cousins are referred to by the same term, tjutju, as well as the relatives on the grandchildren level, including ego's own grandchildren. This phenomenon has been explained earlier as possibly the result of analogy, taking the Hokkien situation as the model. The following diagrams demonstrate this:

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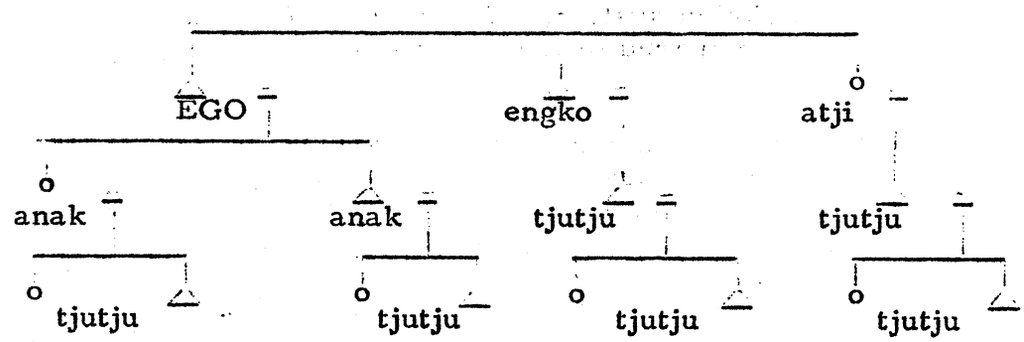
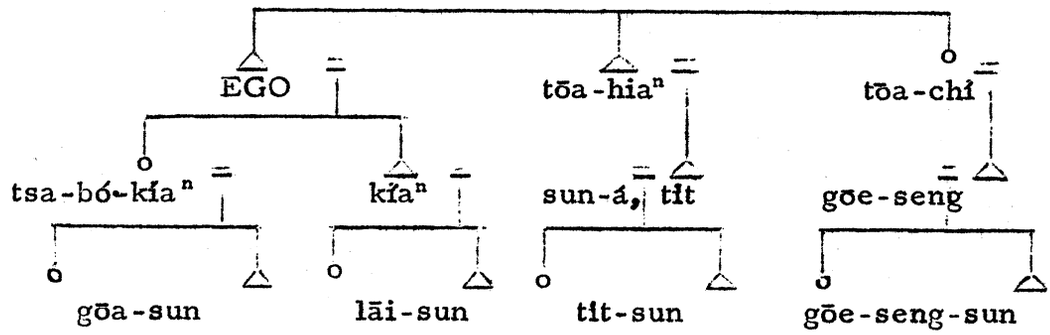


Peranakan system

Merging of the term for SbCh, SbChCh, and ChCh



Hokkien system

Partial Merging of the term for BrCh, SbChCh, and ChCh

Another deviation that appears in both systems is that of the overriding of generations for spouse's relatives, elevating them one generation higher than they are for the direct linking relative. We have noted, however, that in both systems this practice is mainly observed in reference and is disappearing in address.

A minor difference between the two systems is in the use of the generation modifiers for the ascending generations, where in the third ascending generation the Peranakans have only tjo, while the Hokkiens have the alternative tāi. Another difference in this generation is the term for FaFaMo: ma'potjo among the Peranakans, the Hokkiens have tsó-má. If we analyze the term ma'potjo, we will see that it is a compound of the term for grandmother, ma' or ema, the generation modifier for females in the collateral lines in the second ascending generation, po, and the generation modifier for males and females in the third ascending generation, tjo. It seems that the explanation for the use of po is a linguistic one. We will notice that, in the Hokkien system, the terms for the females in the collateral lines in the third ascending generation are ko·-pô-tsó (FaFaFaSi), chím-pô-tsó (FaFaFaBrWi), peh-pô-tsó (FaFaFaOBrWi) and kīm-pô-tsó (MoFaMoBrWi)--a compound of two adjacent generation modifiers. It is possible that in the Peranakan system an analogy has taken place, applying the combination potjo also to great-grandmother.

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A major difference that we have already pointed out is the use of Indonesian classificatory terms for the second and third descending generation, tjutju for the former and bujut for the latter.

In the recognition of the criterion of sex, the Peranakan system is similar to the Hokkien system only in the three ascending generations. A major difference starts with ego's generation and continues downwards. Whereas in the Hokkien system sex is recognized for older as well as younger siblings, in the Peranakan system it is recognized only for older siblings. In the descending generations this criterion is completely ignored. We have noticed that in all the cases where it is ignored, when necessary, distinctions are made by adding the Indonesian terms lelaki for males and perempuan for females. Non-recognition of this criterion in the descending generations also occurs in the Hokkien system, but it starts only in the third descending generation.

As we might expect, recognition of the criterion of collaterality is less complete and more vague among the Peranakans than among the Hokkiens. Examining the two systems generation-wise we will notice the following:

In the third and second ascending generations the two systems are the same in that the distinction is only made between lineal and collateral relatives, resulting in classificatory terms for the latter. In the first ascending generation the Peranakan system also does not distinguish between the different degrees of collateral relatives, while the Hokkien system goes as far as distinguishing between the siblings and first cousins.

In both systems the distinctions are the most pronounced in ego's generation. The extent of recognition is the same, no further than the second collateral line. There are two major differences, however: First, for first cousins the Peranakans make a distinction only between agnatic and non-agnatic cousins: tjintong for agnatic (FaBrCh) and piao for non-agnatic (FaSiCh and MoSbCh). The Hokkiens, on the other hand, in addition to indicating agnatic and non-agnatic relationship, may indicate the type of connection with the parental generation. Second, Peranakans use terms that are derived from the Hokkien, terms that are composed of Indonesian words, or a combination of both.

In addition to this, Peranakans very often resort to description, even to as close a relative as first cousin; for instance, instead of engko tjintong or sudara tjintong, they say anak empe or anak entjek, respectively, for FaOBrCh and FaYBrCh.

In the first descending generation the similarity between the two systems does not extend beyond the distinction into lineal and collateral relatives. In the Peranakan system the collateral relatives are further distinguished into agnatic (tjintong) and non-agnatic (piao) rather than according to degree of collaterality, while in the Hokkien system the distinctions made in ego's generation are extended downwards to their children.

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In the second and third descending generations there is among the Peranakans again only the distinction between agnatic and non-agnatic, while in the Hokkien system the collateral distinctions that appear in ego's generation are extended downwards into these two descending generations.

In examining the criterion of bifurcation we notice a clear simplification in the Peranakan system as compared with the Hokkien system. Again comparing the two generation-wise, we come to the following:

Peranakans generally do not distinguish between great-grandparents and grandparents of father's or mother's side. When necessary, a distinction is made by adding terms that are clearly Indonesian. One set of them, dalem for father's side and luar for mother's side, are the literal translations of the Hokkien lāi and gōa.

Among the collateral relatives in the second ascending generation there is a similarity in the two systems in that the decisive link is the second connecting relative. We have already noted that the system operating here is that of analogy: children follow their parents in the use of terms for grandparents' siblings and cousins, with the addition of the generation modifier of grandparents' level. The use of the attribute piao for those connected to ego through his mother does not appear in the Peranakan system.

In ego's generation and the three descending generations the distinction made among the Peranakans is that of unilinear bifurcation, separating those connected to ego through males only from those connected to ego through both males and females and females exclusively. This is similar to the Hokkien system, with the exception of the first cousins where additional attributes are used to indicate the connecting link on the parental level. We have already indicated the importance of this distinction in the case of cousin marriage.

Similar to the Hokkien system, a distinction is made between SoCh and DaCh by adding the same attributes as used to distinguish paternal and maternal grandparents, dalem for the former and luar for the latter. Since these distinctions usually appear in death announcements, they indicate their relationship with mourning observances, as we will see in the section dealing with this topic.

In the recognition of the criterion of relative age, the difference between the two systems is in the alternative use of the Indonesian or Malay terms which we find in the Peranakan system. This is shown in the secondary distinction for the older siblings in the parents' generation, where, next to terms derived from the Hokkien (toa, dji, sha), terms derived from the Indonesian or Malay (de, ngah, tjing) may be used. Two explanations can be given for the use of these particular attributes. One is that de, which is an abbreviation of gede meaning large, big, the eldest, is a direct translation of toa, which also means big, large, and the eldest. Ngah from tengah and tjing from ketjil, meaning middle and small, respectively, would then be a natural sequence of the use of gede. Another explanation is that it might be the influence of the Javanese

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system. In the East Java area parents' older siblings and cousins are indicated by the attribute de, which is an abbreviation of the same gede which is used in the Peranakan system, and parents' younger siblings and cousins are indicated by the term liq, which is an abbreviation of the Javanese word tjiliq, which means small. Thus the terms for the former group of relatives is paqde and bude and for the latter group of relatives paqliq and buliq. (36)

The recognition of the criterion of affinity is similar in both systems in that a clear distinction is made between consanguinal and affinal relatives. The overriding of generations to spouse's relatives also exists in both systems.

The differences that exist consist mainly in the use of alternative terms from the Indonesian terminology, as, for instance, for ChSpPa, besan, next to the terms derived from the Hokkien, tjhinkhe for ChSpFa and tjeem for ChSpMo, and for SpSb and SbSp, ipar. Then there is the use of Indonesian terms only for Pa-in-law, mertua, and for ChSp and ChChSp, mantu. Older women may still refer to ChSp by adding njonja for SoWi and babah for DaHu; thus the former become njonja mantu and the latter babah mantu.

There seems to be a difference between the two systems in the recognition of the criterion of speaker's sex in that nothing of this sort appears in the Hokkien terminology, while, in the Peranakan system, it does appear in the case of YSiHu, where the man uses the term moaihu and the woman the term enthio. As we have noted earlier, however, these terms are virtually obsolete, and commonly this relative is referred to as ipar.

Again we find a difference in the two systems in that the criterion of polarity is recognized throughout in the Peranakan system and is ignored in the Hokkien system in the case of third descending and third ascending generations.

One of the most important points revealed by this comparison is that little or no influence of the Sundanese terminology, as such, is discernible in the Peranakan terminology. All non-Hokkien terms, with the exception of bujut for great-grandchildren and besan for ChSpPa which are both Indonesian as well as Sundanese, point to Indonesian or, rather, Malay origin. This indicates that the Peranakan terminology as it exists today must have been well established prior to their settlement in the Sundanese-speaking area, which in turn reinforces the indications that the Peranakans of Sukabumi were already Peranakans, as culturally distinct from Totoks, before they settled in this town.

We will now attempt to determine the factor or factors which may account for the changes that have taken place. We have seen that ego's generation forms the dividing line with terms derived from the Hokkien in the ascending generations and Indonesian or Malay terms in the descending generations, while terms of both systems occur in ego's generation.

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(36) Cf. Koentjaraningrat, op. cit., pp. 50, 84.

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Based on his comparative study, Murdock has arrived at the finding that kinship terminology is one of the major aspects of social structure which "reacts very slightly if at all to external influence ... it is determined primarily by the forms of familial and kin groupings."(37) It would appear, therefore, that the most profitable approach would be to examine the form of kin grouping. Before we start with the Peranakan system it is necessary to determine the type of kin grouping as traditionally prevalent in the area of origin of these people. Several studies, as for instance that of Kulp, Lang, Chen Ta and, more recently, that of Freedman, have pointed to the prevailing system of lineage that existed in Southeastern China, i.e., the provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien.

The preponderance of this type of kin grouping in this area was so extensive that there were villages made up entirely of the members of one lineage. These lineages consisted of consanguinally related males descending from a common ancestor together with their spouses and unmarried daughters. These agnates were bound to each other by religious, economic, and social ties. This system meant the existence of a strictly patrilocal residence pattern. For a married woman this involved the complete severance, physically and legally, from her family of orientation. This is indicated by the fact that after marriage, whenever she visited her original family, for which she was supposed to obtain her husband's consent, she would be only a guest.(38) We may infer from this situation that social interaction, especially for the women, was largely limited to contact with other members within the lineage, initially her own and subsequently that of her husband.

In the overseas situation this pattern was not continued for the simple reason that emigration was an individual enterprise undertaken by males only. Thus, no transplantation of families occurred, let alone of lineages or segments of them, and, therefore, no foundation was laid for the formation of this type of kin grouping. The large mansions in Chinese style that one finds in the centers of Chinese settlements like Djakarta, Tjirebon, Semarang, and Surabaya, former residences of Chinese officers, indicate, however, that the desire to follow the traditional cultural ideal of the extended family, comprising several generations under one roof, persisted and was expressed as soon as the means to do so were acquired.

Among the characteristics of the Hokkien kinship system were patrinymy, patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, inheritance through males only, and a certain amount of economic cooperation among kinsmen. In the Peranakan system patrinymy still obtains, in that children inherit their father's family name. So does one feature of patrilineal descent, in that a sharp distinction is made between agnates and non-agnates: in particular, no marriage is allowed between people of the same surname. Traditionally this includes even those with whom no kin ties are traceable; today a lenient attitude exists toward this prohibition, although within the recognized kin group the distinction is still clearly manifest in the kin terminology.

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(37) Murdock, op. cit., p. 201.

(38) Maurice Freedman, Lineage Organization in Southeastern China (London, 1958), p. 36.

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Patrilocal residence, which was one of the crucial characteristics of the traditional Chinese system, is, among the Peranakans in Sukabumi at least, still reflected in the prevailing custom of locating the bridal room in the groom's residence. It does not always follow, however, that the new couple will reside with the groom's family permanently. The prevailing pattern today is to move to a separate residence as soon as a suitable one is available and the financial situation makes it possible. Not infrequently, also, the bridal room is set up in the bride's residence, which is a socially accepted procedure. This indicates the possibility of matrilocal residence which, in turn, points to the existence of an ambilocal residence pattern preceding and coexisting with the present prevailing neolocal pattern. From the list of family types in the first section of this chapter, we may infer, however, that the choice of matrilocal residence is less frequent than that of patrilocal residence. It would appear that the former is taken as a last resort when the possibility of patrilocality or neolocality has been ruled out. The preference for neolocality is evidenced by the fact that of the one thousand-odd units living at one address from which the family types have been derived, 63 per cent can be identified clearly as nuclear families (distinguished into 9 per cent broken nuclear and 54 per cent complete nuclear) while only 7 per cent can be identified as genuinely composite families.

As to inheritance through males only, clarification in the processes of family law, especially related to inheritance, came only with the application of Dutch family law on the Chinese in 1919. Before this the position taken by the Dutch legal authorities was that the Chinese should follow the Chinese civil law as recorded in the Ta Ch'ing Lu Li (the Code of the Ch'ing dynasty) which in the case of inheritance was interpreted to exclude daughters. In practice, however, the trustees (Boedelkamers) seem to have adopted the policy of including unmarried daughters as heirs, in the case of absence of a testament. Apparently this was quite a controversial issue, involving members of the court, lawyers and members of the trustees. (39) The pre-eminence of the oldest son in regard to the care of the paraphernalia connected with ancestor veneration, however, is still adhered to, although we have already noted that deviations from it frequently occur.

Economic cooperation among kinsmen, in the sense of operating an enterprise jointly, does occur among Peranakans. Two of the largest textile factories, the largest printing plant, and one of the largest grocery stores in Sukabumi can be considered family enterprises in the sense that the financing and operation is shared by agnates, mainly brothers. A common budget for consumption, however, is not the prevailing pattern. It is usually the case in broken stem families, but in practically all composite families each component conjugal unit has its own kitchen.

As one might expect, the ancestral hall, the locus of lineage solidarity in southeastern China and the expression of its unity, does not exist in Sukabumi. Domestic altars, however, are found in most

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(39) P. H. Fromberg, Verspreide Geschriften, pp. 235-239; also Ong Eng Die, De Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indie (Arsen, 1943), pp. 247-249.

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homes. Due to the still existing adherence to inheritance of ancestor paraphernalia by the oldest son, a semblance of an aspect of the function of a traditional religious unit is still observed. At least once a year, on the occasion of Chinese New Year, those who trace a common descent will come to the locus of the altar of the ancestor(s) (who are usually not higher than a grandfather and/or grandmother reckoned from the individual in the most senior generation still living) and at least once a year will come and visit the grave site. Those who come are usually the immediate kin, i. e., children and grandchildren and possibly the siblings and their children, of the youngest ancestor(s), usually the parent(s) of the head of the family. These visits are of a voluntary nature and largely determined by considerations of distance of residence and financial means. Nothing of an attempt at organizing the event is evident. Although a family dinner is usually held on this occasion, the person in whose house the altar is kept does not feel obliged to invite all those who come to pay respects at the altar but limits himself to his siblings and possibly his parents' siblings. Essentially what he does is only to open his house to give opportunity to those who want to come to pray at the altar and to provide the incense sticks for this purpose. The visit to the grave site is also unorganized, people coming at different times and bringing their own offerings. As far as the writer could observe, effective kin solidarity does not extend beyond siblings or, at most, parents' siblings.

In the contemporary situation in Sukabumi, kinship ties are recognized and maintained in both directions. After marriage a woman continues to have close contact with her original family. Any limitation in this respect would be caused mainly by the factor of location of residence. She is expected to participate in the major events occurring in her original family, although in the case of an event occurring in her husband's family simultaneously, she has to give precedence to the latter, because in general the basic idea of the wife following the husband is strictly adhered to. Hence, social interaction between relatives, among Peranakans, has the aspect of the recognition of bilateral descent. Spouses are always included in any social activity, be it an event in father's kin group, mother's kin group, or spouse's kin group. At the New Year offering, the New Year visits to relatives senior in generation, the annual visit to the graves, the wife naturally accompanies her husband, but the reverse also takes place. Thus a husband accompanies his wife to observe similar duties to her kin. A child has contacts with relatives of both father's and mother's side, the frequency and intimacy being determined primarily by location of residence.

It would appear, then, that the following characteristics can be ascribed to the Peranakan kinship system in Sukabumi:

1. Recognition of patrinymy, which is manifested by the inheritance of the family name through the father, and of sib-exogamy, in the prohibition of marriage between individuals of the same surname with whom kin ties can be traced.

2. Token adherence to patrilocal residence (sometimes matrilocal residence), which is changed as soon as feasible to neolocal residence.

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3. Social interaction in an equal degree of frequency and intimacy with kin from father's as well as mother's side. Any difference that may exist is due primarily to the possibility of contact as determined by the location of residence. However, the higher importance of agnatic kin is still reflected in the priority given to this kin group in the case of conflicting commitments.

These characteristics clearly demonstrate the difference between the Peranakan system existing in Sukabumi as compared with the traditional Hokkien system from which it is derived. It seems possible now to determine what accounts for these changes.

It would appear that Murdock's hypothesis that, "It is in respect to residence that changes in economy, technology, property, government, or religion first alter the structural relationships of related individuals to one another, giving an impetus to subsequent modifications in forms of the family, in consanguinal and compromise kin groups and in kinship terminology," (40) is applicable in the Peranakan situation. It has been conclusively shown that patrilocal residence is not and, we may safely assume, has never been the prevailing pattern in the Peranakan kinship system. The kinship terminology as found to be prevalent among them, however, is a terminology that is rooted in a system with a patrilocal residence pattern. It is therefore inevitable that changes should occur to make it workable in the different situations. As one would expect, the changes are primarily in the kin categories junior to ego according to generation and age (in his own generation). This can be attributed to the traditionally low significance attached to juniors in general, which renders it unnecessary to make clear distinctions between them.

Thus we may conclude that the change in the Peranakan kinship terminology is related to the change in the form of kin grouping, approaching the bilateral form through the prevalence of neolocal residence accompanied by the recognition of and interaction with individuals related through both the patrilineal and the matrilineal line.

We will notice that these characteristics resemble closely those that define a kindred. This type of kin grouping, which is a characteristic of the American family system, is defined by Murdock to include "that group of near kinsmen who may be expected to be present and participate on important ceremonial occasions, such as weddings, christenings, funerals, Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners, and 'family reunions.' Members of a kindred visit and entertain each other freely, and between them marriage and pecuniary transactions for profit are ordinarily taboo. One turns first to them for aid when one finds oneself in difficulties. However much they may disagree or quarrel, they are expected to support one another against criticism or affronts from outsiders. The kindred in other societies has comparable characteristics and functions."(41)

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(40) Murdock, op. cit., p. 202.

(41) Murdock, op. cit., pp. 56, 57.

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These characteristics are clearly applicable to the type of kin grouping found among the Peranakans. Hence it seems that, if we want to classify it, the proper place would be under kindred. (42)

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(42) Cf. Freedman, Chinese Family and Marriage, pp. 72-74.

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CHAPTER V

RELIGION

The Cycle of Public Worship

The Chinese Temple

The temple building--There is only one Chinese temple in the town of Sukabumi. (1) It is situated to the south of the railroad, on Djalan Pedjagalan, a side street of Djalan Pelabuan II, in the area popularly called Odeon. It occupies the left part of the front side of a double row of petak houses, entirely occupied by Peranakans and Totoks. The front of the temple is almost on the street. There are no inner or outer courts, but across the street there is an open space laid with stone tiles. To the left and right facing the temple are two large kim lo, the kind of oven in which the joss paper is burned. This is also the space where the stage is erected for the performance of the Chinese puppet play which is usually held on the anniversary of the main deity. Because it is situated on a side street, there is not much traffic in front of the temple. Therefore, whenever there is a performance of the barongsai (2) or the liong (dragon), it is played on the street, which thus becomes a kind of outer court. The small porch in front and the street form a favorite playground for the neighborhood children, and the porch is also a favorite meeting place for old men.

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(1) Actually there is another place of worship, a very small one, with only one altar, dedicated to the Buddhist deity Koan Im. It is privately owned by a Peranakan woman of over seventy, a member of one of the old and wealthy families in town. It is open to the public, but few people come and visit it except on the feast days of the deity. No special activities are connected with it.

(2) The playing of the barongsai is the game of the lion, which is a familiar spectacle on the occasion of Chinese New Year in virtually all large settlements of Chinese anywhere in the world. The name barongsai, which is used among both Peranakans and Indonesians, is a compound of the term barong, used by Javanese, Sundanese, and Balinese to refer to the masked figure with a lion- or tiger-like appearance found among them which has a striking likeness to the Chinese lion, and the term derived from the Hokkien sai, which means lion. For an interesting speculation on the origin of the Balinese Barong figure, see Jane Belo, Bali: Rangda and Barong (New York, 1949); also Theodor Pigeaud, Javaansche Volksvertoningen (Batavia, 1938), p. 420.

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From the outside, the temple is immediately recognizable as such by the two big lanterns (red with a green dragon painted on them) hanging from the ceiling of the porch and by the structure of the roof, which has a slightly curved ridge with a red circular decoration in the center. (3)

The name of this temple, indicated by the sign above the main entrance, is Bie Hian (or Han) Kong in Hokkien (Mei Hsuan Kung in Mandarin). Among the Peranakans, however, it is referred to as Bio Han Tan Kong or simply bio, which is Hokkien for temple. Bie most likely stands for the name of the town Sukabumi, which in Chinese has the same character for the last syllable mi as the Bie in Bie Hian Kong. Hian (Han) refers to the main deity Hian Tan (Hsuan-t'an in Mandarin), supposedly the Taoist recluse Tio Kong Beng (Chao Kung-ming in Mandarin)from the Chinese mythological history of the Chou dynasty, Hong Sin (Feng Shen in Mandarin). (4) Kong (kung in Mandarin) is a palace or temple, but kong, as in Han Tan Kong, means duke or prince, a title commonly given to deities. This sign also bears the date of its erection, the fifth year of the Chinese Republic, 1916.

The plot of ground on which the temple stands was a donation by a China-born Hokkien by the name of Tan Poan Soei. The temple proper, i. e., the space where the altars are situated, consists of one room only. Later more rooms were added, to the right for storage of the requisites for processions and to the back for living quarters of the temple keeper. The pat kwa teng was built after the war and was a donation of two of the largest textile factories in town. Behind it is a small meeting-hall where the meetings of the Sam Kauw Hwee regularly take place. According to an inscription, this part of the temple was built in 1948. The person who designed and built the temple was a China-born Hakka, whose son-in-law started the first printing plant, which is now the largest in town.

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(3) This ornament seems to represent a gourd, the Chinese hu lu. Charles A. S. Williams, Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives (Shanghai, 1941), p. 217, says of the gourd: "It is the symbol of mystery and necromancy and the emblem of Li T'ieh-kuai, one of the Eight Immortals of Taoism, who holds it in his hand while spirals of smoke ascend from it, denoting his power of setting his spirit free from his body.... Figures of them are worn as charms for longevity ... it is in frequent use as a charm to dissipate or ward off pernicious influences." Since the gourd is a Taoist symbol we may conclude that the temple in Sukabumi has a Taoist character, which is in accordance with the finding that the main god is alleged to be a Taoist hermit. Another clear indication is the kind of annex built in an octagonal shape, which accounts for its being referred to as pat kwa teng (shrine of the eight trigrams).

(4) The Feng Shen Yen I, in Chinese. There is an elaborate translation and commentary of this book by Wilhelm Grube, Die Metamorphosen der Goetter, and a translation in Dutch of some parts by Nio Joe Lan, De Verheffing der Goden.

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The space inside the temple can be divided into an inner and outer part. In the center is a square space open to the sky, covered only with thick wire netting. Chairs and tables line the walls of the outer part. These walls are covered with Chinese paintings, rows of slips of paper with verses in Chinese characters, the answers to the divination with the divining sticks, the more recent donor lists, and the framed lines of praise in honor of the main deity. Rectangular boards with lines of praise hang in pairs on the wooden pillars that support the temple, and framed lines of praise also decorate the walls of the inner part. In this section colorful banners with the title and praise of the main deity hang down horizontally from the rafters. The most frequent title is Tjek It Thian Kun (Mandarin Cheng I T'ien Chun), which can be translated as First Lord of Heaven. (5) The designation Han Tan Kong appears nowhere.

The inner part of the temple is filled almost entirely with the following four altars:

1. The altar to the Thi-kong or Tuhan Allah, the Indonesian name for the Moslem God. This is placed at the edge of the square in the center which is open to the sky. On this altar there are only one big copper incense pot and two smaller ones on either side, two vases on the left and right edges, and two candlesticks. Flanking this altar are two small tables with upturned nails to hold candles.

2. The altar to the main deity Han Tan Kong. This consists of three connecting tables placed one in front of the other. The outer table is used for the offerings, and only an incense holder and candlesticks are permanently placed on it. In the front of this table, covering the opening underneath, there is a gold-painted wood carving behind glass depicting the gods of wealth, posterity, and longevity. The second table is an extension of the first one and also has only oil lamps and candlesticks on it. The third table is taller than the first two and rectangular. On the left and right corners are oil lamps, and in the center is a big copper incense pot with a smaller one on either side.

To the back wall of the temple, separated about two feet from the third table just mentioned, is the main altar, the shrine of Han Tan Kong. This is made of wood with elaborately carved decorations. In the center are two images of the main deity, one smaller than the other. Facing outside, they are arranged as follows: the big one on the left, the smaller one to the right of it, and next to this a small cheap mirror. According to the temple keeper the mirror is put there because it is believed that the soul of the main deity has entered it. When it is placed at a certain angle it is indeed possible to distinguish a vague dark outline that has somewhat the shape of the main deity as it sits on the throne on the altar. In front of the images are a big incense pot with the divining blocks on either side and a wooden container with the divining sticks.

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(5) The spelling used here for the Hokkien pronunciation of the name of the deities is taken from a list of feast days of these deities, available at the temple. As with most words of Hokkien origin used among Peranakans, there is no standard spelling.

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3. To the right of this shrine, also placed against the back wall, is the altar of Kwan Kong. It shares the altar with a score of others however: Kwan Im, Hok Tek Tjeng Sin, Kwee Seng-ong, Kuei Sing, and the three gods of wealth, posterity, and longevity. These images are all lined up in a row, and there are several replicas of some.

4. To the left of the main altar is another minor one. It has only one image, a tiger, or rather an animal that is said to represent a tiger. It is called Houw Tjiang Kun (literally, tiger general), but it is usually referred to as tepekong matjan (literally, tiger god. Tepekong is from the Hokkien and is used among the Peranakans to refer to any deity found in a Chinese temple. Matjan is Indonesian for tiger). This tiger is believed to be the mount of Han Tan Kong as described in the mythological story, Feng Shen. In front of this image is also a table for offerings with an oil lamp in the center and rectangular boxes with upturned nails for the candles on the sides.

Why is Han Tan Kong in particular worshiped in Sukabumi? The temple keeper's explanation runs as follows: Around 1908 a severe cholera epidemic raged over the town of Sukabumi. (The anniversary book of the Djin Gie Hwee, the funeral association of Sukabumi, mentions that the association originated because of a cholera epidemic. According to this book, the event occurred in 1911.) Every day tens of persons fell victim to this sickness. People were overcome by fear and, when it continued, they grew desperate. The father of the temple keeper, whose name was Thung Hoat Tiat, then hit upon the idea of asking the help of the god Han Tan Kong, who was at that time kept at the house of a certain Thung Ni in Bogor. The origin of this god, as the temple keeper remembers it, was that it was brought from China by a person with the surname Thung, who was the father-in-law of a certain Tan, who had been one of the Chinese captains in Bogor. After the death of this Thung, his descendants entrusted the god to the care of a temple in Babakah Madang, a small village in the neighborhood of Tjibinong, a village about 10 miles north of Bogor. Later Thung Ni removed the god and installed it in his own house. Apparently people with the surname Thung, and especially those originating in the same area in Fukien (according to the temple keeper her father came from Nan An), regard this god as their special protector.

Thus, during the epidemic Thung Hoat Tiat and several friends made a trip to Bogor to borrow the god. In Sukabumi it was kept at the house of Thung, a small petak house on Djalan Plabuan II. Several processions with the god were made around the town and all who wished it could get air hu, that is, plain water in which the ashes of a kertas hu are mixed. (6) These processions and the air hu were believed to have been

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(6) Kertas is Indonesian for paper and hu is from the Hokkien, meaning amulet, a written preventive against dangers and evil spirits. These charm papers are usually made of coarse rice paper of yellow or red color with the characters written in black or red on it. To make air hu (air is Indonesian for water) a sheet of this charm paper is lit by a

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very helpful in fighting the sickness. For this reason the Chinese population in Sukabumi wanted to keep the god in this town. This started off a minor contention between the Thung family in Bogor, who had taken care of it until that time, and the Thung family in Sukabumi. The matter was then put up to the god himself by way of the divining sticks. The god preferred to stay in Sukabumi. For several years it was kept at the house of Thung, until in 1916 enough money was collected to build a temple.

Another event which is believed by the temple keeper and several other Peranakans to be strong proof of the efficacious influence of the god occurred during the great conflagration preceding the invasion of Dutch troops in July 1947. The conflagration was due to the scorched earth policy of the Indonesian revolutionists, who set fire to many storehouses (mostly filled with rubber and tea from the estates), important buildings, hotels, and schools before leaving the town. As most of these storehouses were situated in the Chinese section of the town, in the vicinity of the railway station, many Chinese residences were also caught by the fire. The plot bounded by Djalan Raja in the north, Gang Ikan in the east, Gang Pasar in the south and Djalan Plabuan I in the west (district C on Map 4, page 27 above) was entirely burned (except for the Protestant church), giving an open view from the Djalan Raja to the market place. In the panic that ensued quite a number of people took refuge in the temple. Several days before the calamity, a China-born Hokkien man, who had occasionally been in a trance, had come into this condition again. The god of the temple had spoken through him at this time, predicting that the conflagration would involve great material loss among the Chinese, but no personal injury. Several of the refugees in the temple reported to have seen a tiger on the roof. This is believed to have been the tiger god, the mount of Han Tan Kong. True to the prediction, not one Chinese was hurt, though a great number lost their homes and property. This reinforced the confidence of the Chinese population in this deity, and they regard it as the special protector of the town.

The existence of two images of the main deity is explained by the temple keeper as that of an older and a younger brother: the smaller, which is the one from Bogor, is the older and the bigger one the younger, having been presented at a later date by one of the worshipers. Both images are made of wood and are colored black.

As for the minor gods, the tiger was made and presented by a China-born Hakka. The image of Kwan Im and the picture of Kwan Kong were gifts from one of the old Peranakan families; all the other images are also gifts from worshipers.

What do the worshipers know about these deities? From observation and talks with quite a number of them, the writer discovered almost complete ignorance of the gods whose blessings they come to invoke. The name of the main god is generally known. He is referred to as Han Tan

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candle after praying with incense sticks, and, before the ashes fall apart, it is put into a bowl of water. This water is believed to be capable of preventing illness, strengthening the weak and curing the sick.

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Kong or simply tepekong. His origin, however, seems utterly immaterial to them; there was only one literate Peranakan woman of over seventy, the owner of the small private Kwan Im temple, who told the writer that this deity is the Tio Kong Beng of the Hong Sin.

Of the minor gods the worshipers all know Kwan Im and Kwan Kong. Of the other gods, Houw Tjiang Kun, Kwee Seng-Ong, Hok Tek Tjeng Sin, and Kuei Sing, a few know the names of the first three without knowing their origin, while many do not even know who these images represent. (This is especially the case with Kuei Sing.) The temple keeper was able to tell the writer about the origin of the main god, which she too believes to be the Tio Kong Beng of the Hong Sin. She was also familiar with Kwan Im as the goddess of mercy specially worshiped by women, with Koan Kong as the god of the many powers and the special patron saint of athletic clubs, and with Houw Tjiang Kun as the mount of Han Tan Kong. She described Kwee Seng-ong as the special protector of the Hokkiens who is always depicted with one foot up and the other hanging down, and Hok Tek Tjeng Sin as the god of the earth. She also admitted she did not know anything about Kuei Sing; she was not even sure of his name. The three gods of wealth, posterity, and longevity are generally recognized by the worshipers. How little people are able to recognize these images, except for those who have more or less fixed features, was vividly illustrated by a small incident witnessed by the writer. Among the many small images on the altar of Kwan Kong was one which had always been regarded by the temple keeper as the image of a Sundanese holy man, kyai Surjakentjana. When Bhikku Jinnarikita (a Peranakan from Bogor with the name of Tee Boan An who is a Buddhist priest ordained in Burma) came to visit the temple, however, he saw the image and recognized it as an image of Buddha. So he took it along, presumably to take better care of it. The temple keeper told the writer later how surprised she was that she had mistaken the identity of the image.

This is also a good example of the great hospitality of many of the Chinese temples in Indonesia. Gods or holy persons of various religious origins receive an equally hearty welcome, especially when they have proven their efficacious influence. In the Hian Tang Kong temple in Djakarta, for instance (it is curious to note that the image in this temple is quite unlike the ones in Sukabumi, though they are believed to be the same deity), there is a special small niche in one of the side walls, in which a small bed and several articles made of iron are displayed. This niche is considered the sacred site of an Indonesian holy man.

The organization of the temple--The temple is run by a temple board which is primarily in charge of financial matters and a temple keeper who takes care of the upkeep and daily activities.

The temple board is an elected body and consists of four persons: ti'ia low tsoe (literally, head master of the stove); hu low tsoe (literally, assistant master of the stove); ts'ia tao ke (literally, head master of the house);hu tao ke (literally, assistant head master of the house). (7)

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(7) These four titles are from the Hokkien and the spelling is also taken from a list available at the temple.

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Tenure is one year, and the election (by lot) always takes place on the festival of the main god, the nineteenth of the third lunar month. The candidates are taken from the list of donors for the lantern festival. The selection of them is made by the tsai hu (Hokkien, meaning bookkeeper), a China-born Hokkien man of about sixty with the surname Thung, who has held the office (this seems not elective) for quite a few years.

Since the erection of the temple, the members of the board have practically always been Hokkiens or Peranakans. This is not surprising considering the fact that the temple was built at the initiative of a group of Hokkiens. These people seem to regard it as their special property and responsibility. To be chosen is considered a high honor, a clear indication of being favored by the god. This idea seems to be more prevalent among the China-born than among the Peranakans, as is indicated by the greater willingness of the former to stand as candidates. It is possible that the greater willingness is only the result of the fact that the bookkeeper who makes the selection is China-born himself and would, therefore, be more acquainted with other China-born people than with Peranakans. It is more likely, however, that this difference in interest points to a difference in the evaluation of the temple. The task of the board and especially of the head low tsoe is to look after the financial matters of the temple; therefore it requires a certain amount of wealth to be eligible as an office holder. Among the wealthy Peranakans there seems to be no desire to be actively connected with the temple. Among the China-born, on the other hand, there are indications that to be a member of the board accords prestige.

Twice a year, for the lantern festival and the festival of the main god, the board members have to go around collecting money to cover the expenses. Accordingly, they must set an example by being the first on the list to contribute. Funds left over after festival expenses have been met are used to pay for the upkeep of the temple. If in the course of the year the money runs out, it is the head low tsoe who has the responsibility to straighten things out. At the end of the office year, if there is a balance, he will be reimbursed. At the beginning of office, each of these four persons has to give an initial donation according to his means.

The members of the board collectively are usually referred to as tao ke low tsoe. The assistant low tsoe helps with the collection of money and acts for the head low tsoe in his absence. The head tao ke has to look after the daily affairs of the temple; for instance, if there is something wrong in the temple it is he who is called. The assistant tao ke helps him and also acts for him in his absence. Besides the care of the financial affairs the board has to make a special big offering, including the offering of three kinds of meat: the head of a pig, a chicken or duck, and a dried squid or fish. This offering is made on five occasions, the ascension and descension of the gods, New Year's eve, lantern festival, and festival of the main god.

The temple keeper is a Peranakan woman of over seventy, the daughter of the Mr. Thung who initiated the transfer of the god to Sukabumi. After the founder's death, first his wife and then his daughter took over the job of taking care of the god. She is assisted by another

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old woman, a China-born Hokkien of the same surname, by the temple keeper's adopted son of about forty, and by the oldest daughter of this son, a girl of eighteen. She receives no salary or regular financial aid, but she does get a small income from the sale of prayer requisites and from the money gifts the worshipers usually give her after each visit. The most profitable time is during the lantern festival when a great number of people from outside Sukabumi come to watch the procession and visit the temple at the same time. On these occasions these people are apt to be very generous.

The Significance of the Temple

Close observation during an entire calendar year indicates that the majority of the regular worshipers are China-born women, especially Hakkas. This has been confirmed by the temple keeper and her son and by several of the worshipers themselves. There is even some sort of worship club among these Hakka women. They share costs of buying candles, joss paper, incense sticks, and oil for the lamps. These are usually acquired in Djakarta (the temple keeper provides only materials for simple offerings, while the Hakka women usually make use of more elaborate material, and no store in Sukabumi carries these articles) by one of the women who seems to be regarded as the leader, though she denied this when asked about it. She was very evasive in answering questions on the purposes or activities of the group. According to her, it is simply because many of the women cannot leave their households to come to the temple that one of them, usually an old woman of over seventy, the mother of one of the traditional Chinese doctors in town, alone or with the above mentioned leader, comes to the temple to present the offerings in the name of all those who shared in buying the materials.

The occasions calling for a visit are: first, the first and fifteenth of the Chinese lunar month; second, New Year's eve and New Year's Day, and in general during the New Year season which starts from the 24th of the 12th lunar month (the ascension of the kitchen god) to the Lantern festival, which in Sukabumi comes on the 20th of the first lunar month; and, third, on the feast of the lantern festival, called by the Peranakans tjap go meh (from the Hokkien, meaning literally, night of the fifteenth). (8) The festival in this town is not celebrated on the 15th of the first lunar month but on the 20th. This practice is said to have originated with the first Chinese kapitan (appointed 1892) who had the date moved up to coincide with his birthday on the 20th so that a double celebration could be held. Another reason for the different date was based on the consideration that Sukabumi was at that time (around 1900) small and much less significant than Bogor or even Tjiandjur (which was the regency capital to which Sukabumi belonged until 1921) and would not be able to compete with these two towns in attracting

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(8) Curiously enough, this name is not used at all among the China-born Hokkiens (neither is it found in any of the Hokkien dictionaries) who refer to this festival as goan siau. De Groot, op. cit., p. 125, mentions, however, that this term is used on the continent around Amoy and in the capital of the district of Chang chou.

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visitors for the festival if it should also be held on the 15th. Today the dates in these three towns are different, making a series of festivals starting in Bogor, then Tjiandjur, and ending in Sukabumi. The above, then, are the general Chinese festivals celebrated in the temple.

The feast days of the gods, the festivities specially related to the temple, are as follows:

Han Tan Kong or Tjek It Tian Koen	16th of the 3rd lunar month but celebrated on the 19th.
Kwan Kong or Kwan Tek Kong	13th of the 1st lunar month.
Thow Tek Kong or Hok Tek Tjeng Sin	2nd of the 2nd month.
Kwee Seng Ong	22nd of the 2nd month.
Kwan Im Hoed Tjouw	19th of the 2nd lunar month.
Kwan Im Lam Hay	19th of the 6th lunar month.
Kwan Im Pauw Sat	19th of the 9th lunar month.
Tjouw Soe Kong	6th of the 11th lunar month (9)

The temple keeper informed the writer that, of these feast days, only that of the main god is celebrated on a large scale. That of Kwan Kong is also celebrated but on a smaller scale, while that of all the others passes almost unnoticed except for those of Kwan Im when quite a few Totok women come to present an offering.

Another occasion that should be mentioned here is the special offering given annually by the group of Hakka women worshipers in the second lunar month.

Besides these special occasions there are people who come to the temple on ordinary days, usually to ask advice by way of the divining sticks or the divining blocks, to invoke blessings for a special occasion as, for instance, before starting on a long trip, to present offerings to express gratitude for a special favor granted, or to borrow money (a symbolic amount) which will be considered as the initial capital to set up business.

The activities in the temple on the special occasions mentioned above will now be described.

First and fifteenth of the lunar month--The most regular worshipers--those who come on every first and fifteenth--are several older China-born women, Hakkas (the leaders of the so-called worship club) and Hokkiens. On four consecutive occasions, the first and fifteenth of the ninth and tenth lunar month of 1956 (October 4 and 18 and November 3 and 17, respectively), between eight in the morning and twelve noon, the writer recorded the number of worshipers, distinguished by the way they were dressed:

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(9) These names and dates have been copied from a dirty-looking card nailed on one of the pillars. Who Tjouw Soe Kong stands for, the temple keeper was unable to explain.

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Date	Jacket-trousers			Western dress			Sarong-kabaja			Total
	Hakka	Hok.	Per.	Hakka	Hok.	Per.	Hakka	Hok.	Per.	
9-1	2	2	-	5	-	2	-	-	1	12
9-15*	3	2	-	-	-	3	1	-	4	13
10-1**	6	6	-	2	-	-	-	-	4	18
10-15	3	3	-	2	-	6	-	1	1	16
Total	14	13	-	9	-	11	1	1	10	59

* Two Peranakan men also visited.
** One Hokkien man and one Peranakan man visited.

This table is the result of the recording of only four occasions. Nevertheless, from observations in other months, the writer believes that it gives an accurate picture of the usual situation. From this table a number of inferences can be made.

First we notice that as to total numbers the Hakkas and Peranakans are equal. There is a crucial difference, however, in that, of the Hakkas, on each occasion the same persons appeared, while, of the Peranakans, different people were recorded every time. This indicates a regularity in the worship pattern of these Hakka women, a characteristic the writer also observed among the Hokkien women. Among the Peranakans, on the other hand, visits to the temple seem to be a one-shot affair undertaken without any thought of falling into a regular pattern.

Secondly, of those who could be identified as Hakkas, two-thirds wore jackets and trousers, one-third western dress, and one was in sarong kabaja. This can be taken as an indication that in this group there is an interest in the temple among the younger people also. We will notice this interest again in the special annual offering. Of those who could be identified as Hokkiens, all were dressed in jacket and trousers except for one in sarong-kabaja. This might be an indication that there is little interest among the younger people in this group. Of the Peranakans there was an equal number in sarong-kabaja and western dress, which again can be taken as an indication of an interest among the younger people.

We will examine this interest further, as expressed in the participation in the other activities in the temple.

During the New Year season--The New Year season can be regarded as commencing with the day of the ascension of the kitchen god on the 24th of the 12th lunar month. Among the Peranakans this event is called tepekong naik (naik is Indonesian for to climb or to ascend). On this day the temple changes in appearance. Its tables have been cleaned and the copper articles polished like mirrors. The two main images are clad in silver-embroidered capes and the small images of Kwan Kong and Kwan Im are dressed in bright draperies. Curtains of fine material hang in front of the main shrine, and elaborately embroidered draperies trail from the rafters. These fineries have been presented in the course of the last few years by the group of Hakka women

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worshipers. They are used during the festive period, from the ascension of the god until after the feast of the main god in the third lunar month. However, few worshipers come to the temple on this occasion because usually people have offerings at home. In the afternoon, however, there is the special big offering of the temple board, which includes the head of a pig, a chicken, a duck, and a dried squid. These are divided among the four members after the offering. The temple keeper herself also presents an offering, but without meat. On the altar of Kwan Kong and the other minor gods slips of yellow paper bearing the picture of a horse are put between the cups of tea. These represent the horses to be used by the gods to ascend to heaven. At the end of the offering they are burned. A similar offering takes place on the occasion of tepekong turun (turun is Indonesian for to descend) which occurs on the fourth of the first lunar month.

In the evening the Chinese boxing club, Gie Sai Hwee (spelling follows that used by the members themselves) presented its first barongsai performance of the season. The members, all Peranakan boys and young men, were dressed in light-blue trousers fastened at the ankles, a navy blue T-shirt and a yellow sash around the waist. This uniform is completed with a black beret to which the club badge is fastened. Before the performance a special ceremony had to be observed. The leading person was a Peranakan man of about forty, who is also the leader of the coffin bearers of the funeral association. After placing several kinds of Indonesian fruits on the altars, the praying started, beginning with the older members or donors of the club. The men prayed in groups simultaneously. Each of them held twelve incense sticks, one for each holder. After everyone, including the small boys, had had his turn, all went to the room at the right of the temple proper, where the religious articles are stored. Here in a closed shelf the barongsai is kept. Several people informed the writer that before each performance incense has to be burned for it. If this is not done it will be very heavy to bear. The leader of the ceremony told the writer that they believe that this sai has a sin (from the Hokkien, meaning spirit) and therefore it is worshiped. The ceremony over, the sai was taken reverently off the shelf and carried to the front of the temple through a side door. It is considered a large sai, about three feet in diameter, painted black with green lights for the eyes, and has movable eyelashes, a red-lighted tongue, and movable jaws. In the center of the forehead is a horn with a yellow tip. The body is made up of a train of multicolored pieces of cloth ending in a braided tail. This train is about six feet long.

The musical instruments for the accompaniment of the performance were arranged on the porch in front of the temple. They consisted of a huge drum about three feet high and two and one-half feet in diameter, big cymbals, and a gong. There were also several Chinese traditional weapons and the standard of the club. This small band had been playing since about half an hour before the sai was taken out, announcing to all that the New Year was near. Several Peranakan men told the writer that they get excited every year at the deep and penetrating sound of this drum.

The sai was played by two young men, one carrying the head and the other crouching at the tail. In front of the temple they went into

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position facing the main entrance and, with the drum making a deafening noise, they rushed into the temple. Just inside the door they stopped, and silver joss paper was burned in front of the sai, which shook its head above the flames. This action was repeated on the steps leading to the inner part of the temple. The sai then made the round of all the altars, bowing several times in front of each. When it left the temple, moving backwards, the burning of joss paper was repeated. Then the performance started, right in the middle of the street. It alternated with a demonstration of Chinese boxing. A great number of spectators were gathered, blocking all traffic on the street. They were virtually all Peranakans and Totoks living in the neighborhood from Djalan Raja and Djalan Plabuan II, including several members of the wealthy old Peranakan families. There were more than a hundred persons, men and women, but for the greater part young people and children. The predominance of Peranakans among the performers and spectators was very striking. Among the leading persons of the club there was only one older Hokkien man who was pointed out to the writer as one of the instructors.

On New Year's eve the activities in the temple started at six in the evening, when a crowd had gathered to watch the departure of the green dragon from the youth section of the Sam Kauw Hwee which was to play in town that night. Three other groups roamed the streets that night: first, the Gie Sai Hwee with their sai; second, the Chung Lien Hui (the organization of students of Chinese descent who attend the Indonesian-language middle school); and, third, the Hua Chiang She (a music club with a membership of mixed Peranakan and Totok youth), each with a samsie (an animal resembling a lion more than the sai because of its short body, about three feet, covered with long hair and with no horn on its forehead). These troupes first came to the temple to pay honor to the gods and to ask their blessing that no harm befall the troupe on their tour through the town. The ceremony of bowing before the altars and burning of joss paper was performed, while on the forehead of each animal a charm paper was pasted.

At midnight there were about twenty worshipers, all Totoks, men as well as women, but more women. Most of the latter were dressed in Chinese jacket and trousers. Several of them were the Hakka women who regularly came to the temple. Both men and women were praying, but while the women kept busy at the altars, many of the men were standing or sitting talking with each other. Among these worshipers there was only one Hokkien couple; the others were Hakkas. The inner part of the temple was completely filled with smoke from the numerous incense sticks. There were several kinds: the ordinary small brown ones, the bigger red and yellow ones of one-half to three-quarters of an inch in diameter and one to one-and-one-half feet tall, and the very big ones of about two inches in diameter and about three feet tall. One of the Hakka men informed the writer that a group of them had shared in buying these articles in Djakarta. The temple keeper, who was busy cleaning the candle containers and selling prayer articles with the aid of her son and two of his oldest daughters, informed the writer that people had been coming since eleven o'clock in the night.

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On New Year's day the temple was crowded with worshipers all morning. The majority again were Hakkas, but there were also several Peranakans, older women in sarong-kabaja. As on New Year's eve, the temple was filled with smoke. The worshipers only lighted candles and burned incense sticks and, at the end, joss paper. No food offering was made. The son of the temple keeper was busy removing the half-burned incense sticks to make room for new ones. These half-burned ones were extinguished with water, dried in the sun, and then put to burn in the oven for the joss paper outside the temple. He informed the writer that people had been coming since 4:30 in the morning.

The 9th of the first lunar month is the feast day of the Ruler of Heaven. Peranakans call the offering on this day sembahjang Thi-kong or sembahjang Tuhan Allah. All day worshipers kept coming to the temple. The writer visited the temple around noon. There were at that time eleven Hakka women praying devoutly. They were women of fifty or more; only one was as young as thirty. They prayed in two groups simultaneously, only burning incense sticks, small and big ones, and lighting candles. After putting the sticks in the holders they performed the pai kui by kneeling on a cushion specially provided for this purpose, lifting their clasped hands above their foreheads and then bending head and body forward until the forehead touched the floor. This they did in front of each altar.

That morning the writer also observed two Peranakan men in their early thirties consulting the divining sticks. They seemed very ignorant as to the procedure and asked the temple keeper to explain how to do it. At her direction they bought a package of incense sticks, two small red candles and some sweets. They prayed in front of each altar very seriously and then they drew the divining sticks. This act is called by the Peranakans tjabut tjiam-sie (from the Hokkien, meaning to draw the divining verses; tjabut is Indonesian for to draw). It is done by shaking the bamboo container in such a way that only one stick falls out. This requires some skill, and the writer has witnessed many people who tried several times without success and in the end asked the temple keeper to do it for them. Each stick has a number written on it in Chinese characters. These numbers correspond to the slips of paper on which the divining verses are written. After some manipulations the two young men succeeded in acquiring a stick each. After taking the corresponding slip with the verse which is written in Chinese, they consulted the Indonesian (in fact, in so-called Chinese-Malay) that is contained in a special book. [There are two translations: one dates from prewar times and the other was made in 1957 by a second generation Hokkien traditional Chinese doctor (father from Yungting and mother Peranakan).] The translations are both the actual translation of the verse and the interpretation of it by the translator. These translations and interpretations are very vague and have to be reinterpreted. Usually the temple keeper is consulted, but she is not always able to give a satisfactory interpretation. She will then advise the person involved to take the Chinese verse and consult a Chinese astrologer or traditional Chinese doctor. The two young men were very serious about the interpretations in the book and copied them.

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According to the temple keeper it is especially during the New Year season and the Lantern festival that many people come to draw the divining sticks. This is the time when one also sees young people, who are then teased by their friends for trying to divine their chances in love.

The temple keeper also informed the writer that she was to make an offering to Thi-kong that night. She added that this special offering on the ninth of the first month is not made by all people, but once a person starts observing it he has to do it every year. The purpose is to invoke blessings from the Ruler of Heaven.

In the evening again there was a performance of the Gie Sai Hwee and all other troupes in town also played on the streets.

The 15th of the first lunar month is the actual date of the Lantern festival. This occasion drew quite a number of worshipers. From ten in the morning until half past one in the afternoon the writer observed five Hakka women, three women in sarong-kabaja, four Peranakan women in western dress, and one man in his early thirties. The old Hokkien woman who is related to the temple keeper told the writer that there had been many worshipers earlier in the morning. This was evidenced by the great number of ordinary and large-sized incense sticks in the holders and by the many small candles. There were also large candles of the kind called "dragon candle" which is used for weddings. On all altars there were sweets, fruits, and cakes.

The Lantern Festival on the 20th and 21st of the first lunar month--This festival will be treated at length because it has the highest degree of participation from Peranakans. In the year 1957 these two dates were Tuesday and Wednesday, 19 and 20 February. Since the Sunday before, sai, samsie, and liong troupes from other towns (Djakarta, Tanggerang, Bogor, Tjiandjur, Bandung) had been coming to the temple to pay respects to the gods before touring the streets.

On the first day, the 20th of the first lunar month, the writer observed the activities in the temple from ten in the morning until the departure of the procession early in the evening, with a few breaks in between. In the morning the articles necessary for the procession had already been taken out of storage. In front of the temple there were two big lanterns made of red cloth decorated with glitter and the four characters designating the title of the main god: cheng i tien chun. An old Totok man and two younger men, one of whom is the son of a member of the board, were busy examining the illumination of two of the rattan sedan chairs in which the gods would be carried.

From 10:00 until 11:00 a.m. and from 12:30 until 2:30 p.m. the writer recorded the following worshipers: 1 Totok man; 3 Totok women in jacket and trousers; 14 Peranakan men; 16 Peranakan women in sarong-kabaja; and 5 Peranakan women in western dress.

This account shows that there was a distinct majority of Peranakans among the worshipers that morning, 4 Totoks against 35 Peranakans. The greater part of these Peranakans, perhaps 74 per cent, were

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visitors from outside Sukabumi who came to watch the procession. During these days the hotels were booked and many private houses were also filled with guests.

In the afternoon the writer witnessed a man going into trance. This man, a Peranakan with a dark complexion and more Indonesian than Chinese features, came from Bandung, where he lived in one of the temples. He was referred to as a tangsin (from the Hokkien, meaning medium; it seems that among the Peranakans in Sukabumi both this term and the term kitang, also from the Hokkien, are used, but the first seems to denote the person only, while the second also denotes the act). The son of the temple keeper informed the writer that this person had been in trance the day before and that on that occasion he had cut his tongue.

That afternoon the same performance occurred. This man suddenly entered the temple through a side door. He was jumping back and forth convulsively, eyes closed, and snorting like a horse, causing his saliva to fly around. In front of the main altar he stopped. An old Hokkien man, whom the writer was told belonged to one of the temples in Bandung also, came to his side, put a triangle-shaped banner with the title of the main god in his hand, and started to recite a prayer in Hokkien, monotonously repeating the same lines. The tangsin waved the banner or struck the table with it. He was also mumbling in Hokkien. The man aiding him lighted some gold joss paper and put it on the floor. The tangsin jumped on it until the flames were extinguished, whereupon it was relighted and again he jumped on it. This act was repeated until the paper was burned out.

After this the man acting as an assistant put a Chinese writing brush in his hand and a sheet of blank yellow charm paper on the table in front of him. On the first few sheets the tangsin wrote Chinese characters with black Chinese ink. Shortly after, however, the assistant gave him a pocket knife. The tangsin grabbed it with his right hand and, still jumping, he moved back and forth. A small glass container was put on the table. Bending his head over it, the tangsin stuck his tongue out, got hold of it with his left hand, and with cautious movements cut on the surface of it. Then he pressed it with his teeth so that blood came out of the wound and down into the container. With the brush he dipped into it and continued writing on the sheets of charm paper. The characters were the same on all the sheets. He wrote thirty-five sheets in all. They were put in rows on the table to dry. To accomplish this feat he had to cut his tongue three more times. During the writing he had stopped jumping, but his eyes were still half closed. Finally (the writer did not notice whether he gave an indication that he was through) the assistant gave him a sound slap on the back causing him to bend forward. After another slap he straightened himself, opened his eyes, and walked about as if nothing had happened.

During the performance about twenty-five to thirty people were crowded around the tangsin. They were mostly Peranakans, among them members of the troupes who had been put up in the rooms beside the temple proper. There were practically no women among them. The writer observed that most of the spectators looked with horror, but at the

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same time fascination, at the feat of the tangsin. The sheets of charm paper were given to the son of the temple keeper to put on the heads of the lions and dragons who visit the temple.

At 4:15 p. m. the writer was back at the temple for the procession. The head low tsoe had then already consulted the god by way of the divining blocks concerning the starting time, which was to be at 5:00 p. m. The sedan chairs, called kio (from the Hokkien) by the Peranakans were already decorated with fresh flowers, a gift from a flower shop owner, a Peranakan belonging to one of the old wealthy families in town who had been low tsoe several years before. There were three sedan chairs, two made of rattan and one made of wood, elaborately carved with symbols and figures depicting well-known characters of Chinese mythology and painted in a gold color. There were no worshipers inside, but a crowd had already gathered outside. The troupes who were to take part in the procession entered the temple one by one, bowing before each altar three times.

At 4:50 p. m. the members of the board burned incense sticks and then took away the bigger Han Tan Kong image, the mirror and the tiger god to put into the sedan chairs. As this day's procession is considered the preliminary one, the smaller image, the more important one, did not participate, but was represented by the mirror. The images were fastened to the chairs with red cotton ribbons to keep them from falling off. The tiger god was put in one of the rattan chairs, the Han Tan Kong image in the other one, and the mirror in the gold-painted one. Suddenly the tangsin went into trance again. He jumped around and snorted and flourished the banner. He remained close to the gold-painted chair until the departure.

At 5:00 p. m. sharp, the chairs were carried out of the temple. First a kind of sedan chair, filled only with an oven from which flames flickered, carried by boys (into this oven are put the incense sticks gathered from the people who burn them as the procession passes along), then the chair with the tiger god, followed by that of the main deity and finally the gold-painted chair with the mirror.

When the procession was about to start, another man went into trance. He shouted wildly, took off his trousers, shirt and shoes, leaving only his singlet and pants. He made a gesture of cutting his tongue. Several men led him inside the temple. It turned out that this man was a well-known tangsin from the temple of Kwan Tek Koen, i. e., Kwan Kong, in Djakarta.

The procession was arranged as follows: first the troupes of lions and dragons, then the sedan chairs, followed closely by a great number of Indonesians carrying poles advertising various shops and enterprises, and finally publicity cars also from various enterprises. In this procession not all the troupes gathered in town took part. As it proceeded very slowly, however, it still took about forty-five minutes for the train to pass, and it was to take about six hours to follow the prescribed route, so that it returned to the temple at about 11:00 p. m.

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The 21st of the first lunar month was the day of the big procession. When the writer arrived at the temple at 9:45 a.m. there was a group of about fifteen persons around the main altar, where the two tangsins were in trance simultaneously. They were both jumping up and down and pounding the table. The one from Djakarta shouted wildly in Indonesian and Sundanese. The interpretation was that he said that there would be no rain that night and that the procession would take place safely. Later the writer was told that he had been possessed by the spirit of a Sundanese holy man. The other tangsin did not give any message.

From 9:45 until 11:45 a.m. and from 1:00 until 2:00 p.m., the writer recorded the following worshipers: 3 Totok men; 13 Totok women in jacket and trousers, mostly Hokkiens; 3 Totok women in western dress; 9 Peranakan men; 13 Peranakan women in sarong-kabaja; and 3 Peranakan women in western dress.

Again we see that there were more Peranakan than Totok worshipers, 25 against 19. These people generally offered only some sweets, burned incense sticks and joss paper, and lighted some small red candles. Most of them also, especially the Peranakans, bought these items from the temple keeper. There was an obviously wealthy Hakka man from Djakarta, however, who brought two candles of about two inches in diameter and about three feet tall and three big incense sticks of about one inch in diameter. The candles were put on the main altar and the incense sticks in the three burners in front of the main shrine, one in each burner. There was also a Hokkien woman who made a large meat offering.

At two in the afternoon the temple board presented an offering as it did the day before. This offering consisted of six kinds of sweets and six kinds of dried Chinese vegetables. These were put on all four altars, while on the altar of Kwan Kong and the tiger god were added meat offering, consisting of the cooked head of a pig, a pair (cock and hen) of cooked fowl, and a dried squid. On the 21st the offering was similar, but the meat was uncooked and, instead of dried vegetables, there were fresh ones.

The same people who decorated the sedan chairs the day before were again busy redecorating them, but this time they also used orchids. In accord with the consultation with the divining blocks, the procession was to start at six o'clock. One hour before, however, it was already overcrowded inside and outside. Besides the people who came merely as spectators, there were a great number of real worshipers. In fact there was such a crowd in front of the altars that they were not able to pray properly. There were also many who consulted the divining sticks. These worshipers were mostly Peranakans, for the greater part visitors from outside Sukabumi. Among the spectators were many from the wealthy, western-educated Peranakan families in town.

About half an hour before the start of the procession, the tangsin from Bandung went into trance again. He stood before the gold-painted chair, snorting and flourishing his banner, while the assistant stood beside him mumbling prayers. The writer then observed a Dutch-educated Peranakan in his early thirties approaching the tangsin and asking

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something softly. He was followed by his younger sister of around twenty and another Peranakan Dutch-educated man also in his early thirties. The first questioner emerged from the crowd which had gathered around them holding triumphantly a sheet of charm paper on which characters resembling Arab script were written with a Chinese brush and ink. When the writer asked these three persons, whom she knew personally, what the tangsin had said, the first two only laughed and said that it was a secret. The third, however, told the writer that he had asked about his work and that the tangsin had answered in Indonesian, saying that he must listen to his parents and be patient in his work. He gave the impression that he took the tangsin seriously. Shortly after, the other tangsin also went into trance. He jumped around wildly, shaking one hand in the air, eyes closed. He stood in front of the main altar where the one from Bandung had also taken position. The one from Djakarta kept pounding the table and shouting in Indonesian and Sundanese. He asked for a cigar and this caused a slight commotion in the dense crowd around them, but as nobody present had a cigar, his request was not granted. The one from Bandung had started writing charm papers again. When the one from Djakarta had calmed down, he was also given a Chinese brush and charm papers. Both then frantically scribbled one sheet after another. The writings of both resembled the same Arab script and they looked the same on all sheets.

The inner part of the temple was at that time a solid mass of people straining their necks and standing on chairs to get a glimpse of the tangsins. Several young men, members of the Gie Sai Hwee, tried to keep order and helped distribute the finished charm papers. These were only given to persons who had given their name to these young men. They then passed on the names to the tangsins. There was a great hubbub caused by the many people shouting their names. It was again evident that the crowd consisted for the greater part of Peranakans. There was quite a number of young men among them, members of the troupes and those who would carry the sedan chairs.

At five minutes to six the two tangsins ceased writing but remained in trance. The one from Djakarta left the altar and stood under the open spot in the center of the temple. He threw uncooked rice in the direction of the four points of the compass, followed by the other tangsin who did the same.

In this procession the "older" Han Tan Kong image participated, seated in the gold-painted sedan chair, while the mirror was left behind. The train was longer than that of the day before. There were five big dragons and two small ones, about twenty sai and samsie, and one called by the Peranakans kilin, with antlers shaped like that of a deer. There was also a group of Indonesian djoget dancers (djoget is a Malay dance), some of whom were men dressed and made up as women. (The writer was informed that this was a group of homosexuals from Bandung.) There were also more advertising signs and publicity cars.

Along the route that covered the whole southern part of the town, people were crowded on the sidewalk. A great number of spectators followed the train as it passed along. The streets from Djalan Raya southward were closed to traffic. (There was an official permit for this

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procession, and policemen were keeping order.) During the procession, the main street, Djalan Raya, was a solid mass of people. Until the small hours groups of people kept walking up and down this street, singing and shouting.

Around midnight the writer was back at the temple to await the return of the procession. At twelve, groups of young men and girls wearing party clothes started coming into the temple. Half an hour later more people came and soon the temple was crowded again. It was one o'clock, however, before the procession was heard approaching the temple, and together with the first sedan chair a big crowd surged into the temple. They were mostly young Peranakans. The minute the chairs entered the temple many hands tried to snatch away the flowers. Several of the carriers prevented this and succeeded in keeping the crowd off. The members of the temple board, helped by several of these carriers, then unfastened the gods and returned them to the altars. It was very striking that the crowd did not make way immediately for the persons carrying the images, so that some of the people assisting had to shout them away. Meanwhile several young men had succeeded in pulling away some of the flowers. This caused some of the carriers to rush up to them and shout angrily. The writer was informed that in former years it was not infrequent that people started fighting each other over the flowers and the red ribbons with which the gods were fastened to the chairs. That night, however, people were well under control. The flowers and the ribbons, torn into small strips, were distributed by several men. Those who asked for these things were mostly older women, but also some men and young girls. When the writer inquired of several of these girls what they planned to do with the flowers, most of them replied that they did not know and that they were asking for them only for fun, because everybody did. Some who were lucky enough to get undamaged flowers said that they would just put them in a vase. Most people, however, only succeeded in getting one or two almost crushed flowers. The girl who had put a question to the tangsin before the processions started answered that she would put the flowers in a vase and, when they had withered, she would dry them and keep them, because older women had told her that these flowers have an auspicious influence. She also told the writer that she still had the flowers of the year before. The owner of the shop who presented the flowers explained that they are considered a kind of tumbal (a Sundanese term meaning amulet or charm); they are tied with the red ribbon and kept in the wardrobe. The writer observed evidence of this belief in the smallest grandchild of the temple keeper; the child wore a piece of this ribbon as a bracelet around her wrist.

In the meantime the altars were crowded with people burning incense sticks. Many of them were the young men who helped carry the sedan chairs. It is believed that to be one of the bearers even for a second will bring luck. Therefore, during the procession the bearers changed continuously. There were also a great number of people consulting the divining sticks. Again, as indicated by the fact that virtually all the incense sticks in the holders were of the ordinary kind, most of the worshipers were Peranakans. The temple keeper informed the writer later that that night worshipers kept coming until three in the morning.

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The festival of the main god, Han Tan Kong--The actual date of the festival is the 16th of the third lunar month, but in Sukabumi it is celebrated on the 19th. This difference is related to the fact that the Chinese puppet show that plays in Sukabumi is usually the same troupe that plays in the temple at Babakan Madang, the former residence of the main god. Thus, to avoid conflict, the date in Sukabumi has been moved a few days. On this occasion the annual election of the temple board also takes place.

When the writer arrived at the temple around noon, it was crowded and the numerous incense sticks in the holders were a clear indication that there had been many worshipers before. This was confirmed by the temple keeper who informed the writer that in the last few days quite a few worshipers had been coming. The group of Hakka women, for instance, had already made an offering the day before. According to her, worshipers would continue coming during the entire week of the festival.

A change in the arrangement of the tables had occurred. The high table for Thi-kong had been pushed to the front, almost in the opening of the main entrance, leaving only a small passage for people to pass through. A lower table was placed against it. Two tables were added to the left and right of the main altar and two tables were also added to the one in front of the tiger god. These tables had been added because, the day before, so many worshipers had come that there was not enough space for the offerings, and people had to wait their turn. Beautifully embroidered draperies depicting a tiger or the three figures of the gods of wealth, posterity, and longevity, hung down the front of the tables. A curtain of red cloth was fastened to the main entrance. All tables were covered with offerings, but there was meat only in front of the tiger god.

In regard to the offerings, there was a noticeable difference between those of the Peranakans and Totoks in general, and only a slight difference between those of Totok Hokkiens and Totok Hakkas. The Peranakans offered only cakes and fruit. According to a Peranakan woman of around fifty, if possible one should offer twelve kinds, but there is no fixed rule and one may present even only some fruits. The kind of offering is also not prescribed. She herself had brought twelve kinds of cakes and fruits: seven kinds of "wet cakes," including kue mangkok and kue ku, the cakes usually offered by Peranakans, and five kinds of Indonesian fruit. Another Peranakan woman, over sixty and belonging to one of the old wealthy families in town, told the writer that she had only brought some fruits, among which were apples, oranges and grapes (very expensive, because imported), and cakes. The year before she had presented a whole pig and a whole goat, a special offering in gratitude for the recovery of a seriously sick grandchild. There was one Peranakan woman in sarong-kabaja, however, who brought twelve kinds of vegetables, fruits, and also meat offerings. She was married to a Hakka man, and this lavish offering was made at the initiative and instruction of her Hakka mother-in-law.

The Totoks entered the temple loaded with hampers and baskets full of cakes, fruits, and food. Often they also brought along their own incense sticks, candles, and joss paper. The food offering consisted of

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dried Chinese vegetables, noodles, Chinese vermicelli, and meat, all unprepared or only boiled in water.

From noon until 4:30 p.m. the following worshipers were recorded: 3 Hakka women; 19 Hokkien women and 10 men (including the four members of the temple board); and 19 Peranakan women and 1 man. The great number of Hokkiens reflects the special importance attached to the main god by this particular group of people.

The election of the temple board--The election occurred at 4:15 p.m. The ceremony was led by the tsai-hu, the old Hokkien man with the surname Thung. He lighted two dragon candles at the main altar. Thereupon the head low tsoe burned three big incense sticks in front of the altar of Thi-kong. Then all four members prayed with ordinary incense sticks in front of the altar of Thi-kong and the main god. After putting these sticks in the holders all four went down on their knees and performed the pai kui, bowing four times first in front of the altar of Thi-kong, then in front of that of the main god. They remained in this position while the tsai hu read a prayer in Hokkien from a piece of paper. When he finished the four got up, each took a package of gold joss paper that had been placed on the four altars, lighted it at one of the candles and brought it outside to burn in the special oven across the street. During this ceremony a small drum and a small gong that hang from one of the rafters were beaten continuously and monotonously, except during the reading of the prayer, by the son of the temple keeper and another Peranakan man who lives close to the temple. After burning the joss paper, the head low tsoe, again alone, prayed in front of the main altar with three incense sticks.

In the meantime the tsai hu had taken the divining blocks from their place on the high table in front of the main shrine (these blocks have the shape of a bean and are usually made of the root of bamboo; one side is rounded and the other flat) and handed them to the head low tsoe, who was already standing in the open space in the center of the temple, facing the main altar. The low tsoe held the two blocks in both hands with the flat sides against each other and waited in this position for the tsai hu to read off the names of the candidates. The first to be chosen was the head low tsoe. The name on top of the list was that of a certain Lie Seng Koe, a well-to-do owner of an iron workshop. Immediately after the name was read, the low tsoe threw the two blocks into the air. All present craned their necks to see how they would land on the floor. At the first throw it was sio pwee (from the Hokkien, meaning a favorable throw of these blocks, one with the rounded side up and the other with the flat side up), indicating that the answer of the god is favorable. For each candidate, three throws, one after another, has to be made, and only when all three of them are sio pwee is it considered an indication that the god approves of the appointment involved. In regard to the first candidate of this election, he was considered extremely fortunate because he was chosen at once. With the three other members of the board it took more time because none was chosen at the first three throws. Whenever the tsai hu had read off all the names on the list and none was chosen, he started over again from the beginning. This was continued until all members were selected.

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The four persons selected that afternoon were all Hokkiens; the head low tsoe and head tao ke were China-born and the assistants were local-born of China-born father and Peranakan mother. Except for the assistant tao ke, they are all wealthy people, the assistant low tsoe being the owner of one of the best known Chinese medicine shops and the head tao ke a member of the pork-sellers kongsi. Of the newly elected members only the latter was present with his wife, a Sundanese woman.

The former head low tsoe told the writer that there were 30 persons on the list of candidates. These were chosen from the donor list for the Lantern Festival.

There were not many people present to witness the election, fifty at the most and for the greater part men and children who live in the neighborhood. There were none of the regular Hakka women worshipers. Those present took a lively interest in the proceedings, and the children in particular were enjoying themselves greatly, laughing and shouting at the result of each throw. There was a cheerful atmosphere and no solemnity at all.

In the afternoon the Chinese puppet show, called by the Peranakans wajang po te hi, started to play at three o'clock. (10) It was a Hokkien troupe from Semarang consisting of six members, two playing the puppets and four musicians. The leader was a China-born Hokkien from An Chi who came to Indonesia about thirty-six years ago with his puppets. Two of the other members were Totoks from Nan An, one from Hsia Men, while the other two were Peranakans from Kediri (East Java). They were paid with the money given by donors, but this covered only five days. The other days (they played in Sukabumi for two weeks) were taken care of by individual donors or groups of them. There were two performances a day, from three to five in the afternoon and eight to ten in the evening. Half an hour before each performance they started playing music to attract attention.

The stage was erected on the open space across the street between the two big joss paper ovens. It was a closed stage, built on poles with a small door at the back as the only entrance. In front is an open space in the upper part where the puppets are displayed. The afternoon performance attracted few spectators, mostly children from the neighborhood. Many of them brough along small stools and sat right in front of the stage or even under it. A few older men watched from the porch of the temple. The evening performances drew more spectators. On one of the evenings the writer observed about ten Totok women in jacket and trousers, about thirty Totok and Peranakan men, several Peranakan women in sarong-kabaja and about fifty children. There were also several groups of Indonesian men, people passing by or those living in the

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(10) The puppets are made of a hollow wooden head, and a body of cloth (the material depending on the character it portrays), also hollow inside like a pouch. They are played by sticking the forefinger into the hollow head and the thumb and middle finger in the hollow arms from underneath the cloth.

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kampong. The Totoks were virtually all Hokkiens. This is understandable, considering the fact that the performance was given in a Hokkien dialect.

During the performance many Indonesian food vendors gathered in front of the temple, while the room in the pat kwa teng was made into a kind of coffee shop where people could sit and drink and at the same time watch the show through the windows. Judging from the worshipers and spectators on this occasion one gets the impression that this festival is mainly a Hokkien and, to a lesser extent, a Peranakan affair.

The feast day of Kwan Kong--The feast day of Kwan Kong is, according to the list in the temple, on the 13th of the first lunar month. When the writer visited the temple on the morning of that day, however, it was empty and there were no offerings at the altar of Kwan Kong. The son of the temple keeper, when asked about it, first said he was not aware of any feast day, but when he looked at the list and saw it, he drew the attention of his mother to it. She just looked at the list and did not make any comment. It is possible that she felt embarrassed to be discovered forgetting one of her duties. The next morning she informed the writer that she did make an offering in the afternoon. She added that she is not too particular in regard to the feast day of the minor gods. It is not infrequent that she forgets it, but this does not matter so much, she said, if the day passes without her having been aware of it.

The Gie Say Hwee, which has this god as its patron saint, presented a performance in the evening, but this was not on account of the feast day. They celebrate another feast day of this god, the 24th of the fifth lunar month. According to de Groot, (11) the feast days of Kwan Kong are on the 13th of the first and fifth lunar month, but his birthday is on the 24th of the sixth lunar month. Why the Gie Say Hwee celebrates the 24th of the fifth month is explained to the writer by one of the members as being the commemoration of the pledge of brotherhood made in the peach garden by the three famous heroes of the San Kuo stories (the stories of Three Kingdoms): Kwan Yu or Kwan Kong, Liu Pi, and Chang Fei. (de Groot mentions this event but does not state a date.)(12)

On the thirteenth of the fifth lunar month the temple keeper did make a small offering, but she said she had almost forgotten it again.

The annual offering of the Hakka women worshipers--As mentioned earlier, this offering always takes place in the second lunar month. The feast varies every year, because it is determined by the auspiciousness of the day. In 1957 it was from the 11th until the 13th or Tuesday until Thursday, 12th to 14th of March.

This is an exclusively Hakka affair. For three days the temple, including the kitchen of the temple keeper, was completely taken over by these Hakka women. The money needed to cover the expenses is contributed by those who want to join the offering. Depending on the funds

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(11) Op. cit., pp. 122-123.

(12) Op. cit., pp. 98-99.

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raised, the offering has a simple or lavish character. That year happened to be an extremely lavish offering. A group of Buddhist nuns, called tsai ma by the Hakkas, was ordered from Djakarta to lead the prayers. (13) There was also a group of young Hokkien local-born artisans, who were ordered from Djakarta to make the numerous paper articles to be burned on this occasion. Many of these articles were so big that it would have been too difficult to transport them; the artisans came with the necessary materials to make the articles on the spot.

All during the day prayers were held for periods of an hour with breaks in between. Each time, a group of Hakka women would stand behind the center table, where the nun leading the prayer and the leader herself or one of the other nuns were kneeling. Each woman had a cushion on which she frequently knelt, bowing her head until it touched the floor. The women usually did not participate for the full hour, but gave their places to other women. At one time the writer counted as many as fifty Hakka women gathered in the temple, old as well as young.

At about six in the evening, some of the paper articles were burned in the open space across the street. Most of these were elaborately and skilfully made; there was one nine-storied pagoda that reached almost to the ceiling of the temple, a big boat with a roof and a paper fisherman on it, a great number of articles resembling houses filled with gold joss paper folded in the shape of a boat, a kind of flowerpot decorated with flowers and strings of paper coins, strings of gold paper folded in the shape of old Chinese nuggets, old fashioned Chinese boots bound in pairs, one big tank made of a bamboo frame and black paper, six horses of about three feet high, large bridges, paper figures of men about three feet tall, numerous gold paper cocks and hens bound in pairs, small rectangular boxes made of gold paper, and small suitcases made of colored paper. All these articles were burned on the evening of the first and second day. (14)

The reaction of Peranakans and Indonesians to this type of lavish offering was generally unfavorable. A Peranakan Dutch-educated woman of around forty who came to watch the burning of the paper articles remarked that it was an immense waste of money. She was informed by one of the participants that about twenty thousand rupiahs were spent on these articles. Other Peranakans indicated that it was deplorable

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(13) These nuns were four young girls of around twenty, headed by a China-born woman of around sixty. They were dressed in a long, black, pleated skirt and navy Chinese jacket with rolled-up sleeves. Their hair was combed severely back in a neat bun, except for the youngest, who had pigtails and bangs. They looked emaciated and withdrawn and hardly talked with any of the worshipers. This was the same group the writer had observed performing the death-rites at the funeral of a Hakka shop owner several months earlier.

(14) These articles indicate that this must have been one of the so-called Buddhist Masses for the dead, such as are described in detail by Jan Jacob M. de Groot, Buddhist Masses at Amoy (Leyden, 1885), espec. pp. 82-86 and 97-100.

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because it reinforced the belief among Indonesians in the affluency of the Chinese in general. The writer overheard several Indonesians passing by expressing their astonishment and disbelief that such nice things were burned. Asked whether they have this kind of offering every year, the leader of the Hakka women answered that it would be impossible. To make this offering they had been collecting money for three years. There were people who had contributed only a few rupiahs. She also explained that only the first two days had been a joint offering; the third day was open to persons who want to make individual offerings.

Summary--To summarize, how significant is the temple for the Chinese population in Sukabumi?

The regular worshipers are Totok women, especially Hakkas. They are the most devoted and the most generous as indicated by their frequent use of large-sized candles and incense sticks, by the expensive offerings they make, and by the presentation of draperies, curtains, and other decorative material. These Hakka worshippers are mostly older women over forty, though at the annual offering younger women also participate. Men come in number only on New Year's eve and New Year's day.

The Hokkiens seem to be less regular than the Hakkas. They do not have joint offerings (at least not in the temple), but they come individually or at the most in groups of two or three. The most regular worshipers were several old women, of the generation who still walk on bound feet. As to devotion, they show an intensity similar to the Hakkas, using large-sized incense sticks and candles and presenting elaborate offerings. The men seem to feel a certain responsibility towards the temple as indicated by their willingness to become members of the board. This is apparently due to the fact that the founders of the temple were Hokkiens. In view of this we notice indeed a decline in the devotion of the Hokkiens.

As to Peranakans, we have seen how they practically invaded the temple during the Lantern Festival. Many Peranakans stated that, if they ever set foot in the temple, it is on this occasion. The reason for coming is primarily to watch the procession and the troupes of lions and dragons. Especially when it is known that tangsins will be present, people flock to the temple. Thus, what attracts them is the spectacular aspect rather than the religious. Usually these visitors also burn incense sticks, but their attitude seems to be that, having come to the temple, there is no harm in paying respects to the gods as well. The writer observed that those of the Peranakans who do make a visit at other times are usually simple, uneducated women of the lower class who live in the back streets south of the railroad. These visits are generally for the purpose of consulting the god or requesting a favor. For instance, when there is sickness in the house and doctors are not quick enough in curing it, they will come to the temple to ask for medicine by way of the divining sticks. (Next to answers in matters concerning life in general, there are special slips with prescriptions of Chinese medicine that can be bought at a Chinese medicine shop.) When important decisions have to be made they also often resort to the divining sticks.

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The writer noticed four young Peranakan women, who can be regarded as the only young Peranakans of the upper class, who come to the temple rather regularly on the first and fifteenth of the lunar month. They are members of two of the old families in town. When asked the reason for their coming, one of them answered that it can be compared with the visits Christians make to their church on Sundays. A simple, uneducated woman of around fifty stated that the god of the Chinese is the tepekong; thus as a Chinese already possesses a god, why should he turn Christian and worship an alien god.

In general we might say that those Peranakans who visit the temple believe in the supernatural power of the god, a belief that is regarded as superstitious by the more educated people. Therefore, those who regard themselves educated seem reluctant to be seen in the temple, because they do not want to be considered superstitious and therefore uneducated. This stigma of superstition attached to the temple is reinforced by the attacks which the Christian churches, especially the Protestants, make on it. They proclaim it a source of superstitious beliefs and forbid their followers to have anything to do with it.

Based on these findings, we may conclude that at present the temple still has a great significance in the life of a certain group of the Chinese population, mainly Totok and lower-class Peranakan women.

We have seen, however, that in regard to the Totoks, the worshipers are mostly older, married women of forty and older. As the leader of the Hakka worship club told the writer, young people today look with contempt on the activities in the temple and all kinds of offerings, regarding them as outdated superstition. Hence, when the present older generation dies out, there is little reason to expect that in devotion in the temple they will be replaced by the younger generation.

As for Peranakans, we have noticed that the real worshipers are limited to the lower class who apparently believe in a supernatural power of the tepekong. We have also noticed, however, that a tepekong has much the same significance as an Indonesian holy man. To gain popularity, origin of religious affiliation is immaterial; the only criterion of importance is the evidence of efficacy.

The Christian churches are working very actively among the Peranakans, however, and most of the Peranakan children attend Christian schools. Even though it does not follow that they will inevitably be converted to Christianity, yet they will certainly be led away from belief in tepekongs. As we will see in the following section, the Sam Kauw Hwee does not encourage adherence to temple worship either. Hence, we may expect that the temple will gradually lose its religious meaning and become merely a symbol of Chinese culture, as it has already in the eyes of many western-educated Peranakans.

The Special Offering to the Neglected Spirits in the Seventh Lunar Month

This event calls for a special public offering. De Groot says this

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offering usually takes place in the temple garden. (15) In Sukabumi, however, it takes place in Gang Ikan, the street that used to be occupied by fish shops owned by Hokkiens from Yung Ch'un. (This is indicated by the name of the street; ikan is Indonesian for fish). This offering is organized by Yung Ch'un Totoks. Each year a committee is formed among them to collect money and organize the event. Donations are solicited not only from Yung Ch'un Hokkiens but also from other speech groups and from Peranakans. The date is fixed usually on the fifteenth or the sixteenth.

A stall is erected at the north entrance of the street near Djalan Raya with the opening facing south. Inside, a picture of Koan Im is placed at the back wall and Chinese draperies line the roof. A table with incense holders and another table for the offerings are placed in front of the picture. Starting about eight feet from the stall a long row of three by five feet tables is set up in the middle of the street.

These tables are loaded with offerings: bags of rice, one whole raw pig, three whole raw goats, a great number of cooked chicken, ducks and chunks of pork, tens of bowls filled with Chinese dried vegetables, buns with meat inside called bah pao piled in the shape of a cone, numerous plates of a typical Hokkien cake called koe-nīg-ko, many having a diameter of one to one and one-half feet, other Chinese cakes and fruits, mostly apples, oranges and grapes and imported Chinese nuts and melon seed. One table was full of bowls with live, big golden (edible) fish and other kinds of fish, frogs, crabs, a watersnake and small turtles. On each offering a small red banner is stuck, with the name of the donor in Chinese characters on it. From this listing we can see that the offerings are characteristic of Totoks. The writer was informed by a Yung Ch'un man living in this street that they are mostly presented by Hokkiens, but there are also some from Hakkas and Peranakans who have asked a Hokkien woman to prepare an offering.

The tables were ready at five p. m. Mostly Hokkien women were praying in the stall, but there were also Hakka and Peranakan women. There were very few men, although the organizers and those directing the ceremony were all Hokkien men. After the burning of incense sticks by the committee members, one or more of these sticks were stuck on each offering. At about eight p. m. the ceremony was terminated by burning a huge pile of joss paper that had been presented by the worshipers. Then the offerings were taken away by the donors.

During the ceremony the street was full of spectators, the crowd getting thicker as the evening wore on. Totoks, Peranakans, and Indonesians jostled and squeezed around the tables to get a look at the display of offerings. The density and behavior of the crowd was similar to that of the night of the Lantern Festival.

Older people told the writer that long ago the offerings were not taken back by the donors but were given to the poor to grab whatever they could lay hands on; hence this offering is also called sembahjang rebutan (rebutan is derived from the Indonesian verb rebut or merebut, meaning

(15) Les Fêtes annuellement Célébrées à Emoui, pp. 425-433.

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to seize or to grab). Because it usually ended in riots, this custom was discontinued.

It is obvious that this offering is a completely Hokkien affair. Even though there is participation from Hakkas and Peranakans, it is insignificant, and the offerings presented are made in the form customary among the Hokkiens.

The Sam Kauw Hwee

Sam Kauw is from the Hokkien and means, literally, three religions, that is, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. Thus the Sam Kauw Hwee is a religious or, more correctly, a spiritual society (Perkumpulan Kebathinan in Indonesian) based on the teachings of Confucius, Lao-tzu, and Buddha. Since the end of the war it has enjoyed a considerable popularity among Peranakans. In 1956 there were Sam Kauw societies in about twenty towns in Java. These societies are united into the Gabungan Sam Kauw Indonesia, abbreviated GSKI (literally Union or Federation of Sam Kauw societies in Indonesia; gabungan is an Indonesian term).

The Sam Kauw Hwee of Sukabumi was founded in 1952. Membership is open to all, regardless of ethnic group and religion. Actually, however, the members are virtually all Peranakans. In 1956 there were 500 members listed, among whom were 67 women. These women were mostly widows and a few unmarried women. Membership includes the whole family. There were four Indonesian members, one man and three women. The man is a Javanese; he told the writer that his interest in the society stems from the fact that his father was a great admirer of Buddhism. Two of his children attended one of the Chinese-language schools in Sukabumi. Of the three women, two were widows of Peranakan men, while the third was a young Sundanese teacher at a public primary school. This young woman is a very active member; she even gives lectures at meetings in small towns. She stated that even though she is a Moslem, it is possible for her to be interested in the teachings of the Sam Kauw, because it is above any religion.

No significant change in membership has occurred since the society was founded. The list shows the names of virtually all Peranakans of any significance in town. The chairman, Mr. Tan Beng Yauw, who is also chairman of the BPIT and the Baperki, claimed that all non-Christian and non-Moslem Chinese can be regarded as belonging to the Sam Kauw Hwee. Most of the upper class members rarely turn up at the meetings. They remain members, however, because apparently they feel they should support this society. This is an interesting measure of the feeling of affinity with what is considered Chinese culture, the promotion of which is implied in the aims of the society. There are no standard dues, but members may contribute according to their means; it varies from fifty cents to ten rupiahs or more per month.

The activities of the society consist mainly of a lecture once every two weeks. They are given by leaders of Sam Kauw societies of Djakarta, Bandung, and other places. Asked why the speakers are

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mostly people from outside Sukabumi, the chairman replied that none of the local leaders considers himself sufficiently knowledgeable in the teachings of the Sam Kauw to be able to lecture on it.

The themes of the lectures are usually based on one of the teachings of Confucius on moral conduct, or on the meaning and symbolism of the wedding, funeral ceremonies, and other offerings connected with ancestor veneration, which are explained in a highly popular and simplified way. In regard to the latter, the speakers all insisted on moderation and simplification, reinforcing their argument with quotations from Confucius from which could be inferred that he never intended people to spend their hard-earned money on lavish offerings. The writer found a favorable response to this from the audience, understandable in view of the fact that the audience is usually made up of lower class people.

The meetings are held in the meeting hall adjoining the temple proper. This is a room that can seat about two hundred persons. Against one of the walls, covering it entirely, is a large painting by one of the local Peranakans. It is in the form of three panels, the largest in the center depicting Confucius in a sitting position, on the small panel to the right Lao-tzu riding a buffalo, and on the panel to the left Buddha sitting on a lotus flower. Well-known sayings of Confucius are written on it in Chinese characters. This painting is usually covered with a curtain and only displayed during the meetings. In front of it is a lectern, also decorated with sayings of Confucius. The meetings always start and end with bowing three times in front of this painting. This performance is conducted by one of the members of the board, who gives the command to bow in Mandarin.

Only on the occasion of the commemoration of the birth and death of Confucius is an offering presented to him. This is put on a table in front of the painting and consists only of fruits and the usual cups of tea and sweets. Two red dragon candles, an incense holder and two vases with flowers complete the offering table. On these occasions the following short ceremony is observed: at the beginning of the meeting one of the oldest members burns three big incense sticks, while all present stand with head bowed. Then a prayer is read in Mandarin by one of the few members who knows Chinese and is translated into Indonesian by one of the other members. This ceremonial part is then concluded with a few moments of silent prayer.

Attendance at these meetings is between a hundred and a hundred and fifty people, about 75 per cent women. They are practically all lower class Peranakans living south of the railroad. The men are mostly older men, from sixty up; among the women, however, there are younger as well as older ones. Then there are also several young men and girls, the most active members of the youth section, and a group of about twenty children, belonging to the so-called "Sunday school" of the Sam Kauw Hwee, who form the choir at the meetings. The songs they sing are usually Indonesian songs composed by Peranakans, mostly exalting the theme of filial piety.

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On the commemoration days when the meeting has a festive character, attendance may rise to between two hundred and two hundred and fifty people, but even then few of the upper class Peranakans attend. At the several meetings the writer attended, she observed some of the old men dozing off during the lecture and many of the women yawning openly. It was obvious that for many of these people the meeting is a welcome outing, an opportunity to meet friends and exchange gossip, while the lecture is something taken into the bargain. Yet, although these meetings have a highly social function, the religious or spiritual aspect must not be denied. According to one of the leading Peranakan men, these people are in need of a kind of spiritual guidance. He claims that many of them are in fact ripe for conversion to Christianity, but that they are afraid to break with the familiar customs and beliefs. It is indeed remarkable that many of the women the writer talked with compared the meetings of the Sam Kauw Hwee with the services in Christian churches.

This society also has a funeral fund, song soe kiok (from the Hokkien, meaning funeral association). Membership in the society does not make one automatically a member of the fund. One has to make a special request for it. No dues are collected, but when a member dies, a fixed amount is levied from each of the other members. According to the chairman, this is one of the great attractions of the society for the lower class; by joining the society one is assured of a decent funeral. In addition, dependents of the deceased will receive a small amount of financial support.

In 1953 the young people of this society set up a separate organization with the name Persatuan Tribudaja Sam Kauw Sukabumi. (16) Although structurally independent, it is closely connected with the Sam Kauw Hwee. The chairman of the latter, for instance, functions as advisor. This youth organization has three sections: art, involving among others the regular performance of the dragon during the New Year season; education, comprising the operation of the Sunday school; sports, consisting of badminton, table tennis, and volley ball. The meetings of the Sam Kauw Hwee are open to these young people, but few care to attend. The greatest attraction is formed by the sports section.

In 1956 there were one hundred members listed, eighty boys and twenty girls. Among them is a young man of around twenty, a student of the Catholic senior middle school, who is regarded by the Sam Kauw Hwee leaders as possessing the potentialities of a leader in the society. The writer was told that he was already following the rules of a Buddhist priest in regard to food. It was obvious that he is greatly influenced by the Peranakan Buddhist priest Bhikku Jinnarakita who has made several visits to Sukabumi.

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(16) Persatuan is Indonesian, meaning association or union. Tribudaja is from the Sanskrit, meaning three cultures. This name indicates the emphasis on culture rather than on religion. The Chinese name which is used in the Mandarin pronunciation is simply San Chiao Ch'ing Nien Hui, meaning Sam Kauw youth society.

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The Sunday school had about ninety pupils in October 1956. They consisted of sixty girls and thirty-two boys; thirty-five of them were older than ten, and the others were between five and ten. About sixty children attended the school regularly. They were virtually all from lower class families living around and near the temple. (The school is held in the meeting hall.) In regard to the regular school they attended, there were thirty-two of the Protestant school, fifteen of the Catholic school, and twenty-five of the Chinese-language school.

At this Sunday school, which is conducted by several members of the youth society, the children are taught Indonesian songs, they listen to Chinese stories (translated into Indonesian), make drawings, and play games. The only language used is Indonesian.

The Sam Kauw society is a Peranakan organization which makes a conscious effort to preserve and promote what they consider to be Chinese culture. This culture, as the leaders view it, is based on the teachings of the three sages, but primarily Confucius. These teachings, as propagated by the speakers who come to lecture at the meetings, center around ancestor veneration and filial piety. No allusion is ever made to temple worship.

These characteristics clearly point to a similarity with the aims of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan organization, which was established in 1900 and which, as we have noted earlier, was aimed at the promotion of Chinese culture as expressed in the teachings of Confucius. Whereas the THHK concentrated its activities in education, however, the Sam Kauw Hwee centers its activities in a kind of church-like organization with the aspects of organized worship: the paying of respect to Confucius, represented by a large painting, the lecture which is usually simple and sermon-like, and the singing. It may therefore be appropriate to interpret the Sam Kauw Hwee as an organization which aims at the reintegration of Chinese culture and serves as a reference group for Peranakans. When the organization is viewed in this light, it becomes understandable why the local leaders seem to make no serious effort to learn more about Confucian teachings or to study the Chinese language, although there is definitely a great admiration for those who do.

The Cycle of Domestic Rites

The domestic activities in the realm of religion among the Peranakans center completely around the ancestor altar. Upon entering the residence of a well-to-do Peranakan in Sukabumi, one of the first articles to strike the eye of the visitor is the ancestor altar. It is usually placed in the front room, in the center of the back wall. Most of these altars consist of a high rectangular table of 6 1/2 by 2 1/2 feet and a lower square table of about three feet. They are made of wood polished a reddish-brown color and elaborately carved with flower designs. An embroidered drapery depicting a tiger, the three gods of wealth, posterity, and longevity or a dragon, hang down the front of the lower table. These draperies are usually imported from China, but sometimes they are made of batik the typical Javanese technique of designing and dying material for kain.

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The articles placed on the altar (i. e., on the high rectangular table; the lower table is used only for offerings and is often inserted under the high table when not in use) are usually as follows:

In the center are the hio-low (incense holders), varying in number according to the number of ancestors venerated. In one of the old wealthy families there were as many as four, but the most frequent number is two. These holders are usually of the Chinese type, made of tin and placed on a base made of wood. To the left and right are small oil lamps and Chinese candlesticks made of copper, called by the Peranakans tjek thay. In most of the well-to-do families a large painting depicting a landscape of mountains and water decorates the wall above the altar, usually with a line of Chinese aphorisms on the left and right edges. Next to this painting or on another wall but close to the altar are the portraits of the deceased. When there is no painting, the portraits take its place.

In only one family did the writer notice the so-called ancestor tablets called sien tji or sien tju by Peranakans. These are rectangular pieces of board measuring about 12 by 4 inches, fastened vertically on a wooden base. On the board is written in Chinese characters the name and date of birth and death of the deceased. In this family there were three tablets (painted red and the characters in gold), of the parents-in-law of the head of the family (a widow of about 70, belonging to one of the wealthy, old families in town), of her own parents, and of her husband. Thus the first two tablets are of husband and wife together. To put the tablets of the parents of the husband and of the wife together on one altar is quite a deviation from the traditional rule, but in this case the head of the family told the writer that she had received prior consent. (17)

In lower class families the ancestor altar is often an ordinary table, but with the same type of Chinese incense holder and candlesticks. Instead of a shan-shui painting there is usually the portrait of the deceased. Even in small petak houses, however, one may find an elaborately carved ancestor table. Based on observations and interviews with leading Peranakans, it seems acceptable to state that most Peranakans in Sukabumi possess an ancestor altar. Of course we will rarely encounter one in the house of a young couple, because the altar is always kept at the house of the parents if they are still living or at the house of the eldest son.

As a rule the altar is inherited by the eldest son. In another of the wealthy, old families there were four hio low on the altar: one for the great-grandfather and great-grandmother together, one for the grandfather, one for the grandmother, and one for the father of the head of the

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(17) Freedman, Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore, p. 219, has observed this prac[illegible] lso among the Chinese in Singapore: "Nor may one assume that [illegible]ue will confine itself to the agnatic forebears of the head of the hou[illegible]hold. His wife's parents may be found to be included." For that matter to have both husband and wife on one tablet is also a deviation from the traditional form.

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family. This family head, a Dutch-educated Peranakan of around fifty and the owner of one of the large textile factories, is the oldest son and, therefore, the person who inherited the altar. His house is referred to as the rumah abu (Indonesian, meaning literally ashes house; the ancestor altar is also often referred to as medja abu, literally ashes table), because the altar of three generations of ancestors are kept on it. So, even his uncles, who are much older than he is, will have to come to his house when they want to pay respects to their ancestors, usually done on New Year's day. When the head of a family dies, his wife continues to look after the ancestor altar until she dies, then their eldest son takes over. If the son has left the house after marriage, as now often happens, the altar remains at the parental home and is cared for by his widowed mother. If there are no sons in the family the eldest daughter will take care of it. In fact, we may state that the one who remains in the parental home after the death of both parents--and it is not unlikely that this might be one of the younger children, older ones having moved out after marriage--will be the one to look after it.

Considering the sizeable number of Peranakan Christians (see the section below on Christian churches), one may very well wonder what they have done with the ancestor altar. The writer found that this has not caused much of a problem because, in the first place, most of the Christians are younger people who do not have the responsibility for an ancestor altar, while many of the older people are of the lower class and usually do not possess a permanent altar. Secondly, some of the largest Christian churches have a liberal attitude in this matter. The Catholic church is the most lenient, allowing some converts to retain the altar and even to burn incense sticks. Next in lenience is the Chinese Protestant church, which does not allow the burning of incense sticks, but does not object to eating of the offerings after the ceremony. All other Protestant churches prohibit their followers any expression of ancestor veneration, condemning this as superstitious practice. In these cases, those who do own an altar usually transfer the care of it to the nearest non-Christian relative, or, as the writer observed in one family, the altar remains in the house (the head of the family is a Peranakan of over seventy, who has turned Protestant with his wife and some of his married children), and when the regular offering should be made, one of the non-Christian children comes specially to arrange it.

From this account one may get the impression that ancestor veneration is still widely adhered to among the Peranakans in Sukabumi. This is true to a certain extent for the present older generation, but one has good reasons to wonder whether this will continue in the next generation. Quite a few of those who observe these ceremonies have expressed doubt whether their children will continue practicing it. A woman of about sixty told the writer that she has already expressed the wish to her son that after her death she does not want him to put up a hio low for her. She does not want to give her daughter-in-law the trouble of preparing offerings, she said, adding that at present she still has to care for the altar of her parents-in-law, but she is doing this only because it is her duty as the wife of the eldest son.

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The offerings on the ancestor altar, referred to as sembahjang by Peranakans, are held on regular occasions and on occasions connected with certain Chinese festivals:

1. On the first and fifteenth of each lunar month, i. e., on the evening before and on the morning and evening of the actual dates. This offering is usually referred to as thiam hio, to light an incense stick, or pasang hio.

Then chronologically following the Chinese lunar calendar:

2. On the first of the first lunar month, referred to as sintjhia, New Year.
3. On the fourth of the first lunar month, called tepekong turun (turun is Indonesian, to descend).
4. On the fifth of the first lunar month. On this day a visit to the graves may be made, especially by those families where a member has recently died.
5. On the ninth of the first lunar month, called sembahjang Tuhan Allah or sembahjang Thi-kong, the offering to the Lord of Heaven.
6. On the fifteenth of the first lunar month, called tjap go meh, meaning night of the fifteenth, the Lantern Festival.
7. In the third lunar month, the visit to the graves. This occasion is called tjeng beng.
8. On the fifth of the fifth lunar month, called peh tjoen, from the Hokkien, meaning to paddle the dragon boat.
9. The offering to the neglected spirits in the seventh lunar month which is referred to by the Peranakans as tjio ko. There is also the Malay designation, sembahjang rebutan.
10. On the fifteenth of the eighth month, called sembahjang tong tju pia. Tong tju pia is the name of the so-called moon cakes offered on this occasion.
11. In the eleventh lunar month, called tang tjeh, the feast of the winter solstice.
12. On the 24th of the 12th month, called tepekong naik, which is the occasion of the ascension of the gods.
13. In the last few days of the 12th lunar month, called sembahjang tahun baru (tahun baru is Indonesian for New Year) or sembahjang sintjhia, the New Year offering, which can be presented any day in the last two or three days before New Year's day.

The items 3, 5, 12 and 6, 8, 10, 11 are of course not ceremonies of ancestor veneration in the strict sense, though the ancestors always share in them. The first three are in honor of the so-called house gods and the Lord of Heaven, while the last four are obviously rites connected with the change of season: spring, summer, autumn and winter respectively. (18)

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(18) For an elaborate and valuable description of the entire cycle of festivities as celebrated among the Amoy Chinese, see de Groot, Les Fêtes Annuellement Célébrées à Emoui.

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Here follows a description of sembahjangs and the celebration of Chinese festivals as observed by the writer among the Peranakan families in Sukabumi.

The thiam hio on the first and fifteenth of each lunar month is a simple offering consisting of the usual cups of tea (two for each ancestor), sweets, and fruits. The ceremony involves the burning of incense sticks only. This is usually done by the wife of the head of the family or one of the grown daughters. After arranging the table, placing the offerings, lighting the candles or oil lamps, and pouring the tea in the cups (because it involves virtually only this act besides the burning of incense sticks, this ceremony is often also called tuang teh, Indonesian for to pour tea), she takes the incense sticks which are usually kept in a container on the table, two for each ancestor and three for the Thi-kong (some people say for the door god) for whom there is a special small container in the shape of a spout fixed on the doorpost outside the main front door. After lighting the sticks at the candle or at the oil lamp, she first prays to Thi-kong (or to the door god) standing in the door opening facing the street. Then she puts three sticks in the container and returns to the altar, prays in front of it and puts two sticks in each hio low. This done, she performs the pai, and the ceremony is over. This is the basic form of the ceremony involved in every sembahjang.

The thiam hio is performed on the evening before and in the morning and evening of the actual day. Each time the tea is renewed, but the sweets and fruits are usually the same. Thus, when passing a Chinese section of the town, Djalan Plabuan II for instance, at about six in the evening on these occasions, one will see the front doors opened wide and a Peranakan woman or young girl praying in the door opening, while inside the house one perceives the altar with the lights of the candles flickering brightly.

On New Year's day no special offering takes place, because the sembahjang tahun baru is usually performed on one of the days preceding the event. This is for practical reasons, for on New Year's day visits have to be made and visitors received. Therefore, the offering is preferably presented on the day before, so that no cooking will be necessary on the actual feastday; for a big offering, as on this occasion, the amount of food prepared is usually such that it will last for a couple of days.

On New Year's day the offering is similar to the one performed on the first of each lunar month. Usually, however, the fruits are of the more expensive kind and there is also the pile of the cakes specially offered on this occasion.

The Chinese New Year is considered the occasion par excellance for family reunion. Whenever possible, children who have left Sukabumi will come home to spend New Year's eve and New Year's day with their parents and relatives. This is not easy to manage, especially for students and workers, because it is not a public holiday. All Peranakan and Totok shops and enterprises are closed, however, and in the Chinese sections of the town there is a distinct festive atmosphere. The streets are full of people dressed in their new clothes who are on their way to visit relatives and friends.

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These visits form the most important occupation on this occasion. People start early in the morning, ideally beginning with the house where the ancestor altar of parents, grandparents, or maybe even great-grandparents is kept. In practice, however, one usually starts with the relative who lives closest to one's residence.

Young people, especially students of the secondary school level, seem to consider these visits an annually recurring bore, so mothers have to urge them to visit at least the nearest relatives, i. e., grandparents, great-uncles and great-aunts, and uncles and aunts of both parents. The writer found that among the Dutch-educated people of between thirty and forty this opinion prevails. They regard these visits as a nuisance that they perform only to please their parents and older relatives. They realize that they will incur the greatest disapproval of these older relatives should they neglect to visit them. But they make it as brief as possible (performing the pai and saying selamat tahun baru, which is Indonesian for happy New Year and the usual New Year greeting among Peranakans) and limit themselves to those relatives with whom they have close and regular contact.

For children, however, New Year is an extremely joyful event. Besides the novelty of new clothes there is the great amount of cakes and sweets they can indulge in. There is also the ang pao, the money gift presented to children to eight or nine years old, usually by relatives and close friends only.

The writer visited twenty families on that day, concentrating on the area south of the railroad. In virtually all houses there is the same picture of the older people sitting idly in the front room wearing their cleanest, if not newest, clothes, waiting to receive or receiving their visitors. On the table a number of nicely decorated glass containers filled with cookies are displayed. Even in the poorest families living in small houses made of wood and bamboo in the kampong area, there was at least one small plain container with inexpensive cookies. Visiting is not restricted to New Year's day, but may be stretched out until the Lantern Festival, which is of course very convenient for those who have many relatives.

On the fourth of the first lunar month, called tepekong turun, an offering is especially made by those who keep house gods. In Sukabumi there are at least two wealthy, old families who possess an altar for Kwan Kong; there are one moderately well-off and one lower class family living in a small petak house who possess an altar for Kwan Im, and several more, including the ones mentioned, who keep an altar for the kitchen god. The two families possessing an altar for Kwan Kong have it separate, but in the same front room where the ancestor altar is situated, while the two possessing an altar for Kwan Im have a special room for it. The altar for the kitchen god is in the kitchen, usually a small shelf fastened to the wall on which there is a container for the incense sticks. The presence of this god is indicated by a small piece of paper or a wooden board on which there are Chinese characters saying that this is the site of the kitchen god.

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On this occasion an offering is made of tea, sweets, fruits, and cake. In addition, there is a special kind of yellow paper with pictures of horses on it, called hoen be, which is burned at the end of the offering. This paper represents horses to be used for the gods on their return to earth.

A similar offering will be made at the end of the year on the 24th of the 12th lunar month, when the gods are believed to ascend to heaven to report on the conduct of the people entrusted to their supervision.

On the fifth of the first lunar month a visit to the graves may be made, especially by those who are still in the mourning period. (See the subsequent section on death and mourning practices.) Most families who observe this occasion, however, make an offering at home only. Besides the usual cups of tea, sweets, fruits, and cakes there is a special food offering that is distinctly of Indonesian origin. This is rice boiled in small square containers made of pleated young coconut leaves, which are called kupat (Sundanese), and served in combination with a chicken curry. This is a dish that is also offered on the occasion of the visiting of the graves in the fifth lunar month. The meat offering, consisting of three kinds of meat, may also be included.

On the ninth of the first lunar month there is the offering called sembahjang Tuhan Allah or sembahjang Thi-kong. It should be performed at 12 o'clock on the night preceding the actual date, but many people make it earlier.

On the fifteenth of the first lunar month, the Lantern Festival, there is an offering made of sweets, fruits, tea, and cakes, similar to the one on New Year's day.

As mentioned before, tjap go meh is celebrated on the 20th and 21st in Sukabumi. We have already seen (see description of this festival in the temple) how the celebration is concentrated in the temple and in the streets where the procession passes along. On these days, in the homes, only a simple offering is presented to the ancestors.

In the third lunar month there is the visit to the graves. The date on the lunar calendar varies annually, but on the western, solar calendar it is usually April 4th or 5th. This is not a public holiday and none of the Chinese shops and firms are closed, but the writer was told by Peranakans as well as Totoks that, in most families, several members will take half a day off to visit the graves of their relatives. Those who are not able to do so make an offering at home at the ancestor altar. Among those who go to the cemetery there are some who make an offering at home and present only tea and sweets at the graves.

As the cemetery is about four miles outside the town, people get there on motor vehicles (private cars, small trucks and small buses seating six called opelets, which can be rented) or on bicycles, as is done by young people, of whom many are students of the Chinese-language schools, the only schools given a holiday. People start as early as six in the morning to avoid getting caught in the traffic jam that is bound to occur at a later hour.

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The writer joined the throng moving to the cemetery in the company of the son (in his late forties) of the Peranakan woman who owns the private Kwan Im temple, his wife, his married younger brother, the teenage daughter of this brother, and several other children. The party started at eight o'clock, piled into the jeep owned by the family and, after getting stuck several times, finally arrived at the cemetery around nine.

The Chinese cemetery comprises a large area of small hills, on which the grave mounds are built. They are made in the traditional style--a high mound in which, on one side, the tombstone is built in vertically. Part of the space in front of the tombstone is usually covered with a roof, making it a kind of pavilion where visitors are sheltered against sun or rain. A considerable number of these graves look desolate and neglected because the roof is damaged or gone entirely. The marble tombstones and tiles that decorated the gravesites of the wealthy are gone too. This plundering occurred during the Japanese occupation and after, when the Chinese were forced to neglect the graves because it was dangerous to go to this remote and deserted spot. Repairing and rebuilding is taking place, however, and especially conspicuous is a large grave site of a Peranakan, built in the style of a Chinese temple with curved roof. Marble, which was commonly used for cemeteries, is now replaced by granite.

As to the inscriptions on the tombstone or bong pai as Peranakans call it, on most of the postwar ones only Indonesian is used, while most of the prewar ones were bilingual: Chinese characters and Malay. On many of the old graves the inscriptions are gone or hardly legible.

Near the entrance of the cemetery is a large open pavilion where, on this occasion, an elaborate offering was set up. This was organized by the funeral society, Djin Gie Hwee, from donations given by Peranakans as well as Totoks. There was ngo seng, the five kinds of meat offering, five kinds of fresh vegetables, five kinds of sweets, pieces of sugar cane, fruits, and a great number of Chinese, Indonesian, and western cakes. Members of the society kept watch over it. From several people present the writer heard that this offering was for the spirits of those who have no descendents, thus apparently similar to the offering on the seventh month.

As mentioned before, not all visitors brought food offerings. The family the writer came with, for instance, had only tea, sweets, incense sticks, small red candles, and three kinds of joss paper: gin tsoa silver paper for the ancestors; long strips of coarse rice paper that will be scattered over the mound; small sioe kim joss paper for the tepekong tanah (earth god), for whom a small stone altar is always erected at one corner of the plot of ground that constitutes the grave site. This family visited five graves: of the grandparents of father's side, buried together; of the father; of the grandfather of mother's side; of the grandmother of mother's side (the latter two were buried separately at the grandmother's wish, because she was in discord with her husband for taking a second wife, who is still living); and of the mother's sister.

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Two candles, a cup of tea, and three kinds of sweets were placed in front of the tombstone at each grave and at the altar of the god of the earth. The family then prayed with incense sticks in front of both. This done, strips of joss paper were scattered on the mound, and a small package of small sioe kim joss paper was put on the stone sign of the altar of the god of the earth. As the family was praying at the grave of the maternal grandfather, an uncle, the eldest son of this grandfather, but of his second (China-born) wife, arrived with a food container and a basket. This man was born in Indonesia but educated in China and was, at the time, a teacher of the Chung Hua (Peking-oriented Chinese-language) school. His wife is also local born, but of China-born father and Peranakan mother; she also received a Chinese-school education, but locally. The food offering consisted of kupat and the accompanying chicken curry, pork cut in cubes and roasted on skewers; noodles, turtle cakes, bowl cakes, an Indonesian cake, banana, and Indonesian oranges. The uncle lighted candles, burned incense sticks and, at the end, the silver joss paper. The writer observed that this is the kind of food offering presented by Peranakans on the grave of their ancestors on this occasion. There may be more dishes, more fruits, and more cakes, but there is an unmistakable mixing of Chinese and Indonesian in these offerings.

At about ten o'clock, the cemetery was crowded. Everywhere groups of people were clustered in front of a grave. The majority was Peranakan, and the writer recognized people from all social strata. There were also a considerable number of Hokkiens and Hakkas; at least three Hokkien women were wailing loudly, the sound of their voices echoing strangely among the hills. This was in striking contrast with the majority of the visitors, who walked about merrily, meeting friends, and eating of the kupat. Many groups resembled people on a picnic, as indeed it is to many of them, especially those who have no recently deceased relatives to mourn. The liveliness of the occasion was heightened by the groups of young people, mostly students of the Chinese-language schools, walking about or sitting in groups enjoying themselves with the food they brought along. For them the trip to the cemetery is indeed a picnic.

At some of the graves a special ceremony, called sia tao and meaning to give thanks to the god of the earth, was performed. This ceremony is meant as an offering to the god of the earth as the protector of the grave site. It is usually performed when the tombstone and the pavilion are finished. The best time for this ceremony is on tjeng beng and at the end of the mourning period, when the mourning clothes are finally discarded. The observance of this ceremony is recognizable from the sugar-cane stalks fastened at the gate of the pavilion and the red cloth (color for happiness) put over the tombstone. The offerings presented on this occasion are more elaborate than of those who are not observing this ceremony.

The festival on the fifth of the fifth lunar month is called peh tjoen among the Peranakans; in the western literature it is known as the dragonboat festival. This occasion calls for the preparation of two kinds of cakes, batjang and kweetjang. The former is made of cooked ordinary or glutinous rice stuffed with meat and wrapped in bamboo leaves into a

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triangular shape. The latter is made of glutinous rice mixed with a number of ingredients including an alkali, wrapped in bamboo leaves, and then cooked.

Early in the morning an offering of these cakes with the usual cups of tea and sweets is presented to the ancestors. This is the only ceremony on this occasion.

Usually people organize picnics to a river or a lake where a water festival is held. (In the area of Djakarta the most well-known water festival on this occasion is the one held in Tanggerang.) In Sukabumi people go to the beach at Plabuan Ratu, to the south of the town, on the shore of the Indian ocean.

The writer found that most of the Peranakans know the story of the loyal minister Chu Yuan (Koet Goan for the Peranakans) of the Ch'in dynasty (255-209 B. C.) who is alleged to be the cause of this festival.

There are several beliefs connected with this occasion which are related to health and medicinal herbs. The Peranakan woman who owns the Kwan Im temple, for instance, told the writer that on this day one should take a bath in the sea, in a river, or with water from a well, preferably at twelve noon, because then the water is believed to have a specially invigorating and rejuvenating effect. Water collected from a well at noon is believed to stay clean for years and is kept for medicinal purposes. Medicinal herbs gathered at that time will have a stronger curing effect than usual. It is also the custom to change the bunch of herbs and grass that is put over the door leading outside (front door, back door, or both), which is believed to ward off evil spirits. This bunch consists of a rice stalk, one kweetjang, daon tjaringin, djukut djurig, alang-alang, daon sereh. (19) The last four are Sundanese names of plants which are traditionally regarded by Sundanese to have the power to keep evil spirits away.

For children, this festival is a joyful event because of the picnic and, not the least, because of the vast quantities of the special cakes make in Peranakan families. Even those who have turned Christian will have these cakes in the house on this occasion. Therefore, children often designate this day as the "day of eating batjang."

In the seventh lunar month there is the offering to the neglected spirits. Peranakans call this event sembahjang tjioko or sembahjang rebutan. It may be performed any day during this month, but preferably on the seventh. The public offering is held on the 15th or 16th as described in the previous section.

The offering at the ancestor altar consists of a great number of dishes, fruits, and cakes. The food offerings consist of bowls of rice,

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(19) Respectively urostigma benjaminum, djukut is Sundanese for grass, and djurig is Sundanese for evil spirit, imperata arundinacea, andropogon schoenanthus L.

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two for each ancestor plus an additional number for the neglected spirits, plus an equal number of cups of tea and, in some well-to-do families, Chinese wine. The dishes, numbering up to twelve, are mixed Indonesian and Chinese. In some families there is also samseng, although it is almost obsolete at the offering tables of Peranakans. In general the dishes presented are those that were favorites of the deceased and enjoyed by the living. The cakes are the usual kinds of Indonesian and Chinese cakes while the fruits are usually local ones. Often coffee, Indonesian cigarettes made of palm leaves (of the kind smoked by old Indonesian villagers), and betel leaves plus the ingredients are added. This is because the ancestors have been in the habit of smoking or eating these articles.

The end of the sembahjang is determined by throwing two coins (usually old Chinese coins with a hole in the center) in the same manner as with the divining blocks. When two different sides are up, it is an indication the offering is over. If not, one waits a while and tries again. Silver joss paper, each sheet rolled up and the ends tucked in, are burned outside the front door. Then the tables are cleared and the dishes consumed by the family.

On the fifteenth of the eighth lunar month is the sembahjang tong tjoe pia. A similar offering as on the first and fifteenth of each month is made, but with the addition of the special tong tjoe pia or mid-autumn cakes. These are round flat disc-like cakes of about six inches in diameter, made of wheat flour and stuffed with sweetmeat, Chinese cabbage prepared in a special way, or with milk, chocolate, cheese or even sweetened Indonesian fruits. The cakes stuffed with the first two fillings are considered Totok ones, while the others are clearly Peranakan. These are the mid-autumn cakes of Hokkien origin. (20) The ones made by the Hakkas and the Cantonese are of a different kind, and Peranakans never use them.

There is a belief among older women that on the night of the fifteenth, when the moon is at its fullest, young girls should wash their faces in a bowl in which the moon is reflected, so that their face will be as round and as bright and therefore as beautiful as the full moon.

In the eleventh lunar month the feast of the winter-solstice is observed. This occasion is called tang tjeh. It again calls for the preparation of a special cake, referred to by Peranakans as kue onde. These are the small round cakes that are considered a symbol of posterity. We have seen them used during the wedding ceremony and to predict the sex of an unborn child. The offering is presented early in the morning and consists only of these special cakes put in small bowls and the usual cups of tea and sweets.

On the 24th of the 12th lunar month, called tepekong turun, a similar offering as on the 4th of the first lunar month is performed, but the

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(20) Cf. de Groot, Les Fêtes Annuellement Célébrées à Emoui, pp. 473, 474.

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hoen be paper, the paper with the picture of horses on it, is of a different kind.

The New Year offering is presented on any of the last two or three days before the actual day. Some may even make it a week before; the most frequent date is the day before so as to have food also on New Year's day. It usually takes place around noon. The offering is similar to the one presented on the occasion of visiting of the graves in the third lunar month and on the occasion of the offering to the neglected spirits in the seventh lunar month.

The most important of all these offerings are the ones on the occasion of New Year, tjeng beng and tjioko. Even those who do not possess an altar will make an offering on an ordinary table; a container (a vase, bowl, or glass) filled with rice will serve as an incense holder.

Summary

There is an obvious and strong tendency to simplify the offerings in regard to quantity as well as quality. For instance, the meat offerings, samseng and ngoseng, which by Totoks are still regarded as an essential part of the offering, are almost obsolete among Peranakans.

There is no conformity as to the dishes to be presented. Usually the favorite dishes of the deceased appear on the altar, plus those dishes that are enjoyed by the living. Naturally this gives rise to the mixing of Indonesian and Chinese dishes. On the occasion of the visit to the graves, a typical Indonesian dish, kupat, constitutes the main offering.

The preparation of the offering is entirely done by the women. The men come in only when everything is ready and the praying starts. Usually the head of the family is the first to burn the incense sticks, followed by the wife and children. In a few families the men only still perform the pai kui.

All Peranakans the writer talked with explained that these offerings are solely meant as an expression of filial piety. (21)

Most of the young people, especially the students, confess not to know or understand anything of these sembahjangs. They only perform what their parents tell them to in order to please them. Girls are taught to help prepare the offerings and even perform the simple sembahjang on the first and fifteenth of each lunar month. The meaning of all this, however, is usually lost to them. This is understandable, because even their parents are often ignorant as to the meaning of these ceremonies.

Quite a number of those people who observe these ceremonies have expressed doubt whether their children will continue the practice.

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(21) Cf. Freedman, Chinese Family and Marriage, pp. 218, 219, where he uses the terms "memorialism" and "commemoration" for the expression of ancestor worship as observed among the Singapore Chinese.

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As one older woman said: "Today it is only the older people who make an offering. The younger people do not have an interest in it. Soon nobody will observe it any more, because many are turning Christians." That she made this prediction is understandable, because her eldest son and his wife had recently been converted to Catholicism. This daughter-in-law had been the one who prepared and arranged the offerings. Though she has continued this task after baptism, it is of course a different situation for the old woman.

Thus we may conclude that to many Peranakans, especially the younger generation and those who have had a western education, sembahjangs have lost their religious significance, leaving only the social aspect of a family gathering culminating in the family dinner, which consists of the foods that have been presented to the ancestors. The term family comprises in many cases only the head of the family, his wife, and the children who are still at home; at most it includes the immediate descendants (sons and daughters) of the ancestors venerated who live in Sukabumi, except in the case of the New Year offering and the visiting of the graves, when those who have moved out of the town may also participate.

Funeral Practices and Mourning Observances

Funeral Practices

In contrast to the flexibility and responsiveness towards new forms displayed in the attitude towards marriage and wedding ceremonies, in matters pertaining to death, funerals, and the observance of mourning customs, Peranakans seem to have a greater desire to preserve and to adhere to forms which they consider in accordance with the proper Chinese customs. In defining what these "proper Chinese customs" are, it is interesting to consider the role of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan. The anniversary book of this organization contains a list of suggestions concerning the observances connected with death. In relation to these suggestions, it is interesting to note that it was a Peranakan from Sukabumi who started work on it. On the death of his father in November 1900, this person, Tjoa Tjeng Jang, wrote a letter to the THHK, asking for the correct procedure, i.e., correct according to the teachings of Confucius, in regard to death and funeral practices. In answer, the organization (which was established only in March of that same year) sent four members of the board (the vice-president, the advisor, and two other members) to Sukabumi to discuss the matter. The size and composition of this delegation suggests that the person making the request had considerable status. The group stated twenty-five suggestions, to which ten more were later added. Tjoa followed these suggestions after conferring with the other members of his family. (22) Essentially these suggestions were aimed at

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(22) In 1901 Tjoa wrote a booklet entitled Ko Tjek Boet Tan Kai, which can be translated, "If there is a mistake, do not be afraid to correct it." It contains the suggestions on death and funeral practices and a translation of a selection of sayings of Confucius on hao, filial piety. It is obvious that this person must have been the most outstanding figure in Sukabumi connected with the THHK movement. He was also the first in town and,

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a drastic simplification of the rites then observed by omitting all the elements that were considered related to superstitious practices and not based on Confucius' teachings. As we might expect, there were people who were strongly opposed to these changes, even considering Tjoa poethao, unfilial. We will see later that several of the practices which were disapproved by the THHK were still observed during the time of the study. (23)

Similar to the case of wedding ceremonies, there are also experts to conduct the funeral services. Because those who deviate from what is considered the norm among the Peranakans are liable to strong criticism from the entire community, there seems to be a great willingness to follow the directions of these experts. One of them is a Peranakan man of around seventy who is connected with the Djin Gie Hwee, the funeral association. Another is a Sundanese woman of around fifty, who is the wife of a Peranakan man. Because of this funeral association, there is a certain uniformity in the procedure. All funerals, of Peranakans as well as Totoks, including Christians, are arranged by the Djin Gie Hwee, founded in 1911 during the cholera epidemic. Virtually all Peranakans and a considerable number of Totoks are members. There are two kinds of members, those who pay dues monthly and a certain amount when a member dies and the so-called working members. The latter are considered too poor to pay dues and, instead, perform the jobs of keeping watch at the bier during the night and of coffin-bearers at funerals. Both groups are entitled to the same right of receiving free funeral assistance and financial aid amounting to about 300 rupiahs for the dependents of the deceased. Nonmembers can make use of the services of the society for a certain payment.

The society has an office and a storage room for coffins, which are not included in the free service but have to be bought separately. It is an important indication of the deviation from the traditional Chinese

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most probably, on the whole island of Java, to cut off his queue, in 1901. Curiously enough, his wife, who is over eighty and still the de facto head of one of the largest grocery stores in town, was to become, and still is, one of the outstanding members of the Chinese Protestant Church.

(23) Joe Lan Nio, Riwajat 40 Taon dari Tiong Hoa, pp. 17, 18, 30, 204, 205. Another interesting piece of information on the drive for simplification is the book issued by the Djin Gie Hwee on its 25th anniversary in 1936, which contains articles by Peranakans from several places in Java who were asked by the editorial committee to write on the subject of funeral ceremony. All writers, without exception, were strongly in favor of simplification, some pointing out which rites should be omitted, condemning them as superstitious nonsense or foolish waste of money. It also contains the last wish of a Peranakan, giving instructions as to how his funeral should be conducted. One of the writers advocated cremation, pointing out its advantages, of which the most important is that in this way pure ash is acquired, which can still be worshiped in the traditional way.

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style that all these coffins are of the rectangular western style. Another property of the society is the hearse, an old-fashioned motorcar resembling a big black box, acquired around 1934 and unchanged since.

The popularity of the society is due to the fact that membership means a kind of insurance. By paying monthly dues one is assured of a decent and well-arranged funeral plus a certain amount of financial aid. (24) Well-to-do members usually do not accept this financial aid, but return it to the society to help in the expenses of the non-paying members. For the latter, especially, the society is very helpful and in this respect it functions as a kind of relief for the poor.

During the period of study the writer was able to observe six funerals: those of two Hakka men, one Hokkien man, one Peranakan Catholic man, and two Peranakan women. Besides these observations, witnesses described the funerals of a Peranakan Protestant woman and of a Peranakan man whose father had been a Chinese kapitan.

It is clear from these cases that the funeral ceremonies of Peranakans differ markedly from those of Totoks. Totoks, Hakkas as well as Hokkiens, still perform elaborate and protracted ceremonies including lavish offerings, involving immense expenses, resembling the forms as described in studies of funeral practices in their area of origin. (25) At one of the Hakka funerals there were even Buddhist nuns from Djakarta engaged to perform the Buddhist rites of the dead. Such rites are only very seldom performed in Sukabumi, however, due to the great expense involved. The coffin used by Totoks is generally still of the huge and heavy traditional Chinese style, called sioe pan by Peranakans. As long as the coffin is in the house, which may be from five days to a week, depending on the instructions of the traditional Chinese astrologer who is always consulted in these matters, an offering table is maintained before it and replenished every day. During these days relatives and acquaintances walk in and out of the house; usually these people are given the opportunity to play card games. There is the small Chinese orchestra called pat im by Peranakans, which means literally eight tones, implying eight musical instruments, but which usually consists only of six (a two-stringed Chinese violin, small cymbals, a clarinet, a flute, a small gong, and gong chimes). The clarinet is the loudest instrument, giving a queer, wailing sound, which is immediately recognized as an indication of the observance of a traditional Chinese funeral.

The biggest ceremony occurs on the night before the interment. Then a special elaborate offering is presented, and the whole night is spent in praying. Early in the morning, or just before the coffin is carried away, paper articles representing a house, bed, servants, suitcases, mountains of money, and a great amount of joss paper, are burned.

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(24) Cf. Freedman, Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore, pp. 190-194.

(25) See, for instance, Jan Jakob M. de Groot, "De lijkbezorging der Emoy-Chineezen," Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsche-Indie, vol. XLI (1892).

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Before the coffin is carried out of the house, a ceremony is performed whereby the wife and the descendants of the deceased walk around it several times, the women wailing loudly.

The funeral train of Totoks is usually arranged as follows:

1. An Indonesian hired bearer carrying a tall rectangular scroll of red silk or fine red paper on which the data of the deceased are written in Chinese characters.

2. A long line of hired Indonesian bearers carrying the scrolls made of cloth on which Chinese aphorisms are written (the characters are made of colored paper and pasted to the cloth). These are gifts from relatives and friends. The writer was informed that Totoks do not send wreaths as a token of sympathy, but scrolls or money. If the family is wealthy, people will send scrolls; if the family is poor, people will give money. In the case of the Hakka funerals observed, one had more than a hundred scrolls and the other more than fifty, while in the case of the Hokkien funeral, there were about two hundred. In the latter case the scrolls were not carried, but loaded on trucks, following in the rear of the funeral train. These scrolls provide a measure of the status of the deceased, the more scrolls, the more well-known and respected, and therefore the higher the status.

3. The small Chinese orchestra.

4. A son, preferably the eldest or, if lacking any, one of the close male relatives, carrying the temporary hio low for the deceased, usually a drinking glass or a china container filled with rice in which the incense sticks are stuck. This container is put on a tray hung around the neck with a strap.

5. A man scattering sheets of silver joss paper along the road. The writer heard two explanations for this: one, to bribe the evil spirits hovering along the route of the funeral train, and two, road signs for the spirit of the deceased so that he can easily find the way back to his family.

6. The hearse with a picture of the deceased attached to the hood and several wreaths in front, on the sides, and at the back.

7. Immediately behind the car, hanging on to it, the sons, then the sons-in-law, daughters, daughters-in-law, and other close relatives. The wife does not participate and stays at home.

8. In the Hakka case where Buddhist nuns were present they followed behind the close relatives.

9. The female sympathizers.

10. The male sympathizers.

11. The motor vehicles, private cars, and small buses and trucks which will be boarded by the participants when a certain point of the route is reached.

The funeral attire was as follows:

Sons wear a kimono-like garb of coarse unbleached cotton with or without white trousers underneath. (In the Hakka case with the Buddhist nuns, a small square piece of hempen material was attached to the back of the funeral garb.) A band of the same material is tied around the forehead. They all carry the filial staff, made of a stick wrapped with white

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paper and with a fringe of red paper at the top. The wife and daughters of the deceased wear a similar kimono-like garb over a piece of cloth of the same material wrapped around the waist like a sarong. The head is covered with a wide hood of this unbleached cotton. Daughters-in-law are dressed similarly to the wife and daughters.

This funeral clothing of unbleached cotton has to be worn inside out, i.e., with the seams showing. (For this reason, when one inadvertently puts on a piece of clothing inside out as may happen by mistake, one's attention is immediately drawn to it, because it is associated with mourning clothes and would therefore be a challenge to fate.)

Sons-in-law wear a kind of long Chinese gown, made of ordinary white cotton and a headdress of the same material in the shape of a funnel. In some cases they may be dressed as a son; this is to show their piety toward father-in-law, but this may be done only when their own parents are deceased.

Sons' children are dressed in the same way as sons. Daughters' children are usually dressed in their ordinary clothes, but of white or blue color only.

All other male relatives do not wear a special mourning attire, except for a band of white cloth, tied around the upper part of the shirt sleeve. The female relatives wear jacket and trousers of white, blue or light green, or any soft color, but not red, yellow, or brown. Those who wear sarong-kabaja (there were only a few at the Totok funerals the writer observed) are dressed in a sarong made of black cotton or white with blue design, the sarong specially worn as an indication of mourning, and a plain white cotton kabaja. All female non-relatives are also dressed in this way.

Peranakan funerals are much less elaborate than those of the Totoks, as we will see in the following description of a funeral that, according to many Peranakans, can be considered a "typical" Peranakan funeral.

The deceased was a Peranakan widow of 67 who belonged to one of the wealthy old families in town. She lived alone in a big house in that section of Djalan Plabuan II where several of these families are clustered. (One of her daughters who is married to a son of one of these families lives only a few houses away.) She died in her sleep from a stroke and it was her female servant who discovered her death early in the morning. This happened on Friday, and the funeral was on the Sunday following. The deceased had seven daughters and two sons, all of them married. One of the daughters had died, but her husband had married one of the other daughters.

The funeral was to take place at nine o'clock on Sunday morning. When the writer arrived at the house about an hour before the departure it was already crowded with relatives and sympathizers. The men were gathered in the front yard where chairs were set up and also in the front porch. The women were all inside. (This type of segregation is the

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usual pattern at funerals and large formal parties among the Peranakans, Hokkiens, and Sundanese alike.) Fastened to the two pillars supporting the porch were two square lanterns made of coarse white cloth on which the surname of the husband of the deceased was written in Chinese characters. This is the usual indication of death in the house among Peranakans and Totoks. In the main entrance was a curtain of coarse white cloth. (On approaching it, the writer discovered that it was made of used flour bags with the markings still on it.) The coffin was set up in the inner room behind this curtain. It was of the rectangular, wooden European style. (The writer was informed that the deceased had it specially made in Djakarta a year earlier, because, as she was exceptionally large, the ready-made ones would not have fitted her. When it was ready, it was kept in the storage room of the Djin Gie Hwee.) It was placed lengthwise facing the door; thus the head was against the back wall of the room, and the feet were close to the door. At the latter end a table with offerings was set up. These offerings were the usual ones presented on important occasions: ngo seng (the five kinds of meat offering), several dishes, rice, fruits, and cakes. The candles were the special ones used during the mourning period, small and white, decorated with blue flowers. A member of the funeral association was standing next to the table, handing the incense sticks to those who wanted to pray (virtually everyone, except for the Christians, who also prayed but without incense sticks) and putting them in the incense holder. This praying was performed immediately after entering the house and prior to meeting any of the members of the family.

The two sons were standing to the left and right of the coffin. Both were dressed in trousers and a long-sleeved coat reaching to a little below the knees and made of unbleached cotton, a kind of material called by the Peranakans kain blatju, which seems to be a Malay word. (26) Around their forehead a band of the same material was tied, with the knot at the back. Each was holding the filial staff. After praying, the sympathizers turned to these sons and performed the pai to them, which they returned by doing the same.

The duughters and daughters-in-law, who were huddled together in the narrow passage leading to the back part of the house, were dressed in a kain or sarong, kabaja and a hood, also made of blatju.

The sons-in-law were not all dressed alike. Two of them wore a kind of Chinese robe with a mandarin collar made of white cotton on top of their regular western-style trousers and shirt. The four others were in their regular trousers and shirt, but with a headdress made of white cotton that had somewhat the shape of a funnel.

Of the grandchildren, both SoCh as well as DaCh, the older girls wore a white western dress and a scarf to cover the head or drape around the shoulders, the small girls an ordinary western dress in white or blue; the older boys were in ordinary white trousers and shirt, and the small boys also wore their ordinary clothes.

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(26) Because this material is used by people in deep mourning, it is not supposed to be made into any other type of clothing.

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Of the relatives of the same generation as the deceased there were her older brother dressed in regular trousers (dark brown) and short sleeved shirt (white), her younger brother in white trousers and coat and a black tie, her older sister in white and blue mourning sarong and white cotton kabaja, the wife of the younger brother in a plain black kain and white cotton kabaja.

All the other women, relatives and non-relatives, were dressed in the blue and white mourning sarong and white cotton kabaja (for those who are used to wearing this type of dress), or a western dress in white or blue. All of them were given a stole made of white cotton.

All the other men and boys were in their ordinary clothes without any special indication of mourning, such as the stole for the women, for instance. An exception was the oldest son of the younger brother of the deceased who was dressed in the same robe in Chinese style as two of the sons-in-law. The explanation given was that he was an anak angkat (Indonesian for adopted child) of the deceased.

As mentioned earlier, the women were gathered inside the house where, on the back porch, a tea table was set up similar to the one set up on the occasion of a wedding, though simpler and without fancy cakes. Here, more than on the other occasion, the cakes were left virtually untouched.

Around 9:20 the coffin was carried out by Djin Gie Hwee members and placed in the hearse, which was already covered with wreaths. Two of the sons-in-law got in the car also. The funeral train was as follows:

In front of the hearse were the two sons carrying the filial staff, the eldest son-in-law carrying the temporary incense holder on a tray while another man was holding an umbrella over his head, and the adopted son scattering the silver joss paper along the route.

Immediately behind the hearse, the daughters, daughters-in-law, siblings, some of the sons-in-law; then came other female relatives and non-relatives followed by the male relatives and non-relatives and, finally, the cars and small buses provided for those who wanted to go all the way to the cemetery. On most of these cars a wreath was tied to the front bumper.

On the spot where funeral trains usually become motorized, one of the younger sons-in-law, the one who lives only a few houses away from the deceased, gave a vote of thanks in Indonesian. Then those who wanted to go to the cemetery got into the cars, while the others returned to town. The writer was informed that there were about fifty cars, among them many private cars with a Bandung or Djakarta license plate.

The deceased was to be buried next to her husband who had died during the Japanese occupation. The grave site was next to that of one of her besan, the father of the son-in-law who gave the vote of thanks. It had no covering, but for this occasion a covering made of canvas was erected. The grave site of the besan was also used to accommodate the

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sympathizers and a canvas extension was attached to the flat roof. It turned out that most of the people from Sukabumi itself were gathered on the grave site of the besan, while the people from outside the town (only one daughter and the older brother live in Sukabumi) were gathered on the grave site of the deceased. There was also a small group of women members of the Sam Kauw Hwee, clustering together, slightly separate from the others. The writer recognized them as members of the lower class of the Peranakan community, and obviously not the usual associates of the family of the deceased and the main body of sympathizers, who were virtually all members of the wealthy old families in town. Their coming was due to the fact that they were members of the Sam Kauw Hwee, of which the deceased was also a member. The writer was informed that on the night before the funeral the leaders of this organization and a number of the members had come to the house for a special prayer session.

Immediately after arrival, the daughters put out the offerings on the stone table in front of the tombstone. These offerings consisted of fruits, cakes, sweets, two cups of white wine, and the two small white candles with the blue flower decoration. On the altar of the god of the earth there were also wine, sweets, and two small red candles.

In the meantime the coffin had been carried out of the hearse and put on two bamboo bars placed across the pit. When the offering table was ready, the coffin was carefully lowered down with ropes. During this ceremony the two sons were crouched close to the tombstone. The daughters and daughters-in-law were in a similar position with their hoods covering their faces.

This ceremony over, the praying started. First the two sons who, after praying with incense sticks, performed the pai kui, bowing four times, then the daughters and daughters-in-law who remained standing praying with incense sticks only. They were followed by the sons-in-law who prayed in the same way as the sons, the sister and brothers (without pai kui), the other relatives, of which some of the men performed the pai kui and some did not (two of the women who were affinal relatives performed this act which elicited the remark by a woman close to the writer that this is an exaggeration), and finally the sympathizers, who only prayed, with or without incense sticks. On this occasion the writer observed an interesting example of the confusion of newly-converted Catholics on an occasion like this. The person involved was the son-in-law who expressed the vote of thanks. While all the others prayed in pairs or more, he happened to be doing it alone when it was his turn. He prayed with incense sticks and then, after putting them in the holder, he made the sign of the cross. A younger brother, a man close to forty, who was standing next to the writer burst into suppressed laughter saying that he had never seen such a performance before. The person himself told the writer later that he just did not know how to act, so he decided to make it gado-gado (Indonesian, meaning a mixture).

After everybody had prayed, the eldest son checked with two coins whether the offering was finished. After two tosses the indication was that it was over, and the silver joss paper was burned. Next a ceremony called penjebaran ngokok was performed. (Penjebaran is

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Indonesian, meaning to scatter, and ngokok is from the Hokkien, meaning five kinds of grains, but the Peranakans have interpreted it as five kinds of seeds, using the Indonesian word bibit, which means seed. The meaning and the purpose is the same, however, because in each case grains and seeds are a symbol of fertility and posterity.) The leader of the working members of the Djin Gie Hwee was given a tray on which were arrayed five kinds of grains and peas and coins. He stood with it on the edge of the far end of the grave, facing the children of the deceased, who were squatting in front of the tombstone. The sons were holding up an edge of their coat, and the daughters and daughters-in-law an edge of their hood. From a slip of paper the leader read off several sentences in what sounded like Hokkien, each starting with the word ngokok. (27) After each sentence he threw a handful of the seeds in the direction of the descendants, who tried to catch them in the piece of clothing they were holding up. Each sentence was also punctuated by a loud "ho!" from the other workers. (28) The seeds thus collected were tied in a corner of the coat or hood. One of the women present told the writer that these seeds will be planted on the grave mound on the third day after the funeral, when another offering should be made. According to her, the purpose is so that the descendants who are symbolized by the seeds will produce more seeds, i.e., more children, so that the deceased will be assured of the continuation of her family. In other words, this rite is performed to offset the bad influences which are believed to be connected with the dead.

After this rite the mourners arose and proceeded to the open grave. The two filial staffs were put at the bottom by one of the workers, each in one of the corners. Then the sons each threw a handful of earth on the coffin, followed by the daughters, daughters-in-law, and other close relatives who did not throw earth, but flowers and petals of flowers. They were followed by all others who did the same. Finally a small procession was made, circling the grave, three times one way and three times the other way: in front the eldest son carrying the hio low on a tray, the second son, then the daughters and daughters-in-law, and several of the grandchildren.

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(27) On checking later the writer found that he did not know the meaning of this text. He told the writer, however, that there are several versions of the penjebaran bibit and that the one he had used was given to him by a Peranakan man who is regarded as knowledgeable on the subject. Another member of the funeral association showed the writer a text on which was stated that this is the one acknowledged by the Sam Kauw Hwee.

(28) In de Groot's description of the funeral among the Amoy-Chinese in "De lijkbezorging der Emoy-Chineezen," pp. 43, 95, we read that the five kinds of grain and coins were scattered at the bottom of the grave and at the bottom of the coffin. This ceremony was also accompanied by statements expressing the wish for great fertility and prosperity while each statement was also responded to by all present by shouting ho ah, an expression of assent.

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After this final rite, everybody went back to the cars, leaving the final closing of the grave to the working members of the funeral society. The entire ceremony lasted about one and one-half hour, from ten to eleven thirty.

Of this case the writer also observed the ceremony that concludes the period of deep mourning. Traditionally this should occur on the seventh day after the funeral, but today it is usually performed on the third day after the funeral supaja lekas beres (Indonesian), meaning to have it over with quickly. The reason for this is, of course, practicality, because the sons and daughters are not supposed to resume work until after the concluding ceremony. This happened also in the case described here.

As the funeral was on a Sunday, the concluding ceremony should have taken place the next Tuesday, but it occured on Wednesday. Apparently people are not sure whether to include the funeral day itself or not. (One of the older women considered knowledgeable informed the writer that in the case of funerals the day itself is included, while in the case of weddings it is not. But she admitted not to be too sure about it.) This concluding ceremony is called balikto, which is combination of the Indonesian word balik, meaning to turn or overturn, and to which is from the Hokkien, meaning table. This designation refers to the fact that after the offering is over, the table is turned upside down.

On that third day the house still showed the indications of mourning, the two white lanterns attached to the pillars and the curtain made of used flour bags. In the inner room, on the spot where the coffin was set up, there was now a table with offerings which, along with the usual cups of tea and sweets, consisted of several kinds of cakes specially presented during the mourning period, fruits, and the small white candles with the blue flower decoration. In the center at the back was a photograph of the deceased, with the incense holder in front of it.

Next to this offering table was a small table with a toy bedroom furniture set, consisting of a white-painted western-type bed with a mosquito net, a wardrobe, and a furniture set consisting of one table and four chairs, all painted red, small rolls of gold colored paper, which represent gold bars, and a small container with rolled up pieces of rice paper around which a red colored string was tied. (The latter had been distributed to those who came to participate in the funeral. Its function is to offset or neutralize the bad influences to which everyone is exposed who comes in the vicinity of death. This is indicated by the piece of red string, red being the color of happiness, good fortune, and in general everything favorable. At one of the Hakka funerals the writer received an elaborate equivalent of it in the shape of a flower folded out of a piece of white cotton and a red colored string attached to it.) On the floor under the offering table was a winnowing tray filled with miniature Indonesian kitchen utensils, of the kind little girls play with and usually sold in the market place. There were an earthenware oven, a skillet and spoon, a typical Indonesian rice cooker with the cone-shaped rice container, two small baskets with charcoal and two small bundles with tiny bits of firewood, and other articles usually found in an

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Indonesian as well as a Peranakan kitchen. Then there were small packages of rice, sugar, salt, pepper, turmeric roots, other typical Indonesian spices, and also a small transparent bag with hair of the deceased. (29) On a chair were placed a sarong and kabaja, several other pieces of clothing and a towel. These articles are given to the deceased, supposedly for use in the other world. One of the daughters informed the writer that boxes and mountains of money and a male and female servant would be added to this outfit. A house, traditionally one of the indispensable parts, was not necessary, because one was already burned at the death of the husband and naturally she would share this house with him.

These articles were to be burned at dawn of the following morning after the final big offering. On this occasion, also, the mourning clothes worn during this period will be discarded and put away, to be put on again on subsequent offerings connected with the first commemoration of the death, the first tjing bing festival after the death and the second and final commemoration within the mourning period. (One informant told the writer that there are people who present an offering forty days after death, especially those who only observe a forty-day mourning period, and on the first birthday of the deceased after his death.)

Early in the morning of that Wednesday, the sons and daughters with their spouses had gone to the cemetery to present another offering and to plant the seeds they had collected during the funeral ceremony. They were dressed in the same way as on that occasion. At eight in the evening they would present an offering at home and then again, the concluding one, early the following morning at five o'clock.

The mourning clothes of unbleached cotton were not worn continuously during this period of deep mourning, but only during the time of the offerings. When the writer came to the house close to noon, for instance, the sons and daughters were dressed as follows: the eldest son in white trousers and white short-sleeved shirt, the other son in dark blue trousers and white short sleeved shirt, one of the daughters in black sarong and white cotton kabaja, another daughter still in the blatju outfit without the hood, and the rest of the daughters in the white and blue mourning sarong and white cotton kabaja. The sons-in-law were in their ordinary clothing and so were the grandchildren, but all avoiding the colors red, yellow, and brown. All the women were at that time busy with the preparations for the offering. The person giving most of the directions was the Sundanese wife of a Peranakan man mentioned earlier, who is affinally related to the deceased--her husband's sister's eldest son is married to one of the daughters of the deceased.

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(29) The deceased had long hair tied in a bun, the typical hair style of older Peranakan women. The hair in the bag was hair that came off when combing, which she had collected during her life. This is related to the belief among Peranakans, which the writer also found among the Indonesians, that to possess someone's hair gives one power over the person. Thus, one should be careful with one's hair and keep it rather than throw it away, thereby avoiding the risk of it falling into the hands of someone who might misuse it.

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Compared with the Totok funerals the writer observed, this "typical" Peranakan funeral looks simple, although compared to a Christian funeral, it is still extremely elaborate. Taking the above description as the model we will now proceed to examine each of the rites to determine its origin and how it deviates from the original.

To choose an auspicious date for the interment by consulting a Chinese astrologer is virtually obsolete. The choice is now based on considerations of convenience and practicality, which has made Sunday the most preferred day, although this again depends on when the death occurred, because in general the coffin is not kept in the house longer than three days. That considerations of convenience and practicality should prevail over considerations of auspiciousness reflects the occupational difference between Totoks and Peranakans. Totoks are mostly occupied in small-scale private enterprises where the schedule and work pattern in largely determined by the owner himself, making it possible to close the shop, for instance, for as long as necessary. Peranakans, on the other hand, are engaged as wage earners or, when operating a private enterprise, adhere to the western form which requires a regularity in the work pattern beyond their control. This factor seems to be at the base of the change of the coffin used, from the Chinese style to the western style. Once it was realized that it is inconvenient to protract the period of deep mourning, there is no point in using Chinese style coffins which are constructed with the purpose of making it possible to keep the coffin above ground for an almost indeterminate time. Therefore, among Peranakans today, it is customary to make use of western style coffins.

As to the signs of mourning inside and outside the house, the two lanterns made of coarse white cloth attached to the pillar of the front porch are undoubtedly of Chinese origin, although whether typically Hokkien or not, the writer is uncertain. No mention of this type of article is made in de Groot's description. The curtain made of coarse white cloth and the covering of the hio low, mirrors, and shelves with glass doors with white cotton cloth is found among the Peranakans and Totoks alike. The Totoks also paste a strip of white paper diagonally on the sign they usually have over their shop door. The Hokkien origin of this practice can be checked with de Groot's description, where we read (pp. 3, 15, 16) that the room where the coffin is set up is stripped of all other furniture including the ancestor altar or, if not possible, the altar is covered with a white cloth, white being the color of mourning. The explanation he suggests for this practice is that it would be a lack of deference to expose these "invisible guardians of the family" to the unpleasant spectacle of death. No mention is made of mirrors and other glass articles. The Peranakan women consulted were unable to give an explanation. The eldest son in the case described above, however, ventured the rational explanation that it is to prevent looking into the mirror, because those in mourning are not supposed to be concerned about their appearance. He associates this with the traditional prohibition for sons to shave during the period of deep mourning. At the funeral described above a few non-relatives expressed their disapproval to the writer of the use of lipstick by one of the daughters during this period.

In the expression of sympathy at the Totok funerals observed there was continuously a crowd of people in the house in the days

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preceding the interment. In two of the three cases there were people playing card games. At the Peranakan funerals, on the other hand, few people come before the actual funeral, except for relatives and close friends.

This difference reflects the difference in the social pattern between the two communities. The great number of visitors in the Totok cases is a result of membership in speech group and/or surname associations, a characteristic of the Totok community that does not exist among the Peranakans. As association members have the obligation to come to the funeral of fellow members, the more associations one is affiliated to, the more people will be present. In the cases observed, the two Hakkas were affiliated to the local Hakka association and one of them also to a surname association in Djakarta, while the one Hokkien man seemed to have been affiliated to an organization in Djakarta. The largest turnout was the night before the interment when people stayed all night, supposedly to keep the bereaved family company in the final wake.

One of the most conspicuous differences as far as noise goes is the absence of the pat im music and the loud wailing of wife and/or daughters among the Peranakans. Most Peranakans told the writer that they do not like to hear the pat im music at all, especially the clarinet, because of its queer wailing sound. At the Peranakan funerals observed, the only expression of grief was quiet weeping. In general, compared with the Totoks, the atmosphere at a Peranakan funeral resembles the western idea of subdued and quiet behavior considered appropriate at a funeral.

Another difference is in the offerings presented. In accordance with the general trend among the Peranakans towards simplification in this matter, the offerings they present are much less elaborate than those presented by Totoks. They do not have the head of a pig, for instance, and other big meat offerings. In one of the Hakka cases there were even a whole raw pig and a whole raw goat. One part of the articles presented on the concluding offering is clearly an indication of adjustment to the local environment--the Indonesian toy bedroom furniture and kitchen equipment and the spices. In connection with this idea of providing the dead with the same articles needed by the living, it is interesting to note that in 1900 the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan already advocated the omission of it, quoting a saying of Confucius which they interpret as condemning this practice. (30)

As to funeral attire, there is a similarity between Peranakans and Totoks in regard to that worn by the wife, sons, daughters, daughters-in-law, and sons-in-law. In regard to grandchildren there is a difference in that, among the Hokkiens, SoCh are dressed in the same way as sons, while among the Peranakans all grandchildren (an indication of the trend towards bilateralization) are dressed in their regular clothes, avoiding the colors red, yellow, and brown. In regard to other relatives and non-related people there is also a similarity between the two groups, except that among the Totoks some of the males who were designated to the

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(30) Joe Lan Nio, Riwajat 40 Taon dari Tiong Hoa, p. 205.

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writer as relatives wore a band of white cotton around their upper arm.

The most conspicuous difference is in the funeral train. Starting from the head of the procession, we notice the following:

First, Peranakans do not have the silk scroll with the data of the deceased that is at the head of a Totok procession, nor do they have the banners made of cloth with Chinese aphorisms which are meant as an expression of praise of the deceased. We have already noted that these banners give an indication of the social status of the deceased, the more banners, the higher the social status. Among the Peranakans this function is performed by the floral wreaths. The custom of sending floral wreaths to the bereaved family is clearly an adoption of the western custom. The message attached, if any, is always in Indonesian. The most usual message is turut berduka tjita, meaning we share your grief. These wreaths are attached to the sides, the back, and the front bumper of the hearse, to the front bumper of the cars that follow, and, if there are any left, they are loaded on the trucks which are usually provided for the men and boys and for the refreshments. Banners are taken home, but floral wreaths are left to cover the grave mound.

Second, among the Peranakans, the person carrying the hio low and walking immediately in front of the hearse is usually a son-in-law, preferably the eldest. He is always accompanied by a man holding an umbrella over his head. Of the Totok funerals observed, the writer noticed this practice only in the one Hokkien case, but without a man holding the umbrella. No mention of this practice is made in de Groot's description. It is possible, therefore, that this can be ascribed to the influence of local custom where, at an Indonesian funeral, one will see the head part of the corpse (carried on a stretcher, because Indonesians who adhere to Islam do not use a coffin) always shaded by the type of umbrella used by Peranakans. It is clear that in both cases the meaning behind this practice is the same: an umbrella is the symbol of high rank (in prewar times the rank of a regent was symbolized by a golden umbrella); thus, to hold an umbrella over someone or something is an expression of honor.

From the respectful way the hio low is treated, shown most clearly at a funeral, one has to conclude that an essential change has occurred among the Peranakans in regard to the form of representation of the deceased. Whereas traditionally the ancestor is represented by a sin chi, the ancestor tablet, we have noted that, among the Peranakans in Sukabumi, this type of representation was found at the altar of one family only. In wealthy families there is usually a painting or an enlarged portrait of the deceased on the wall above the altar; when this space is taken by a landscape painting, the portraits are to the left or right of it or on an adjacent wall. Often we do not find the portraits of all the ancestors venerated, however, but only of the most recent. In the poorer families there is sometimes a small faded photograph of the deceased, but often there is none. Since the portraits are often placed on an adjacent wall instead of above the altar, the supplicant does not face them when praying. It seems that we may infer from this that Peranakans do not attach the same meaning to the picture or the portrait as traditional

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Chinese are believed to have done to the ancestor tablet. (Among the latter it was believed that, by the rite of "the dotting of the soul" which occurs at the funeral, the soul of the deceased is transferred permanently to the tablet.)(31) Thus it would appear that among the Peranakans the central part in the ancestor veneration is taken by the hio low. This is indicated by the following: (1) the ancestor altar is called medja abu (Indonesian, literally ashes table), referring to the ash in the incense holder which, next to hio low, is often called tempat abu (Indonesian, literally ashes pot); (2) in one of the articles published in the 25th anniversary book of the funeral association, Djin Gie Hwee, the author advocated cremation, pointing out the advantage of acquiring the pure ash of the deceased, which could still be venerated in the traditional way; (3) when a family decides to discontinue keeping an altar, for instance when they join a Christian denomination that does not allow it, and there is nobody among the close relatives to whom the care can be transferred, the hio low is buried in the grave mound of the ancestors concerned (32); (4) if no altar will be kept for a deceased person, the ash that has accumulated in the holder during the praying before interment is scattered on the grave after it is filled; (5) when an outsider wants to know who is venerated at a particular altar, the question is phrased, "Ini abunja siapa?" (Indonesian, meaning literally "Whose ashes are these?"), and the answer is, "Oh, ini abunja engkong" ("Oh, these are the ashes of grandfather") or whoever it may be.

Third, Peranakans do not take a picture of the deceased to the cemetery as do the Totoks who attach it on top of the hood of the hearse against the windshield.

Fourth, Peranakans make the vote of thanks in Indonesian, Totoks in Mandarin (in consideration of people of other speech groups present). There is no kowtowing on the street by the sons during the speech as is done among the Totoks.

Fifth, Peranakans do not make use of the pat im music which, according to a Hakka man, has the purpose of increasing the atmosphere of sadness of the occasion.

At the funeral of the other Peranakan woman observed by the writer, the following rite was performed before the grave was filled: the leader of the working members of the funeral society squatted at the edge of the

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(31) de Groot, "De lijkbezorging der Emoy-Chineezen," pp. 99, 100.

(32) The mother of the writer took care of the ancestor altar of her parents, a regular rectangular type with carved decorations, Chinese hio low made of tin, and copper candlesticks. There were two hio lows, one for each parent. Several years ago she decided to discontinue taking care of it. She often forgot the offering on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month and decided it would be better not to have one at all than to look after it in a haphazard way. The two hio low were buried in the grave mound of her parents, in the Chinese cemetery in Tanggerang. Now she performs the offerings that should be made during the year, using a large sideboard for the table and a drinking glass filled with uncooked rice as an incense holder.

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grave, took a coconut with the husk off leaving the hard shell, put a short piece of rattan on it, and then cut through both, letting one half of each fall into the pit, while the other half is taken home. Noone could explain the meaning of this rite. In the THHK list of rites to be omitted, we read, however, that the half of the coconut kept is eaten by the descendants of the deceased and the piece of rattan smoked like a cigarette. The purpose is said to be to forget the deceased. It is stated that this rite should not be observed at all because "it is following the belief of the Moslem in this country," and it is argued further that it is very strange, to say the least, that one should forget relatives who have passed away. (33)

From this comparison we may conclude that the Peranakan funeral practices consist of a sequence of rites that are basically of Chinese, i. e., Hokkien,origin, but that modifications have occurred which indicate influences of the local environment, of modern China, and of the west.

The influence of the local environment is shown in, first, the use of Indonesian toy furniture, kitchen equipment, and spices, which form part of the articles to be burned after the concluding offering at the end of the period of deep mourning; second, the use of an umbrella to shade the person carrying the hio low in the procession to the cemetery. We have already noted that this is possibly the influence of the Moslem custom to hold an umbrella over the head of the corpse when carried to the cemetery. Moestapa (34) mentions that, among the Sundanese, often two umbrellas, the handles of each covered with a piece of white cotton, are used; third, the rite of cutting a coconut and a piece of rattan in half just before the grave is filled. Moestapa (35) describes the Sundanese rite as follows: When the deceased is a woman leaving a husband and small children behind, after the grave is closed the husband cuts in two, with an ax, a young coconut, the blossoming flower of a banana, a small mat made of coconut leaves (used to put pots and pans on), each with one stroke. He explains that this rite is symbolic of the separation between people who love each other. The purpose is to mitigate the grief produced by this separation.

The influence of modern Chinese ideas is seen in the drive toward simplification and purification as propagated by the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan. This drive is viewed by these propagators as a return to pure Confucianism which they consider the essence of Chinese culture. Basically it means the elimination of those rites that are considered unnecessary and related to superstitious practices. Considered unnecessary by the THHK are: choosing an auspicious date, which means the protraction of the period of keeping the coffin above ground; loud wailing of the women; burning of articles for the deceased to use in the other world; the presentation of elaborate offerings; the scattering of silver

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(33) Joe Lan Nio, Riwajat 40 Taon dari Tiong Hoa, p. 205.

(34) Op. cit., p. 157; see also Klaus A. H. Hidding, Gebruiken en godsdienst der Soendaneezen (Batavia, 1935), p. 58.

(35) Op. cit., pp. 156, 157.

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joss paper on the way to the cemetery. Of the rites that are said to be related to superstitious practices there were only two: to use water specially taken from a river for the cleaning of the corpse and the cutting of a coconut and a piece of rattan just before the grave is filled.

As we have seen, today, sixty years after these suggestions were made, several of the rites condemned are still observed, but there is a positive trend towards simplification, even to the extent of stripping it to the bare core of the original. It would appear that there is a certain reluctance bordering on fear to make drastic omissions, but, on the other hand, there is a strong feeling in favor of simplification, so the end result is the performance of the minimum of what is required of a particular rite.

The influence of western customs is evident in the use of the rectangular western type of coffin and the presentation of floral wreaths as tokens of sympathy.

We will now give a description of a Christian funeral to show its extreme simplicity as compared with the typical Peranakan funeral. The deceased in this case was a Peranakan man, close to seventy, belonging to one of the old wealthy families in town. He had two sons, of which the eldest was about forty, married, father of two children, and the manager of the largest textile factory in town. A younger son was in his early twenties and unmarried. The wife of the deceased was about sixty with a good command of the Dutch language, which indicates that she must have had some Dutch education. The deceased was baptized into the Catholic church at his deathbed. The priest who came for the funeral told the writer that this was a provisional baptism, because the deceased, who died of a heart attack, could not give an answer when, after the attack, he was asked whether he wanted to be baptized. His wife and sons, however, had expressed the desire for a Christian funeral, and because his wife and he had had some religious instruction with a Catholic priest, they decided on Catholicism. (The wife of the deceased was the person mentioned in the section on ancestor veneration who told her son that she did not want him to keep an altar for her after her death.)

The funeral took place on a Thursday at nine o'clock in the morning. The writer arrived at the house around eight o'clock. There were a number of floral wreaths on the front porch, no white lantern, and also no white curtain on the front door. The black, western-type coffin was set up in the inner room with floral wreaths all around. It was still open and the deceased could be seen, covered with awhite satin cloth, except for the face. There was nothing else in the room, no offering table or candles. None of the sons was present to receive the sympathizers. A Peranakan man in his early fifties, one of the most active Catholics in town, acted as the host, although he was not related to the family. The wife and the two sons came in the room when the coffin was about to be closed. She was dressed in a white and blue mourning sarong and white cotton kabaja. She was weeping pitifully. The two sons were dressed in ordinary white trousers and long-sleeved white shirts. The daughter-in-law had on a white western dress, while the two grandchildren were in their ordinary clothes, one of which even had red color in it. All other

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women present were in blue and white mourning sarong and white cotton kabaja or western dress with no red, yellow or brown. The men were in their ordinary clothes.

The coffin was closed by the working members of the Djin Gie Hwee and covered with a black cloth with a white cross on it. Then a Dutch Catholic priest came, the head pastor of Sukabumi, accompanied by an altar boy and the sexton. He uttered the prayer for the dead in Indonesian and was joined by several of the Catholic women present. Immediately thereafter, the coffin was carried into the hearse, and the procession started moving. Behind the hearse were the two sons, the relatives, and the sympathizers. The wife was in the first car following, accompanied by several female relatives. The route taken was different from the usual one because the deceased was to be buried in the Christian cemetery which also lies to the south of the town, but closer. At a railroad junction just outside the center of the town, the group stopped and the oldest son gave the vote of thanks in Indonesian. Arriving at the cemetery, the coffin was carried immediately to the grave and lowered into it. A short prayer was said in Latin by the priest; then the wife, sons, daughter-in-law, other relatives, and sympathizers each dropped a handful of flower petals in the grave. This was the entire ceremony. There was no speech and the priest left immediately after the prayer.

While the grave was being filled, the refreshments, consisting of soft drinks and batjang(the rice cakes specially eaten on the occasion of the dragon boat festival and part of the usual refreshment presented at a funeral), were distributed among the sympathizers and the relatives. Then everyone left, except for the eldest son who remained to supervise the closing of the grave.

For some time after the funeral the writer heard remarks expressing disapproval of the behavior of the family. Criticism was launched especially at the way the wife and immediate descendants dressed at the funeral. Several Christian Peranakans told the writer that, among Protestants, it is still customary to wear the traditional funeral garb; they were surprised when this family did not observe this custom, especially since neither the wife nor the children were Catholics at that time. Several other Peranakans, members of the group of wealthy, old families, made the remark that the deceased and his wife had always kept pretty much to themselves and this is perhaps the reason why they could afford to deviate from the norm, because they would not hear what other people say about them. One of the critics told the writer that when her mother, who was converted to Catholicism, died, all the sons and daughters, none of whom were Catholics, wore the traditional funeral garb; she said indignantly that although one is a Christian, one is a Chinese after all.

This gives an indication of the amount of criticism one may incur when deviating from the accepted norm, and those who do deviate are clearly people who live on the periphery of the community.

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The Mourning Period

After the funeral clothing has been put away at the conclusion of the offering ceremony presented on the third or seventh day after the funeral, the period of light mourning begins. This is expressed by the color of clothing. The general rule is that no clothes with the colors red, yellow and brown are worn. Sometimes purple is also prohibited, because it is a mixture of blue and red. In the case of mourning for parents, even green may not be allowed in the first year, because it has yellow in it. This period of light mourning is referred to as pake biru (Indonesian, meaning to wear blue) and often also as pake putih (to wear white), although the latter should be applied to the wearing of complete white only, as for instance during the period of deep mourning.

For the men these prohibitions do not present a problem, because men's clothes are usually of a subdued color; the combination of white trousers and white shirt is very popular. Of course, they are not supposed to wear brown shoes or a brown belt, but this is usually not strictly observed. Thus, in effect, it is hardly noticeable when a man is in mourning. For the women, however, it is different. We first have to make a distinction between those who wear sarong-kabaja and those who wear western dress. The former will have to acquire the special mourning sarong of white with blue or a combination of blue and green design and a plain white cotton kabaja. This kabaja will have to be made specially too, becuuse Peranakan women usually wear a kabaja made of sheer material with a border of lace or embroidery. Those who wear western dress may also have to acquire new clothes, because dresses usually have some of the prohibited colors in them. A plain white dress or a combination of a plain white blouse and plain blue skirt is so strongly associated with mourning that Peranakan girls seldom dress in this way, or, if they do, they add a colorful pin or ribbon. For women, and in fact for men also, there is the prohibition of wearing gold jewelry, because of its yellow color. (The wedding ring, which is a plain gold band, seems to be exempted from this rule.) Silver jewelry, however, is allowed.

The length of this period is determined by the character of the kin relationship to the deceased, combined with the proximity of residence, degree of intimacy, and presence of other relatives. Basically the types of mourning observance that exist among the Peranakans point to Chinese, i. e., Hokkien origin, but there are certain modifications that show clearly the influence of local environment.

When a Peranakan is asked how long one remains in mourning for a particular relative, he will invariably answer that today people are not too particular about following the correct rules, but do what is most convenient. The exception is in the case of the mourning period for one's own parent or, in the case of a married woman, for her husband's parents, where virtually everybody knows and agrees on the duration.

It would appear that one may distinguish three degrees of intensity in the feeling of obligation to observe a mourning period. First, however, we can rule out those in ego's generation who are younger than he and all those in the descending generations, in accordance with the traditional

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Chinese custom of not mourning for juniors. The greatest obligation to observe mourning is of children for their parents and of a married woman for her husband's parents. Next comes mouring of children for grandparents and the latter's siblings and spouses, andfor parent's siblings and spouses. Here the feeling of obligation is to a considerable extent determined by proximity of residence and degree of intimacy. Finally, there is mourning for all other relatives; here the observance becomes a highly individual matter, depending completely on the proximity of residence, degree of intimacy, and presence of other relatives.

We may distinguish five types of mourning periods, as illustrated by the diagrams on the opposite page: 24 months (referred to as three years); 12 months (referred to as one year); 100 days (or 4 months); 40 days; 7 days.

The first two periods are recognizbble as of Chinese origin. (36) This is also true of the 100 days and the 7 days periods, although we will find that these periods also play an important role among the Sundanese and the Javanese in connection with their observances related to death. The period of 40 days, however, is clearly an adoption of local custom; it does not occur in the Chinese system. We have already noted that, among the Sundanese, 40 days after the funeral an elaborate selamatan is held. (37)

We will now describe to whom these different types of mourning periods apply, taking the deceased as the referent.

In regard to the mourning period for parents, there is general agreement in the case of a son (which is the same as that of a wife for her husband): "three years" which, in fact, means only 24 months because mourning ends on the second anniversary of the death. If the deceased is a father, sometimes a few months are subtracted (by all those who have to observe this period, i.e., wife, son, daughter). The reason is obscure, but there seems to be some connection with the idea of blessing related to the possession of children. In the case of one of the informants, five months were subtracted because there were five children, a subtraction of one month for each child. If the deceased is a mother, on the other hand, usually three or four months are added (the number of children seems not to play a role here). This is explained as a recognition of the period she has fed the mourner. (38) In general, the obligations of an

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(36) Cf. Freedman, Lineage Organization, p. 44.

(37) Moestapa, op. cit., pp. 161, 162, tells us that among the Sundanese, after the funeral, selamatans are held on the following days: third day (tiloena), seventh day (toedjoehna), 40th day (matang poeloeh), 100th day (natoes), 1000th day (newoe). The 40th day is the most important one, with an elaborate selamatan and a visit to the grave.

(38) Freedman, Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore, pp. 209-210, has observed a similar custom among the Chinese in Singapore but the explanation given is that it is in recognition of the time the mother has carried the mourner in her womb.

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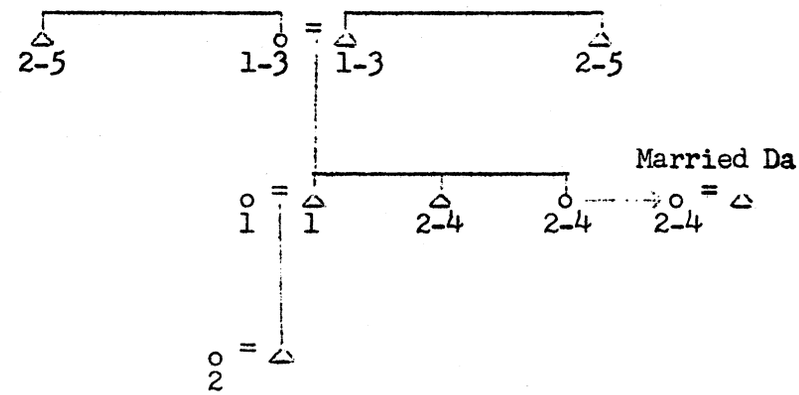
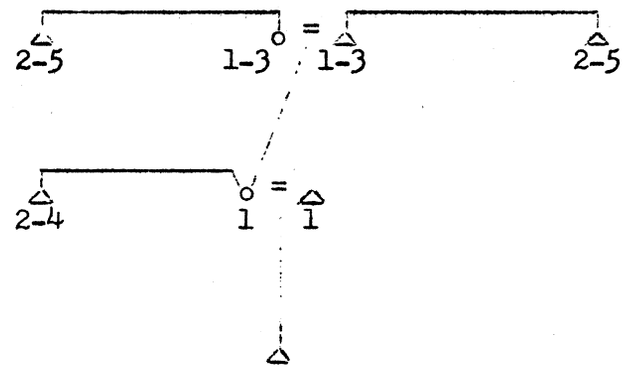
The Pattern of the Observance of the Mourning Period among the Peranakans in Sukabumi

I
Man for
Fa relatives

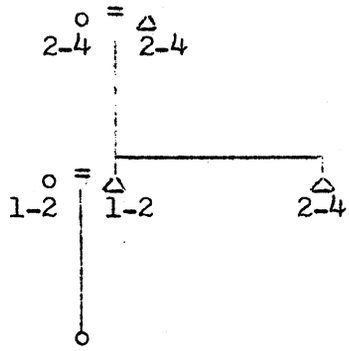


Types of periods:

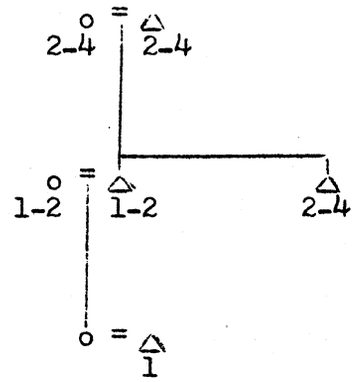
1	24 months
2	12 months
3	100 days (4 months)
4	40 days
5	7 days



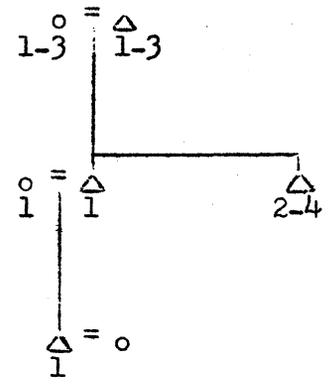
II
Man for
Mo relatives



III
Unmarried woman
for Fa relatives



IV
Married woman
for Fa relatives



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Married woman
for Hu relatives

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unmarried daughter are the same as those of a son, but often the period is shortened to only one year. The reason might be sought in the considerations of fairness for a woman will have to observe the full two years for her husbands' parents. Thus we find that for a married daughter it is customary to mourn for her own parents for twelve months only. Apparently in this case the mother-in-law has some say in it, although usually, when a daughter insists on observing the full 24 months, she will make no objections. It is possible that the voice given to the mother-in-law in this matter is connected with the prohibition of sexual intercourse during the mourning period, which was traditionally the case in the Chinese system. The writer has no information on this in regard to the Peranakans in Sukabumi.

For all other relatives there is a wide variety of possibilities, going through the whole range of mourning periods, starting from one year down. This variety can be attributed to the uncertainty as to what is the correct procedure, but also to the residence pattern which is usually such that direct control of other relatives is slight, so that there is less incentive to comply completely to the rule. The writer experienced an amusing example of this with a couple in their early thirties who have no relatives in Sukabumi. On one occasion, when the writer dropped in to see them, the husband said that his grandfather, who lived in Bogor, had died several days before. When asked whether they were observing mourning, he answered in the affirmative, whereupon his wife suddenly pointed to his pajamas (this was early in the morning) saying in a teasing tone that they had a red border. He seemed taken aback, but said rather shamefacedly that if his mother were around he would certainly be more careful.

A woman in her mid-thirties told the writer that when her oldest brother-in-law died, all those living in the house (she was then still living with her husband's family, which consisted of her husband's widowed mother and two of his older brothers with their families), i.e., the brothers and their wives, observed a mourning period of one year. She said this was because they were in sympathy with the bereaved sister-in-law who was well liked by all. She added that the fact that they all lived in the same house was a great incentive for this observance. At night, however, they did not care whether there was red color in their sleeping clothes, because "nobody will see it anyway."

Thus we see that for grandparents, father's side as well as mother's side, there are three possibilities: 24 months, twelve months, and 100 days, with the first apparently the least frequent and the second the most frequent. As we may expect, here again for a girl it is less, twelve months or even only forty days.

For grandparents' siblings, father's side as well as mother's side, the possibilities go through the whole range from one year to seven days, with 100 days and forty days being the most frequent.

For brothers of both parents there is a similar range from one year down to seven days, with a tendency to observe a longer period for FaBr than for MoBr. For an unmarried sister of father it is the

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same as for FaBr, while for a married one it is also the same but with the additional possibility of 100 days.

We have already noted that a married daughter is more likely than an unmarried one to observe a twelve-month period for her own parents. Mourning for father's brothers and father's parents, however, does not differ for either a married or an unmarried daughter; it is twelve months, four months, or forty days for father's brothers and a maximum of twelve months and minimum of forty days for father's parents. As for her husband's relatives, we have noted that as a wife she is expected to follow her husband, so she observes the same amount of mourning as he does.

For all the above mentioned categories of senior relatives there is in fact another factor that plays a role in the determination of the mourning period. This is the number of children the deceased leaves behind who will mourn for him or her. If there are only a few--the evaluation of this is, of course, very subjective--then those who are expected to observe a mourning period will feel more obliged to do so.

For senior siblings and first cousins one should observe a one year period, but usually it is forty days only. For the more distant cousins it is also forty days, but often it is only seven days, i.e., until the end of the period of deep mourning.

A pregnant woman is also expected to observe a mourning period, but at the time of birth it is suspended and resumed forty days after the birth. Usually, however, when this is already close to the end of the mourning period she will not observe it at all.

Based on these data, we may conclude that the pattern of observance of the mourning period among the Peranakans points to two important characteristics in the Peranakan kinship structure.

The central figures are the parents. There is no doubt that for them the maximum degree of mourning should be observed. Moving away from them upwards and sideways, the length of the period decreases, less sharply immediately upwards and almost abruptly immediately sideways. The period for grandparents coming second in degree is an indication of the importance of the lineal line, combined with the respect accorded a senior generation which is still strongly adhered to among the Peranakans.

Moving further away, however, there seems to be no rule at all, even to the point of observing as few as seven days. This pattern indicates clearly a positive trend towards emphasizing the nuclear family which is in accordance with the prevalence of neolocal residence we have noted earlier.

There is no difference in the range of possibilities for father's parents' siblings or mother's parents' siblings and father's siblings and mother's siblings. This situation is a corroboration of the trend towards bilateral forms we have noted in the section on kinship.

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Apart from these restrictions on clothing there is the general suspension of participation in conspicuous social events, e.g., weddings, engagements, birthdays, and also in the celebration of New Year. On the latter occasion, mourners are not allowed to visit people, but they are allowed to receive visitors. Obviously these prohibitions have a double reason: those in mourning should not participate in festive activities, and, from the point of view of the non-mourners, the happy occasion should not be marred by the presence of people in mourning. A prohibition which is widely adhered to is that of marriage during the mourning period, especially during the long term mourning, as in the case of mourning for a parent. There is a mitigation for this rule, however, in that marriage is allowed within a hundred days after the death (an indication of the high importance attached to marriage), with the ceremony taking place entirely outside the residence of the mourning party. In the first few weeks after death of a parent or parent-in-law, one is also not supposed to visit any public entertainment place, e.g., the movies. The writer noted how scandalized Peranakans were, even the young people, when word got around that one of the western-educated young women was seen at the theater only two or three weeks after the death of her father-in-law and, in addition, clad in a red dress.

The Influence of the Indigenous Religious Setting

This section proposes to give a picture of the religious setting in which the Peranakans find themselves, with the intention of investigating in what way or to what extent they have been affected by it.

Activities within the Framework of the Moslem Religion

Of the Moslem population of Java, the Sundanese (and the Madurese) are generally considered the most pious and faithful. The Sundanese population of Sukabumi forms no exception, one indication being the large number of places of prayer which exist in town, as tabulated in the following table:

Kelurahan*	No. Males**	Mosque	Langgar	Surau	Pesantren	Total
Kota Kulon	7,222	15	39	1	2	57
Kota Wetan	6,592	8	21	-	-	29
Kota Kaler	5,832	8	18	-	-	26
Kota Kidul	7,328	11	49	-	4	64
Total	26,974	42	127	1	6	176

*Data are for the end of 1955 and were obtained from the Office of Religious Affairs in Sukabumi (Kantor Urusan Agama Kabupaten Sukabumi).

**In the Moslem religion communal prayer in the mosque is a prerogative of men only, so women do not come to these places and are consequently omitted in this table. The figures in this column are the total number of males in each Kelurahan.

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It would appear that Peranakans do take the Sundanese seriously in regard to their religious observances. This is indicated at least in the attitude towards the pork taboo. At dinners to which Sundanese are invited, Peranakans always either dispense completely with pork dishes, or keep the porkless dishes separate from those with pork. It is taken for granted, however, that one need not be this strict in the case of Javanese and of certain other Indonesian groups. A Peranakan may note with some glee to another Peranakan, for example, that he has seen a Javanese eating at a Chinese restaurant; in Sukabumi it is improper for a Sundanese to do so. Or he may note that he has seen a crowd of Indonesians eating at a particular restaurant (for example, the one which is well-known for its noodle soup), but adding that it's all right, because they were Bataks.

In what way or to what extent has this particular part of the indigenous religious setting affected the Peranakans? The answer must be, minimally. This is understandable, considering the fact that Islam is an organized religion, with specific requirements for entrance, participation, and use of the places of prayer. The adoption of part of the elements of which it is composed is not possible, because it forms part of an integrated unit, which can only be performed within its specific framework. It is either an adoption of the entire system or none at all. This means that we will have to find out whether there are Peranakans who have adopted this system; in other words, whether there are Peranakan Moslems. From the Office of Religious Affairs the writer obtained the list of people converted to the Moslem religion:

	Indonesian*			Chinese			Dutch			
Year	Male	Fem.	sub-total	Male	Fem.	sub-total	Male	Fem.	sub-total	Total
1951	2	-	2	-	-	-	1	2	3	5
1952	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	2	3
1953	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
1954	1	-	1	9	4	13	-	1	1	15
1955	5	-	5	1	2	3	-	-	-	8
1956	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Total	13	-	13	10	7	17	2	4	6	36

*These Indonesian converts are mostly Ambonnese and Menadonese who had been Christians.

While the list is not completely adequate for the purpose of this study, because the Chinese are lumped together and from the name it is impossible to distinguish the Totoks from the Peranakans, nevertheless it throws some light on the scope of the conversions.

This table shows clearly that the number of Chinese converts is negligible. It is highly significant, however, that they are all clustered in the years 1954 and 1955, a pattern we also notice, though to a much lesser extent, among the Indonesian converts. The writer suspects strongly that this is related to the campaigning in connection with the general election at the end of 1955. The kampong area is largely influenced by Moslem parties; it would not be surprising if a person who was deliberating on becoming a Moslem had been given the impetus to take the final

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step towards his conversion by the campaign drives.

An attempt to obtain the actual number of Chinese converts through the Kelurahan produced results in one kelurahan only, that of Kota Kulon (second in proportion of Chinese), where the secretary succeeded in gathering these data:

Original Name	Present Name	Age	Sex	Occupation
Liem Tjay Pin	Mad Arip	62	male	business
Tan Soey Liang	Abdurohim	30	male	barber
Thung Tiong Yu	Mohammad Saleh	74	male	--
Gouw Boen Liong	Mohammad Abas	45	male	driver
Gan Koey Nio	Nji Onah	33	female	wife of Moh. Abas
Peng Pie Nio	Siti Komariah	36	female	wife of an Indon. driver
Tan Soey Lian	Elly Sumarni	25	female	ticket seller at one of the theaters

These converts are referred to as mualaf (mualap in Sundanese), which is of Arabic origin. (39) A highly interesting phenomenon is that this term, which means convert, has popularly acquired the derogatory connotation of a hobo, a wanderer, a displaced person. One such individual walked around in Sukabumi during the time of the study. He was dressed in a sarong such as the men usually wear when they go to the mosque, a shirt, and the Indonesian black cap. A cotton bag was slung over his shoulder. He behaved rather strangely, as if he were not quite in his right mind. He did not actually beg for anything, but he would come to a shop, for instance, stand in front looking inside, and one of the people would give him some money. The writer noticed that he was generally referred to, by Peranakans also, as si mualap. The writer was informed that he was a Peranakan, originally from Padang in West Sumatra.

Why is this derogatory connotation attached to the term mualap? The writer acquired some insight into this from the remarks made by a Peranakan man in his late fifties, married to a Sundanese woman, and father of three daughters (the eldest married and living somewhere in Bantam, the second working as an administrative aide in the largest tea factory in town, and the third a second-year student at the Catholic senior high school). He lived in a house next to, and belonging to, the tea factory, where he is a kind of supervisor. (The writer was informed that he is also a kind of guard, of great service to the owner of the factory, a Peranakan, because of his contacts with the indigenous population. During the turbulent times of the Japanese occupation and the revolution afterwards, for instance, he managed to keep the factory from being destroyed.) During one of the visits the writer made to his house, the conversation turned to religion. He made the statement that, terus terang (Indonesian, meaning frankly, openly, straightforward, with the connotation of revealing an opinion which one realizes is controversial), he thought that Islam was the best of all religions; but he added that it was a very difficult one. He seemed to be familiar with the Koran, at least he produced

(39) Cf. Dr. Th. W. Junyboll, Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet (Leiden, 1930), pp. 86-87.

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some quotations from it. The writer then asked whether he knew of any Chinese who had turned Moslem. His response was a disgusted: "Itu mah buaja-buaja!" (Indonesian, meaning "Those are rascals," literally, in fact, crocodiles). Asked for a clarification, he gave the following explanation: to his knowledge, those Chinese who have become Moslem are either people too lazy to work or those who are in love with a village girl. He called them lazy people, because they take advantage of the fact that village people think it remarkable when someone of another race professes to be a Moslem and are, therefore, willing to provide him with his daily necessities, such as food and clothing. These "converts," therefore, live off the kindness of the village population, going from one place to another. But they are not real Moslems, because they do not observe any of the regulations. He professed not to know a single mualap who is a real Moslem.

During one of the visits to the Kelurahan of Kota Kidul, the southeastern section of the town, which has a population ratio of Peranakans and Indonesians of 1:20, the writer raised this subject with the lurah and several other Sundanese men present. (The Kelurahan is a favorite spot among the men in the kampong for discussing the topics of the day or for just sitting around.) They all agreed that those Chinese who have become Moslems are usually poor people. Between them they could mention only three or four persons of Chinese origin who they knew were mualap.

From these statements we may conclude that, at least in the Sukabumi area, those ethnic Chinese who have become Moslems must be individuals who were outcasts of their community, because they could not accommodate themselves to a value system where industriousness is highly esteemed. As outcasts, there would be no other group to take refuge in except a lower one, i.e., the lower class of the indigenous population. Since these people are strict Moslems, the most effective way to gain acceptance would be through their religion. Gaining admittance is facilitated by the willingness of these indigenous people to accept or, rather, to support them. This willingness is based on the Moslem idea that the community has the obligation to aid converts, i.e., mualaps, who, according to the Moslem law, are those persons who are converted to the Islam, but whose zeal for this religion is still weak. (40)

Thus, by becoming a Moslem, an ethnic Chinese is cut off completely from his original society. This is illustrated especially by the fact that he drops his Chinese name and adopts a name used by the indigenous population. The writer learned of the extent of this disassociation when she asked the temple keeper whether she knew of a woman living in the neighborhood who had turned Moslem on marriage to a Sundanese man. Only after thinking about it for some time did the temple keeper remember her, adding that this person did not associate with Peranakans at all. (41)

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(40) Cf. Juynboll, op. cit., p. 86.

(41) It should be stressed that this situation is certainly not a general phenomenon. In the Solo area, for instance, there are respectable Peranakan Moslem families, who have retained their Chinese name. Two of its members are full professors at the University of Indonesia (cont'd)

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Indirectly, of course, Peranakans and non-Moslems in general are affected by the fact that they live in a society which is predominantly Moslem. The predominance of this religion is especially felt by enterprisers who depend on the indigenous population for labor and by homemakers who depend on them for domestic help. Due to the great tolerance towards any form of religion, a characteristic of Chinese in general, Peranakans included, the inconveniences of lack of personnel and decrease of productivity which arises during the fasting month, for instance, is accepted with equanimity. Because this situation recurs annually, people usually prepare well ahead to cope with it.

Beliefs and Activities Outside the Framework of the Moslem Religion

Apart from their belief in Islam, the Sundanese cherish a great number of beliefs which have their origin in the pre-Islamic era. According to traditional Sundanese belief, a host of spirits, good and evil, surround human beings. They are known by several names, among others, djurig, dedemit, dedewa, kunti, kuntianak. These are the spirits who are evilly disposed towards mankind; the kuntianak, for example, specially aim at pregnant women. If a woman dies in childbirth, people will say that she has been hurt by a kunti and she herself will also change into such an evil spirit. Of the good spirits, there are, among others, the nini meranak, the guardian angel of a child, especially in infancy (cf. the potjia of the Peranakan child); and the pohatji, female spirits, of whom the most important is the goddess of rice, Nji Pohatji Sangjang Sri. (42)

Men must guard themselves against these evil spirits, and certain persons are believed to have the knowledge and power to control them. These are especially the dukun and the paradji. The first is the generic term for a person, male or female, who is believed to be able to cure sickness the cause of which is hard to determine and to help realize desires which are difficult to fulfill. A paradji, too, may be male or female and may function as a general curer, but the female paradji tend to specialize in midwifery and the male paradji in circumcision. Next to these there are persons versed in reciting parts of the Koran who, by means of these recitations are believed to be able to ward off evil influences.

One of the most usual methods to achieve this is to give a selamatan. Often this religious banquet is referred to as sidekah, from the Arabic sadakah, (43) meaning a voluntary, unobligatory gift of charity (in contrast to the zakat or djakat in Sundanese, which is the obligatory donation to be given at the end of the fasting period). In fact, among the Peranakans the term sidekah is more frequently used than selamatan. Then there are the djampe, djimat, and toembal. The djampe is a prayer,

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in Djakarta, holders of Ph. D. degrees from outstanding universities in the Netherlands.

(42) See Moestapa, op. cit., pp. 43, 56, 61, 90, 103, 133; also Hidding, op. cit., pp. 49-56.

(43) Moestapa, op. cit., pp. 86, 87; see also Juynboll, op. cit., p. 94.

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an aphorism or a formula uttered over a certain article (e. g., flowers, incense, water), which is then believed to have the power to keep evil influences away. A djimat is in the strict sense a talisman or an amulet and in a broad sense all that is kept in reverence, e. g., heirlooms. (44) A toembal is a charm that can be worn on the body or fastened to a certain place in the house. (45)

In what way or to what extent have the Peranakans been influenced by these beliefs? In the chapter on family and kinship, we have already mentioned how, in certain families, a sidekah may be performed when a woman is seven months pregnant, when a baby is forty days old, and on the occasion of a wedding. Then, also, special treatment in the traditional Sundanese way may be given to the placenta.

There is one occasion, however, when a sidekah is generally performed, by the older as well as the younger generation, even by those who have had a western education. This is the sidekah performed when a new house or a new part of a house or an extensive repair of an existing house is finished. During the period of study the writer attended three such sidekahs: one was on the occasion of the completion of a big garage owned by a Peranakan man of around thirty; the second, an extensive repair of a large house owned by a young couple around thirty; and the third, a new house, also owned by a young couple of around thirty. In the first and third cases, the main dish was nasi tumpeng, the rice served in the shape of an overturned cone, while in the second case a goat was killed and the head buried in the back yard.

As an example of this type of sidekah, we will give an account of the third case, which several older Peranakan women assured the writer was a good example of the way Peranakans usually perform this sidekah.

The sidekah was held when the house was not quite finished; the tiles of the roof and the floor were not yet fixed. The writer was informed that, in fact, the sidekah should take place before the beams are fixed, as this is considered the most dangerous part of the construction. Therefore, in order to prevent accidents, a special offering is tied to the center of the ridge pole to appease the evil spirits. This special offering was placed two days before the sidekah and consisted of the following: two bunches of paddy, three bunches of bananas, two sugar cane stalks, two coconuts, one package of red sugar, seven kinds of cheap Indonesian cakes made of rice flour and tapioca, and seven kinds of sour young Indonesian fruit. On top of these articles a small Indonesian flag fluttered in the wind. Nobody could explain the purpose of the flag, but the writer was told that in the Dutch period a Dutch flag was used. On the day of the sidekah only the paddy and the flag were left; all other edibles had been eaten by the workers, although, in fact, they should remain there as long as possible.

The sidekah, which took place at about one in the afternoon, was arranged according to the instructions of the Sundanese wife of a younger

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(44) Moestapa, op. cit., pp. 43, 127, 250.

(45) Moestapa, op. cit., pp. 21, 240.

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brother of the mother of the owner of the new house. (She is the woman mentioned earlier as an expert in the offerings to be presented at a funeral.)

The sidekah consisted of the following: 1) nasi tumpeng with begana made of chicken; 2) seven kinds of cakes, of the light, cheap kind made of sago flour, tapioca, or dried glutinous rice; 3) seven kinds of fruit, two kinds of bananas, pineapple, small Indonesian oranges, coconut, red sugar, white sugar. The fruits were cut in small cubes and mixed with the sugar and a little water. Fruits prepared in this way are called rudjakan. 4) Seven kinds of flowers, the kembang rampe; 5) benzoin put in a saucer, next to a small earthenware oven with burning charcoal; 6) two small packages of prepared betel leaves, several cigarettes, and two half-rupiah coins, also put on a saucer.

The Sundanese woman explained that the coins are intended as a payment to the spirits who dwell on the grounds where the new house is erected for making use of their territory.

In the largest room of the house, the combination sitting and dining room, several mats were placed on the floor. The nasi tumpeng and a tray with the flowers, cakes, fruits, benzoin, two cups of coffee, two cups of tea, several cigarettes and one cigar, were put in the center.

The workers, about thirty-five men, were then summoned, and they sat down on the mats. Each received a small container made of split bamboo filled with rice and begana made of buffalo meat, a plate with a sweetened bun, and a cup of coffee.

In the meantime, the mother of the owner of the house, the Peranakan woman mentioned before as the one possessing a special pavilion for Giok Hong Sang Tee, had put some benzoin on the oven; while the smoke curled up, the writer could see her lips moving as in prayer. While she was doing this, a man in his mid-thirties started to explain in Sundanese the purpose of this offering, which amounts to invoking the well-being of the family who will live in the house, and of the workers, so that no accidents will happen. Then he continued with a prayer in Arabic.

After this, the men started to eat the bread, coffee and cakes and fruits, without opening the containers of rice. When they were through, they took leave, taking along the containers and three cigarettes each. The whole ceremony lasted about twenty minutes. The nasi tumpeng, which was not touched at all, was taken away to be eaten by the family. The flowers and the benzoin were taken away by the Sundanese woman who told the writer that at magrib, at sunset between six and six thirty, she would walk through the house with the burning benzoin and sprinkle the flowers, mixed with water, in the corners of each room.

Asked why they perform this offering, the owners in all three cases answered that they did this for the benefit of the workers. It is such a deep-rooted custom that the workers will even demand a sidekah if they think the owner is too tardy in giving one. It is also to prevent

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being blamed if an accident occurs; because if anything does happen, people will surely say that it is due to the fact that no sidekah was performed, that the anger of the spirits dwelling on that plot of ground were roused. Therefore, this offering is always made, regardless of the nationality or religion of the owner. It was performed when the new building of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan school was finished (in 1957), and the writer was told that it was also performed in the case of the Catholic hospital before the war.

What do the Peranakans themselves think of this belief in the existence of these spirits? A western-educated man in his early forties, the brother of the person whose sidekah has just been described made this statement: "We do this for the workers, but though we assert that we do not believe in it, yet it gives one a peaceful feeling when it is done." He added that he knows of cases where the sidekah was omitted and accidents did occur.

The western-educated man in his early thirties who made extensive repairs in his house had this to say: "We give a sidekah to please the workers, because they have asked for it. We do not know what it means and how it has to be done. So we only provide the necessary articles and leave everything to them." It is significant though that this sidekah was also held for the benefit of his baby who was then forty days old.

A woman of about forty, who has had several years of primary Dutch school education, said: "It is the custom here to give a sidekah, so we also do it."

A young man of about twenty-five, the western-educated son of the owner of the largest textile factories, thought that: "Probably the Peranakans themselves do believe in the existence of these evil spirits." He then told the writer that when a serious accident occurs in the factory, a sidekah is performed. It is his mother, a woman of about forty who has had some western education, who suggested this. He recalls how when an accident occurred with a new machine, his mother had said that this was probably due to the fact that no sidekah was held when it was first put into operation. So an offering was then held. His mother provided the necessities, a goat, of which the head was buried near the machine, and nasi tumpeng. The performance of the ceremony itself was left to the workers.

The man in his early thirties who gave an offering when his garage was finished said: "It is the custom here to give a selamatan when a new building is finished. It is meant as an offering to the spirits, so they will not harm the people who are going to live in it." Asked whether he believes in their existence, he said: "If I say I do not, it is not quite true." When asked whether the workers will refuse to work when it is omitted, he answered that they will not do that, but if an accident occurs, they will blame the owner.

A woman in her mid-fifties, whose two sons have studied in Europe and whose only daughter has been at an academy in Bandung for a

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couple of years, felt that: "We live here in this country so we have to adopt the customs of the people who were already here before we came. If we were in China, then we would have followed the customs of the Chinese. Whether you believe or not in the existence of these spirits, it has been proven that they do exist, because there are people who get possessed by them." Her husband of over sixty added: "Even though they may not exist, they do come to exist, because the people here (meaning the Indonesians) believe in them and invoke them. Even the Dutch and the Catholic nuns give a sidekah when one of their buildings is finished." He then gave the example of one of the theaters in town which had gone bankrupt. This, people believed, was caused by the fact that no offering was made when the building was put to use. The woman then went on to say that these spirits do not come to Christians, because these people believe in God only.

The woman of over seventy who has the private Koan Im temple had the following to say: "Whether these spirits exist or not I do not know, but there is no harm in presenting an offering. If they do exist, we are safe, because we have given something to appease them. If they do not exist, well, it does not matter." For her, as for many other older Peranakan women, a Chinese tepekong and an Indonesian holy man have the same significance; she will present offerings to both of them.

This view may very well be considered representative of the attitude of Peranakans in general towards the local Indonesian beliefs--it is always better to be on the safe side.

In relation to health and sickness we have already mentioned that dukuns are traditionally considered the persons able to cure the sick, especially when the cause of the sickness is hard to determine. In addition to the specialist in midwifery there is also the dukun pidjit, the specialist in massage. Then there is the tukang obat, the medicine hawker. He usually sells on the curb or on an open spot near the market place. To attract people, his helpers beat on a gong and a drum, and often he gives a performance as a snake charmer. The spectators are mostly simple kampong people. The writer observed that almost every day there were one or two of these tukang obat giving a performance, usually on the Djalan Plabuan II, the main road south of the railroad. The writer found that Peranakans in general regard these persons as mere quacks.

In regard to dukuns, however, the writer observed that there are still a considerable number of the uneducated, lower-class Peranakans who make use of the services of these persons. However, they are usually summoned only as a last resort, when, according to the persons involved, the western trained and, as often happens in these cases, the traditional Chinese doctors have failed to cure the patient.

A good example of this was the case of a Peranakan woman who dislocated her knee when she fell into a gutter. She was first treated by a China-born Hokkien woman bone setter; then by a Sundanese hadji from a village south of Sukabumi who is reputed to be a skilled masseur; then by the German surgeon stationed in town; and, finally, again by a traditional Chinese doctor. This woman was in her early fifties and had had

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a few years of Dutch primary school education. She told the writer that the woman bone setter is well known and is sometimes summoned by people outside Sukabumi. She believes that in regard to dislocations one does better to be treated by bone setters than by western trained doctors. When asked why she also used the services of an Indonesian masseur, she said that because her knee was still swollen after the setting, she called this well-known hadji to massage it. During the treatment he had been mumbling continuously; she called this act didjampe. It turned out, however, that his treatment was not correct, so something went wrong again. A friend of the family, a western trained lawyer, then strongly advised her to see a doctor. She ended up in the hospital where she had to stay for ten days with the leg in a cast. About two months after her fall she was still unable to walk; it turned out that in addition to the German doctor she was also using the services of a traditional Chinese doctor who applied a certain ointment on the knee. Whenever the western doctor was due to visit her, she washed away the ointment so he would not detect her using another medicine.

In a poor Peranakan family living in the kampong area, the writer noticed the smallest children of under five wearing tiny bamboo rings fixed to a bit of string around their neck. The mother explained that, some time before, the children were very skinny and had swollen bellies. She had brought them to a dukun who lives in a kampong in Kelurahan Kota Kulon. This man treated the children with a djampe and told her to bring a piece of raw beef liver to him. This was also didjampe, and she was told to roast it and give it to the children to eat. The string with bamboo rings functioned as a charm. She said in a convinced tone that, indeed, after this treatment the children were well again.

Another example was that of a simple, uneducated Peranakan woman of around thirty who told the writer about the death of her eight-month old baby. (She had this baby when kept by a rich Peranakan bus company owner.) The baby had pneumonia and was treated by the most well-known western-trained Peranakan doctor in town; when the baby became worse, a dukun was also consulted. This dukun was not called to see the baby, but a boy was sent to the dukun with a bottle with water to ask djampe over it and with some money for payment. According to her, this dukun was able to know what was wrong with the baby, because he told the errand boy that it had a tumor in its body. His prescription was to put a piece of cinnamon on its forehead between the eyes. According to him, this would cause the tumor to burst open from that spot. The result, however, was only tiny blisters on its face. She believed that the death was caused by angin djahat, evil wind, while she was taking the baby to the Peranakan doctor--a ride of about half an hour in an open horse cart.

This belief in dukuns is clearly a survival of the time when western-trained medical doctors were scarce. Then Peranakans too had to resort to these dukuns, who were traditionally considered the persons possessing the skill to cure the sick. We have already noted earlier in the section on postnatal care that it is from these dukuns that Peranakan women have acquired their knowledge of indigenous medicinal herbs and of Sundanese customs in general.

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Thus we may conclude that as to the indigenous religious setting, Peranakans have been little influenced by the formal, organized Moslem religion as such. In contrast to this we find that the informal, unorganized, non-Moslem beliefs are to a large extent incorporated into the belief pattern of the Peranakans. This situation can be explained as a result of the fact that essentially these types of belief are not alien to the Chinese system of beliefs from which the Peranakan pattern is originally derived. This, in turn, points to the fact that in the last analysis the existence of the practice of the local non-Moslem beliefs among the Peranakans is not so much an indication of an adoption of a culture element of the indigenous population as an indication of a pragmatic attitude towards surrounding nature. As a matter of fact, there are Peranakans who seem not to be aware of, or who deny, the indigenous origin of a selamatan, for instance, insisting that "it is a custom among Peranakans."

The Christian Churches in Sukabumi

In this section a short sketch will be given of each of the existing Christian churches in town and their relative strength as measured by the size of membership. Then an attempt will be made to evaluate the role of Christianity in the Peranakan community.

The Christians in Sukabumi can be divided into two broad groups, the Catholics and the Protestants. The Catholics, of course, all belong to the same church, organized by Franciscan priests. The Protestants, on the other hand, belong to seven different organizations, each with its own church building and church leaders.

The Protestant Churches

The Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee (Chinese Protestant Church)(46)--This church was set up by the Nederlandse Zendings Vereniging (Netherlands Mission Organization), which started working in West Java in 1864. (47)

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(46) In 1957 the designation Tiong Hoa was dropped, leaving Kie Tok Kauw Hwee.

(47) Pouw Boen-Giok, "De Kerkrechtelijke Positie van een Ethnisch Bepaalde Kerk in een ander Ethnisch Bepaald Milieu. Een Ecclosociologische Studie over de Situatie van Chineze Christen Gemeenschappen in Indonesie" (Ph. D. Thesis [with summary in English], University of Utrecht, 1952), pp. 52, 59, 83. Pouw was born in Indramaju, a town in the northern part of Tjirebon, which was the site of one of the oldest Peranakan Protestant communities in West Java. He graduated in 1940 from the Hogere Theologische School van Djakarta (the Higher Theological School of Djakarta) which was established in 1934. With three other Peranakans, he was one of the twenty who first graduated from this school. Three of the four Peranakans were stationed in West Java, one in Djakarta, another in Indramaju, and Pouw himself in Sukabumi. The fact that the church in Sukabumi was chosen to be one of the recipients of one of the first Peranakan ministers is an indication of the great importance attached to this church.

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In the town of Sukabumi, the first Chinese convert was baptized in this church on Easter of 1882. In September 1895 four Chinese were baptized, among them a young man with the name of Tjoa Beng Jang. (48) Pouw's account of this conversion, which he has taken from S. Coolsma, De Zendingseeuw voor Nederlands Oost-Indie (Utrecht, 1901), is highly interesting as an example of the view of a Peranakan intellectual on his religion; it will, therefore, be given in full:

> On the first of September 1895 four Chinese were baptized, among them a remarkable young man Tjoa Beng-Jang. Coolsma made it a special point to mention him for two reasons; in the first place because he was the first from among the well-to-do Chinese in town to become Christian. Probably Coolsma referred to the not quite unfounded idea which prevailed among the non-Christian Chinese up till the second world war, that the Church with her service of charity should be considered a kind of institution of charity, which one usually joined to receive some kind of support. The so-called "rice" and "soya-sauce" Christians were in general no recommendation of the Church. It was therefore a tough fight for Mr. Tjoa to come to the public confession of the name of Christ amidst his family. The father threatened him with death and the descendants with "contempt," but he did not refrain from baptism. After his baptism he had to suffer a great deal from his father and the family, but he endured it for the sake of Christ, which astonished many people. Today his descendants belong to the faithful members of the Chinese Congregation in Sukabumi.

The church has two sections: an Indonesian section with Peranakan members and services in Indonesian, and a Chinese section with Totok Hokkien members and services in Hokkien.

In June 1955 the church counted 306 members: 196 adults and 110 children. In June 1956 there were 205 adults and 125 children, making a total of 330 members. They were of all social groups, but with a preponderance of the lower-middle and lower classes. During the time of the study, the pastor of the community was a Peranakan in his mid-thirties, also trained at the Senior Theological School in Djakarta.

The church has an active women's section, a youth section, and a Sunday school. In addition, it operates a primary school, a junior middle school, and, since 1957, a senior middle school.

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(48) Tjoa Beng Jang was a brother of Tjoa Tjeng Jang, mentioned in the section on funeral practices as the person who instigated the reforms in funeral rites connected with the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan movement. It is interesting to note that this Tjoa Beng Jang was also active in this movement; his grocery store (which still exists, run by a son) was one of the places, mentioned in the THHK Anniversary Book (p. 64), which contained a collection box to help finance the organization. We should keep in mind that at this time, in 1901, he was already converted to the Protestant church.

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The Chinese section of this church is headed by a sixty year old China-born man from Yung Chun. The members number about twenty persons, adults and children, all Hokkiens.

Making use of the same church building is the Geredja Pasundan, which, as the name indicates (Pasundan is another name of the Sunda lands), is a Sundanese church. However, most of its members are Javanese (a considerable number of them students of the State Police Training school); the pastor himself is a young Sundanese. They make use of the same church building as the Peranakans, but at a different time. Once a month, however, there is a mixed service, and Christmas is also celebrated jointly.

The Sidang Kristus (Assembly of God)--This church was founded during the Japanese occupation by a China-born evangelist from Foochow, educated in Shanghai. He heads the church with the help of his wife, also a China-born Hokkien.

Its members are mixed Peranakan, Totok, and Indonesian, numbering approximately 180, 70, and 5, respectively, making a total of 255. In this church, baptism starts at the age of fourteen. Here also the Peranakan members, as well as the Totoks, are of the lower-middle and lower classes, while the five Indonesians are all Sundanese women married to Chinese men. Of the Totoks, the majority are Hakkas.

This is the only church with mixed meetings, where the services are conducted in Indonesian and Mandarin (when the minister gives a sermon in Indonesian, the translator, who stands beside him, translates it immediately into Mandarin and the reverse). Often the minister gives his sermon in both languages simultaneously, stating the sentence in one language, then repeating it in the other. This church has a youth section and a Sunday school.

The Geredja Pantekosta (Pentecost Church)--This church was founded in 1929 by a Dutch preacher and was called Pinksterkerk (Dutch, for Pentecost Church). It has been successively headed by a Eurasian, an American, a preacher from Menado (N. Sulawesi) and, since 1945, by the present preacher, a man from Ambon (one of the bigger islands in East Indonesia). Unlike the Kie Tok Kauw Hwee and the Sidang Kristus, where the ministers are addressed by the name boksu, the leader of this church is called broeder, which is Dutch for brother. This is a clear indication that these churches were originally founded by Dutch preachers.

In 1956 the number of members was:

Peranakans	197 (baptized);	children	211
Indonesians	20 (baptized);	children	24
Eurasians	1 (baptized);	children	0

As in the Sidang Kristus, baptism starts at fourteen.

The Indonesians are mostly Menadonese, Ambonese, Javanese, and Timorese. Of the Sundanese, there was only one young man. According to the preacher, Sundanese are very difficult to convert, not because they are fanatic Moslems--he had never experienced any difficulties in

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his work with them--but because they stick to their religion and do not want to change it for another.

The meetings of this church are also mixed as to ethnic groups, and the language used is Indonesian. There is a women's section, a youth section, and a Sunday school. They also have a funeral fund.

The Pinksterbeweging (Pentecost Movement)--This church is usually called geredja Pinkster, to distinguish it from the geredja Pantekosta. It was founded by a Dutch evangelist in 1927. From the start its members were mostly Peranakans. Until 1942 there was no permanent pastor stationed in Sukabumi; the Dutch evangelist who lived in Bandung came regularly to conduct the services. In 1942 a Peranakan man, one of the members, became the assistant of the evangelist; he led the services and took charge of the entire organization. This person is still continuing this work. During the time of the study the writer attended a baptismal ceremony (they adhere to complete immersion) which was conducted by a son of the founder who had succeeded his father as the head of the church. He also lives in Bandung and comes to Sukabumi for special occasions, particularly for baptisms.

The number of members in 1957 was 70--28 men and 42 women--all Peranakans, except for one Sundanese wife of a Peranakan and one Eurasian woman. Baptism starts at twelve years. The church has a Sunday school, attended regularly by about fifty children.

The Geredja Indjil Sepenuh (Bible church)--This is a small community, clustered around a Eurasian leader. The members number about thirty, again virtually all Peranakans and mostly simple, uneducated women.

The Sidang Masehi Advent Hari Ketudjuh (Seventh Day Adventists)--This is also a small community, with only 44 members (in 1957), 21 Peranakans and 23 Indonesians (mostly Bataks from East Sumatra, a few Menadonese and one Javanese, and no Sundanese at all). Baptism starts at the age of fourteen.

The community in Sukabumi is headed by a young man from the Batak lands, who received his training at the special school of the adventists in Bandung. He is referred to by the members as guru (teacher) and they address him with broeder.

Asked why there are relatively few Peranakans as compared with the other churches, one of the Peranakan members of the church council answered that Peranakans are of the opinion that the many restricting regulations in this church are too burdensome. For instance, they are not allowed to drink certain beverages, not even tea or chocolate, nor to eat certain kinds of meat; nor are they allowed to go to the movies. He considers these the main reasons why they have remained a small community, although they already existed before the war.

This church is affiliated to the world organization of the Seventh Day Adventists which has its headquarters in the United States.

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Administratively, however, they are under the supervision of the national headquarters in Bandung.

They have a youth section, a women's section, and also a small primary school (not registered at the school inspection) with 23 students, all Peranakans of the lower class.

In one aspect, this church differs completely from all other churches: it celebrates the Sabbath on Saturday. The most active and most prominent members are a Peranakan family consisting of a widowed mother and several children of around thirty; the two oldest sons operate a tailor shop. On Saturday this shop is always closed.

The Watch Tower--This is a very small community which, in fact, consists of one Peranakan family, their relatives and close friends. The leader is the family head of this Peranakan family. He is the owner of a rice mill which was first operated by his father-in-law who belonged to one of the old, respected, wealthy families in town. The writer found that the community considers this family as rather peculiar; several stories are circulated regarding the fanaticism of the leader. For instance, one of the daughters, who is over twenty-five, is still unmarried, although she is fairly attractive; the father is said not to allow his children to marry anybody but fellow believers.

This type of fanaticism, however, has led to one of the first, if not the first, legal marriage in town between a Peranakan and a Sundanese, both parties of which are socially of equal status and belonging to respectable families. During the period of the study, one of the sons of the leader married a Sundanese girl of a well-to-do family who was a teacher graduated from the Catholic senior teacher's college.

The Roman Catholic Church

The Catholic community in Sukabumi is taken care of by a congregation of Dutch Franciscan priests, headed by Monsignor N. J. Geise, who has the rank of Apostolic Vicar; it is supported by a congregation of Sisters working in the hospital, a congregation of Ursuline Sisters, and a congregation of Brothers of Our Lady of Lourdes, both of the latter congregations working especially in the field of education.

It was only in 1920 that a priest was stationed permanently in town. Before that time, the community was cared for by priests who came from Djakarta or Bandung. The Franciscan priests came to this area in 1941, replacing the Jesuits who had been in charge.

Whereas the Protestant churches in Sukabumi today are predominantly Peranakan, the Catholic mission, which is relatively of more recent date, has concentrated on the Sundanese and Indonesians in general. As a matter of fact, there are indications that the Catholic church follows a positive policy of avoiding identification as a Chinese church. Monsignor Geise stated, for instance, that Peranakans present no problem; without special attention being given to them, they find their way to Catholicism, primarily via their children in the schools. In other

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words, the programs of action seem to be mainly directed towards the indigenous people; and one receives the impression that conversion of ethnic Chinese is somewhat toned down.

The number of members, as of July 1957, was as follows:

Javanese	182
Sundanese	54
Indonesians of other areas:	
Timor, Ambon, Menado	43
All Indonesians	279
Peranakans	157
Total	436

There are also some 80 students from outside Sukabumi who live in the dormitories of the school. These are mostly Indonesians, and some Dutch and Eurasians, making the total number of Catholics registered at the parish of Sukabumi 663 persons, adults and children.

The Catholics have a women's club, a youth club, a small consumer cooperative, and a funeral fund.

The mission operates two kindergartens, three primary schools, two junior middle schools, one senior middle school and two teachers' training schools. It also operates a hospital, which, although it has been taken over by the government, is still under the care of nuns. It is the only hospital in town (a large government hospital was being constructed during the time of the study) and it has a very good reputation.

Summary

This account of the Christian churches shows that the majority of them must be considered Peranakan institutions. In order of their Peranakan membership, they are as follows:

Church	No. of Peranakan members	Percentage
Kie Tok Kauw Hwee	330	32.8
Pantekosta	197	19.6
Sidang Kristus	180	17.9
Catholic	157	15.6
Pinkster	70	6.9
Geredja Indjil Sepenuh	30	3.0
Adventist	21	2.1
Watch Tower	20	2.0
Total	1,005	100.

The Kie Tok Kauw Hwee has the largest number of adherents. It is the oldest of the Christian churches and it was the first to start working among the Peranakans. Also, from the start this church has had the full support of one of the wealthy, respected families. What is even more important and what guaranteed its continuation is the fact that since 1940 the minister or the leader of the church has always been a Peranakan. It is only natural that a Peranakan minister has less difficulty in approaching

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people of his own ethnic group; and having had academic training, he is equipped with better organizational methods. The Peranakans, too, are more naturally drawn to a church headed by a member of their own group. Besides, due to the generally high evaluation given to scholarly pursuits, a minister with an academic training will almost automatically command respect and admiration.

In the writer's opinion, the factor of the leader's being a member of the community itself accounts for much of the success of these churches. The considerable number of Pantekosta members, for instance, is due to the fact that, although the leader is an Indonesian, the helpers are all Peranakans. This applies as well to the other small churches headed by non-Chinese. If a church leader succeeds in getting the support of one family only, he can be sure that it will work as a snowball and others will follow. Indeed, Peranakan Protestants are very zealous, especially the older women, in their attempts to persuade relatives and acquaintances to come with them to the meetings. Some non-Christian Peranakans told the writer that this system of persuasion can be very annoying, adding that they think the Catholics better in this respect, because they keep their religion to themselves.

One of the most important factors in the case of the Kie Tok Kauw Hwee and the Catholic church is the attraction of the schools. From the start, the schools set up by these Christian organizations have been highly esteemed by the Peranakans. The policy of these schools seems to be to keep as high a standard as possible, while taking care to prevent the religious aspects from becoming an imposition. Thus a parent's fear that his child might be indoctrinated is kept to a minimum.

In the Catholic schools, for instance, only in the lower levels, kindergarten, primary schools, and junior middle school is a prayer performed at the beginning and the end of a school day; only the Catholics and those non-Catholics who have written permission from their parents receive religious instruction.

The majority of the students in the Catholic as well as the Protestant schools are non-Christian. However, many of these non-Christian students go to church on Sundays and join the youth organizations sponsored by the respective churches. Many of the parents have no objection at all to their children participating in these religious activities, but they do oppose the taking of the final step, i.e., baptism. This attitude, of course, not infrequently gives rise to conflicts between parents and child. The writer was told of an extreme case that occurred recently. A girl of over twenty, a graduate of the Catholic teachers' training school, who belonged to one of the old wealthy families, decided to enter a convent. This caused great astonishment and consternation in the family. Her father, a supporter of the Sam Kauw Hwee, immediately took all the children (he had fourteen children in all, several already married) away from the school. The girl became seriously ill and, when she recovered, she was advised by her doctor to stay in a cool climate. She went to teach at a mission school in a mountain area. The father was furious and broke off relations with her. Later she went to the Netherlands and entered a convent there. Recently the father has relented, however, and he does

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not object to his other children (who have been put back in school) attending Mass regularly. In general we find that if a grown son or daughter really insists, parents will eventually give in.

The objection against formal entrance into a church organization is based on different considerations, depending on whether one's child is a son or a daughter. In the case of a son, especially the eldest, there is the problem of the inheritance of the paraphernalia and ritual of ancestor veneration; in the case of a daughter, there is the fear that she will reduce her marriage chances because of the regulations against marriage with a non-Christian, which is especially strict in the Catholic church. This is clearly indicated by the fact that parents usually say that they do not mind their daughter becoming a Catholic after marriage, i.e., if the husband is a Catholic.

In regard to inter-ethnic contact, it seems that it is in the Catholic church where the conditions are most favorable for contact between the Indonesian and Peranakan members. There is no segregation based on ethnic differences. They mix in the different clubs, and all church and social activities are organized together.

In regard to inter-church contact, the best relations are maintained between the Kie Tok Kauw Hwee and the Sidang Kristus. They invite each other to their respective Easter and Christmas celebrations. On the occasion of social performances, for instance a play or a concert, there is an interchange of invitations between the Kie Tok Kauw Hwee and the Catholic church. Between the latter two, however, there is also a kind of rivalry in the field of education. We have seen that the majority of the private schools are operated by these two church organizations. Before the war it was the Protestants, then still the Dutch Protestant church, who had the most and the best schools. They lost their largest school building in the scorched-earth policy during the revolution, and they were behind in reopening their schools after the war. Therefore, the Catholics now dominate the field of education. The Protestants are rapidly recovering their position, however, and a large school building is under construction.

Compared with the total number of Peranakans, the Christians constitute 16.7 per cent (1,005:6,006. See Chapter I, basic material on population), and the leaders of the two leading churches, the Kie Tok Kauw Hwee and the Catholic church, claim that their number is continually increasing.

What are the factors conducive to the ccceptance of Christianity among the Peranakans?

An overriding factor is the traditionally highly tolerant attitude toward religion which is a characteristic of the Chinese in general. This accounts for their open-mindedness towards a variety of religions and belief systems. We may then very well ask why they have not turned to Islam. This can be answered in terms of the historical development of the position of the Chinese in the total social structure. It seems quite possible that before the coming of the Dutch it was not unusual for a

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Chinese to become a Moslem. Since the establishment of colonial rule, however, the Dutch successfully divided the society into three distinct strata based on racial grouping, with the Dutch at the top, the Chinese in the middle, and the Indonesians at the bottom. The social structure being such, it was only logical that a Chinese would not aspire to be identified with a lower stratum, which would have been the case if he had accepted Islam. Then, also, there seems to be no evidence of attempts at proselytization of the Chinese by the Moslem leaders.

In view of these sociological factors it is significant that the first Chinese Protestant communities on the island of Java came into existence in West Java, the area where the indigenous population was most completely Islamized. These first Chinese communities were situated in Indramaju (in the northern part of Tjirebon), Djakarta, Bandung, Tjirebon, Bogor, and Sukabumi. (49)

In attempting to analyze the Peranakans' attraction to Christianity we must bear in mind that the attempt to spread Protestantism was organized only around 1850. It may be noted, however, that in the beginning of the nineteenth century there were already English and Dutch preachers who worked among the Chinese; but they were mainly in Djakarta, and other big centers of Chinese settlement. (50)

One of the most important factors in the growth of Protestantism among the Chinese has undoubtedly been the drive towards an autonomous status, separate from the Dutch and from the Indonesians. The identification they sought was with the Protestant churches in China; this is evidenced by the name Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee, which, according to Pouw (p. 70, 71), was taken from the name of the church organization set up in Shanghai in 1927. Virtually from the beginning, Protestant churches have been headed by an ethnic Chinese leader; therefore, the identification of these churches with the Dutch, or the the West in general, is mitigated. Great impetus to the spread of Protestantism was given by the visit of the Chinese evangelist, Dr. John Sung, from China in 1938-1939. In the words of Pouw: "In our opinion the great significance of his /Dr. Sung's/ visit is in the fact that God used Sung in Indonesia as a 'John the Baptist,' as people sometimes call him, to open the hearts of thousands of Chinese for the Gospel of God's love and grace in Jesus Christ. Through the influence of his impressive preaching many Chinese men and women came to conversion and belief. Much misunderstanding and prjeudice towards Christ and His Church were removed. Not a few then realized that Christianity was not a religion of and for the Europeans only, but a message of atonement and salvation to all people, including the Chinese.'(51) This identification of Protestant churches as a Chinese institution is,

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(49) See Pouw, op. cit., p. 78.

(50) Pouw, op. cit., p. 51.

(51) Pouw, op. cit., p. 10.

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in the writer's opinion, one of the main causes of the success of Protestantism among the Peranakans.

In regard to the spread of Catholicism, the most important factor is undoubtedly the fact that in virtually all their operations, be it a school or a hospital, they have succeeded in achieving the highest standards. Peranakans highly value education; it is, thus, not surprising that many send their children to Catholic schools, despite the risk of conversion. Here, however, the factor of religious tolerance enters, for some parents reason that it does not matter if their child becomes a Catholic, because all religions are good. The schools are the main places of Catholic recruitment, a fact indicated by evidence showing that Catholic Peranakans are mostly young people, especially in Sukabumi. By this method of proselytization we have the phenomenon that it is the parents who may follow the religion adopted by the children instead of the reverse. Thus we find that, although the Catholic church lacks the advantage of having Chinese leaders, they are achieving success, mainly through the students entering their schools. It should certainly be stressed that it is through the schools that Christianity, in general, has received its greatest impetus. (52)

Another important factor which has contributed to the receptiveness to Christianity is the deterioration of ancestor veneration, mentioned before in the section dealing with this topic. The different Christian churches vary widely in their attitude towards this traditional behavior, ranging from a high degree of leniency to complete abolition. We have already noted that the Catholic church is the most lenient, to the extent of allowing some converts to retain the ancestor altar and even to burn incense sticks; the Kie Tok Kauw Hwee comes next, prohibiting the care of the altar and burning of incense sticks, but permitting the eating of food that has been offered; all other Protestant churches forbid their followers any expression of ancestor veneration, even the eating of the food that has been offered. In the concession of the Catholic church there is the important qualification that if a prayer is performed in front of the ancestor altar it should conform to the Catholic belief. In the words of one of the converts who retained the altar for some time after baptism, "After we became Catholics we no longer prayed to the ancestors, but for the ancestors to God."

Thus we may conclude that the most important factors which have contributed to the spread of Christianity among the Peranakans have been the following: the traditional religious tolerance which accounts for the open-mindedness towards a variety of religions and belief systems; the deterioration of ancestor veneration causing a vacuum in religious orientation which has made the young people especially vulnerable; the search for identity which is made manifest particularly in the Protestant churches; the superior quality of the activities in the Christian churches in the realm of education, medical care, and charity, exciting admiration and emulation. In connection with this attempt to explain the spread of Christianity among the Peranakans in Sukabumi, the writer would like to

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(52) Cf. Eng Die Ong, De Chineezen in Nederlandsche-Indie (Arsen, 1943), pp. 192-193.

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point to the observations of Willmott (53) in his study of the Chinese in Semarang. He suggests that one of the major reasons for the turning to Christianity is the search for new religious orientations, due to or motivated by: the spread of scientific knowledge, undermining of tradition by modernist education, problems of national orientation, insecurities and perplexities of modern life, and probably also uncertainty about life after death.

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(53) Donald E. Willmott, "Sociocultural Change among the Chinese of Semarang, Indonesia" (Ph. D. thesis, Cornell University, 1958), p. 404.

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CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AND PREFERENCES

We will give a short sketch of the historical development of educational opportunities for the ethnic Chinese before going into the main body of this chapter, which deals with the comtemporary situation: the types of schools according to sponsor and medium of instruction, the distribution of the ethnic Chinese students in these schools, and, finally, an analysis of the educational preferences of the Peranakans.

Development of Educational Opportunities

Similar to the situation in other areas of Java, (1) in Sukabumi prior to the first decade of this century educational opportunities for Chinese in public schools were practically nil. The general pattern at that time was that a hand-picked few of the children of wealthy Chinese, usually community officers, were permitted to attend the schools provided for Dutch children. For all others who wanted to give their children a formal education, there were small private schools with Malay, Hokkien, or even Dutch as the medium of instruction.

In Sukabumi, there were at that time at least two private Malay-language schools, one organized by the Chinese Protestant church and the other run by a Pernnakan man, and two private Dutch-language schools, both run by Dutch female teachers. These were inexpensive schools (fee of 25 to 50 cents per month) compared with another private Dutch-language school where the fee was so expensive that only the very wealthy could afford to send their children there. (The children of the Kapitan at that time and the only Peranakan physician now practicing in Sukabumi were among the few Chinese attending the latter school.)

A radical change in this haphazard way of acquiring formal education occurred as a result of the establishment of a Chinese-language school, modeled after the one set up by the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan organization in Djakarta in 1900. (The THHK organization in Sukabumi became a legal corporation--rechtspersoon--in 1906.) This school was an immediate success in Sukabumi, as was the case in other areas in Indonesia where this type of school was established. Shortly afterward, the first HCS, the Dutch-language schools set up by the government especially for Chinese children, was established, and it too scored an immediate success, especially with the Peranakans. By 1935 there were in Sukabumi three

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(1) See Liem Thian Joe, Riwajat Semarang (Semarang-Batavia, 1933), pp. 177, 179, and Willmott, The Chinese of Semarang, pp. 169-171.

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Dutch-language schools for Chinese only (one public and two private) and two Chinese-language schools, both private. Unfortunately, we do not have the figures for the number of students in that year, but from the general picture of school selection in Indonesia at that time, we may suspect that the difference in the attendance in the two types of schools could not be very great.

A crucial change occurred during the Japanese occupation. All Dutch-language schools were ordered to close down; Chinese-language schools were also closed, but only briefly. Peranakans were then confronted with the choice between Indonesian-language or Chinese-language schools. The former have never been attended by ethnic Chinese on a large scale (in accordance with their policy of keeping the ethnic groups separate, the Dutch government had also established separate HIS, Dutch-Native schools, which were for indigenous children only), so the choice fell, almost naturally, on the Chinese-language schools. Thus, suddenly Peranakan children, whose forefathers, even as far back as three generations, did not speak Chinese, flooded this type of school. This was the picture all over Indonesia in that period. In Sukabumi the existing Chinese-language schools were united into one school. The classrooms were situated in three of the buildings which belonged to the Protestant and the Catholic schools and in the building of the THHK school. This Chinese-language school continued to operate during the revolutionary period. Thus during the Japanese occupation and for a short time afterward, practically all ethnic Chinese children who were in school attended Chinese-language schools. When the Dutch troops occupied the town in 1947, however, and communication with other towns was restored, a considerable number of the Peranakan students, especially those of secondary school age, moved to Djakarta or Bandung, to reenter the Dutch-language schools already reopened there. Those, however, whose parents could not afford the extra expenses involved in schooling away from home, remained in Sukabumi and continued attending the Chinese-language schools or transferred to the private Indonesian-language schools operated by the Protestant and the Catholic churches. This transfer to the private Indonesian-language schools is a clear indication that what counts with the ethnic Chinese is the quality of the school, and the language of instruction is in effect immaterial. The schools run by these two churches have always been highly regarded and, therefore, highly favored. We will discuss this aspect of the educational preferences in greater detail later in this chapter.

Contemporary Situation

According to sponsor, the schools can be divided into public and private schools. The latter can again be classified into schools sponsored by Indonesian, Peranakans, or Totoks. According to medium of instruction, the division is into Indonesian-language and Chinese-language schools.

Public Schools

There are in Sukabumi 18 public primary schools (referred to as Sekolah Rakjat, abbreviated S. R.) and 7 public junior high schools

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(referred to as Sekolah Menengah Pertama, abbreviated S. M. P.). There are no public kindergartens (referred to as Taman Kanak-kanak) nor public senior high schools (referred to as Sekolah Menengah Atas, abbreviated S. M. A.). (2)

Disproportionately few WNI children attend public primary schools. Asked how he views this situation, the head of the inspection office answered that this is primarily due to the shortage of schools, which indeed exists. Apart from this, however, there appears to be the attitude that the WNI can and even should, take care of themselves, because they are considered financially better off and therefore able to afford private education for their children.

In 1956, however, for the first time, a public primary school especially for WNI children was established. This type of school has been erected in several of the large cities with a high concentration of Chinese, as, for instance, Djakarta and Bandung. The main purpose of these schools is to keep WNI children away from Chinese-language schools. To make them attractive, the Chinese language was to be added to the curriculum. (To the writer's knowledge, up to the beginning of the school year 1957, this had not happened in the school in Sukabumi.) The establishment of this type of school and the purpose for which they were erected reminds one strongly of a similar step taken by the Dutch government in 1908, by the establishment of the HCS. It is not surprising, therefore, that there are Peranakans who are not in favor of these schools because, according to them, they will only perpetuate the exclusiveness of the Peranakans.

Contrary to the expectations of the Indonesian authorities, in Sukabumi the interest of the WNI population in this type of school turned out to be very poor. When the school started in August 1956, there were only 24 students, 15 boys and 9 girls, and these 24 consisted of those who had not achieved acceptance by one of the private schools or else of those who lived in the immediate neighborhood. The mayor told the writer about his disappointment in this matter, because he, together with Mr. Tan Beng Yauw, the chairman of the BPIT, had been in search of a proper site for the school. It turned out to be impossible to find a suitable plot in the Chinese section of the town which would be within the budget allotted for the erection of this school. Finally it was decided to build the school on a plot of ground owned by the municipality. This was a great disadvantage, because it is situated at a considerable distance from the Chinese section.

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(2) These data were acquired at the Inspeksi Sekolah Rakjat Kabupaten Sukabumi (Office of the Inspectorate of Primary Schools in the Kabupaten Sukabumi). This office is concerned with the primary schools only. The inspection of secondary schools is directly from Bandung, while that of the foreign-language schools is directly from Djakarta. On the data acquired, information on private primary schools was also given, but because they turned out to be not quite accurate, the writer decided to collect the data herself by visiting each one of these schools. The information on the secondary schools and the foreign-language schools was also acquired in this way.

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The mayor also told the writer that if the next school year (August 1956) the situation remained the same, he would have to consider converting the school into a regular primary school. He expressed his amazement at the lack of interest of the WNI population, because, though small, the building is completely new with light and cool rooms and entirely new equipment, in great contrast to many of the regular schools, housed in dilapidated buildings, dark, and with broken-down furniture.

In February 1957, seven months after the school was started, the writer met the head of the school, an Indonesian in his late forties, who had been the head of a school in Plabuanratu. He told the writer that he is used to teaching Peranakan children and that he likes it, because generally speaking Peranakan children are more industrious than Indonesian children and there is also more cooperation from the parents. He also said, however, that it is in fact a waste of money and energy to keep a school running for only 32 students (8 students had been added to the initial 24). He added that there were already voices among the teachers of the regular public schools, asking why such a nice looking and well equipped school should be open only to a specific group of the population who did not show indications of appreciating it at all.

According to the chairman of the BPIT, the main objection of the WNI population is the location of the school, which is beyond walking distance for most of the potential students. Thus, though the school is free, because transportation expenses have to be met, this advantage is eliminated. Admittedly, in the private schools one has to pay a certain fee, but besides the fact that the financial capacity of the parents is taken into consideration, the two private schools mostly patronized by WNI children are located in or near the Chinese section, and the children walk to school.

A Peranakan man in his late forties, who is very active on the school board of the schools sponsored by the Protestant church, Kie Tok Kauw Hwee, and who helped find a suitable location for the school, explained that apart from the matter of distance, there is another aspect to be considered. The Peranakans and, for that matter, the ethnic Chinese in general have always put a high value on education. Therefore, they always select the best schools available, even if the fee is beyond their means. The schools considered the best are the ones run by the Catholic and Protestant churches. These schools were already existing in prewar times and their good reputation has long been established. Moreover, they have Peranakan teachers (in the Protestant primary school, virtually all the teachers are Peranakans), a factor which is missing in the newly erected school. The importance of this factor is indicated by the statement of this informant that if there were only one Peranakan among the teachers, there would surely be a more favorable response from the WNI population. Obviously to the relief of those involved in setting it up, the school started its second year (August 1957) with almost one hundred students. According to the same informant from the Protestant school board, this increase is due partly to the fact that there was no more room in the Protestant and Catholic schools and partly due to the propaganda made by the chairman of the BPIT, especially among the lower class Peranakans.

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On the junior middle school level there are seven public schools: one regular junior middle school (S. M. P.), one vocational school of economics (Sekolah Menengah Ekonomie Pertama), two vocational schools for the training of technicians (Sekolah Teknik), two junior teacher's training schools (Sekolah Buru B), one vocational school for training in household skills (Sekolah Kepandaian Putri). In all these schools there are, of the WNI, only two boys in the S. M. P. and two boysin one of the two schools for the training of technicians.

It is clear that, outside of the newly-erected school specially for the WNI, attendance of children of this group in public schools is quite exceptional.

Private Schools: Indonesian Language

More than half of the schools in Sukabumi are private. They are the following:

Kindergarten (Taman Kanak-kanak)	11 (including 3 Chinese language)
Primary schools (S. R.)	11 (including 3 Chin. lang. and 1 Dutch language)
Junior high schools, subdivided into:	
S. M. P.	7
Sekolah Kepandaian Putri	1
Chinese junior high school	2
Senior high schools subdivided into:	
S. M. A.	3
S. G. A. (senior teacher's training school)	2
S. M. E. A. (senior vocational school of economics)	1
Chinese senior high school	1
Total number of private schools	39

The Indonesian-language private schools in Sukabumi are sponsored by the Catholic church, the Protestant church, and by several ethnic Indonesian organizations. They are distributed as follows:

The Catholic church:	2 kindergartens
	3 primary schools
	2 junior high schools
	1 senior high school
	2 senior teacher's training schools
Subtotal	10

The Protestant church:	2 kindergartens
	2 primary schools
	1 junior high school
	1 vocational school for training in household skills
Subtotal	6

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Of the schools organized by Indonesian organizations there are the following:

The Taman Siswa (a school foundation):	1 primary school
	1 junior high school
Subtotal	2
The Parki:	1 primary school
	1 junior high school
Subtotal	2

Of all other Indonesian organizations sponsoring schools, each operates only one: the Gerakan Putri Islam Indonesia, a Moslem women's organization runs a kindergarten; the Perwari, a national women's organization also runs a kindergarten, and so does another women's organization. All together there are nine kindergartens in Sukabumi. (In regard to the two omitted, the writer was assured that there are no WNI children attending them). On the primary school level there is one school which is the only school left with Dutch as the medium of instruction, organized by a Dutch school foundation. On the junior high school level there is one S. M. P. operated by an organization of teachers, the Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia, and another operated by a Moslem organization. On the senior high school level there is one S. M. A. operated by a school foundation and one senior vocational school of economics also run by a specific organization.

The distribution of the WNI children in these schools is decidedly in favor of the schools operated by the Christian churches. The numbers and percentages are as follows (tables showing the total numbers of students, WNI and foreign, in these schools are given on pages 226-227).

Kindergarten

Name of school	WNI students No.	WNI students % of all WNI in Ind. kindergartens
1. Mardi Juana (Catholic sisters)	66	39.5
2. Kehidupan Baru (Indonesian Protestant)	48	28.7
3. Bethel (Chinese Protestant)	47	28.1
4. G. P. I. I. (a Moslem women's organization)	0	0.0
5. Melati (a national women's organization)	1	0.6
6. Mardi Juana (Catholic priests, Franciscans)	2	1.2
7. Tunas Muda (an Indonesian women's organization)	3	1.8
	167	100.

Primary school

Name of school	No.	% of all WNI in Ind. primary schools
1. Bethel (Chinese Protestant)	354	46.8
2. Mardi Juana (Catholic sisters)	191	25.3
3. Kehidupan Baru (Indonesian Protestant)	168	22.2
4. Mardi Juana (Catholic, boys only)	21	2.8
5. Mardi Juana (Franciscan priests)	10	1.3
6. Taman Siswa (Indonesian school foundation)	5	0.7
7. Parki	5	0.6
8. Concordante Lagere school (Dutch foundation)	2	0.3
	756	100.

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Junior high school level

Name of school	WNI students No.	% of all WNI in Ind. junior high schools
1. S. M. P. Keristen (Chinese Protestant)	108	37.2
2. S. M. P. Mardi Juana (Cath. Sisters; girls only)	78	26.9
3. S. M. P. Mardi Juana (Cath. Brothers; boys only)	73	25.2
4. S. M. P. Taman Siswa (Indonesian school foundation)	21	7.2
5. S. K. P. Kehidupan Baru (Indonesian Protestant)	6	2.1
6. S. M. P. Parki	4	1.4
7. S. M. P. P. G. R. I. (Indonesian teachers organ.)	0	0.0
8. S. M. P. Kasadaran (Moslem organization)	0	0.0
	290	100.

Senior high school level

Name of school	No.	% of all WNI in Ind. senior high schools
1. S. M. A. Mardi Juana (section B and C,* Cath.)	44	44.4
2. S. G. A. Mardi Juana (Catholic)	18	18.2
3. S. G. A. Mardi Juana (Cath.; girls only)	12	12.1
4. S. M. A. Pembina (section B; Indonesian organ.)	10	10.1
5. S. M. A. Pembina (section C; Indonesian organ.)	10	10.1
6. S. M. A. Parki (section C)	4	4.0
7. S. M. E. A. (Indonesian organ.)	1	1.0
	99	100.

*There are three types of S. M. A.: section A, which emphasizes humanities, section B, which emphasizes sciences, and section C, which emphasizes economics. In Sukabumi there is no S. M. A. section A.

What accounts for the preference for Christian schools? The answer of the parents usually is that: the teachers are qualified and morally of high standing; there is discipline, as evidenced, for instance, by the fact that any absence has to be accounted for with a signed statement from parent or guardian; there is control through contact between parents and teachers in the regularly held parent-teacher meetings; and there is a long standing reputation of successful achievement, especially in the Catholic schools. For instance, in the past few years, about 90 per cent of each class in the Catholic S. M. A. was graduated, a record appreciably better than that achieved by any other senior high school. Of these private Christian schools we note that in kindergarten there is a slightly higher (58.3 per cent) and in primary school a positively higher (70.2 per cent) preference for Protestant than for Catholic schools. In the junior high school the situation is slightly the reverse (43.1 per cent), while in the senior high school the Catholic school is far in the lead because the Protestants started their S. M. A. only in 1957.

To examine the extent of mixing of WNI and ethnic Indonesians, we will compare the proportions of the two groups in each school. As we might expect, the strong preference for the Christian schools has created a situation whereby in the kindergarten and the primary school run by the Chinese Protestant church, for instance, the students are virtually all Peranakans. The complete figures are as follows:

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Kindergartens

School	% WNI	% Ethnic Indonesians	% Others	Total
1. Bethel (Chin. Prot.)	92.2	7.8	0.0	100.
2. Mardi Juana (Cath. sisters)	70.2	22.3	7.5	100.
3. Kehidupan Baru (Indon. Prot.)	25.7	74.3	0.0	100.
4. Tunas Muda (Indon. org.)	2.8	97.2	0.0	100.
5. Mardi Juana (Cath. priests)	1.6	97.6	0.8	100.
6. Melati (Indon. org.)	1.2	98.8	0.0	100.
7. G.P.I.I. (Moslem organ.)	0.0	100.	0.0	100.

The proportion of Peranakans in the Bethel school is such that it is generally considered a "Peranakan school." It is located on a section of the Djalan Raja which is very convenient for the majority of them. In addition, the school fee is lower than that of the Catholic schools. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the Catholic kindergarten, which comes next in preference, we find the children of well-to-do families, Peranakans, ethnic Indonesians as well as several Dutch and Eurasians. (There are two children of Dutch nationality and five Indonesian citizens of Dutch descent.) This school has the best equipment of all the kindergartens in town, with special small chairs and tables, nice wall decorations, a large doll house and a great number of toys. The kindergarten run by the Indonesian Protestant church comes third. It would appear that the Peranakan children in this school consist for the most part of those who did not get accepted in either the Bethel or the Catholic school. In the other kindergartens, attendance of WNI children is definitely exceptional.

Primary schools

School	% WNI	% Ethnic Indonesians	% Others	Total
1. Bethel	97.3	2.7	0.0	100.
2. Mardi Juana	66.8	30.1	3.1	100.
3. Mardi Juana (boys only)	53.8	30.8	15.4	100.
4. Kehidupan Baru	44.4	55.6	0.0	100.
5. Taman Siswa	5.8	94.2	0.0	100.
6. Concordant (Dutch)	5.1	5.1	89.8	100.
7. Mardi Juana	2.3	96.4	1.3	100.

Here the picture is similar to that on the kindergarten level: a high concentration in the Bethel school, with the Catholic schools next and the one operated by the Indonesian Protestant church third. Similar to the kindergarten level also there is one Catholic school with only a few WNI pupils. The explanation given by a person connected with the Catholic schools is that in this particular school the fees are lower than in the other school operated by the Catholics. Those who can afford to pay a higher fee are admitted to the latter school, those who cannot, to the former. According to the same informant all Catholic schools would be filled with WNI students if they were to admit all applicants from this segment of the population. And this apparently is a situation the Catholic schools want to avoid. In the other primary schools WNI children form a decided minority. In the Dutch-language school there were only

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two of them, but during the time of the study both of them (a brother and sister, children of a Dutch-educated young couple belonging to one of the wealthy old families in town) were transferred to the Catholic school.

Junior high schools (S. M. P. and equivalents)

School	% WNI	% Ethnic Indonesians	% Others	Total
1. S. M. P. Keristen	59.7	39.2	1.1	100.
2. S. M. P. Mardi Juana (girls only)	51.0	49.0	0.0	100.
3. S. M. P. Mardi Juana (boys only)	28.0	72.0	0.0	100.
4. S. K. P. Kehidupan Baru	12.8	87.2	0.0	100.
5. S. M. P. Taman Siswa	6.1	93.6	0.3	100.
6. S. M. P. Parki	1.7	98.3	0.0	100.
7. S. M. P. P. G. R. I.	0.0	100.	0.0	100.
8. S. M. P. Kesadaran	0.0	100.	0.0	100.

At the junior-high-school level, no school has an overwhelming majority of Peranakans, as is the case with some of the kindergartens and primary schools. This is due to the fact that, considering the absolute numbers, there are far fewer Peranakan junior high school students than ethnic Indonesian (Peranakan 290 and ethnic Indonesian 1,430, not counting the students in the public junior high schools, who are almost all ethnic Indonesian).

Senior high schools (S. M. A. and equivalents)

School	% WNI	% Ethnic Indonesians	% Others	Total
1. S. M. A. Mardi Juana	23.0	77.0	0.0	100.
2. S. M. A. Pembina	15.4	84.6	0.0	100.
3. S. G. A. Mardi Juana (girls only)	12.2	87.8	0.0	100.
4. S. M. A. Pembina	9.5	90.5	0.0	100.
5. S. G. A. Mardi Juana (coed)	9.2	88.7	2.1	100.
6. S. M. E. A.	4.8	95.2	0.0	100.
7. S. M. A. Parki	4.2	94.7	1.1	100.

The situation on the senior high school level is different from the schools in the other levels. Here in all schools, even the Christian ones, the Peranakans form a distinct minority. Peranakans form less than 13 per cent of the total student bodies in Indonesian-language private senior high schools.

From the ethnic composition of the students in the Indonesian-language schools we may conclude that it is in the schools sponsored by the Christian churches where ethnic Indonesian and Peranakan children have the best opportunity for interaction.

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Number of Students in Private Schools

School*	WNI									Foreign						Total		
	Indonesian			Chinese			O. For. desc.			Chinese			O. For. desc.					
	M	F	Subt.	M	F	Subt.	M	F	Subt.	M	F	Subt.	M	F	Subt.	M	F	Total
KINDERGARTEN																		
1	5	16	21	27	39	66	3	2	5	0	0	0	1	1	2	36	58	94
2	69	70	139	30	18	48	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	99	88	187
3	0	4	4	28	19	47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	23	51
4	14	26	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	26	40
5	41	39	80	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	42	39	81
6	58	62	120	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	60	63	123
7	47	57	104	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	49	58	107
Total	234	274	508	89	78	167	3	2	5	0	0	0	2	1	3	328	355	683
PRIMARY SCHOOL																		
1	2	8	10	180	174	354	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	182	182	364
2	28	58	86	81	110	191	0	7	7	0	0	0	1	1	2	110	176	286
3	112	98	210	95	73	168	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	207	171	378
4	12	0	12	21	0	21	5	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	1	39	0	39
5	246	177	423	9	1	10	4	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	259	180	439
6	58	23	81	4	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	62	24	86
7	253	155	408	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	258	155	413
8	0	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	4	0	0	0	14	17	31	17	22	39
Total	711	521	1232	396	360	756	11	11	22	0	0	0	16	18	34	1134	910	2044

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JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

1	48	23	71	81	27	108	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	131	50	181
2	0	153	153	0	78	78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	231	231
3	198	0	198	73	0	73	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	271	0	271
4	210	112	322	20	1	21	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	231	113	344
5	0	41	41	0	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	47	47
6	163	62	225	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	167	62	229
7	178	119	297	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	178	119	297
8	85	38	123	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	85	38	123
Total	882	548	1430	178	112	290	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1063	660	1723

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

1	124	23	147	30	14	44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	154	37	191
2	80	93	173	3	15	18	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	83	112	195
3	0	86	86	0	12	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	98	98
4	54	1	55	5	5	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	59	6	65
5	81	14	95	6	4	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	87	18	105
6	76	14	90	4	0	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	81	14	95
7	15	5	20	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	5	21
Total	430	236	666	49	50	99	1	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	480	290	770

*The numbers indicating the school in each section follow the order in the text.

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Private Schools: Chinese Language

There are in Sukabumi three Chinese-language schools: Chung Hua Hsueh Hsiao, operating a kindergarten, primary school, junior and senior high school; Hsin Hua Hsueh Hsiao, operating a kindergarten, primary school and junior high school; and Ping Min Hsueh Hsiao, operating also a kindergarten, primary school and junior high school. The first two schools are generally considered Peking-oriented and the third KMT-oriented. The political orientation can also be inferred from the sign in front of the school: following the national colors of Peking, Chung Hua and Hsin Hua have a red-painted sign with the characters in yellow, while Ping Min has a blue-painted sign with the characters in white, the KMT colors. Another indication is the celebration of the national day: the first two celebrate October 1, while the third celebrate October 10 and the birthday of Chiang Kai-shek.

Chung Hua is the oldest school. It was established in the first decade of this century, in response to the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan movement started in Djakarta. As we mentioned earlier, this school was highly popular among all ethnic Chinese, especially before the establishment of the Dutch-language HCS. During the Japanese occupation it was ordered to close down but the building continued to be used for the one Chinese-language school allowed to operate by the Japanese. The school has two buildings, both conveniently located for the Chinese population. They were inadequate in every respect, however, and at the end of 1956 a new wing was constructed adjoining the building situated at the Djalan Plabuan II, but with the front facing the street on the south side of the railroad. It is a large and, by Sukabumi standards, definitely imposing building, in modern style, rectangular, and with a second floor. On the front the name of the school is painted in red in Indonesian and in Chinese characters. This new wing was planned to accomodate the junior and senior high school. The funds for its construction were collected from the Chinese population in Sukabumi and other towns, not only by soliciting donations, but also through benefit performances by the students on such occasions as the Lantern Festival. The donors were mostly Totoks, but there were also a number of Peranakans--owners of enterprises--among them. At the formal opening in September 1957, Indonesian authorities and the donors were invited, while the cutting of the ribbon was performed by the wife of the Regent. It is clear that this school is the leading Chinese, i.e., foreign, school in Sukabumi.

Ping Min also has existed since prewar times and originated from a disagreement between a Hakka male teacher and a Hunan female teacher in Chung Hua. The school board became involved in the conflict and around 1927 the Hakka teacher left the school and founded a new one. Not surprisingly the school board of this new school consisted of Hakkas and ever since the board has remained predominently Hakka. (We notice the timing of this event, which reflects the change in the ethnic composition of the Chinese immigrants, especially during the peak period of immigration between 1925-1931.) At the time of the split about half of the Chung Hua students followed the Hakka teacher to the new school, and it became a great rival of the older one. A split occurred in Ping Min, however, and Chung Hua became the largest Chinese school. Both schools were

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closed down during the Japanese occupation. After the war the Chinese language schools continued to function under one school board. Around 1951, however, influenced by the political situation in China, the controversy in the school board between the followers of the Kuomintang and the supporters of the new Peking regime exploded. Lim Beng Hok (died recently, in January 1958), a prominent member of the board and active member of the Kuomintang before the war, planned to put Ping Min school back into existence. He therefore reclaimed the building of Ping Min, which in the meantime had been occupied by Chung Hua. In the conflict both parties asked the assistance of legal advisors. The students took sides and threatened to start trouble. The Indonesian authorities were represented by the head of the school inspectorate, who first kept aloof from the conflict, then interfered, and when it turned out that neither of the parties was willing to give an inch, threatened to close the schools. This appears to have sobered the conflicting parties and they decided to abandon the matter. Chung Hua remained in the disputed building, and Ping Min was given a part of a large government building. It is very small and without a playground.

The third school, Hsin Hua, was founded only after the war. It also originated out of a disagreement in Chung Hua between the principal and the school board, ending with the founding of a new school by the principal.

From the number of students, as shown by the following table, which gives the situation for the school year 1956-1957, the leading role of Chung Hua is abundantly clear. This leading role is not only manifest in the numbers but also in activities of a social and political character. It appears that, though born out of conflict, Hsin Hua joins in the activities of Chung Hua. Ping Min, on the other hand, as one might expect, acts as an isolated group.

School level	Chung Hua			Hsin Hua			Ping Min			Total		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Kindergar.	65	53	118	31	25	56	14	14	28	110	92	202
Primary	416	366	782	130	109	239	153	106	259	699	581	1280
Jun. High	111	120	231	49	56	105	41	40	81	201	216	417
Sen. High	36	32	68	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	32	68
Total	628	571	1199	210	190	400	208	160	368	1046	921	1967

An interesting aspect of this distribution is the preference of certain speech groups for certain schools, which shows up when we break the students down into the different speech groups of their parents (see table on following page). The table shows Hakkas disproportionately attend Ping Min with Chung Hua second in preference; Cantonese disproportionately attend Chung Hua with Hsin Hua second in preference; Hokkiens disproportionately attend Chung Hua with Hsin Hua second in preference; Hokchia disproportionately attend Hsin Hua with Chung Hua second in preference; Hokchiu and Henghua disproportionately attend Hsin Hua; Mandarin and Teochiu disproportionately attend Chung Hua; and Peranakans disproportionately attend Chung Hua.

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Distribution of Students in the Three Chinese Schools According to Speechgroups of Parents

Speechgroup	Chung Hua		Hsin Hua		Ping Min		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Hakka	432	41.3	153	38.5	316	91.9	901	50.3
Cantonese	37	3.5	13	3.3	5	1.5	55	3.1
Teochiu	1	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.1
Hokkien	472	45.1	164	41.3	20	5.8	656	36.6
Hokchia	92	8.8	46	11.6	1	0.3	144	8.0
Hokchiu	1	0.1	12	3.0	0	0.0	13	0.7
Henghua	0	0.0	9	2.7	0	0.0	9	0.5
Mandarin	11	1.1	0	0.0	2	0.6	13	0.7
Subtotal	1046	100.	397	100.	344	100.	1792	100.
Unidentified*	153		3		24		180	
Total	1199		400		368		1972	

*No doubt for the greater part children of Peranakans who do not know their place of origin any more.

As to the nationality of the students, WNI or alien, it turned out to be impossible to secure reliable information. For the Chung Hua and the Hsin Hua, the estimation of the teachers who collected the information for the writer was respectively, 14 per cent and 17 per cent. (The unreliability of these figures can be checked with the figures of those who had to transfer to national schools as we will see later.) The informant for the Ping Min reported that the school administration was unwilling to give information on the citizenship of the students. This is understandable considering the fact that KMT supporters are in an extremely awkward position in regard to their nationality.

We will examine the distribution of all ethnic Chinese students in both the Chinese-language and the Indonesian-language schools, including the public schools (see table on following page).

On all levels except the senior high school, a higher percentage of the students attend Chinese-language schools than attend Indonesian-language schools.

We know, however, that the total number of WNI is higher than that of the alien Chinese. This means that a certain proportion of those attending Chinese-language schools must be WNI.

Now the question is what has induced these Peranakan parents, of whom practically none speak Chinese, to send their children to Chinese schools? It seems plausible that in a considerable number of cases it is simply because they could not get their children admitted to one of the preferred private Indonesian-language schools and as they are reluctant to send them to public schools or to those run by Indonesian organizations

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Distribution of Ethnic Chinese Students in Chinese-Language and Non-Chinese-Language Schools

	Chinese School		Non-Chinese School		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
MALE STUDENTS						
Kindergarten	110	55.2	89	44.8	119	100.
Primary	699	63.0	411	37.0	1,110	100.
Junior Middle	201	52.5	182	47.5	383	100.
Senior Middle	36	42.4	49	57.6	85	100.
Total	1,046	58.9	731	41.1	1,777	100.
FEMALE STUDENTS						
Kindergarten	92	54.1	78	45.9	170	100.
Primary	581	61.1	369	38.9	950	100.
Junior Middle	216	65.9	112	34.1	328	100.
Senior Middle	32	39.0	50	61.0	82	100.
Total	921	60.2	609	39.8	1,530	100.
TOTAL STUDENTS						
Kindergarten	202	54.7	167	45.3	369	100.
Primary	1,280	62.1	780	37.9	2,060	100.
Junior Middle	417	58.6	294	41.4	711	100.
Senior Middle	68	40.7	99	59.3	167	100.
Total	1,967	59.5	1,340	41.5	3,307	100.

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(for reasons outlined earlier in this chapter) there is no choice but the Chinese-language school.

Naturally to accept this as the only answer would be an over-simplification of the matter. Thio In Lok has given a series of answers pertaining to this question(3) which we will reproduce here (in a free translation by the writer), because in the writer's experience, they bring out correctly the attitude of those Peranakans who have chosen to send their children to a Chinese-language school.

1. Although we accept Indonesian citizenship, culturally we remain Chinese. Therefore, we prefer Chinese education above every other type of education for our children.
2. China will one day become a powerful country. It is not impossible that sooner or later, especially in this part of Asia, Chinese will supplant English, wholly or in part, as the "world language."
3. Our children understand Indonesian sufficiently for their practical needs; it is, therefore, not necessary to send them to the Indonesian school.
4. Admittedly Chinese education in general is still on a rather low standard, but we cannot deny that the standard of the Indonesian education is hardly higher. We prefer poor Chinese education above poor Indonesian education.
5. We would be more inclined towards education provided by the government if, as in the past, special schools could be established for our group, which are brought into closer accordance with our cultural needs.
6. We do not agree with those who claim that joint education in a combined school (eenheidsschool) is the only and most important way to make our children good citizens. With the disappearance of the discriminating treatment towards our group, we will automatically become good citizens.

Mr. Thio added that "the fact that WNI parents send their children to a foreign school (as the Chinese school actually is) as such, should be no cause for concern. It is a common practice among wealthy parents to send their children abroad to acquire as much knowledge as possible for their own benefit and that of their country. With some good will we could, therefore, explain the drive towards Chinese education on the part of the 'Chinese Indonesians' as simply motivated by the desire to give their children the best possible education." He admits, however, that in view of the present political situation and the government policy towards nationalization and assimilation this attitude among the WNI is not desirable. In view of the fact that it was written in 1950, it is interesting to note that he ends the article with the prediction that with the increase of the number of public schools and the improvement of their standard, there is no reason to believe that these schools would not become as popular as the former HCS. He bases this prediction on the "pragmatic attitude of the Chinese, which is sufficient

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(3) Thio In Lok, "De achtergrond van het Chinees onderwijsproblem in Indonesie," Orientatie, XXXVIII-XXXIX (1950), 116.

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guarantee that eventually he will know which education is preferable for his children. They only need time to realize this."

Although eight years elapsed since this prediction was made, the government regulation barring WNI children from attending foreign, i. e., Chinese-language schools, which was implemented in January 1958, appears to have fallen like a blow among the Chinese population in general and the WNI concerned in particular. We will present some observations pertaining to its effect in Sukabumi, although this event occurred after the period covered by the study. The chairman of the BPIT, who actively helped in the organization of the transfer of the WNI students to national, i. e., Indonesian-language schools, told the writer that among the students quite a number, especially at the secondary school level, resented this regulation immensely, even blaming their parents for not having rejected Indonesian citizenship. The prevailing opinion in the Peranakan community seems to be, however, that it is indeed more logical for WNI children to attend national schools than foreign schools. Yet they think that the government has acted too rashly and inopportunely by fixing the time of the change in January, which is the middle of the school year. Besides, there were no adequate preparations for the transfer. Virtually all the existing Indonesian-language schools and especially those of the primary school level were already overcrowded. One of the solutions made was the opening of a new school specially for these transferred students. The name given to this primary school was Sekolah Rakjat "Persatuan" (Indonesian word for unity). It was opened on January 20, 1958. It started with 243 students, 142 (18.2 per cent from the total in the primary school according to the table of the distribution of the students in the three Chinese-language schools in the school year 1956-1957) from Chung Hua, 58 (29.3 per cent) from Hsin Hua, and 43 (16.6 per cent) from Ping Min. (Note the discrepancy in the proportions compared with the estimations given by the informants of Chung Hua and Hsin Hua in regard to the proportions of WNI in these schools, which were respectively, 14 and 17 per cent). The members of the school board and the teaching staff are all WNI. The principal is Tjen Hon Boe, one of the teachers of Hsin Hua, a Bangka-born second generation Hakka. The chairman of the school board is Lie Go, a second generation Hokkien from Nan An, a wealthy iron-workshop owner. The curriculum follows the national schools, but with the study of the Indonesian language eight hours a week and Chinese four hours. The transfer of WNI students of the secondary school level was accomplished more smoothly, because all could be admitted to the existing national schools.

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CHAPTER VII

LIFE IN THE COMMUNITY

In this chapter the Peranakan community will be viewed within the context of the larger society and within the context of the community itself, in regard to the specific aspects of civic, political, and social activities. We will give a brief recapitulation of the administrative structure of the town in order to have the proper setting against which to view the community; examine the participation of the Peranakans in civic activities within the larger society, which will include participation in political affairs; discuss the participation of Chinese, Totoks, and Peranakans in formal organizations; and summarize the relations among Peranakans, Totoks, and ethnic Indonesians.

Administrative Structure

We have already noted that from January 28, 1957, the status of the town of Sukabumi is that of a Kota Besar, i.e., an autonomous unit of the second level, equal to a Kabupaten. At the head of this administrative unit is the kepala daerah (regional head), who is referred to as wali kota (mayor).

As a Kota Besar, Sukabumi has a legislative council, the Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah or DPRD, elected by the population of the town. The first election (1) occurred in August 1957, with the following results:

15 seats divided among seven parties:

PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party)	4 seats
Masjumi (Consultative Council of Indonesian Moslems)	4 "
PKI (Indonesian Communist Party)	3 "
NU (Ulama Association)	1 seat
Baperki (Citizenship Consultative Council)	1 "
IPKI (League for the upholding of Indonesian Independence)	1 "
PPPRI (Police Employees Association)	1 "

The members of the DPRD elect from among themselves an executive council, the Dewan Pemerintah Daerah or DPD. The wali kota is the chairman of this body. (2)

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(1) For a comprehensive study of Indonesian political parties, see Herbert Feith, The Indonesian Elections of 1955 (Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Interim Reports Series; Ithaca, N.Y., 1957).

(2) For a better understanding of local government, see John D. Legge,

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The daily administrative work is performed by the executive government (Pemerintah Harian) (as distinguished from the executive council) which is an appointed body, consisting to the wali kota, the sekertaris (secretary), the wedana (district head) and the tjamat (sub-district head). These four persons are appointed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. They constitute the pamong pradja. This corps of officials is assisted by the pamong desa, consisting of the lurah (village head) and his assistants: a penulis (secretary), mandor (inspector), and polisi desa (village police). The position of the lurah seems rather ambiguous. He is elected by the people of the kelurahan. (3) He is on the government payroll, but the amount he receives is minimal. He derives his income primarily from the yield of the rice fields traditionally allocated to village heads and from the remuneration he receives from issuing certificates (e. g., identity cards) and from acting as witness in transactions (e. g., the purchase of land or a house). This income is shared with his assistants who are not on the payroll of the government, but are volunteer workers. All lurahs expressed their dissatisfaction to the writer about the way their work is rewarded. It would appear that they aspire to be recognized as full government officials, because they claim that they put in a full-time job, often extending after the usual office hours. It is they who are in charge of the implementation of the government regulations, so it is indeed true that the pamong desa is indispensable for the effective operation of the government.

Participation in Civic Activities

Where do the Chinese fit in this structure? We have seen that in Sukabumi the office of wijkmeester was abolished only in 1957. During the several years after independence and before the abolition of the wijkmeester post, those Peranakans who did not reject Indonesian citizenship during the 1949-51 option period could be registered at three places: the office of the wijkmeester, the kelurahan office, or the special office for minority groups at the Balai Kota. The abolition of the office of wijkmeester has important consequences in that now legally a clear-cut division among the ethnic Chinese is made between the citizens (WNI) and the aliens (Asing), the former registering at the kelurahan and the latter at the Balai Kota.

Citizenship

This brings us to the crucial and confusing question of citizenship. We will not go into the details of this complicated issue (a comprehensive monograph on the subject has been completed by Donald E. Willmott,

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Problems of Regional Autonomy in Contemporary Indonesia (Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Interim Reports Series; Ithaca N. Y., 1957).

(3) The writer was informed that the first election occurred in 1956. Three of the four incumbents at that time were re-elected. The interest of the population was very low, so much so that in some areas the election could not be held at the first meeting for which it was scheduled and a second meeting had to be called.

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The National Status of the Chinese in Indonesia), (4) but we will attempt to bring out the attitudes towards Indonesian citizenship as observed among the Peranakans in Sukabumi.

During the time of the study the national status of the Chinese had been determined by the Citizenship Act of 1946 and the Round Table Conference in The Hague during the second half of 1949 which, in regard to citizenship, agreed on the passive system for Chinese. This meant that Peranakans automatically became Indonesian citizens, unless they rejected this citizenship with a written declaration to the Court House within the two-year period from December 27, 1949 to December 27, 1951. (5)

As we might expect, in Sukabumi the majority of those who rejected Indonesian citizenship are local-born people of China-born parents or China-born father and local-born mother. The considerations which led some third- and later-generation Peranakans to reject Indonesian citizenship seem to spring from emotional rather than rational factors. It would appear that there is some ground for these emotional feelings to play a role if we consider the fact that during the period of anarchy after the surrender of the Dutch and the turbulent times of the revolution, Sukabumi was one of the areas where the Chinese population was exposed to severe material and even personal loss. We have already mentioned that as a result of the scorched earth policy applied by the revolutionary army, an entire block of shops and residences of Chinese was burned down. We must point out, however, that in the execution of this policy it was not these residences which were the target, but storehouses of estate products which were adjacent to these private dwellings. Other Chinese-owned property destroyed at that time included two of the largest printing plants, two of the largest textile factories, and several rice mills situated in villages bordering on the town. These actions were, of course, highly deplored by the people whose interests were involved, a sentiment they did not refrain from expressing openly, claiming that this was highly unfair, because they were just peaceful traders who did not want to get involved in the conflict. It is precisely this attitude of non-involvement and standoffishness in the Indonesian struggle towards independence, displayed by the majority of ethnic Chinese, which has caused the Indonesians to accuse them of cooperating with the Dutch. That these events have influenced the rejection of Indonesian citizenship is illustrated by the case of a Peranakan family, acquaintances of the writer, in which all the sons, who were already married at that time, chose Chinese citizenship because during the revolution the eldest brother was killed by revolutionists who mistook him for a Eurasian at a small railroad station between Djakarta and Sukabumi.

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(4) Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Monograph Series; Ithaca, N. Y., 1961.

(5) The latest development in this issue is that following the Chou-Soenario Agreement, the active system has been adopted, requiring Peranakans to make an official declaration of choosing either Indonesian or Chinese citizenship within a two-year period from January 20, 1960 to January 20, 1962.

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Another factor which induced rejection is a feeling of racial identity, which is clearly expressed in the following example of the reasoning given by a Peranakan man of over seventy, who claims to be a devout follower of the teachings of Confucius: "I did not submit a petition to thian (Peranakan equivalent of God) to come into the world as a Chinese, yet I was born as such, so this must have been the will of thian. If you are born a Chinese, how can you possess another nationality than that of China. Being born a Chinese you will remain a Chinese." Of his family only he and his wife rejected Indonesian citizenship; his children and other close relatives are all WNI.

This phenomenon of a family being partly alien and partly WNI is not uncommon. Of the family mentioned above of which all the sons are rejectors, for instance, the old mother who is the head of the grocery store they operate is WNI. Of a Hakka family of which both parents are China-born and the three sons and one daughter all born in Indonesia, all except the oldest son are aliens. This person told the writer that he had chosen Indonesian citizenship to facilitate the continuation of his business (which is a stationery store), because it was to be expected, he said, that foreign enterprises will encounter difficulties. This attitude is another indication of the pragmatic view on life of Peranakans and Chinese in general which we have encountered earlier in their attitude toward the local beliefs. Thus we find that those who did not reject regard those who did as having taken a rash and unrealistic step. They reason as follows: "We were born here and so were our fathers and grandfathers and even earlier ancestors. They are all buried here and we also expect to be buried here. Why then should we reject the citizenship of a country where we have lived for so many generations. If we choose Chinese citizenship this will mean that we will be foreigners in this country, because it is very doubtful whether we will ever move to China." The chief judge informed the writer that the court has received a considerable number of requests from rejectors who want to annul their act. Several Peranakans confirmed that they know of a number of persons who regret having rejected Indonesian citizenship. These are especially those in business, because of the stringent regulations and special taxes imposed on foreigners and foreign enterprises.

How Do These WNI View Their Position as Indonesian Citizens?

The writer has discussed this question with the head of the Information Office and the head of the political section of the Municipal Hall, which is the registration office for foreigners. Both stated that they regret to note that many of the WNI of Chinese descent are citizens in name only; in their behavior they do not act like true citizens at all, they claim, giving as evidence of this charge the exclusive character of their organizations and the preference displayed by a number of them for sending their children to foreign, i.e., Chinese schools. The head of the Information Office added that when a social activity is organized involving the whole town, the Chinese, citizens as well as aliens, usually keep aloof, giving a contribution in money or in kind only, as if by acting in this way they have given their share in the project. They never participate actively, i.e., they never devote their time or thought to these activities. The claim of many Peranakans that they are not interested in politics but only in the

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opportunity to earn a decent living in a quiet and peaceful way, is considered incompatible with the present drive towards developing the country. In answer to this, many Peranakans, especially those engaged in business, maintain that in their own way, by developing the business sector of the society, they also contribute their part.

We will now proceed to examine to what extent the accusation of participation in civic activities is true. The writer had the opportunity to look into this matter by observing several officially organized social programs and the activities on national holidays. The participation in the elections for DPRD, which is, of course, also a measure of participation in civic activities, will be treated separately in a subsequent section.

In November 1956 an order was given by the local military commander for a clean-up movement to be held from the first until the 10th of November. It consisted of cleaning the streets every afternoon from three to four p. m. The head of the Information Office informed the writer that each kelurahan was to provide 100 men a day and of the total Chinese population 30 men a day. These persons were to assemble at the public meeting hall before the work started.

On the first day of the movement there not only were 30 Chinese present, but they even outnumbered the Indonesians. The majority of them were Totoks, many of them owners of the shops along the Djalan Raja. Of the Peranakans, the writer noticed several members of well-known families. One of the latter informed the writer that this large turnout of Chinese had been caused by an announcement issued by the BPIT (Badan Permusjawaratan Indonesia Tionghoa, the Peranakan social organization which is a continuation of the Chung Hua Tsung Hui--This organization will be treated in detail in a subsequent section) that all Chinese, citizens as well as aliens, must participate actively in this movement and that those who were not willing to do so would be liable to punishmnnt according to the regulations of the military commander. Asked about this, the head of the Information Office told the writer that the chairman of the BPIT had perhaps inserted the strong warning because he had encountered the displeasure of the military commander at the meeting summoned by the latter to talk about this movement. The meeting was called just one day before it was to start. The chairman of the BPIT, Mr. Tan Beng Yauw, was also summoned as the representative of the Chinese community. When he was asked to provide for 30 Chinese every day, he replied that this was impossible on so short a notice. The commander then had become impatient saying that he would hold Mr. Tan responsible for the execution of this command.

Thus on the first day a great number of Chinese were gathered in front of the public meeting hall, each carrying a broom and a basket or a broom only. There were hardly any vehicles on the streets and a great clamor ensued when all these men started sweeping. It turned out that they made fun out of it, sweeping at random in all directions, causing the dust to fly up in the air, so that most of them covered their faces with handkerchiefs which, naturally, heightened the hilarity. On this first day all civil and military authorities took part in the sweeping.

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The following days, fewer and fewer people joined in this campaign. The most persistent were the school children, who swept certain parts of the town in the morning also. The best organized were the students of the Peking-oriented Chung Hua school and the KMT-oriented Ping Min school. They had formed work groups led by a teacher or one of the senior students; the Ping Min students dressed in their scout uniforms.

As we might expect, the Chinese in general could not see the necessity or the benefit of this type of activity. Due to the specific character of the occupation of the majority of them, a private enterprise requiring their own personal operation or supervision, it is understandable that they tended to view this campaign as an annoying interference into the effective pursuit of their occupation. Characteristically enough, one of the well-to-do Peranakans who did participate expressed resentment not towards the organizers of the campaign but towards the chairman of the BPIT who, according to him, had intimidated his own group by inserting a threat he had invented himself. From the point of view of the chairman, however, this was certainly the most effective way to comply to the request of the military commander.

On November 11, 1956, President Soekarno made a visit to the town. (We will notice here the connection between the timing of the cleaning-up campaign and this visit.) He arrived in the morning, but since the day before, people from the neighboring villages had been coming into town. Hours before his arrival people were already crowding into the town square where he was to make an address. When he arrived, he was received with loud cheering and waving of flags. His address was made in Sundanese which, of course, appealed highly to the audience. The square and the streets around it were then one great mass of people. Among the audience the writer noticed little isolated groups of Peranakans and Totoks, but they were completely drowned in the huge mass of Indonesians.

On such national holidays as Independence Day on August 17th, flags are displayed in front of virtually every shop or residence. On this occasion one can immediately spot the concentration of alien Chinese in the shopping center by the combination of Indonesian and Peking-China flags in front of most of the shops. (Nationalist China flags are, of course, out of the question as Indonesia does not recognize the Taiwan government.) Outside this area the number of Peking-China flags is very small. WNI hoist only the Indonesian flag. At the mass meeting in the town square, which is always held on this occasion, representative groups of all the schools, including those operated by alien Chinese, participate and join the parade afterwards. The say of the Gie Say Hwee is usually also present, while in the celebration of 1956 the Baperki appeared with a large paper lotus flower, the symbol of this organization.

Peranakan Participation in Political Affairs

In this section we will make a distinction between interest in external political affairs and interest in internal political affairs, the latter including a separate section on the Baperki and another separate section on the DPRD elections in 1957. Before we start off, however, we want to

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make clear again that in the realm of politics we must use the distinction between WNI and Asing, rather than Peranakan and Totok, because, while virtually all Totoks are Asing, not all Peranakans are WNI.

External (Chinese) Political Affairs

We will first give an idea of the political climate among the aliens, because one might expect that whatever interest in Chinese political affairs exists among the Peranakans would be modeled after the activities in this alien group.

In Sukabumi, as in other places in Indonesia, the alien Chinese are split up into a pro-Peking and a pro-Taipei group. Except for an outbreak of hostility around 1951, however, centered around the schools, the two groups apparently live peacefully together, without any overt indication of enmity.

There is no doubt as to which group has more adherents. This is conclusively indicated by the fact that of the three Chinese-language schools, the two largest are Peking oriented. We have also mentioned that, on the occasion of Indonesian national holidays and on the first of October, the national holiday of Peking-China, one will notice the Peking-China flag next to the Indonesian flag in front of virtually every Totok-owned shop and residence.

The importance and the strength of the Peking-oriented group is especially manifest in the celebration of its national holiday on October first. The celebration of 1956 was organized by a special committee made up of members of the Lien I Hui (a newly-formed organization which seems to function as the alien counterpart of the BPIT. This organization will be treated in more detail further on in this section) with the full support of the Chung Hua school. It consisted of a meeting open to the public in one of the largest theater buildings, where commemoration speeches in Mandarin and Indonesian were held. On the second and the third of October, free performances were given by the students of the Chung Hua school. The highlight of the celebration was the reception on the evening of the first, in the largest (Peranakan-owned) restaurant in town. For this occasion the place was decorated with red and yellow (the colors of Peking China) streamers and large red melon-shaped Chinese lanterns. It was open to invited people only: Indonesian authorities and all alien Chinese (who were asked to contribute a certain amount to help cover the expenses). The writer was informed that about 400 people had been invited, among whom were all high Indonesian authorities. Of the latter were present the regent, the mayor, wedana, tjamat, secretary of the Municipal Hall, head of the office for aliens, heads of the other offices (for example, the information office and the school inspection) and the members of the court of justice. All of them were accompanied by their wives. There were also lower-ranking officials, mostly clerks of the Municipal Hall. Altogether there were perhaps about 50 or 60 Indonesians present.

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As to the Chinese, there were only men present and virtually all were Totoks. Asked why no women were present (except for a group of about fifteen women, who looked after the refreshments and who kept separate in a secluded corner), one of the members of the receiving committee, a lady teacher of the Chung Hua school, explained that in the Totok community the wives are never invited to accompany their husbands to formal meetings or receptions. According to another lady teacher, the Totok women in Sukabumi are still old-fashioned and even if invited would not venture to come.

Of the Peranakans, the writer noticed only the chairman of the BPIT. Of the few western-educated Peranakans who had rejected Indonesian citizenship, it is remarkable that not one appeared. The writer knew of one who had received an invitation and who explained to her that he did not want to show up in order to avoid being known as possessing Chinese citizenship.

The reception was opened with speeches by the regent, the mayor, and one of the leading members of the Totok community (in Mandarin and translated in Indonesian), each ending with three cheers for the respective countries. Then the national anthems of both countries were played by the school band.

This formal part of the evening was followed by a banquet in buffet style (a style becoming increasingly popular at big parties of all ethnic groups). The Indonesian authorities as the guests of honor were the first to be invited to make a choice of the food displayed on several tables. There was Indonesian as well as Chinese food, but no pork was used. This was in consideration of the Indonesian guests, who, being Moslems or regarded as such, are not supposed to eat pork.

After the banquet a performance was given by the students of the Chung Hua school, which consisted of the new Chinese folk dances which are at present very popular in Chinese-language schools and several Indonesian dances and songs. One of these Indonesian dances was the well-known tari pajung (umbrella dance) performed in such a lively and charming way that it excited the general admiration of the Indonesian guests. It was noticeable that at this reception as well as at the performance at the theater the Indonesian dances received the loudest applause.

The tenth of October, the national day of Nationalist China (Taiwan), was also celebrated by the KMT group, but it was an almost exclusive affair, which is, of course, the result of the non-recognition of the Taiwan government by the Indonesian government. This celebration took place in the Ping Min school. In the morning there were festivities for the students and their parents only, while in the evening there was a reception. In front of the school a gate was erected of bamboo and pink-colored paper with one large, illuminated cherry blossom in the center. Unlike the October first celebration where the guests were asked to sign their name in an ordinary book with a fountain pen, here they were asked to write with a Chinese brush on a pink-colored silk scroll. A group

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of older men were watching as people wrote their names. It was obvious that these older men had a high regard for calligraphy. In the reception room a large colored picture of Dr. Sun Yat-sen was on the back wall flanked by a large Indonesian and Chinese Nationalist flag.

The people participating at this reception were virtually all Totoks and again there were practically no women among them. There were no Indonesian authorities at all, except for several men who the writer was informed were security officers. In regard to the absence of Indonesian authorities (this aroused the writer's curiosity, because only the day before the mayor had told her that he is usually invited to this celebration and he has always attended it, though not in his function as government official, because Indonesia does not recognize Taiwan, but unofficially, as he does not want to discriminate between the two factions in his town), one of the prominent members of the KMT group, a wealthy Hokchia goldshop owner, explained to the chairman of the BPIT (again practically the only Peranakan present) who seemed upset about this absence, that they had not been invited because he was told that the Chinese Nationalist flag would not be allowed to be displayed should those authorities be present.

It was surely for this reason (that no Indonesian authorities would attend the celebration) that no consideration in the choice and preparation of the food was taken for the few Indonesians who did come. All dishes were mixed with pork and the writer observed that the Indonesians present barely touched the food. Nor were the speeches or the announcement of the items of the performance translated. This performance was given by the students of the Ping Min school and the boy and girl scouts. It consisted of nondescript dances performed by little girls, several Chinese and English (the American top hits popular at the time) songs and a short Indonesian farce. There was also a hired Indonesian orchestra playing modern Indonesian and western music. Compared to the October first celebration, this one gave the impression of being disorderly and poorly organized.

To what extent do Peranakans participate in these politically loaded activities? It would appear that we have to make a distinction between the celebration on October first and that on October tenth. Taking the highlight of both, the reception, we have seen that in the case of the October first celebration it is an exclusively alien affair, but of those Peranakans who, though culturally not China oriented, possess Chinese citizenship, virtually none turned up. In the case of the Double Ten celebration the national status does not seem to play an important role, but it is the political affiliation which determines participation. This is, of course, because Nationalist Chinese citizenship is not recognized in Indonesia. Thus among the adherents of the KMT, there may be people who for the sake of convenience and expediency have chosen Peking citizenship, though politically opposed to it; then there are those who can be considered stateless; and, finally, those who, having been born in Indonesia, have taken Indonesian citizenship. Of the latter, however, only those who are culturally China oriented turned up.

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Thus we may conclude that Peranakans in general do not participate in activities which are related to China, be it Peking or Taiwan. A Dutch-educated man in his early thirties, whose father had been a prominent member of the local China Relief Fund (a fund-raising organization which was set up by Totoks and Peranakans, referred to by the latter as Fonds Amal Tiongkok, shortly after the beginning of the Sino-Japanese war and which was extremely enthusiastic in its support of the Chinese war effort), ascribed this lack of interest to the bitter experience Peranakans had during the Japanese occupation, when virtually all those who had been prominent members of leadnig organizations, especially those related to the KMT, were put in camps or brought before the Kenpeitai, the notorious Japanese secret police.

However, even though there is no participation in activities related to either Peking or Taiwan, we do find that Peranakans feel a certain pride in the fact that Peking-China has risen to become one of the powerful nations of the world. This kind of interest is seen in the fact that, whenever a Peranakan returns from a visit to China, he has to go around giving formal or informal talks. Most Peranakans justify this type of interest by saying that it is only natural to have these feelings for a country which is one's country of origin and that these feelings should certainly not be equated with feelings of loyalty in the political sense.

As to Taiwan, there is almost no one who still cherishes a regard for Chiang Kai-shek; his precipitous defeat seems to have been too great a shock.

Internal (Indonesian) Political Affairs

As is true elsewhere, few Peranakans in Sukabumi join political parties. Some time before the general elections in 1955 the PSI (Socialist Party) was rather popular among the Peranakans. Quite a number of them supported or sympathized with this party and there was even one Peranakan on the executive board. As the PSI deteriorated, the support of most of the Peranakans went to the Baperki. There is one party, however, the Partai Murba (usually translated in English as the Proletarian Party and characterized as national-communist)(6) which put up a Peranakan as second candidate in the election of the DPRD in August 1957. This man, who is in his middle fifties, was the only Peranakan candidate in the election apart from the Baperki candidate. He is one of the Peranakans who carries an Indonesian alias; his name as stated on his identity card is Yap Cheng Tie alias Asep Achmad Gazali. (7)

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(6) See George McT. Kahin, Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia (Ithaca, N. Y., 1952), pp. 313-319, and also Feith, op. cit., p. 9.

(7) As to the origin of his name, he told the writer the following story: his parents were not legally married. (Though he did not mention it explicitly, from his story and from several people who know him, the writer concluded that his mother was a Sundanese from Tjiandjur.) When the Japanese occupied Indonesia, all Chinese, whether Totok or Peranakan, were required to register, for which they had to pay a certain fee. Because

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The Baperki

Sukabumi also has a local chapter of the Baperki. This organization is the only one among the Peranakans which participates in the field of Indonesian politics. We will examine its development and its role among the Peranakans in this town.

The Sukabumi chapter of the Baperki was founded on March 13, 1955, exactly one year after an organization with this name was first founded in Djakarta and six months before the first general elections. (8) The development of its membership in the one year from March 1955 to May 1956, covering the election period, was as follows:

	Male	Female	Total
March 13, 1955 (foundation)	415	27	442
Increase since March 13, 1955	168	25	193
Total	583	52	635
Decrease since March 13, 1955	59	8	67
Total on April 30, 1956	524	44	568
Included in these figures are members of Tjibadak and surroundings	44	5	49
Total of Sukabumi only, on April 30, 1956	480	39	519

We will notice here that, when we subtract the decrease figure and the figure for Tjibadak and surroundings, at the end of this one-year span the real increase was only 77. It was to be expected that there would not be much fluctuation in membership because, when the Sukabumi chapter was founded, the Baperki had already become quite well known among Peranakans in general. Thus, at its foundation and after that during the few months before the election, the potential number of members must have been quite exhausted.

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before the war he had been active in KMT groups, he wanted to change his name so as to avoid arrest. From relatives on his mother's side he came to know that she was still related to nobility and that he was, therefore, allowed to use a certain name. The one they suggested is the alias he now carries. After that time he used both names, but sometimes only the one or the other "according to convenience." One of his friends told the writer that he has the nickname Atjep from Kasep which is a Sundanese word meaning handsome but is only applied to boys. He has an Indonesian wife. Interestingly enough, the writer first met this person at one of the performances of the Gie Say Hwee of which he was an active member and one of the founders. He was one of the members who stated that the purpose of the club is to preserve among the Peranakan youth something of the Chinese cultural heritage.

(8) The basic data on the Baperki in Sukabumi has been taken from the first issue of a small local publication of this chapter, which appeared in May 1956. See also the special issue of the Baperki, published in connection with its third annual congress in October 1955, called Nomor Kongres Se-Indonesia ke III, 1955.

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The leading members of the executive board during the year 1956-1957 were as follows:

Advisor:	Thio In Lok
Chairman:	Tan Beng Yauw
Vice Chairman I:	Tan Hoa Kim
Vice Chairman II:	Sim Soen Kwan
Secretary	Lauw Pho Han
Treasurer:	Lie Pie Jam
Information section:	Tan Kee Hiap, Thio In Lok
Bureau on citizenship problems:	Tan Beng Yauw, Thio In Lok
Daily executive board:	Tan Beng Yauw, Tan Hoa Kim, Lie Pie Jam, Lauw Pho Han, Tan Kee Hiap

Next to these there are seven regular members (komisaris) and seven assistant members (komisaris pembantu) of the board. Here follows a short biographical sketch of each of the above personnel:

Mr. Thio In Lok is a Peranakan in his early fifties, a member of one of the old wealthy families in town. He is a graduate of a Dutch-Chinese normal school (Hollands-Chinese Kweekschool) and has been a teacher ever since, except during the Japanese occupation. During the Indonesian-Dutch negotiations after the war he was a member of the Indonesian delegation to the Round Table Conference in the Netherlands. He is considered one of the knowledgeable persons on Peranakan life and customs and has published several articles. He is the oldest son of the Peranakan woman who owns the small Kwan Im temple mentioned in the section on religion. During the time of the study his family lived in Sukabumi, but he himself stayed in Djakarta for his teaching job at a senior high school and a part-time job in a firm, coming to Sukabumi only for extended weekends. For this reason his participation in organizational activities and community life in general was rather limited.

Mr. Tan Beng Yauw is a Peranakan in his early fifties also who used to operate a warong (small grocery store) in a village adjoining the eastern border of the town. Due to the insecurity of the area after the war, he quit his store and moved to the town. He became one of the most active members of the Chung Hua Tsung Hui and was soon elected chairman, a position he has occupied for the past several years. We have already mentioned that he is a full-time paid worker of this organization. As chairman of the leading organization in the Chinese community, he is considered by the Indonesian authorities to be the representative of this community and is consequently always the person invited on public occasions. Mr. Tan is highly regarded by most of the Peranakans and especially by the lower-class people who come to consult him on all kinds of matters. Because of his frequent contact with the Indonesian authorities he is regarded by the latter group as an influential person who can help in matters related with the government. Next to being an advisor in these matters, he is also frequently called upon to arbitrate in private conflicts. The writer noticed, however, that the group of wealthy, educated Peranakans does not have a high regard for him. This seems partly due to the

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fact that they do not need him, as they themselves usually have direct contact with the Indonesian authorities and partly because socially and intellectually (he has only been to the Malay-language primary school of the Chinese Protestant church) he is not considered to belong to their group. The writer never met him at their intimate parties.

Mr. Tan Hoa Kim is a Peranakan in his early forties who is employed as a staff member of one of the large textile factories in town. He was the chairman of the campaign committee for the election of Parliament in 1955.

Mr. Sim Soen Kwan is a Peranakan in his early thirties, originally from Tjibadak. He moved to Sukabumi in 1947 after the Dutch troops occupied the town. He was then employed at the office of the assistant resident and, after the withdrawal of the Dutch, at the office of the Kabupaten. He quit after about a year and became a member of the administration of the Chung Hua Tsung Hui where he also stayed for about a year. Then for about two years he had no regular employment; in 1955 he returned to work again at the Kabupaten office. He is the only Peranakan government official in town. As for education, he has been to a Dutch primary- and junior middle school and then to the school for agriculture in Bogor (then called the Middelbare Landbouw School) which he did not finish because of the outbreak of the war. In the campaign for the general election in 1955 he was an active propagandist of the Baperki, while in the election for the DPRD in 1957 he was put up as the only candidate of this organization. He lives in a small petak house in one of the back streets of Djalan Plabuan II (District J on Map 4, page 27 above).

Mr. Lauw Pho Han is a Peranakan in his early thirties who is the assistant of Mr. Tan Beng Yauw. He is secretary of the Baperki, BPIT, and Sam Kauw Hwee. His position is purely administrative. Like Mr. Tan he is a full-time paid worker.

Mr. Lie Pie Jam is a Peranakan in his late fifties, related to one of the wealthy families in town. He has been a very active member of the Sam Kauw Hwee and a one-time member of the temple board. He is one of the owners of the flower shop which provides the flowers for the sedan-chairs of the temple gods during the procession on the occasion of the Lantern Festival. During the time of the study, however, he had become completely inactive due to a severe stroke early in 1956.

Mr. Tan Kee Hiap is a Peranakan in his late fifties. He was mentioned in the section on the influence of the Sundanese religious setting as the person who works as a kind of supervisor at the largest tea factory in town and who is married to a Sundanese woman.

It is highly significant that of all these leading members of one of the leading organizations, only two, Mr. Thio In Lok and Mr. Lie Pie Jam, belong to wealthy old families, and only one, Mr. Lie, is an independent enterpriser, all others being wage earners. None of these people occupies a position of power in the entire community, except for

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the chairman perhaps, but whatever influence he has is clearly only limited to the lower class group. It would appear that the function they perform is largely that of administrators. As a matter of fact, the fact that the chairman and secretary of both the Baperki and the BPIT (and of the Sam Kauw Hwee also) are the same persons and consequently the offices are at the same place and, moreover, both of them are full-time paid workers, strongly points to this administrative function, fulfilling the traditional position of the link between the Chinese community and the authorities.

That the Baperki has the support of the majority of the Peranakans is indicated by the fact that people who have leading positions in another party, as for example the Parkindo or the PSI, are still willing to become a member of the board of the Baperki. This was, of course, considered a major achievement, which was mentioned specifically in the local publication mentioned above in the following way: "We regard the willingness of Messrs. Tan Keng Siong and Tan Siok Hien, outstanding members of the Parkindo and the PSI, respectively, to join the executive board of the Baperki, a significant moral victory."

During the first election of the DPRD in August 1957, which the writer was able to follow closely, the campaign of the Baperki was one of the best organized, next to that of the PKI. It received substantial aid from the central executive board in Djakarta. Three of its active members, among who was Boejoeng Saleh, the most outstanding ethnic Indonesian member, came to deliver campaign speeches. Three public speeches were given in various parts of the town.

The results of the three elections held show clearly the increase of popularity of this organization, the last one scoring 25 per cent higher as compared with the first one:

Number of votes for the Baperki

Election for the Parliament in 1955	1106 votes
Election for Constituent Assembly in 1955	1174 "
Election for DPRD-Kota in 1957	1383 "

The popularity of the Baperki can be ascribed to the prevailing opinion among the Peranakans that this is the one organization which best serves and defends the interests of the minority groups, i.e., the WNI of Chinese descent.

The Election for the DPRD in August 1957

We will give an account of the first election for the DPRD which was held in Sukabumi on August 10, 1957, as it relates to the WNI of Chinese descent. Because the town of Sukabumi was a Kotapradja belonging to the province of West Java, each voter had to cast two votes: one for the DPRD Kotapradja and one for the DPRD Propinsi. We will give the results of the former only, however, as this is most relevant to the study and, moreover, already sufficient to get a picture of the course of the election.

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Sixteen parties and organizations participated in the election for the DPRD Kotapradja:

PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party)
IPKI (League for the upholding of Indonesian Independence)
Perwari (a women's organization)
Masjumi (Consultative Council of Indonesian Moslems)
NU (Ulama Association)
PSII (Islamic Association Party)
PKI (Indonesian Communist Party)
Partai Murba (Proletarian Party)
PSI (Indonesian Socialist Party)
Parkindo (Protestant Party)
Partai Katolik (Catholic Party)
Persatuan Rakjat Desa (a peasant's organization)
PPPRI (Police Employees Association)
Gerakan Pilihan Sunda (Sundanese Election Movement)
Pagujuban Sunda (a Sundanese regional party)
Baperki (Citizenship Consultative Council)

In only two of these parties and organizations do Peranakans appear on the list of candidates: for the Murba the second candidate, Yap Cheng Tie alias Achmad Asep Gazali, and for the Baperki the only candidate, Sim Soen Kwan.

From the information available at the four Kelurahan the number of eligible WNI-Chinese descent voters was found to be as follows:

Kelurahan	No. of eligible voters of Chinese descent	Per cent of total eligible voters	Total number of eligible voters
Kota Kaler	126	1.5	8,521
Kota Wetan	1,355	14.5	9,315
Kota Kidul	396	4.6	8,644
Kota Kulon	655	6.6	9,927
Total	2,532		36,407

As could be expected, based on the results of the former elections, the majority of the votes of the WNI-Chinese descent was given to the Baperki.

	Kelurahan				
	Kota Wetan	Kota Kulon	Kota Kidul	Kota Kaler	Total
WNI of Chinese descent eligible to vote	1355	655	396	126	2532
Votes for Baperki	678 (50%)	401 (61%)	267 (67.4%)	37 (29.4%)	1383 (54.6%)
Voting rights not used or votes given to other parties (on the assumption that all Baperki votes were cast by WNI of Chin. descent)	677	254	129	89	1149

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In the attempt to find out the distribution of WNI votes for other than the Baperki, an ecological analysis was made on the assumption that all Baperki votes were cast by WNI. Those parties which for obvious reasons WNI voters would not have been interested in--such as the Moslem parties, the women's organizations, the regional organizations, the peasant and the police employees organizations--have been left out of the calculations. The procedure was as follows: the results of the polling stations in the areas with an almost similar density of the WNI Chinese descent population were grouped together. In each group the results of the parties likely to have received support of these WNI voters were compared and computed. This analysis showed the order of preference in regard to the parties outside of the Baperki to be: Parkindo; PSI; Murba; Katolik; PKI.

In regard to the Baperki it was to be expected that it would have the first preference. Typical is the explanation for this given by a Peranakan in his early sixties, the owner of a stationery store who is a well-known personality in town: "We Peranakans are non-party, therefore we vote for the Baperki." This statement is a clear indication of the effectiveness of the strong emphasis the Baperki has always put on its non-partyness, a psychologically clever move to appeal to people who have traditionally shown an aversion towards participation in politics. Thus many Peranakans take it for granted that they should vote for the kembang terate (the lotus flower, the symbol of the Baperki).

The Parkindo coming out first among the parties outside of the Baperki is an indication, first, of the considerable number of Peranakan Protestants and, second, of the effectiveness of the campaign of the Christian leaders to make their followers aware of their specific interests as Christians, which they claim can only be taken care of by Christian parties. Thus, one of the Peranakans who is active in the Parkindo as well as the Baperki told the writer that he is convinced that Peranakan Christians voted in favor of either the Parkindo or the Partai Katolik and not for the Baperki. (In this election the two Christian parties made an agreement to pool their votes.)

As to the PSI, we have already mentioned how before the rise of the Baperki it received some support among the Peranakans, probably not in small part due to the strong backing it has always received from Keng Po, the most widely read newspaper among the Peranakans in Sukabumi. In regard to the Murba, it is surely the fact that a Peranakan was put up as one of its candidates which drew some Peranakans to vote for it.

Finally, as to the question of whether the WNI-Chinese descent took an active part in this election, the answer is surely in the affirmative. This can be shown by the following calculation: the total number of votes for the Baperki is 1,383, or 54.6 per cent. We may assume that these were all given by WNI of Chinese descent. The total number of votes for the Parkindo-Partai Katolik is 781. The total number of Peranakan Christians is 900 (after subtracting the about 100 Totoks). If we assume that one-third of them was eligible to vote, then there would be 300 WNI-Chinese descent who voted for the Christian parties. It is highly probable that this figure is still a conservative estimation, because it is unlikely that the majority of the 781 votes for these two parties were given

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by Indonesians, as there are certainly fewer Indonesian than Peranakan Christians. Besides, there are the votes that must have been given to the PSI and the Murba. So it would appear that we may add 400 non-Baperki votes to the 1,383 votes for the Baperki, which makes a total of 1,783 votes. The total number of WNI-Chinese descent eligible to vote is 2,532, from which we may conclude that at least 70 per cent of them turned up at the polling stations. (9) This compares not unfavorably with the total number of valid votes cast by non-WNI-Chinese descent voters, which is 79 per cent.

Participation in Formal Organizations

The organizational activities of the Totoks and the Peranakans will be discussed together in this section because there is, in fact, only one organization which is exclusively alien, all others being more or less culturally determined along the dichotomy of Totok-Peranakan, some with a majority of the former, others with a majority of the latter. Virtually all of them have Chinese (in the Mandarin or in the Hokkien pronunciation) names or, if they have changed to an Indonesian name, are still referred to by their Chinese name.

The Lien I Hui--This organization is only recently formed (July 1956), probably in view of the change of the name of the Chung Hua Tsung Hui into Badan Permusjawaratan Indonesia Tionghoa (Consultative Body of Indonesian Chinese), abbreviated BPIT, on November 1, 1956. Structurally the Lien I Hui seems to be the counterpart of the BPIT in that it is also a coordinating body to which other organizations are affiliated. As such it seems to be the leading organization which acts for the alien community in relations with non-aliens. We have already seen that it played the leading role in the October first celebration of 1956. This is a conclusive indication that its political orientation is decidedly pro-Peking. This is also shown by the fact that its office is situated in the pro-Peking Chung Hua school. The members of the board are predominantly Hokkiens, with the most important ones also serving as members of the school board of the Chung Hua school.

The Eng Tjhun Kong So--This is the speech group association of the Hokkiens coming from the district of Yung Ch'un. This is one of the oldest associations in town, having been founded in 1910. The nucleus is formed by the kongsi of owners of salted-fish shops. (There are only two kongsis in town; the other one is that of porksellers.) The association owns a spacious building, built before the war from funds accumulated by the donation of a few cents for each kilogram of trasi (shrimp paste, the basic ingredient for the sambal, the relish

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(9) This figure is computed by subtracting the figure of the assumed WNI-Chinese descent votes (1,783) from the total valid votes (28,508) which gives the total valid non-WNI-Chinese descent votes: 26,725. This figure is divided by 33,875, which is the number of the total eligible voters (36,407) minus the total of the eligible voters of Chinese descent (2,532).

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made of pounded hot pepper which is indispensable in the Indonesian as well as the Peranakan menu) sold by the members of the kongsi. This building is rented to the public for wedding or birthday parties or any other kind of party.

Membership is open to all men (the fact that there are no women members indicates the traditional structure of this type of association) of Eng Tjhun origin and their descendants, regardless of place of birth or nationality. No dues are collected. In fact it boils down to this, that those who can claim to be of Eng Tjhun origin have the privilege of renting the building at a rate about one-third of the amount asked from non-Eng Tjhun people.

The board is elected annually, but for the past several years the chairman has been a local-born man of China-born parents, educated in China, who has been a principal of the Chung Hua school. He is an Indonesian citizen, a strong proof that this association is not restricted to aliens.

In regard to political orientation, it is generally considered pro-Peking, though the chairman claims that it has no political color whatsoever. It is not surprising that it is regarded as such, because alien Hokkiens are virtually all citizens of Peking China.

The Hak Suk Kung Hui--This association is the Hakka counterpart of the Eng Tjhun Kong So. It is a very young association, founded only in 1954--a clear indication of the much more recent settlement of Hakkas in this area. It also owns a spacious building which is rented to the public for parties.

Membership is open to Hakka men and their descendants, regardless of place of birth or nationality. The officers are elected for a period of two years.

This association is generally considered pro-KMT, presumably because among the leading Hakka men there are quite a number who are known as being pro-KMT or at the least not pro-Peking.

These three organizations are the largest and the most community-wide. They are generally considered to be Totok organizations, because in their cultural and political outlook they are decidedly China oriented, either Peking or Taipei. The Lien I Hui can be categorized under what Willmott calls the "community leadership organizations";(10) it acts indeed as spokesman for the interests of the alien community, it serves as intermediary between this community and the government (though during the time of the study still indirectly through the BPIT) and it is the agency to which members of the community turn when they are in need of help and guidance. The two speech group associations seem to be based on the idea of the traditional mutual aid associations. As far as their function

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(10) Willmott, The Chinese of Semarang, p. 135.

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goes, however, they clearly perform a service that is extended beyond their members by providing their building for the use of non-members also.

Next to these large organizations which cater to the social needs of the community, there are the clubs which are formed by small groups of people who share a certain specific interest or a certain specific hobby. There is the Su Chung Hsiao Yu Hui, the organization of students and ex-students of the high school level of the Chung Hua. Composed of students of a Peking-oriented school, this organization is also considered pro-Peking. Then there are the clubs set up for purely recreational purposes, as for instance sports and music clubs. These are the Yeh I Shih, a Chinese boxing and barongsai club, which has Totok Hokkien as well as Peranakan members (but a majority of the former), and the Hua Chiang Shih, a music (western instruments) and barongsai club, also of Totok Hokkiens and Peranakans but with a majority of the latter. Both clubs have their meeting place in the Eng Tjhun Kong So building.

We will now discuss the organizations which are generally considered Peranakan organizations. There are six of them:

BPIT, the former Chung Hua Tsung Hui (social organization)
Baperki (political organization)
Sam Kauw Hwee (religious or rather spiritual association)
Djin Gie Hwee (funeral association)
Gie Say Hwee (recreational club)
PPSMI (organization of Indonesian-language middle school students, formerly called Chung Lien Hui)

The five organizations, starting from the Baperki down, have already been covered in the sections on political behavior, public religious activities, funeral practices, the activities in the temple on the occasion of New Year and the feast day of Kwan Kong, and in the section on education, respectively. It remains only to discuss the BPIT.

The BPIT (Badan Permusjawaratan Indonesia Tionghoa, literally, Consultative Council of Indonesian Chinese) is a continuation of the Chung Hua Tsung Hui, which was, in turn, a continuation of the Hua Ch'iao Tsung Hui (Overseas Chinese Central Association), the only Chinese organization allowed to operate during the Japanese occupation. The change into Chung Hua Tsung Hui occurred after the war, when it became a federation of organizations to which all Chinese organizations could affiliate themselves. Organizations with the same name and purpose exist or existed in virtually all places with a sizeable Chinese community.

In regard to the change into BPIT, which occurred on November 1, 1956, an announcement in Indonesian and Chinese was sent to all members (on October 1) explaining this act as follows:

> As we all know, since the Indonesian government has issued the Citizenship Act there are two groups with a different status not only among those born in China but

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also among those born in Indonesia. One part became Indonesian citizens and another part chose Chinese citizenship.

As a result of this situation, it is very difficult for the Chung Hua Tsung Hui, whose members consist of 60 per cent WNI and 40 per cent Chinese citizens, to continue its activities in the same way as in the past, unless the name and status are changed in accordance with the change of status of the members.

Considering the fact that an organization with the structure and the activities such as the CHTH is still necessary among us, therefore, as happened in other towns, (11) the executive board of the CHTH made the decision to change the name of the CHTH as of November 1, 1956 into:

Badan Permusjawaratan Indonesia-Tionghoa
Abbreviated BPIT

which will continue performing the activities of the CHTH. (12)

The purpose and activities of the BPIT as outlined in their statutes clearly point to the truly social character of this organization. Its function as intermediary is also definitiely brought out by its aim of "establishing feelings of brotherhood between Indonesians and Chinese," and its acting as "informant" to pass on regulations and decisions of the government. It is surely this function of intermediary which has induced the leaders of the organization to continue keeping its membership open to aliens. The office, situated in one of the annexes of the former residence of the Chinese kapitan and open daily with a staff consisting of the chairman, secretary, and an office worker, actually serves as a consultation bureau. This office is generally referred to among the Peranakans as kantor Tsung Hui (kantor is Indonesian for office), even after the name was changed. People in conflict with the police, confused by the assessment of their taxes or anything connected with the government, and not infrequently also those involved in private conflicts (difficulties with neighbors or in business transactions, etc.) all come to this office to ask the advice or the arbitration of the chairman, Mr. Tan Beng Yauw. Here is also situated the office of a Peranakan solicitor from Djakarta who holds office on certain days of the week. It is primarily in his function as chairman of the BPIT that Mr. Tan is known in the community, among the Peranakans as well as the Totoks (although he is also chairman of the Baperki and the Sam Kauw Hwee). As such he, in fact, performs the role of the former kapitan or luitenant and later wijkmeester of the Chinese. We have seen that he was the person called by the military commander to represent the Chinese

(11) For instance, in Bogor.

(12) Translation from the Indonesian text by the writer. This organization still has an official Chinese name in Chinese characters.

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community in connection with the clean-up campaign. As far as the Indonesian authorities are concerned, it is the BPIT in the person of Mr. Tan which represents the Chinese community as a whole. Mr. Tan, who does not speak Chinese at all, in turn relays announcements and instructions to the Totok community through Mr. Lim Eng Kauw, the recognized leader of the pro-Peking group (local born of Fukien-born parents, Chinese education, in his middle forties, wealthy owner of a salted fish shop) and, until his death in 1957, through Mr. Lim Beng Hok, the recognized leader of the pro-KMT group (China-born Hokkien man, in his early sixties, wealthy gold shop owner).

The BPIT also functions as the organization which provides help for the old and the needy. It has a special relief fund from which, during the time of the study, nine men, two women, and two children received weekly support. At the time of Chinese New Year, about a week before, a special distribution is held for all who are considered as needy. To find out who really needs help, the aid of the Protestant churches and, of course, also of the Sam Kauw Hwee is asked. (It is interesting to note that the Catholic Church was not included. Asked why, the chairman replied that there are no needy people among them.) This distribution gives a good indication of the number of poor people in the Chinese community. In 1957, about ninety persons were found to be eligible for help. Each received a package consisting of one pound of tapioca flour, one ounce of tea, one ounce of sugar, one ounce of coffee, one bottle of soya sauce, some cakes, one piece of cloth (for women to make a kabaja), one shirt for men and cash from ten up to forty rupiah. Usually rice is also included in the package, but as at that time it was extremely expensive, there was not enough money collected to buy it. Some of the articles were bought with money donated by the Chinese community, Totoks as well as Peranakans, and some were presented by shopkeepers. Those who were to receive a package were notified to come to the office of the BPIT on a certain day at eight in the morning. By 11 o'clock the writer had counted 78 persons: Peranakans, 28 males and 31 females; Totoks, 6 males and 3 females; Indonesians, 10 females (widows or wives of Chinese men). All these people had to sign their names, which revealed that 33 were able to write, while 7 wrote their name in Chinese characters; all others made a thumb print. Thus, of the poorest group in the community, 50 per cent were illiterate. We may infer from this that, with only about one per cent to be considered needy, there is no problem of pauperism in the Chinese community of Sukabumi.

The BPIT office is also the place where transients who are on their way to look for a job in Bogor or Djakarta, but find themselves short of money to continue the trip, might apply for transportation money, which they usually get.

Thus we find that in regard to organizational activities, there is a distinction between Peranakan organizations and Totok organizations, a distinction which is generally recognized by the community itself. The former are characterized by the use of an Indonesian name (BPIT, Baperki, PPSMI) or a Hokkien-derived name (Sam Kauw Hwee,

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Gie Say Hwee). The BPIT, of course, has a unique position due to its officially recognized function as the link between this community and the government. There are indications, however, that a separation will occur, with the Lien I Hui taking over this function for the alien community, and Mr. Lim Eng Kauw as its spokesman, one of the recognized leaders of this community, already known to the Indonesian authorities, for he often accompanies Mr. Tan in discussions with them. Another characteristic of Peranakan organizations is the use of Indonesian in meetings, announcements, and publications. This is a clear indication that the organizational separation between these two groups is based on culturally determined factors which has produced the dichotomy Peranakan-Totok. As to national status, we may safely assume that virtually all of the members are WNI.

In regard to the Totok organizations, they are characterized by the use of a Chinese name, usually in the Mandarin pronunciation, except for the speech group associations, the use of Chinese at meetings, again usually Mandarin which points to the influence of the Chinese-language schools where Mandarin is the language of instruction, and the use of Chinese characters in their announcements and publications. We have already noticed that, except for the Lien I Hui, all other Totkk organizations seem to disregard the national status of their members. It would appear that in this area, too, a change is pending which is primarily due to the government regulation of prohibiting WNI to attend alien, i.e., Chinese schools (a large proportion of the members of these organizations have been drawn from these schools) and the clear-cut division in national status between WNI and aliens.

Thus we may conclude that next to the schools it is in the organizational activities that we will no longer have to make the distinction among the ethnic Chinese along the culturally determined dichotomy of Peranakan-Totok, but along the dichotomy determined by national status, WNI-Alien.

In regard to participation in Indonesian organizations, we have already mentioned that few Peranakans join any of the political parties. This is true of the other types of organizations as well. This was confirmed in regard to the women also by the president of the BKOW, the Badan Koordinasi Organisasi Wanita (the Coordinating Body of Indonesian Women's Organizations). The only Peranakan women's organization is the women's section of the Chinese Protestant church, which was not affiliated with the BKOW at the time of the study, but the president informed the writer that steps were being taken in that direction.

There is, however, an exclusive club formed by the top officials of the town, among others the mayor, the regent, the patih (second in rank to the regent), the djaksa (public prosecutor), notary public, which Peranakan large enterprisers, among others the managers of the big theaters and the owner of one of the largest textile factories, have been invited to join. The club has meetings once a month, the members taking turns acting as host. Originally the setup was for each host to give a talk on his occupation, in order that they might get some idea of one another's work, but the writer was informed that this program was of

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short duration. Soon the club turned into a regular social club with card playing, gossiping, and eating (the wives of the members also join the meetings).

It is, in fact, only in the hobby clubs that we find inter-group mixing, as for instance in the tennis clubs, hunting groups, in arranging cock fights and listening to the perkutut bird. (13) Of the seven tennis clubs in Sukabumi which are affiliated with the Pelti, the national tennis association, only two are exclusively Indonesian; all others are mixed Indonesian-Peranakan, several also including some Eurasians. The mixed club with the largest membership is the STC (Sukabumi Tennis Club) which has seven ethnic Indonesian members, nine Peranakans, one Eurasian, and one German. This is the oldest tennis club in town and is considered the elite club because among its members are the regent, the chief judge, the public prosecutor, the secretary of the municipal hall, one of the top-ranking officers of the police training school, the best-known Peranakan physician, the only German surgeon, the Peranakan owner of one of the largest textile factories, and the Peranakan owner of the largest printing plant. It is in this western game that the western-educated Indonesian and the western-educated Peranakan find their meeting ground for social interaction. And it is through contacts in this field that the wealthy Peranakans who form the western-educated group establish relationships with the top administrative officials who constitute the elite among the Indonesians, making it unnecessary for them to contact the chairman of the BPIT, for instance, to act as intermediary in their dealings with the government.

Intergroup Relations

In the final section of this chapter we will examine the pattern of social interaction between the members of the three communities: Totok-Peranakan, Totok-Indonesian, and Peranakan-Indonesian. The approach we will take is to determine the pattern of interaction in, first, public institutions and public situations such as in church, school, formal organizations, business, and at the polling station during the election, and second, private institutions and private situations such as informal recreational and social clubs, formal and informal entertaining, and incidence of intermarriage and conversion to Islam.

Totok-Peranakan

Social interaction in public institutions and public situations--Church and school are the two important places in this category:

1. Interaction in church--As there are no Totoks among the Catholics, we may omit the Catholic Church in this discussion. (During

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(13) The perkutut is a bird belonging to the pigeon family, with a particular way of cooing which the lovers of these birds can listen to for hours on end. There are even perkutut contests. These birds are usually kept in a cage which during the day is hoisted on a tall bamboo pole in the front or back yard of the house. This is a hobby usually found among older men only.

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the time of the study, an attempt was made by a Dutch refugee missionary from China to get in touch with Totoks, but to the writer's knowledge, he was not successful.)

Among the Protestants there are Totoks in the two largest churches: the Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee and the Sidang Kristus. In the former, the Totoks, who form a small Hokkien-speaking group with service in Hokkien, are completely separate from the Peranakans. In the latter church there is no separation of services, but still social interaction seems not to extend beyond the formal meeting in church and the equally formal situation of attending a wedding reception after the church ceremony, for instance. This is especially the case when both husband and wife are Totoks. If the wife is a Peranakan, the degree of social interaction with other Peranakans is immediately much higher.

2. Interaction in school--Practically all ethnic Chinese children of school age are local born; this situation follows from the fact that few immigrants have come since the last few years before the Pacific war. During the school year 1956-1957, of the ethnic Chinese children in school, more than half (59.5 per cent) were attending Chinese-language schools: on all levels except the senior high school there was a higher proportion in Chinese-language schools than in Indonesian-language schools. As we have pointed out in the chapter on education, this means that there must be a considerable number of children of Peranakans attending Chinese schools.

Among the students themselves there seems to be no indication of a distinction made between Peranakan and Totok parentage. This can be attributed to the fact that for all of the students the medium of instruction, Mandarin, is a language they have to learn from the start, because even among the children of China-born parents the language they speak at home is usually not Mandarin, but one of the regional languages of the area of origin of their parents. The means of communication among all these children, prior to acquiring facility in Mandarin, is Sundanese and Malay.

It would appear that it is only among the small number who continue in senior high school that we notice a positive orientation towards China, which is indicated among others by the fact that they usually speak Mandarin among themselves. Among those who quit school at the junior high level or even earlier, the children of Peranakans remain Peranakan oriented, while the children of Totoks either continue their China orientation or become Peranakan oriented also, depending on their occupation and association.

Since the implementation of the government regulation prohibiting WNI children from attending alien schools, however, a radical change in the education system has occurred, in that from then on ethnic Chinese children who are WNI no longer have the opportunity to acquire a formal education which would foster an orientation towards China. Although this has not resulted in an immediate and complete integration of ethnic Chinese children in public schools (a situation which is partly caused by the technical factor of lack of schools), yet there are positive indications of

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the breakdown of the exclusiveness of the ethnic Chinese, which is especially true on the secondary school level. Thus in the field of formal education we will eventually have a clear-cut distinction between ethnic Chinese students who are China oriented and aliens, and those who are Indonesia oriented and Indonesian citizens.

Interaction in formal organizations--The formal organizations in Sukabumi are recognized by the community itself as either Peranakan or Totok, although many of them are not exclusive in their membership. There seems to be a positive correlation between the type of organization and the type of the majority of the membership, i.e., Peranakan or Totok. The organizations in Sukabumi can be distinguished into six types or categories:

Mutual aid organizations: the two speech group associations and the funeral association.
Social organizations: the Lien I Hui and the BPIT.
Recreational clubs: the Yeh I Shih, Hua Chiang Shih, and the Gie Sai Hwee.
Students' organizations: the Shu Chung Hsiao Yu Hui and the PPSMI.
Political organization: Baperki.
Religious or spiritual organization: Sam Kauw Hwee.

In the first category, the mutual aid organizations, the two speech group associations are considered Totok organizations, though both have Peranakan members also, while the funeral association is considered Peranakan, though it includes some Totok members. All three organizations have two things in common: first, they function as a kind of mutual aid society in that members enjoy certain privileges in the use of property owned by the association, and second, they have an impersonal character, in that organized social activities seem to be kept to a minimum. Thus it would appear that in this type of organization, the main attraction is its utilitarian aspect. This would be especially true of the minority group in each of these organizations. Comparing the three organizations as a whole as to the importance we may attach to this function of the utilitarian aspect, it is perhaps least applicable in the Hakka association, more so in the Eng Tjhun association and most so in the Peranakan funeral association. These different degrees of cohesiveness no doubt reflect the characteristics of the majority of the members in each of these organizations. The Hakka association was founded only a few years back, from which we may infer that it is set up to fill a need which is acutely felt at the present time. Moreover, Hakkas are more recent immigrants, which accounts for two facts: there are fewer Peranakans, thus creating a more homogeneous membership; there is a stronger need for group formation. The Eng Tjhun association is of a much older date, resulting in a wider range of membership, from completely Totok to completely Peranakan, which is, of course, not conducive for the formation of a homogeneous group. The Djin Gie Hwee has been from the start a predominantly Peranakan organization. The character of this type of organization is congenial to the Peranakans, who are generally lacking in organizational spirit. As we have noted earlier, membership in this association functions as a kind of insurance and it does not require more than the

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payment of monthly dues and a certain specified amount whenever a member dies. Thus, despite the mixed membership, the character of these organizations is not conducive to the formation of close social interactions between Totoks and Peranakans.

Of the second category, the social organizations, the Lien I Hui is considered completely Totok, although it includes members who are technically Peranakan. On the other hand, the BPIT, although membership is open to Totoks, is considered completely Peranakan, which is due to its unique position as the link between the Chinese community as a whole and the Indonesian government. The BPIT as such, however, does not provide opportunities for socializing, because internally it functions more or less as a coordinating body, to which smaller organizations and clubs can affiliate themselves. Thus in this type of organization also there is a minimum of opportunity for social interaction between Totoks and Peranakans.

The third category, the recreational clubs, shows a different picture. All three clubs have a mixed membership, but in the Yeh I Shih the Totok element predominates and in the Hua Chiang Shih the Peranakan element, while the Gie Sai Hwee is almost completely Peranakan except for a few Totoks, among them one of the ex-coaches for Chinese boxing. All three clubs have two things in common: they are youth clubs consisting mostly of students and ex-students of Chinese-language schools and their form of recreation is China oriented: the playing of the lion and/or the dragon and the practice of Chinese boxing. Since these members are mostly young people, as in the school situation, we have to point out that the Totok element we are referring to designates the cultural orientation, because technically virtually all these youths are Peranakans. It would appear, therefore, that the effect of these clubs is a preservation of a certain aspect of the Chinese cultural heritage, resulting in the reinforcement of Peranakanization and not so much in an increase in China orientedness.

In the fourth category, the students' organizations, there is a positive split, in that the Su Chung Hsiao Yu Hui is an organization of students of Chinese-language schools, while the PPSMI is its counterpart for students of Indonesian-language schools. To the writer's knowledge there is no formal or informal relationship between these two organizations.

In the fifth category, the spiritual organization, the Sam Kauw Hwee is totally Peranakan, with the meetings, publications, and announcements in Indonesian. We have already indicated that the formation of this organization can be considered as the expression of a desire for reintegration and reassertion of their specific identity by Peranakans.

In the sixth category, the political organization, the Baperki by its participation in Indonesian politics is by definition a Peranakan organization.

Interaction in the realm of business--We have already noted that Totoks are virtually all engaged in business, the majority of them operating small retail shops. However, an observation supported by many

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Peranakan as well as Totok informants is that when both a Totok-owned shop of a certain type and a Peranakan-owned exist, Peranakans tend to patronize the latter rather than the former. This seems to be partly an indication of group solidarity in the economic field (because when the Totok owner of a shop has a Peranakan wife who also helps in the shop, there are also a considerable number of Peranakan patrons) and partly the result of the fact that most Totok-owned shops carry lower quality goods and have, moreover, less variety. The largest grocery store, textile shop, and iron-ware store are operated by Peranakans, for instance. Many of the well-to-do among the Peranakans even make special trips to Djakarta or Bandung for shopping purposes.

Totok and Peranakan shop owners also have little contact with each other, except in those branches which are monopolized by Totoks, e.g., the iron-ware stores. These are almost all owned by China-born Hokkiens coming from the same village in the vicinity of Hsia-men. There is one shop among them, however, which is owned by a Peranakan in his early forties, belonging to one of the wealthy old families in town. He is a very genial man who knows practically everybody in town, Totoks as well as Peranakans. He told the writer that he can get on very well with the Totok shop owners. He talks Malay with them, mixed with some Hokkien, which he has picked up through his frequent contacts with them. He added, however, that his relations with them are strictly on the business level. They meet in the store and he seldom or never comes to their house, nor does he invite them to his house. (Both he and his wife had a Dutch school education.) He seems to be one of the few Peranakans accepted by the Totoks; he has been chosen a member of the school board of the Chung Hua school, the members of which are virtually all China-born Hokkinns, even though he does not speak Chinese and does not have children attending the school. (He has only one daughter and she attends the school run by the Chinese Protestant church.) He told the writer that he does not understand why he was selected to serve on the board, because he does not know Chinese at all, which was the reason why he had been to the meetings only once or twice during the year of office. The writer suspects that besides his geniality it is the fact that he has rejected Indonesian citizenship, thereby becoming a Chinese citizen, which has contributed to his acceptability among the Totok Hokkiens.

In the manufacturing branch there seems to be more contact between these two groups. The manager of one of the largest textile factories told the writer that his greatest buyer is a China-born Hokchia man. This person functions as middleman between the producer and the (usually Totok) wholesale buyers, concentrated in the well-known Pintu Ketjil business center in the Chinatown of Djakarta. The manager of the largest Peranakan-owned tea factory also informed the writer that his agents are Totok men, who buy the tea for the dealers, who sort, mix, and pack it, prior to marketing.

Both managers are of the opinion that Totok buyers are excellent customers, because they are reliable and competent persons and, being Totoks themselves, can make better deals with the many Totok wholesale and retail enterprisers.

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Social interaction in private institutions and private situations--Informal recreational and social clubs of mixed Totoks and Peranakans appear to exist only in the form of gambling clubs. The writer was informed of several Peranakan and Totok men who are known as regular gamblers. The games they play are mah-jong and Chinese cards. Entertaining, informal or even formal, seems hardly to exist between these two groups. On the occasions of Totok weddings and parties which the writer attended hardly any Peranakans were present, and vice versa. At a Hakka wedding, that group to which the writer belonged were the only Peranakans. This was also the case at a party given by a Hokchia man on the occasion of his first son becoming one month old. At a wedding of which the bride was a Peranakan and the groom a local-born adopted son of Totok parents, the members of the family of the bride were the only Peranakans present at the party given by the family of the groom. The same situation can be seen at funerals. At the Totok funerals the writer attended, there were few Peranakans, while at the Peranakan funerals there were virtually no Totoks. It would appear, however, that where the wife of a Totok man is a Peranakan, the situation can be different. In one of the weddings described in the section dealing with this topic, for instance, we have seen how, despite the fact that the father of the groom was a Totok, the celebration was completely dominated by Peranakans.

Intermarriage between Totok men and Peranakan women has always occurred, but in the instances observed in Sukabumi, the Peranakan women were virtually all of the lower class. The men are usually Hokkiens. Quite a number of the owners of the small shops along the Djalan Plabuan II and its side streets and in the vicinity of the temple, for instance, are found to have Peranakan wives. It is not infrequent that these marriages are not legal, i. e., not officially registered, though in the case of a first marriage of the Peranakan woman, the sembahjang samkai may have been performed. One of the judges at the court told the writer that many a Peranakan woman had come to court to bring a charge against her husband for deserting her and the children. In these cases, the judge said, it is very difficult to hold the husband responsible, because the marriage is not considered legal.

Asked why, compared to the Hokkiens, few Hakkas marry Peranakan women, a local-born Hakka man of China-born parents, himself as well as his younger brothers and sisters all married to China-born or local-born Hakkas, explained that, besides being more recent immigrants than the Hokkiens, Hakkas in general are more determined to return to their native country after having saved enough money. Therefore, he said, it would not be wise to marry a Peranakan woman, because it is doubtful whether she would be able to feel at home in the native place of her husband. Thus Hakka men often return to their village to get a wife and then come back with her to Indonesia.

This lack of social interaction between Totoks and Peranakans is the result of the crucial difference in cultural orientation as expressed in language, education, occupational performance, and practices and customs, creating intergroup prejudices of which both groups are sharply

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aware. The relationship between these two groups is aptly described by the former wijkmeester, a Peranakan, by the statement that "Totoks and Peranakans are like oil and water," in other words, they can never come together. The greatest barrier is, of course, formed by the difference in language, resulting in the impossibility of free and easy communication. We have already noted that the home language of the Peranakans in Sukabumi is a mixture of Sundanese and Malay and in western-educated families a mixture of both plus Dutch. Among the children of these families who attend Chinese-language schools the use of Mandarin is, of course, limited to the school environment, but even then it is often mixed with Sundanese and Malay. The home language of Totoks, on the other hand, is one of the local dialects of their area of origin in China and for the younger generation, Mandarin. The only other language they would know is a working knowledge of Sundanese and Malay.

There are definitely mutual feelings of superiority between these two groups. Totoks look down on Peranakans because they have lost some of the crucial characteristics of being a Chinese: they do not speak Chinese, they are unable to eat with chopsticks. The ability to do the latter seems to be considered an important indication of "Chineseness"; Peranakans who show skill in handling chopsticks never fail to evoke a pleased surprise among Totoks. Then, of course, there is the choice of Indonesian citizenship. This choice has placed the final barrier between the two groups. The writer noticed that Peranakan students of Chinese-language schools who have Indonesian citizenship are very reluctant and even ashamed to disclose this. Totoks refer to Indonesians as hoan-á, a Hokkien term meaning foreigner or barbarian, but in a derogatory sense. It would appear that when a Totok wants to express contempt for a Peranakan he refers to him as a person who has jip hoan (jip meaning to enter, to come in), i. e., become Indonesian.

In the occupational field, Totoks have a high evaluation of being one's own boss, even though on an extremely small scale; therefore, they tend to look down on Peranakans, a considerable number of whom are wage earners. Totoks have also a high evaluation of frugality and the ability to save which is indicated by their willingness to live on as low a standard of living as possible. A China-born Hokkien married to a Peranakan woman has given the following striking comparison in this respect: When a Totok can afford to spend 15 rupiah a day on food, he will save at least 2.50, for instance, by cutting down on the variety of dishes. A Peranakan, however, will use up all. This is a highly interesting comparison, because, as we will see later, this very same inability to save is a characteristic Peranakans ascribe to Indonesians.

Peranakans, on the other hand, also feel superior to Totoks. In the first place, we have to bear in mind, however, that the Totoks with whom Peranakans usually come in contact are the small warong keepers and small retail shop owners, who are, of course, of low socio-economic status. Thus we find that Peranakans consider Totoks uneducated and illiterate, because they cannot read and write Latin letters. Their speech, especially that of Hakkas, is considered queer,

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crude, and loud, "as if they are fighting continuously." Little Peranakan children like to imitate them, and this is generally considered very funny. Another cause for hilarity is the way Totoks speak Malay or Sundanese. Peranakans consider Totcks also as lacking in cleanliness: their shops and their way of living is considered unclean and untidy. Eating with chopsticks is all right, but not the use of one's own chopsticks to pick up food from the serving dishes, which is considered downright unhygienic, especially by those who have had a western education. A Peranakan, Dutch-educated young woman told the writer how horrified she was when, at a Totok dinner, her host picked up some choice morsels with his chopsticks and put them on her plate. Peranakans often refer to a Totok as orang entjek, a term which is a combination of the Indonesian word orang (a man, a person) and the Hokkien-derived term entjek, which is the kinship term for FaYBr. It has a derogatory connotation and stems from the fact that Totok warong and shop keepers are usually addressed with entjek. It is not considered as an extension of the use of the kinship term iteself, however, because it is used as a term of address even though the person involved is clearly much older than the father of the speaker. (If it were, the proper terms would be empe or pe.)

In the occupational field there is also a high evaluation among Peranakans placed on being one's own boss, but they tend to seek this in the field of the free professions. There is no doubt also about the high evaluation of frugality and thriftness, and hard work, though Peranakans admit that Totoks surpass them at these virtues. In regard to business practices, Peranakans concede that Totoks achieve more, which they attribute to the greater daring and boldness of Totok businessmen in approaching officials and bribing them. They claim that as immigrants who have no vested interests yet and no good reputation to uphold, Totoks can afford to resort to this kind of practice. Although there is a certain admiration for this toughness and perseverance, yet there is a tendency to consider these traits as unfavorable and possibly detrimental to the interests of the Chinese community as a whole.

It would appear that Peranakans with certain vested intrrests, especially those engaged in business, are inclined to make a sharp distinction between Totoks and Peranakans or rather between aliens and WNI, claiming that the stereotype of all Chinese being rich and sharp and shrewd businessmen applies to the aliens only. This points in a positive sense to an increasingly widening gap between the two groups and in a negative sense to a lack of solidarity between them.

Totok-Indonesian

Social interaction in public institutions and public situations--A discussion of the interaction in church, school, formal organization, and at the polling stations during the election can safely be omitted, because the occurrence of these situations is highly improbable. The form of interaction which we observe between these two groups is limited to the realm of business: the shopkeeper-customer relationship, and in the exchange of services for payment: employer-domestic servant or production worker. In other words, the relationship between these two groups is characterized by a highly impersonal attitude and completely determined by the utilitarian

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aspect: Totoks view the ethnic Indonesians as useful production workers and easy customers, while the ethnic Indonesians view the Totoks as useful employers and as the providers of commodities which are within their budget. Outside the commercial sphere there is also the formal contact which occurs occasionally, for instance on such formal occasions as the opening of the new section of the Chung Hua school and the reception on the first of October, when Indonesian authorities are invited.

Any closer social interaction is precluded by the language barrier and by the great cultural difference between the two groups. The writer was made vividly aware of this difference when observing the highly puzzled expression on the faces of the Indonesian onlookers watching the burning of the paper articles on the occasion of the big annual offering of the Hakka women and viewing the display of food offerings on the occasion of the offering for the neglected spirits. These acts must be the more puzzling to them in view of the extreme frugality displayed by Totoks in other aspects of their daily life.

One form of interaction which should not be underestimated is the employment of Indonesian domestic servants, especially of those who look after the children. Undoubtedly it is these Indonesian "nurses" who are responsible for the intrusion of the language of the local area in speech at home, also manifest in the frequent use of Sundanese among the first generation local-born children, as we observed in the Chinese-language Chung Hua school, for instance. It is no doubt this form of interaction also which constitutes the first steps towards Peranakanization of the ethnic Chinese child of Totok parentage.

Social interaction in private institutions and private situations--From the above it follows that interaction in this area can only be minimal, if it is not entirely non-existent. The writer has not observed any Totoks entertaining Indonesians, either formally or informally, nor the reverse.

Instances of a union between a Totok and a Sundanese woman do exist, however, but these tend to be of an earlier date, i.e., these were mostly unions which have existed since the prewar period. The writer observed one case, for instance, where the Totok Hokkien man who operates a small warong is about seventy or older and the Sundanese woman around sixty. At the distribution of packages on the occasion of Chinese New Year, sponsored by the BPIT, there were ten Indonesian women who were wives or widows of Chinese men. (Though in the registration for this distribution no differentiation was made between Totok and Peranakan, we may safely assume that there must have been Totoks among these men.) They were older womnn and the striking thing about them was that the writer was able to recognize only two of them immediately as ethnic Indonesian. The other eight looked so completely Peranakan in features and dress that she did not suspect them to be ethnic Indonesians before the chairman of the BPIT pointed them out to her. According to him, these women have been married to Chinese for a long time and they have adoptdd the Peranakan way of dress and their customs. From the way he drew the writer's attention to these women

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and the way he talked about it, it is clear that he took this phenomenon of the Peranakanization of the ethnic Indonesian wife of an ethnic Chinese as something which follows as a matter of course. It is obvious that these unions have been highly significant, because they form the source of recruitment to add to the ranks of Peranakans.

There is no doubt that due to their high evaluation of certain characteristics as, for instance, frugality, thriftiness, and hard work, Totoks feel themselves superior to Indonesians, whom they consider lacking in these abilities. As one might expect, there is today among them a strong apprehension as to their position in Indonesia. Many of them realize that it is becoming increasingly untenable due to the stringent regulations of the government, not only towards commercial but also organizational and educational activities of aliens. The writer has met several who stated that they are seriously considering leaving the country because the situation is becoming increasingly unbearable to them. The Indonesian, on the other hand, is often unable--or if advantageous for his interests prefers not--to distinguish between Totoks and Peranakans and usually lumps them together. We will, therefore, view the attitude of Indonesians towards Totoks together with that towards Peranakans in the next section.

As for conversion to Islam, the writer has not come across any incidence of this among Totoks.

Peranakan-Indonesian

The social interaction between these two groups appears in all the forms mentioned above, but the form of intergroup interaction in which Peranakans participate seems to be related to their socio-economic level as expressed in education, wealth, and occupation. Not surprisingly, of course, interaction in public institutions and public situations exists on all levels. However, intergroup recreational and social clubs and formal and informal entertaining appears to be limited to the top level western-educated, wealthy private enterprisers who associate with the western-educated, top-ranking Indonesian administrative officials. Intermarriage and conversion to Islam, on the other hand, seem to exist primarily only on the bottom level of the social structure.

Social interaction in public institutions and public situations--Church and school are the two important places in this category.

1. Interaction in church--Except for the Catholic church, where they form 64.1 per cent of the total membership, there are only two other Christian churches in which Indonesians constitute a considerable proportion of the membership. In all others there are none of them or only a negligible few. Among the Seventh Day Adventists, half of the members are Indonesians (23 out of 44, in 1957), while in the Geredja Pantekosta (in 1956), ten per cent of its members are Indonesian (44 out of a total of 453). In both these churches the Indonesians are mostly not new converts, but Christians from outside Java: Bataks, Menadonese, Ambonese, Timorese. There are some Javanese, but virtually no Sundanese (one in

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the Geredja Pantekosta and none among the Adventists). In both churches, also, although the religious leaders are Indonesians, it appears that the policy and decision making is largely in the hands of the Peranakan council members. Of the other Protestant churches, the Kie Tok Kauw Hwee has its separate Indonesian counterpart in the Geredja Pasundan, with which it has joint meetings only once a month and for the celebration of Christmas. In the Sidang Kristus (in 1957) there are only five Indonesian members (Sundanese wives of ethnic Chinese men) out of a total of 255. The Pinkster Beweging counts only one Sundanese member (the wife of a Peranakan) out of a total of 70 (in 1957). The Geredja Indjil Sepenuh seems to have no Indonesian members at all, while in the Watch Tower one Indonesian member was added through marriage with one of the sons of the leader.

It would appear that it is only in the Catholic church that we find a relationship between Peranakans and Indonesians which is on an equal basis, resulting in effective cooperation in joint activities. This type of relationship is no doubt promoted by the fact that a considerable number of Peranakan Catholics and of Indonesian Catholics as well, are young people who meet each other in school and in the Serodja, the joint youth organization sponsored by the Catholic church.

2. Interaction in school--Peranakan children attending Indonesian-language schools are strongly concentrated in the private schools organized by the Protestant and the Catholic churches. This has put a limitation on the possibility of interaction with Indonesian students in that it has created schools with students who are virtually all or predominantly Peranakan. This high concentration of Peranakan children in a particular school is especially evident in the kindergarten and the primary school level, but becomes progressively less in the junior and senior high school. In other words, mutual exposure increases with the level of education and the age of the students. We have seen that in the Catholic schools this intergroup interaction is promoted through the Serodja, the youth organization which encompasses both groups. We have already indicated that a change in the pattern of Peranakan education has occurred as a result of the prohibition against attending alien schools. This does not apply so much to the secondary school level but certainly does in the levels below. Although we may not expect a break-up of the existing predominantly Peranakan schools, yet we may expect that more Peranakan children will attend schools which are predominantly Indonesian, thus ending the educational separation which the Dutch introduced and which was, in effect, maintained after the war, partly due to the shortage of schools.

Interaction in formal organizations--There are very few indications of Peranakan participation in Indonesian formal organizations. The writer was able to trace some evidences of participation only in Indonesian political parties: in the Murba, the second candidate for the DPRD Kota was a Peranakan; in the PSI, Partai Katolik, Parkindo and PNI there is also at least one card-carrying member in each of them. Obviously, these cases are exceptions, as is also the case with the two Indonesian members in the Sam Kauw Hwee. The latter is the only case

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of Indonesian participation in Peranakan organizations the writer is aware of. Thus formal organizations are certainly not the place where we would find interaction between Peranakans and Indonesians.

Interaction in the realm of business--Interaction in this area is seen abundantly in the daily relationship between Peranakan shopkeeper-Indonesian customer, Peranakan housewife-Indonesian itinerant or market vendor. The relationship in this area often takes the form of the so-called langganan relationship, an Indonesian term, used by the buying party to refer to the shop or the vendor he regularly buys from as well as by the selling party to refer to a regular customer. In the langganan relationship the contact is not strictly commercial, but acquires a more or less personal note, involving trust and, therefore, opening up the possibility of buying on credit. Then there is the sometimes close but always highly unequal relationship between Peranakan master or mistress and Indonesian domestic servant. Due to the greater appeal of factory work and the ideas of freedom and equality generated by the achievement of independence, the willingness to become domestic servants among the Indonesians is rapidly decreasing. This growing problem has resulted in the import of servants from poor areas in central Java. (Some families try to find a solution by employing poor Peranakans. The writer was acquainted with two families, both employing a Peranakan woman as a cook and help for the little children. Both employers, young western-educated Peranakan women, told the writer that in the beginning they had felt very awkward with the situation, not knowing exactly how to treat her, because she could not be considered a servant, and yet she was also not on equal terms with the family. Both stated, however, that after the initial awkwardness they felt happy about the arrangement.) Finally there is the relationship between the Peranakan employer-Indonesian employee and worker, and the relationship between Indonesian and Peranakan businessman. In the area of public contact it is perhaps only in the latter relationship that both parties are on an equal status. As to the mixed business associations, according to the files of enterprises (excluding retail shops and small cottage industry)available at the employment office (Kantor Penempatan Tenaga), there was one company, a car dealer, and service station, where an ethnic Indonesian was registered as the director and a Peranakan as the associate director, and a bus compnny, where an ethnic Indonesian functioned as the director and a Peranakan as head of personnel.

Interaction at the polling stations--This was an observation made during the election for the DPRD which was held on Saturday, August 10, 1957. In order to observe participation of the WNI to best advantage, the writer visited the polling stations with the highest number of WNI eligible voters. It is, of course, not possible to make a comparison of the presence of WNI voters at these polling stations because they were visited at different times. They should, therefore, be viewed as an illustration of the attitude of the WNI during the voting itself. It was remarkable for instance, that in the five polling stations visited in Kota Wetan (the Kelurahan with the highest proportion of ethnic Chinese) at the time of the visit, which was within four hours of the time the voting started, there were disproportionately few WNI waiting in line. In each of these polling

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stations the number of WNI eligible voters was about 25 per cent of the total, yet at the time of the visit only about 10 per cent of those present were WNI. The situation in four polling stations in Kota Kidul and Kota Kulon, two in each (both are Kelurahan with a high concentration of Peranakans in certain areas) seemed to be different, in that the composition of the waiting line was not so conspicuously disproportionate. In one of the polling stations in Kota Kidul, for instance, where the eligible WNI voters formed only one-third of the total, almost half of the people in the waiting line during the time of the visit were WNI. Of the thirteen polling stations visited, this was the only one where the writer observed two Peranakans among the officials in charge. In the other polling station, with only one-seventh of the eligible voters being WNI, one-fourth of the waiting line was formed by WNI. In two of the polling stations in Kota Kulon, each with WNI constituting slightly over one-third of the eligible voters, there were at one o'clock in the afternoon in one of them 12 WNI in the waiting line and only 5 ethnic Indonesians; in the other there were around noon 15 WNI among the 30 people present. In attempting to account for these differences, we should keep in mind that Kota Wetan is an area with a high concentration of aliens, while Kota Kidul and Kota Kulon have a high concentration of WNI. (Kota Kaler has relatively speaking very few of both. The highest number of eligible WNI voters in any one of the polling stations in this Kelurahan was 36; the next after this was one with only 14. In the one with 36, around 9:30, there was not one WNI among the 150-odd people waiting. Because it has different characteristics in terms of the ethnic Chinese population, we have left this Kelurahan out of this particular discussion.) Secondly, we have to keep in mind that there are many more lower class, uneducated people in Kota Kidul and Kota Kulon than in Kota Wetan. It would appear that in the latter, with its high concentration of aliens, WNI are somewhat self-conscious about showing up at the polling stations, because this would reveal them, to the aliens, as people who have rejected their "Chineseness." The writer observed, for instance, that WNI in this area prefer to go back and forth several times waiting for an opportunity when they would be able just to cast their vote and leave, rather than to stand in line. In Kota Kidul and Kota Kulon, where the proportion of aliens is much lower, there is far less manifestation of this kind of inhibition. In all the polling stations visited, however, there seems to be little interaction between the WNI and ethnic Indonesian voters. The WNI usually cluster together, a situation which is made possible by the fact that often several neighbors decide to go to their polling stations together. In connection with this observation, the writer acquired a highly interesting interpretation of the voting behavior of the WNI by one of the well-known Peranakans in town, who was also a member of the propaganda committee of the Baperki. According to him, the surprisingly high participation of the traditionally a-political Peranakans in the election should not be interpreted as an indication of political consciousness, but rather as as indication of fear. In his opinion, logically Peranakans would prefer to stay at home; the fact that they did get up and go to the polls is to him an indication that they are afraid that if they did not do so the party which they believe is best able to defend their interests might not be able to acquire sufficient numbers of votes, and then there would be nobody

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to champion their interests. In general, there seemed to be very little indication of intergroup interaction at the polls.

Social interaction in private institutions and private situations--We have noted the existence of intergroup tennis clubs and of an intergroup social club. We have also noted that this type of interaction on an equal status seems to be limited to the western-educated, wealthy Peranakan private enterprisers and the elite group of western-educated top-ranking officials. The common ground where they meet is their western education which has resulted in a more modern outlook and a liking for games introduced by westerners. Among the older, mostly non-western-educated men, there are also the get-togethers for the purpose of listening to the perkutut bird or for cock fighting. Thus, informal groupings of mixed Peranakans and Indonesians exist, usually with a shared hobby as the basis for their existence.

Formal entertaining usually occurs on the occasions of Lebaran and Chinese New Year. At the Lebaran reception held at the residence of the regent, however, there were no Peranakans present. This is understandable if we consider the fact that this meeting has a religious connotation in that it has the purpose of asking one another forgiveness for possible wrongs committed during the past year, in accordance with Islam. The writer was informed that later in the day two of the wealthy Peranakans who belong to the same tennis club as the regent had come to visit him. These people also paid a visit to the mayor. On the occasion of Chinese New Year the writer noticed the mayor visiting one of these two people, a western-educated owner of one of the largest textile factories. There is also an exchange of invitations for weddings and other formal big parties, e.g., a birthday, a circumcision, or an engagement. At the Peranakan funerals the writer attended there were usually also a few Indonesians present, and the indications are that this is also a reciprocal situation. It would appear, however, that this type of more or less formal reciprocal visiting on an equal footing is limited to the group of wealthy western-educated Peranakans and the group of elite and similarly western-educated Indonesians.

One of the Peranakans operating a printing plant told the writer that he and other enterprisers often receive an invitation for a wedding or a circumcision ceremony from Indonesians they are not acquainted with at all but who live in a kampong nearby. According to him, these invitations are sent with the covert purpose of obliging the invited person to send a present, usually in the form of money, even though he does not come personally.

As to informal entertaining, this seems to be found only among several of the wealthy western-educated Peranakans and the western-educated Indonesian high officials, especially among those who are of the same tennis club or other recreational clubs. The person with the most frequent relations with Indonesian authorities is the western-educated owner of one of the largest textile factories who lives in an unpretentious looking but surprisingly spacious house with modern interior, in the area where the old wealthy families are clustered. He is a member of the elite

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social club and also of the elite tennis club. During the office year 1956-1957, he was the vice-chairman of the local chapter of the national tennis association. Often his house is the meeting place of the parties organized by these clubs. At one of the parties of the tennis association which the writer attended, those present were Indonesians, Peranakans, and Eurasians and, after the business part was taken care of, there was card playing and social dancing where the couples were mixed.

A Peranakan in his early thirties, a Dutch-educated member of one of the old wealthy families, who manages the family estate, told the writer the following: "I can get on very well with Indonesians, in business as well as outside. I count several real friends among those of the same educational level as I am. With them I play cards, go to the movies and make hunting trips."

Another Peranakan in his early thirties, also Dutch-educated and co-owner of the largest printing plant, explained his relations with Indonesians thus: "In the tennis club I am on very friendly terms with the Indonesian members, just as with the other Peranakan members. With some I even have fairly intimate contact; we call each other by first names and come to visit each other in an informal way." He added that he and his friends, i. e., Dutch-educated Peranakans of the well-to-do group, all have friendly relations with Indonesians of the same educational and socio-economic level.

Intermarriage between Peranakan men and Indonesian women mostly occurs among lower-class Peranakans. It is generally considered a social disgrace, because it is usually only those Peranakans who are too poor to make a decent marriage (which is what marriage to a Peranakan woman would be considered), who take an Indonesian woman, which necessarily implies that the latter would be of the lower, if not the lowest, class among her own people. These unions are usually not legal, i. e., they just live together, without any official registration or any ceremony according to Islam (at the penghulu), or the Chinese custom (with the sembahjang samkai). The term for such a union is piara, which is the Indonesian word for to keep, to raise, to cultivate. The woman is then designated with the term piaraan or njai.

Among the well-to-do Peranakans, however, the writer noticed also a number with Sundanese wives. According to a Peranakan woman in her middle fifties who belonged to one of the rich old families, these unions usually start as a piara-relationship, which may later be legalized when it proves to be lasting. She recounts the case of one of her late, older brothers who, after his Peranakan wife died, lived with a Sundanese woman who used to work as a laundress (but not with the family). His mother was terribly upset, saying that if he wanted to remarry, he should have no difficulty finding another Peranakan woman. As he was determined to keep this woman, however, she resigned herself to the situation. She must have said that she had already done her duty as a mother when arranging his first marriage and she could certainly not be held responsible for any subsequent unions. A case the writer was acquainted with was that of a Peranakan man in his middle

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fifties, of China-born Hakka father and Peranakan mother, who had been to China for his education. The wife of one of his nephews told the writer that, when back in Indonesia as a young man, he had fallen in love with a Totok girl. However, for reasons which are not known to her, they were not allowed to marry each other. The man then declared that he would never marry, but later he took a Sundanese woman. This union lasted and was recently legalized. During the time of the study, a marriage occurred between the son of one of the well-to-do, old Peranakan families and the daughter of a well-to-do Indonesian family. The wedding party was held at the house of the groom in the morning and at the house of the bride in the evening. After marriage the young couple lived in a section of the house of the girl's parents. The writer was informed that, in Sukabumi, this is one of the extremely rare cases of a legal marriage between a Peranakan man and an Indonesian woman; here the families of both parties are of an equally respectable status in the society.

How rare these incidences of legal intermarriage are is clearly illustrated by the figures computed from the Civil Registration list for the entire Kabupaten Sukabumi, (14) where we find that during the thirty-three year period from 1920-1953, of the total of 499 registered marriages of Chinese, only 15, or 3 per cent, were those of a Peranakan man and an Indonesian woman. The figures we used are in chronological order as from 1940; prior to that year there were entries for 1920 and 1930 only. From 1920 to and including 1943, there were no inter-ethnic marriages registered; in 1944 there was one, and from 1945 to and including 1948 again none. Only from 1949 do we find the following figures for inter-ethnic marriage:

	Total registered marriages of Chinese	Marriages of Chinese men-Indonesian women	% of Total
1949	32	4	12.50
1950	31	1	3.23
1951	96	4	4.17
1952	85	4	4.71
1953	45	1	2.22

In striking contrast to these figures, based on the registration list for the election of the DPRD in August 1957, the writer was able to determine the number of Peranakan-Indonesian unions as follows:

Peranakan men	- Sundanese women	133
Peranakan women	- Sundanese men	2
	Total	135

Besides these there were four cases of Sundanese widows retaining the Chinese surname of their late husband. These figures reveal that, of the 812 family heads registered as having married status, 16.6 per cent

(14) Derived from Gouw Giok Siong, "Segi-Segi Hukum Peraturan Perkawinan Tjampuran" (Doctoral thesis, Djakarta, 1955), pp. 47, 48 and Table D, p. 209.

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are inter-ethnic unions between Peranakans and Sundanese.

Although these two sets of data cannot be compared, nevertheless they bring out that there is much more amalgamation than one would suspect from reading the registered marriages. If the area noted for its low incidence of Chinese-Indonesian marriages (15) already achieves a proportion of over 15 per cent, one wonders what the actual figures for other areas are.

As to the incidence of conversion to Islam, we have already noted that the number of Chinese Moslems is negligible. (Total number of registered converts from 1951 to 1956 is 17, 10 males and 7 females.) We have also noted that in this area the term to denote a convert, mualap, is usually associated with Chinese converts and has, moreover, the derogatory connotation of a hobo or a tramp. This indicates that, although they have adopted names similar to those used among the Sundanese and thus removing one of the major visible differences, yet they are not completely accepted in the larger society. As to their position in their original community, we have noted that they appear to be completely removed from it, as indicated by the fact that they have little or no interaction with members of it.

Thus we observe that there is a far greater degree of social interaction between Peranakans and Indonesians than between Peranakans and Totoks. This is, of course, primarily due to the absence of the language barrier which has largely facilitated the possibilities of communication. However, inter-ethnic prejudices undoubtedly exist between these two groups. A large number of Peranakans still feel superior to Indonesians but this seems confined to the area of business and commercial skills and performances. The writer noticed, for instance, that Peranakans have a high regard for the Indonesian physicians in town, which is indicated by the fact that they come to consult them, even though there is a Peranakan doctor of high reputation who, incidentally, has quite a number of Indonesian patients. Thus it would appear that, as far as the professional occupations are concerned, Peranakans recognize the abilities of Indonesians. This appreciation might be viewed as an indication of a greater evaluation of non-commercial activities as an occupational choice. The feelings of superior skills and performance in business and commerce is based on experiences such as the following: Speaking of the Indonesian owner of a printing plant, one of the Peranakans also engaged in this type of enterprise told the writer that, despite sixteen years of experience in this business and a loan from the Bank Industrie (Industrial Bank), this man is unable to run it effectively. He attributes this to what he considers one of the crucial shortcomings of Indonesians, the inability to handle money. This man had told him at one time that he had made a profit of a few hundred rupiahs. When asked what he had done with it, the answer was that he had spent it. Thus, the Peranakan concluded, this man had considered those few hundred rupiahs as a total profit

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(15) See Volkstelling 1930, VII, 93.

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which he could use up entirely. He finished his story by saying that the Indonesian enterpriser would have been completely astounded if somebody had told him that his profit was only the amount left after subtracting the costs and that, of this amount, he should use only half, saving the other half for investment. Another Peranakan told the experience of a friend who set up a joint enterprise with an Indonesian. This friend lost a considerable amount of money because his associate handled it freely, buying a car immediately, for instance. The inability to save and the inclination towards extravagance are two of the characteristics considered deplorable by Peranakans which they hold to prevail among Indonesians. Thus, a Peranakan shop owner gave the following comparison: if a Chinese has ten rupiahs, he will use four and save six or use it for investment. But if an Indonesian has ten rupiahs, he will spend twenty. (We will notice here the similarity with the Totok opinion of the Peranakan.) As soon as an Indonesian has some money, he will buy a car or an ice box or he will get himself another wife. In connection with the latter, there is no doubt that Peranakans consider themselves to be morally on a much higher level than Indonesians, in fact higher than any other ethnic group. With their strong adherence to matrimonial stability, which still views divorce as a social disgrace, it is not surprising that they consider people whom they perceive to be easy on these matters as lacking in moral standards. Another highly evaluated characteristic which they consider lacking among Indonesians is perseverance and the ability to work hard. They are generally aware of the accusation Indonesians throw at them that they have become wealthy at the expense of the country, because, as the stereotype among the Indonesians goes, Chinese immigrants came to this country possessing only the underpants on their body and now they are among the richest in the country. To this the answer of Peranakans is usually that Indonesians who adhere to this stereotype do not realize that Chinese have improved their position by working themselves to death, saving every penny, and denying themselves any of the pleasures of life. Peranakans are also aware of the envy towards their achievements, which they recognize as one of the causes of the resentment, exploding into violence in the absence of an effective government as, for instance, at the collapse of the Dutch rule and later of the Japanese rule and then during the revolutionary period.

It is understandable that these experiences cannot but create a certain apprehension as to their further treatment, not only legally by regulation made by the government, but by the people themselves. Many Peranakans, for instance, found it incomprehensible that, at the time of the collapse of the Dutch rule, the very servants who had worked for a family for tens of years participated in the looting of this family. It is interesting to note that there are people who blame the Japanese for this kind of treatment of the Chinese. A Peranakan woman in her early fifties, for instance, who, until the turbulent times after the war, operated a warong in a village adjoining the eastern border of the town told the writer that in her warong the customers were virtually all Sundanese and she was on very friendly terms with them. During the war, when food and other elementary necessities like medicine were scarce or unavailable, she had always been willing to help those in need from the small supply she had stored away before the war exploded. Some of those she had known in the

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village still come to visit her. With these, mostly older people, she said, she can get on very well, but she does not understand the younger generation, those who, according to her, have been corrupted by the Japanese, whom she blamed for creating a feeling of resentment in them towards Chinese. However, to whomever they trace the causes for the way the relations are at the present between Indonesians and Chinese (the most popular explanation for the origin of friction between the two groups is the creation, by the Dutch, of separate castes along ethnic lines), most Peranakans seem to realize that they now have to make a conscious choice of their national status and act accordingly. This, of course, involves the re-evaluation of their position in the larger society and the long-term process of adjustment to it.

As for the Indonesians, we have already noted that the average man usually lumps Totoks and Peranakans together, referring to them as orang Tjina, a term that they have only recently realized is felt as derogatory by the Chinese. (16) This inability to distinguish between the two groups is, of course, not surprising considering the fact that physically there is hardly any difference between most of them, a similarity that is also found in their occupational activities. Indonesians seem, in general, to have towards Chinese feelings of mistrust because they are considered too sharp and too shrewd in their business practices. Connected with this, they are considered to possess a contemptible characteristic--they are only interested in money making.

Indonesians mistrust WNI in particular because of their choice of Indonesian nationality. The most frequent accusation is that they are opportunists, that they are WNI in name only, an accusation that the Indonesians substantiate by pointing to the fact that Peranakans still have their own organizations and even their own schools. The most bitter accusation is, however, that during the revolutionary struggle most Peranakans kept aloof and, in the areas where the Dutch returned, resumed their occupations as retail traders and middlemen, an attitude that in Indonesian eyes is equated with collaboration with the Dutch. It would appear that the attitude of Indonesians is that it is the WNI who has to make the first move, who has to show the sincerity of his choice of Indonesian nationality; in other words, they expect the WNI to give proof of his loyalty to Indonesia. One of these proofs seems to be to come out of their exclusiveness and associate with Indonesians on an equal status. This points to another source of resentment among Indonesians, the feelings of superiority that they are aware still exist among many Peranakans. Thus, as a western-educated Sundanese woman told the writer: "Naturally the Peranakans are the ones who have to approach us first, because we are the original people here. We only say: you are welcome, do come."

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(16) It is interesting to note that, in the statutes of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan, written in 1900, the Chinese themselves use the term Tjina, and it is only in the statutes of 1928 that this term is found to be changed to Tionghoa.

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As we have noted, a rapprochement socially between Peranakans and Indonesians does exist, though admittedly still limited to the upper crust of western-educated people who have largely departed from their traditional way of life and have found a mutual meeting ground in their modern and more or less secularized outlook.

Undoubtedly the situation most conducive to a high degree of social interaction is in the schools, where, due to the prohibition of WNI attending alien schools, educational exclusiveness will disappear, a phenomenon which we already observe, not so much in the primary school level where there are still schools which are almost exclusively Peranakan, but certainly in the secondary school level.

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CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

From this study we have been able to confirm the existence of two distinct groups of ethnic Chinese, Totoks and Peranakans, each with its own identity and interests.

The Totoks are characterized by a social, cultural, and political orientation towards Peking-China or Taiwan. In the context of the larger society, however, they are oriented towards themselves; in other words, they have a strong sense of group identity. This is indicated by the fact that they have their own formal organizations, their own private schools with Chinese as the medium of instruction and a considerable number of the teachers imported from or trained outside of Indonesia; social interaction is primarily if not solely within their own group; contact with both Peranakans and Indonesians is largely limited to the impersonal area of business and commerce. Culturally they stand out as a separate group, with their specific subsistence pattern in regard to clothing (though limited to the older women), food, and housing. There is hardly any indication of an aspiration towards acceptance in the larger society. As to their national status, virtually all of them are aliens.

The Peranakans are not characterized by a social, cultural, and political orientation towards Peking-China or Taiwan. It may appear from the findings of this study that they are oriented towards Indonesia. We have noted the greater similarity of the Peranakan subsistence pattern to that of the Indonesians than to that of the Totoks. We have indicated the strongly acculturative aspect of the socialization of the Peranakan child. He is often taken care of by Indonesian servants; the language spoken in all Peranakan homes is a mixture of Malay and low-style Sundanese (in some cases with the addition of Dutch). We have also shown at length the incorporation of elements of the indigenous culture into the family structure, which is indicated by the form of kin grouping, approaching the bilateral form through the prevalence of ambilocal and neolocal residence patterns. Related to this phenomenon is the change in the kinship terminology, where terms derived from Hokkien have been maintained for the relatives older in age and generation from ego, but an adoption of Indonesian terms has occurred for relatives younger in age and generation than ego. In the realm of beliefs, there are also clear evidences of the influence of the indigenous beliefs, among others in the observance of the selamatan and in the consultation of dukuns.

Despite this high degree of incorporation of traits of the indigenous culture, however, there is a low incidence of social interaction in the sense of informal contacts on an equal level. There is, of course,

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continuous contact in public institutions and public situations, but this is not matched with an equal amount and frequency of interaction in private institutions and private situations. Peranakans have their own formal organizations. There is, for instance, the Sam Kauw Hwee, the existence of which can be considered an expression of the desire among Peranakans to preserve (and proclaim) their specific identity. More significant still, there is the Baperki, an organization of a political character which champions the interests of the Peranakans. We have seen how it received the support of the majority of the Peranakans in Sukabumi for the DPRD election in 1957. To join an Indonesian organization is exceptional for a Peranakan.

In the field of education there is no formal segregation but, due to the preference of Peranakans for private schools, there are several on the primary school level where the students are almost exclusively Peranakans.

By defining assimilation as a social process measured by the degree and intensity of social interaction, (1) we may conclude that the Peranakans in Sukabumi are still far from being assimilated into the larger society. Admittedly, there is a high degree of acculturation, but the elements of the indigenous culture they have adopted have been incorporated and reintegrated with elements of the Chinese culture they have retained in such a way as to create something new, which might very well be called "Peranakan culture." We would suggest, therefore, that the phenomena we have observed among the Peranakans should be interpreted as indications of an accommodation, a "working relationship" between groups which insist on their own identity and their own interests.

Are there trends which would indicate a change in this situation? In the last few years several joint enterprises have come into existence; also intergroup recreational clubs (though largely limited to the elite level). Perhaps the most drastic change came about in January 1958 with the prohibition of WNI children attending Chinese-language schools, which cuts off the main avenue for their acquiring a non-Indonesian orientation. Through lack of space in the public schools, however, the existing concentration of Peranakans in certain schools has continued. Nevertheless, with the increase of the number of public schools and the improvement of their standard, we may expect that more Peranakans will attend them; the popularity of the private Indonesian-language schools suggests that there is no objection in principle to this type of school.

In the political field we have seen the full support given by the WNI to the Baperki. It should be noted, however, that this phenomenon has been interpreted by a well-informed Peranakan as an indication of apprehension rather than an awakened political consciousness.

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(1) Cf. G. William Skinner, "Chinese Assimilation and Thai Politics," Journal of Asian Studies, XVI, No. 2 (February 1957), 237.

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We have noted an especially strong feeling of apprehension in regard to the economic field. The government policy of giving special support to the "economically weak," a category from which in practice all ethnic Chinese, including the WNI, are a priori excluded, coupled with the drastic economic measures and the special taxes levied on the alien Chinese, have created feelings of uneasiness and insecurity among the WNI. It appears that these feelings have given rise to one of two attitudes: Some of the WNI resort to over-compensation by insisting that it is only the alien Chinese who are the wealthy businessmen and it is only they who are to be blamed for any economic imbalance. Hence, there have been statements to the effect that the Indonesian government is justified in taking stringent economic measures towards the alien Chinese and levying special taxes on them. Others among the WNI raise their voice in protest against what they consider to be discriminatory treatment based on ethnic group and accuse the government of treating them as "second class" citizens.

We may expect that the dual nationality treaty put into effect on January 20, 1960 (which requires all those who possess double citizenship--practically all those who until then have been considered WNI--to make an active choice between either Indonesian or Chinese citizenship), will put an end to the ambiguous nationality status of the majority of the Peranakans. The act of a conscious choice of Indonesian citizenship, in the opinion of the writer, will intensify the need felt by the WNI to re-evaluate their position in Indonesia and to adjust themselves accordingly. The resultant effect of this re-evaluation is evident in the positively pro-assimilationist attitude expressed in statements of recognized leaders among them. (2) This attitude, the writer believes, will put the WNI on the road towards a more stable accommodation and finally toward full assimilation.

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(2) See, for instance, the statements of influential spokesmen such as Siauw Giok Tjhan, member of parliament and leader of the Baperki group, and those of a group of young intellectuals, presumably led by Tjung Tin Jan, also a member of parliament. See Star Weekly, March 26, 1960, pp. 1-3; April 2, 1960, p. 5; April 16, 1960, p. 405. Though they differ about the method of achieving assimilation, there is no doubt about their pro-assimilationist attitude.

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APPENDICES

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The first column lists the Peranakan form in the spelling most commonly used among Peranakans in Java. Alternative spellings of any frequency are also given. In those cases where the Peranakan form includes a segment not derived from Hokkien, that part of the form is put in parentheses.

The romanization of Hokkien follows the system used by the Rev. Carstairs Douglas in his standard dictionary: Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy, with the Principal Variations of the Chang-chew and Chin-chew Dialect (London, 1899).

The English meaning refers to the Peranakan, not the Hokkien form.

Please see the end of this glossary (p. 287) for a list of the few Chinese terms cited in the text in their Mandarin form.

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APPENDIX I

GENERAL GLOSSARY OF PERANAKAN FORMS

Peranakan form	Hokkien form from which the Peranakan form is derived	Characters	English meaning of the Peranakan form
anglo	hang-lô·	烘爐	A small, portable earthenware stove.
angpao	âng-pau	紅包	A money gift wrapped in red paper.
(balik) to	toh	棹	The ceremony three or seven days after the funeral.
batjang	bah-tsàng	肉粽	Rice stuffed with meat, wrapped in bamboo leaves in a triangular shape.
bio	biō	廟	A Chinese temple.
bongpai	bōng-pâi	墓牌	A tombstone.
dji	jī	二	Two.
djie jan	jī-ûn	字運	The special character used in names, indicating to which generation of a certain family a person belongs.
djip hoan	jip̍-hoan	入番	To become an Indonesian (used in a derogatory sense).
gin tjoa, gin tsoa	gûn-tsoá, gîn-tsoá	銀紙	"Silver" joss paper.
	goân-siau	元宵	The first full moon of the Chinese lunar calendar; the Lantern Festival.
hao	hàu	孝	Filial piety, filial duty.
hebi	hê-bí	蝦米	Dried shrimps.
hiolow, hiolo	hiuⁿ-lô	香爐	Incense burner, incense pot.
ho	hō	和	Expression of approval or agreement.

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Peranakan form	Hokkien form from which the Peranakan form is derived	Characters	English meaning of the Peranakan form
hoana	hoan-á	番	Term used by Peranakans and Totoks to refer to an Indonesian (in a derogatory sense).
hoat koe, hoat kwee	hoat-kóe	發粿	A cake made of rice flour; an important offering item.
hoen be	hûn-bé	魂馬	"Spirit horses"; a special kind of joss paper, burned on the 24th of the 12th month and on the 4th of the 1st lunar month.
Hong Sin	Hong Sîn	封神	"The Elevation of the Gods"; title of a book, relating the mythological history of the Chou dynasty.
hu	hu	灰	Ashes, especially of burned joss paper or charm paper.
hu low tsoe, hu lotju	hu lô-tsú	灰爐主	A member of the temple board.
hu tao ke, hu taokeh	hu thâu-ke	灰頭家	A member of the temple board.
hui, hwe, hwee	hōe	會	Association, society.
iet peng	iû-pn̄g, ip-pn̄g	油飯	Rice cooked with hempseed, oil and ginger, used specially after the birth of a child.
kauw	káu	狗	A dog.
ketjap	kôe-chiap	鮭汁	Soya-sauce.
kilin	kî-lîn	麒麟	The unicorn; a mythical animal.
kim lo	kim-lô	金爐	A furnace for burning joss paper.
kim tjoa, kim tsoa	kim-tsoá	金紙	"Gold" joss paper.
kio	kiō	轎	Sedanchair in which the images are carried during a procession.
kitang	ki-tâng	乩童	A medium.

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Peranakan form	Hokkien form from which the Peranakan form is derived	Characters	English meaning of the Peranakan form
kwee nengko	kóe-nn̄g-ko	雞蛋糕	Sponge cake.
kongsi	kong-si	公司	A firm, a company.
kwee ku	ku-kóe	龜糕	"Turtle" cake.
kweetjang	ki^{n}-tsàng	鹼棕	A cake made of rice flour mixed with alkaline, wrapped in bamboo leaves in a triangular shape.
liong	liông, lêng	龍	Dragon.
majou, maju	mâ^{n}-iû, moâ^{n}-iû	麻油	Oil from hempseed, used in a special kind of chicken soup.
mie	mī^{n}	麵	Noodles.
mi soa	mī^{n}-soà^{n}	麵線	A kind of vermicelli made of wheat flour.
ngokok	ngó-kok	五穀	The ritual of showering five kinds of grains on the descendants of a deceased person on his internment.
ngo seng	ngó-seng	五牲	One of the main offering items consisting of a combination of five kinds of meat.
pai	pài	拜	To do reverence to; to worship;the way of greeting by folding the hands and shaking it up and down.
pat im	pat-im	八音	An orchestra consisting of eight musical instruments.
patkwa	pat-koà	八卦	The eight diagrams.
patkwa teng	pat-koà-têng	八卦亭	A small temple or a shrine constructed in an octagonal shape.
peh tjun	pê lêng-tsûn	爬龍船	Dragon boat festival.
potjia	pô-chiá, pô-chiá-bú	婆姐母	"Guardian" spirits of infants.

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Peranakan form	Hokkien form from which the Peranakan form is derived	Characters	English meaning of the Peranakan form
put hao	put hàu	無孝	Unfilial.
sai, say, (barong)sai	sai	獅	Lion; the lion or tiger specially performing during the New Year season.
samkai	sam-kài	三界	The three gods presiding over heaven, earth and water; among Peranakans usually considered as one entity, synonymous with Thian: God.
Sam Kok	Sam Kok	三國	"The Three Kingdoms"; title of a famous book.
sam seng	sam-seng	三牲	One of the main offering items consisting of a combination of three kinds of meat.
samsie	?		A tiger or lion very similar to the barongsai, but with a short body.
sang djit	sàng-jit	送日	Presenting the bride's parents with the auspicious date proposed for the wedding day.
sha	sa^{n}	三	Three.
sia tao	siā-thó·	謝土	Offering to the god of the earth in the cemetery, usually performed after the tombstone is erected.
sien tji, sien tju	sîn-chí, sîn-tsú	神主	Ancestral tablet.
sin	sîn	神	A spirit; a deity.
sintjhia	sin-chià^{n}	新正	New Year's Day.
sio pwee	chit-siū^{n}-poe	一上盃	The favorable throw with the divining blocks: one with the convex side and the other with the flat side up.
siu, sioe	siū	壽	Long life.

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Peranakan form	Hokkien form from which the Peranakan form is derived	Characters	English meaning of the Peranakan form
sioe kim, sioe-kim	siū-kim	壽金	"Long life" joss paper.
sioe pan, sioe-pan	siū-pán	壽板	A Chinese coffin.
(sodja) kui	kūi-pài	跪拜	To kowtow.
song soe kiok	song-sū-kiók	喪事局	An association or a section of an association which takes care of matters concerned with funerals and mourning.
tangsin	tâng-sin, tâng-ki	童神	A medium.
tang tjeh	tang-chè, tang-cheh	冬節	Feast of the wintersolstice.
tahu, taohu	tāu-hū	豆腐	Soya-bean cake.
taoge	tāu-gê	豆芽	Bean sprouts.
tao ke low tsu	tao-ke-lo-tsú	頭家爐主	Used to refer to the members of the temple board as a group.
taotjio	tāu-chiùⁿ	豆醬	Bean sauce.
te liao	tê-liāu	茶料	Confectionary for offering purposes.
tepekong	toā-peh-kong	大伯公	Used to refer to deities and images in temples in general.
theehwee	tê-hoē	茶會	A tea party.
theepai	tê-pài	茶拜	Ceremony of offering tea to the older (in generation) relatives by the bridal couple.
thian	thien	天	God, heaven, divine.
thiam hio	tiám-hiuⁿ	點香	The simple offering of serving tea and burning incense sticks on the first and fifteenth of each lunar month.

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Peranakan form	Hokkien form from which the Peranakan form is derived	Characters	English meaning of the Peranakan form
thikong	thi^{n}-kong	天公	God of Heaven.
tjap go meh	tsáp-gō·-mi^{n}, tsáp-gō·-mê^{n}	十五夜	Night of the 15th of the 1st lunar month; the Lantern Festival.
tjek thay	chek-tâi	燭臺	A candlestick.
tjeng beng, tjing bing	chheng-bêng	清明	"Feast of the tombs" on the 5th of the 5th lunar month.
(tjabut) tjiam sie	t'iu ts'iem si, thiu-chhiam-si	抽簽詩	To draw lots by means of the divining sticks.
tjin lang	chhin-lâng	親人	Used to refer to persons of the same surname, but with whom no actual relationship can be traced.
tjintong	chhin-tông	親堂	Relatives of the same surname.
tjio ko	chhiú^{n}-ko·, chhiú^{n}-kɔ-pî^{n}	搶孤	Offering to the neglected spirits on the 7th of the 7th lunar month.
tjio tao	chhiū^{n}-thâu	上頭	Ceremony of "dressing the hair" on the wedding day; a rite de passage, marking the entrance into adulthood.
toa	toā	大	Great, the oldest, honorable.
tong tju pia	tiong-chhiu-piá^{n}	中秋餅	Mid-autumn cakes, specially offered and eaten on the 15th of the 8th lunar month.
tsai, tjai	tsâi	財	Wealth.
tsai hu, tjai hu	tsâi-hù	財副	Treasurer of the temple board.
tsai ma, tjai ma	chhài ma	菜媽	A Buddhist "nun"; a female vegetarian who joins a Buddhist group.
ts'ia low tsoe, tjia low tsoe	chià^{n}-lo-tsú	正爐主	Chairman of the temple board.
ts'ia tao ke, tjia tao ke	chià^{n}-tao-ke	正頭家	Member of the temple board.

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Peranakan form	Hokkien form from which the Peranakan form is derived	Characters	English meaning of the Peranakan form
tsu, tju	tsú	子	Posterity.
(wajang) po te hi	pò-tē-hì	布袋戲	Chinese puppets.

ADDENDUM: CHINESE TERMS CITED IN THEIR MANDARIN FORM

Wade-Giles romanization	Characters	English description
chieh^{2}-hun^{1}cheng^{4}-shu^{1}	結婚證書	Marriage certificate.
shan^{1}-shui^{3}	山水	Landscape.
t'ung^{1}-shu^{1}	通書	Almanac.
Yin^{1}-Yang^{2}	陰陽	Male and female principles.

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This appendix makes explicit the basis for grouping under comparable occupational categories data from the 1930 census and that collected by the writer in 1956. It has reference to the Table on page 34 of the text. The Roman numerals in both parts of this appendix refer to the inclusive categories used in the 1950 census report. The Arabic numbers in "A" refer to the coded subcategories used in the 1930 census report. The Arabic numbers in "B" refer to the numbers as used in the Table on page 31.

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APPENDIX II

A. Outline of Occupational Categories as Defined by the Census of 1930*

I. Production of raw materials: 1. ordinary native agriculture; 2. growing fruits, vegetables and flowers; 3. cultivation of sugar cane, not being native cultivation; 4. all other non-native cultivation; 5. cattle breeding; 6. fishing; 7. hunting; 8. forestry; 9. gathering raw vegetable products (i.e. forest products); 10. salt products; 11. oil; 12. all other minerals.

II. Industry: 13. makers of food, drink, tobacco, etc.; 14. workers in metal; 15. manufacture of textile goods; 16. ceramics; 17. workers in wood and bamboo; 18. manufacture of means of conveyance; 19. workers in leather; 20. makers of articles of dress; 21. all other industries.

III. Transport: 22. rail- and tramway-workers; 23. post-office, telegraph and telephone service; 24. road transport; 25. transport by water, aviation, etc.

IV. Trade: 26. victuals, tobacco, etc.; 27. textile goods; 28. ceramics; 29. wood, bamboo and articles thereof; 30. means of conveyance; 31. articles of dress and leather; 32. shops and hawkers; 33. wholesale and commission; 34. trade of other sorts; 35. credit institutions.

V. Liberal Professions and Arts: 36. religion; 37. medicine; 38. law; 39. artists, journalists; 40. teaching, education.

VI. Public service: 41. the village; 42. local government; 43. native states; 44. government; 45. police; 46. army; 47. navy.

VII.** Other occupations: 48. persons living on their income; 49. domestic service; 50. improductives; 51. insufficiently described occupations; 52. social and scientific institutions.

* Census 1930, Vol. 7, p. 136.
These categorizations are based on classification according to enterprise; therefore all clerks and other workers in a certain enterprise are grouped under this enterprise.

** Category VII, 51. "insufficiently described occupations," see note to table on page 34.

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B. Regrouping of the Occupational Categories of the 1956* Figures to Make them Comparable with the Categorization of the 1930 Census Figures*

I. Production of raw materials: none.

II. Industry:
1. Owners large factories.
2. Owners sawmills, transport companies and contractors.
10. Staff large enterprises.

III. Transport: 13. drivers.

IV. Trade:
3. owners gold shops.
4. shop owners, businessmen.
5. owners restaurants.
6. tooth-artisans and trad. doctors.
7. owners photo shops.
8. owners repair shops.
12. shop employees.
14. artisans and service-workers.

V. Liberal Professions and arts:
9. professionals and semi-professionals.

VI. Public Service:
17. Policemen and army rankers.
9. Government officials.

VII. Other Occupations:
15. Laborers.
16. Unskilled labor for hire.

* The category of Students is excluded.

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The coding for the kin types uses the following elements:

Fa	Father	Pa	Parent (Fa or Mo)
Mo	Mother	Sb	Sibling (Br or Si)
OBr	Older brother	Br	Brother (OBr or YBr)
YBr	Younger brother	Si	Sister (OSi or YSi)
OSi	Older sister	Ch	Child (So or Da)
YSi	Younger sister	Sp	Spouse (Hu or Wi)
So	Son	>	'older than'
Da	Daughter	<	'younger than'
Hu	Husband		
Wi	Wife		

When two abbreviations are joined together without break, a possessive is assumed. Thus FaFaBr is to be read "father's father's brother."

Kin types are discriminated as necessary for the Hokkien system. The kin types are presented in three lists:

A. Relatives through Father, Father's Father and Father's Descendants
B. Relatives through Mother and the Father's Mother
C. Relatives through Spouses and Children's Spouses.

Within each list kin types are cited generation by generation ascending to descending. Within each generation, the order of kin types, while somewhat arbitrary, generally lists lineal relatives in the middle.

A question mark in the Peranakan column indicates that the writer's Peranakan informants could not supply a term of reference for the remote kinsman in question.

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APPENDIX III

HOKKIEN AND PERANAKAN CHINESE KIN TERMS

A. Relatives Through Father, Father's Father and Father's Descendants

Code for Kin Type	Hokkien form	Characters	Peranakan form
Great Grandparent's Generation			
FaFaFaESi	ko·-pô-tsó	姑婆祖	?
FaFaFaESiHu	tiū^{n}-kong-tsó	丈公祖	?
FaFaFaYBr	chek-kong-tsó	叔公祖	?
FaFaFaYBrWi	chím-pô-tsó	嬸婆祖	?
FaFaFa	tsó, kong-tsó, tāi-kong	祖, 公祖, 太公	kongtjo
FaFaMo	tsó-má, tāi-má	祖媽, 太媽	ma' potjo
FaFaFaOBr	peh-kong-tsó	伯公祖	?
FaFaFaOBrWi	peh-pô-tsó	伯婆祖	?
Grandparent's Generation			
FaFaFaESiSo > FaFa	piáu-peh-kong	表伯公	pekong
Wi of above	piáu-peh-pô, piáu-peh-m̄	表伯婆 表伯姆	peem
FaFaFaYBrDa >< FaFa	ko·-pô	姑婆	kopo
Hu of above	tiū^{n}-kong	丈公	thiokong
FaFaESi	ko·-pô	姑婆	kopo
FaFaESiHu	tiū^{n}-kong	丈公	thiokong
FaFaYBr	chek-kong	叔公	tjekong
FaFaYBrWi	chím-pô	嬸婆	tjimpo
FaFa	kong	公	kong, engkong
FaMo	má	媽	ma', ema'

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Code for Kin Type	Hokkien form	Characters	Peranakan form
Grandparent's Generation (cont.)			
FaFaOBr	peh-kong	伯公	pekong
FaFaOBrWi	peh-pô, peh-m̄	伯婆, 伯姆	peem
FaFaFaOBrSo < FaFa	chek-kong	叔公	tjekong
Wi of above	chím-pô	嬸婆	tjimpo
FaFaFaOBrSo > FaFa	peh-kong	伯公	pekong
Wi of above	peh-pô, peh-m̄	伯婆, 伯姆	peem
Parent's Generation			
FaFaESiSo < Fa	piáu-chek	表叔	tjek, entjek
Wi of above	" -chím	表嬸	tjim, entjim
FaFaESiSo > Fa	" -peh	表伯	pe, empe
Wi of above	" -m̄	表姆	em
FaFaYBrDa >< Fa	chhin-tông-ko·	親堂姑	koh
Hu of above	" " -ko·-tiū^{n}	親堂姑丈	kothio
FaESi	ko·	姑	koh
FaESiHu	ko·-tiū^{n}	姑丈	kothio
FaYBr	chek	叔	tjek, entjek
FaYBrWi	chím	嬸	tjim, entjim
Fa	lāu-pē	老父	papa
Mo	lāu-bú	老母	mama
FaOBr	peh	伯	pe, empe
FaOBrWi	m̄	姆	em

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Code for Kin Type	Hokkien form	Characters	Peranakan form
Parent's Generation (cont.)			
FaFaOBrSo < Fa	chhin-tông-chek	親堂叔	tjek, entjek
Wi of above	" " -chím	親堂嬸	tjim, entjim
FaFaOBrSo > Fa	" " -peh	親堂伯	pe, empe
Wi of above	" " -ḿ	親堂姆	em
FaFaFaOBrSoSo < Fa	" " -chek	親堂叔	tjek, entjek
Wi of above	" " -chím	親堂嬸	tjim, entjim
FaFaFaOBrSoSo > Fa	" " -peh	親堂伯	pe, empe
Wi of above	" " -ḿ	親堂姆	em
FaFaFaOBrSoDa >< Fa	" " -ko·	親堂姑	koh
Hu of above	" " -ko·-tiū^{n}	親堂姑丈	kothio
Ego's Generation			
FaFaYBrDaSo < ego	piáu-sío-tī	表小弟	ade piao, sudara* piao
Wi of above	" -tī-hū	表弟婦	thehu, or description
FaFaYBrDaSo > ego	" -hia^{n}	表兄	engko piao, sdr. piao
Wi of above	" -hia^{n}-só	表兄嫂	enso
FaESiDa < ego	ko·-piáu-sío-moāi^{n}	姑表小妹	ade piao, sdr. piao
Hu of above	" " -moāi^{n}-hū	姑表妹夫	maihu (man speaking) or description; enthio (woman speaking) or description

* Sudara hereafter abbreviated sdr.

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Code for Kin Type	Hokkien form	Characters	Peranakan form
Ego's Generation (cont.)			
FaESiDa > ego	ko·-piáu-chí	姑表姊	atji piao, sdr. piao
Hu of above	" " -chí-hū	姑表姊夫	tjihu
FaESiSo < ego	" " -sío-tī	姑表小弟	ade piao, sdr. piao
Wi of above	" " -tī-hū	姑表弟婦	thehu or description
FaESiSo > ego	" " -hia^n	姑表兄	engko piao, sdr. piao
Wi of above	" " -hia^n-só	姑表兄嫂	enso
FaYBrDa < ego	chek-peh-sío-moāi^n	叔伯小妹	ade tjintong, sdr. tjintong
Hu of above	" " -moāi^n-hū	叔伯妹夫	maihu (man sp.) or description; enthio (woman sp.) or description
FaYBrDa > ego	" " -chí	叔伯姊	atji tjintong, sdr. tjintong
Hu of above	" " -chí-hū	叔伯姊夫	tjihu
YSi	sío-moāi^n	小妹	ade or ade perempuan
YSiHu	moāi^n-hū	妹夫	maihu (man sp.) or description; enthio (woman sp.) or description
YBr	sío-tī	小弟	ade or ade lelaki
YBrWi	tī-hū	弟婦	thehu or description
Wi	bó·, hū-jîn-lâng, tsa-bó·-lâng or teknonymy	婦 婦人(人) tsa-婦人	bini or "mamanja anak", "mamanja si X"
OBr	hia^n, tōa-hia^n	兄, 太兄	engko
OBrWi	hia^n-só, tōa-hia^n-só	兄嫂 太兄嫂	enso

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Code for Kin Type	Hokkien form	Characters	Peranakan form
Ego's Generation (cont.)			
OSi	chí, tōa-chí	姊, 太姊	atji
OSiHu	chí-hū	姊夫	tjihu
FaOBrSo < ego	chek-peh-sío-tī	叔伯小弟	ade tjintong, sdr. tjintong
Wi of above	" " -tī-hū	叔伯弟婦	thehu or description
FaOBrSo > ego	" " -hia^{n}	叔伯兄	engko tjintong, sdr. tjintong
Wi of above	" " -hia^{n}-só	叔伯兄嫂	enso
FaFaOBrSoSo < ego	chhin-tông-sío-tī	親堂小弟	ade masih tjintong, sdr. masih tjintong, or description.
Wi of above	" " -tī-hū	親堂弟婦	thehu or description
FaFaOBrSoSo >ego	" " -hia^{n}	親堂兄	engko, sdr. masih tjintong, or description
Wi of above	" " -hia^{n}-só	親堂兄嫂	enso
FaFaOBrSoDa < ego	" " -sío-moāi^{n}	親堂小妹	ade, sdr. masih tjintong, or description
Hu of above	" " -moāi^{n}-hū	親堂妹夫	maihu (man sp.); enthio (woman sp.) or description
FaFaOBrSoDa >ego	" " -chí	親堂姊	atji, sdr. masih tjintong, or description
Hu of above	" " -chí-hū	親堂姊夫	tjihu
FaFaFaOBrSoSoSo < ego	" " -sío-tī	親堂小弟	ade, sdr. masih tjintong, or description
Wi of above	" " -tī-hū	親堂弟婦	thehu or description

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Code for Kin Type	Hokkien form	Characters	Peranakan form
Ego's Generation (cont.)			
FaFaFaOBrSoSoSo > ego	chhin-tông-hia^{n}	親堂兄	engko, sdr. masih tjintong, or description
Wi of above	" " -hia^{n}-só	親堂兄嫂	enso
FaFaFaOBrSoSoDa < ego	" " -sío-moāi^{n}	親堂小妹	ade, sdr. masih tjintong, or description
Hu of above	" " -moāi^{n}-hū	親堂妹夫	maihu (man sp.); enthio (woman sp.) or description
FaFaFaOBrSoSoDa > ego	" " -chí	親堂姊	atji, sdr. masih tjintong, or description
Hu of above	" " -chí-hū	親堂姊夫	tjihu
Child's Generation			
FaESiSoDa	piáu-tsa-bó·-sun-á, piáu-tit-lú	表 tsa-婦孫阿 表姪女	tjutju piao, keponakan, or description
FaESiSoDaHu	piáu-sun-sài	表孫壻	tjutju mantu or description
FaESiSoSo	piáu-sun-á, piáu-tit	表孫阿 表姪	tjutju piao, keponakan, or description
FaESiSoSoWi	piáu-sun-sim-pū, piáu-tit-sim-pū	表孫媳婦 表姪媳婦	tjutju mantu or description
FaYBrDaDa	chek-peh-gōe-seng-lú	叔伯㚸甥女	tjutju piao, keponakan, or description
FaYBrDaDaHu	" " -gōe-seng-sài	叔伯㚸甥壻	tjutju mantu or description
FaYBrDaSo	" " -gōe-seng	叔伯㚸甥	tjutju piao, keponakan, or description
FaYBrDaSoWi	" " -gōe-seng-sim-pū	叔伯㚸甥媳婦	tjutju mantu or description
YSiDa	gōe-seng-lú	㚸甥女	tjutju piao, anak ade, or keponakan
YSiDaHu	gōe-seng-sài	㚸甥壻	tjutju mantu or description.

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Code for Kin Type	Hokkien form	Characters	Peranakan form
Child's Generation (cont.)			
YSiSo	gōe-seng	男外 甥	tjutju piao, anak ade, or keponakan
YSiSoWi	gōe-seng-sim-pū	男外 甥 媳 婦	tjutju mantu
YBrDa	tsa-bó·-sun-á, tit-lū	tsa-姆 孫 阿	tjutju tjintong, anak ade, or keponakan
YBrDaHu	sun-sài, tit-sài	孫 壻, 姪 壻	tjutju mantu
Da	tsáu-á, tsa-bó·-kía^{n}	tsáu-á, tsa-婦-kía^{n}	anak or anak perempuan
DaHu	kía^{n}-sài	kía^{n}-壻	mantu or babah mantu
So	kía^{n}, hāu-si^{n}	kía^{n}, 後 生	anak or anak lelaki
SoWi	sim-pū	媳 婦	mantu or njonja mantu
OBrSo	sun-á, tit	孫 阿, 姪	tjutju tjintong, anak engko, or keponakan
OBrSoWi	sun-sim-pū, tit-sim-pū	孫 媳 婦 姪 媳 婦	tjutju mantu
OSiSo	gōe-seng	男外 甥	tjutju piao, anak atji, or keponakan
OSiSoWi	gōe-seng-sim-pū	男外 甥 媳 婦	tjutju mantu
OSiDa	gōe-seng-lú	男外 甥 女	tjutju piao, anak atji, or keponakan
OSiDaHu	gōe-seng-sài	男外 甥 壻	tjutju mantu
FaOBrSoSo	chek-peh-sun-á, chek-peh-tit, tông-sun-á, tông-tit	叔 伯 孫 阿 叔 伯 姪 堂 孫 阿 堂 姪	tjutju tjintong, keponakan, or description
FaOBrSoSoWi	chek-peh-sun-sim-pū, chek-peh-tit-sim-pū, tông-sun-sim-pū, tông-tit-sim-pū	叔 伯 孫 媳 婦 叔 伯 姪 媳 婦 堂 孫 媳 婦 堂 姪 媳 婦	tjutju mantu

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Code for Kin Type	Hokkien form	Characters	Peranakan form
Child's Generation (cont.)			
FaOBrSoDa	chek-peh-tsa-bó·-sun-á, chek-peh-tit-lu, tông-tsa-bó·-sun-á, tông-tit-lú	叔伯tsa婦孫阿 叔伯姪女 堂tsa婦孫阿 堂姪女	tjutju tjintong, keponakan, or description
FaOBrSoDaHu	chek-peh-sun-sài, tông-sun-sài	叔伯孫婿 堂孫婿	tjutju mantu
FaFaOBrSoSoSo	chhin-tông-sun-á, chhin-tông-tit	親堂孫阿 親堂姪	tjutju tjintong, keponakan, or description
Wi of above	chhin-tông-sun-sim-pū, chhin-tông-tit-sim-pū	親堂孫媳婦 親堂姪媳婦	tjutju mantu
FaFaOBrSoSoDa	chhin-tông-tsa-bó·-sun-á, chhin-tông-tit-lú	親堂tsa婦孫阿 親堂姪女	tjutju tjintong, keponakan, or description
Hu of above	chhin-tông-sun-sài, chhin-tông-tit-sài	親堂孫壻 親堂姪壻	tjutju mantu
FaFaOBrSoDaSo	chhin-tông-gōe-seng	親堂外甥	tjutju piao, keponakan, or description
Wi of above	chhin-tông-gōe-seng-sim-pū	親堂外甥媳婦	tjutju mantu
FaFaOBrSoDaDa	chhin-tông-tsa-bó·-gōe-seng, chhin-tông-gōe-seng-lú	親堂tsa婦外甥 親堂外甥女	tjutju piao, keponakan, or description
Hu of above	chhin-tông-gōe-seng-sài	親堂外甥壻	tjutju mantu
FaFaFaOBrSoSoSoSo	chhin-tông-sun-á	親堂孫阿	tjutju tjintong, keponakan, or description
Wi of above	chhin-tông-sun-sim-pū, chhin-tông-tit-sim-pū	親堂孫媳婦 親堂姪媳婦	tjutju mantu
FaFaFaOBrSoSoSoDa	chhin-tông-tsa-bó·-sun-á, chhin-tông-tit-lú	親堂tsa婦孫阿 親堂姪女	tjutju tjintong, keponakan, or description
Hu of above	chhin-tông-sun-sài	親堂孫壻	tjutju mantu

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Code for Kin Types	Hokkien form	Characters	Peranakan form
Grandchild's Generation			
FaESiSoSoDa	piáu-tit-sun-lú	表姪孫女	tjutju piao or description
Hu of above	" -tit-sun-sài	表姪孫壻	tjutju mantu
FaESiSoSoSo	" -tit-sun	表姪孫	tjutju piao or description
Wi of above	" -tit-sun-sim-pū	表姪孫媳婦	tjutju mantu
YSiSoDa	gōe-seng-sun-lú	甥甥孫女	tjutju piao or description
YSiSoDaHu	gōe-seng-sun-sài	甥甥孫壻	tjutju mantu
YSiSoSo	gōe-seng-sun	甥甥孫	tjutju piao or description
YSiSoSoWi	gōe-seng-sun-sim-pū	甥甥孫媳婦	tjutju mantu
YBrDaDa	gōa-tit-sun-lú	外姪孫女	tjutju piao or description
YBrDaDaHu	" -tit-sun-sài	外姪孫壻	tjutju mantu
YBrDaSo	" -tit-sun	外姪孫	tjutju piao or description
YBrDaSoWi	" -tit-sun-sim-pū	外姪孫媳婦	tjutju mantu
DaDa	" -sun-lú	外孫女	tjutju or tjutju luar
DaDaHu	" -sun-sài	外孫壻	tjutju mantu
DaSo	" -sun	外孫	tjutju or tjutju luar
DaSoWi	" -sun-sim-pū	外孫媳婦	tjutju mantu
SoDa	lāi-sun-lū, lāi-tsa-bó·-sun	內孫女 內-tsa-婦孫	tjutju or tjutju dalem
SoDaHu	lāi-sun-sài	內孫壻	tjutju mantu
SoSo	" -sun	內孫	tjutju or tjutju dalem
SoSoWi	" -sun-sim-pū	內孫媳婦	tjutju mantu
OBrSoDa	tit-sun-lú	姪孫女	tjutju tjintong, or description
OBrSoDaHu	tit-sun-sài	姪孫壻	tjutju mantu

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Code for Kin Type	Hokkien form	Characters	Peranakan form
Grandchild's Generation (cont.)			
OBrSoSo	tit-sun	姪 孫	tjutju tjintong or description
OBrSoSoWi	tit-sun-sim-pū	姪 孫 媳 婦	tjutju mantu
FaOBrSoSoDa	chek-peh-tit-sun-lú	叔 伯 姪 孫 女	tjutju tjintong or description
Hu of above	" " -tit-sun-sai	叔 伯 姪 孫 壻	tjutju mantu
FaOBrSoSoSo	" " -tit-sun	叔 伯 姪 孫	tjutju tjintong or description
Wi of above	" " -tit-sun-sim-pū	叔 伯 姪 孫 媳 婦	tjutju mantu
FaFaOBrSoSoSoDa	chhin-tông-tit-sun-lū	親 堂 姪 孫 女	tjutju tjintong or description
Hu of above	" " -tit-sun-sài	親 堂 姪 孫 壻	tjutju mantu
FaFaOBrSoSoSoSo	" " -tit-sun	親 堂 姪 孫	tjutju masih tjintong or description
Wi of above	" " -tit-sun-sim-pū	親 堂 姪 孫 媳 婦	tjutju mantu
Great Grandchild's Generation			
	ka^n-$ná^n$-sun, cheng-sun	ka^n-$ná^n$- 孫 曾 孫	bujut

B. Relatives Through Mother and Father's Mother

Great Grandparent's Generation			
MoFaFa	gōa-kong-tsó, gōa-tāi-kong	外 公 祖, 外 太 公	kongtjo
MoFaMo	gōa-tsó-má, gōa-tāi-má	外 祖 媽, 外 太 媽	ma' potjo
MoMoFa	gōa-kong-tsó, gōa-tāi-kong	外 公 祖, 外 太 公	kongtjo
MoMoMo	gōa-tsó-má, gōa-tāi-má	外 祖 媽, 外 太 媽	ma' potjo
FaMoFa	gōa-kong-tsó, gōa-tāi-kong	外 公 祖, 外 太 公	kongtjo
FaMoMo	gōa-tsó-má, gōa-tāi-má	外 祖 媽, 外 太 媽	ma' potjo

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Code for Kin Type	Hokkien form	Characters	Peranakan form
Grandparent's Generation			
MoFaESi	ko·-pô	姑 婆	kopo
MoFaESiHu	tīu^{n}-kong	丈 公	thiokong
MoFaYBr	chek-kong	叔 公	tjekong
MoFaYBrWi	chím-pô	嬸 婆	tjimpo
MoFaOBr	peh-kong	伯 公	pekong
MoFaOBrWi	peh-pô, peh-m̍	伯 婆、伯 姆	peem
MoFa	gōa-kong	外 公	kong, engkong
MoMo	gōa-má	外 媽	ma', ema'
MoMoEBr	kū-kong	舅 公	kukong
MoMoEBrWi	kīm-pô	妗 婆	kiempo
MoMoESi	î-pô	姨 婆	iepo
MoMoESiHu	tīu^{n}-kong	丈 公	thiokong
FaMoEBr	kū-kong	舅 公	kukong
FaMoEBrWi	kīm-pô	妗 婆	kiempo
FaMoESi	î-pô	姨 婆	iepo
FaMoSiHu	tīu^{n}-kong	丈 公	thiokong
Parent's Generation			
MoFaBrDa	chek-peh-î	叔 伯 姨	ie
MoFaBrDaHu	" " -î-tīu^{n}	叔 伯 姨 丈	iethio
MoFaBrSo	" " -kū	叔 伯 舅	engku
MoFaBrSoWi	" " -kīm	叔 伯 妗	engkiem
MoESi	bú-î	母 姨	ie
MoESiHu	bú-î-tīu^{n}	母 姨 丈	iethio
MoEBr	bú-kū	母 舅	engku
MoEBrWi	bú-kīm	母 妗	engkiem

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Code for Kin Type	Hokkien form	Characters	Peranakan form
Ego's Generation			
MoFaBrSoCh	piáu-hia^{n}, piáu-sío-tī, piáu-chí, piáu-moāi^{n}	表兄, 表小弟, 表姊, 表妹	engko piao, atji piao, ade piao, or sdr. piao
MoFaBrSoChSp	piáu-hia^{n}-só, piáu-tī-hū, piáu-chí-hū, piáu-moāi^{n}-hū	表兄嫂, 表弟婦, 表姊夫, 表妹夫	enso piao, tjihu piao, thehu piao, maihu piao (man sp.), and enthio piao (woman sp.), or description
MoSiCh	î-piáu-hia^{n}, î-piáu-sío-tī, î-piáu-chí, î-piáu-moāi^{n}	姨表兄, 姨表小弟, 姨表姊, 姨表妹	idem
MoSiChSp	î-piáu-hia^{n}-só, î-piáu-tī-hū, î-piáu-chí-hū, î-piáu-moāi^{n}-hū	姨表兄嫂, 姨弟婦, 姨姊夫, 姨妹夫	idem
MoBrCh	kū-piáu-hia^{n}, kū-piáu-sío-tī, kū-piáu-chí, kū-piáu-moāi^{n}	舅表兄, 舅表小弟, 舅表姊, 舅表妹	idem
MoBrChSp	kū-piáu-hia^{n}-só, kū-piáu-tī-hū, kū-piáu-chí-hū, kū-piáu-moāi^{n}-hū	舅表兄嫂, 舅表弟婦, 舅表姊夫, 舅表妹夫	idem
Child's Generation			
Same as with relatives through Fa, except that before the kinship term the attribute piáu is added			Same as with relatives through Fa, except that before each kinship term the attribute piao is added
Grandchild's Generation			
Same as with relatives through Fa, except that before the kinship term the attribute piáu is added			Same as with relatives through Fa, except that before each kinship term the attribute piao is added.

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C. Relatives Through Spouses and Children's Spouses

Code for Kin Type	Hokkien form	Character	Peranakan form
Parent's Generation			
HuFaESi	ko·-pô	姑婆	kopo
HuFaESiHu	tīu^{n}-kong	丈公	thiokong
HuFaYBr	chek-kong	叔公	tjekong
HuFaYBrWi	chím-pô	嬸婆	tjimpo
HuFaOBr	peh-kong	伯公	pekong
HuFaOBrWi	peh-pô, peh-m̂	伯婆, 伯姆	peem
HuFa	tōa-koa^{n}	大官	mertua
HuMo	tōa-ke	大家	mertua
HuMoEBr	kū-kong	舅公	kukong
HuMoEBrWi	kīm-po	妗婆	kiempo
HuMoESi	î-pô	姨婆	iepo
HuMoESiHu	tīu^{n}-kong	丈公	thiokong
WiPaSb and Sp	same as for HuPaSb and Sp		same as for HuPaSb and Sp
WiFa	tiū^{n}-lâng	丈人	mertua
WiMo	tīu^{n}-m̂	丈姆	mertua
Ego's Generation			
HuESi	ko·	姑	koh
HuESiHu	ko·-tīu^{n}	姑丈	kothio
HuYBr	sío-chek	小叔	tjek, entjek
HuYBrWi	sío-chím	小嬸	tjim, entjim
HuOBr	peh	伯	pe, empe
HuOBrWi	m̂	姆	em

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Code for Kin Type	Hokkien form	Characters	Peranakan form
Ego's Generation (cont.)			
Hu	ang, ta-po·-lâng, tiōng-hū, teknonymy	公, 唐夫人, 丈夫	papanja anak, laki
WiESi	bó·-î	婦姨	ie
WiESiHu	bó·-î-tiū^{n}	婦姨丈	iethio
WiEBr	bó·-kū	婦舅	ku, engku
WiEBrWi	bó·-kīm	婦妗	kiem, engkiem
Wi	bó·, tsa-bó·-lâng, hū-jîn-lâng, teknonymy	婦, tsa-婦人 婦人(人)	mamanja anak, bini
ChSpFa	chhin-ke	親家	tjhinkhe, besan
ChSpMo	chhi^{n}-m̍	親姆	tjeem, besan
Child's Generation			
HuSbCh WiSbCh	same as for SbCh		same as for SbCh

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APPENDIX IV

SUNDANESE KIN TERMS*

A. Consanguineal Relatives and Their Spouses

Code for Kin Type	Sundanese Form
PaPaPaPaPaPaPa	kait siwur
PaPaPaPaPaPa	udeg-udeg
PaPaPaPaPa	djanggawareng
PaPaPaPa	bao
PaPaPa	ujut or bujut
PaPaPaSb	ujut or ujut tigigir bujut or bujut tigigir
PaPa	embah or ejang or:
PaFa	aki
PaMo	nini
PaPaEBr	aki or aki tigigir
PaPaEBrWi	nini or nini tigigir
PaPaESi	nini or nini tigigir
PaPaESiHu	aki or aki tigigir
PaPaOSbCh	uwa or uwa tigigir
Wi of above	uwa or uwa tigigir
PaOSi	uwa or uwa isteri
PaOSiHu	uwa or uwa pameget
PaOBr	uwa or uwa pameget
PaOBrWi	uwa or uwa isteri
Mo	pun indung, pun biang or pun ibu
Fa	pun bapa

* For the coding of kin types please see the note to Appendix III, page 292. The kin types are cited generation by generation from ascending to descending.

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Code for Kin Type	Sundanese Form
PaYSi	bibi or embi
PaYSiHu	paman or emang
PaYBr	paman or emang
PaYBrWi	bibi or embi
PaPaYSbSo	paman or paman tigigir
Wi of above	bibi or bibi tigigir
PaPaYSbDa	bibi or bibi tigigir
Hu of above	paman or paman tigigir
PaPaPaSbChChCh	dulur mintelu
PaPaSbChCh	dulur mindo
PaSbCh	dulur misan or dulur sabrajna
OSb	pun lantjeuk
Wi	pun bodjo or pamadjikan
Hu	pun lantjeuk or salaki
YSb	pun adi
Ch of senior dulur mindo	alo mindo
Ch of senior dulur misan	alo misan or alo sabrajna
OSbCh	alo
Da	anak or anak nu awewe, budak or budak nu awewe
DaHu	minantu
So	anak or anak nu lalaki, budak or budak nu lalaki
SoWi	minantu
YSbCh	suan
Ch of junior dulur misan	suan misan or suan sabrajna
Ch of junior dulur mindo	suan mindo

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Code for Kin Type	Sundanese Form
ChCh	intju
ChChCh	bujut
ChChChCh	bao
ChChChChCh	djanggawareng
ChChChChChCh	udeg-udeg
ChChChChChChCh	kait siwur

B. Affinal Relatives

Wi	pun bodjo or pamadjikan
Hu	pun lantjeuk or salaki
SpOSb	dahuan
SpYSb	adi beuteung
SpPa	mitoha or mertua
SpPaOSb	uwa
SpPaYBr	paman or emang
SpPaYSi	bibi or embi
ChSp	minantu
ChSpPa	besan

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APPENDIX V

NAMES OF DEITIES

Peranakan form	Hokkien form from which the Peranakan form is derived	Characters	English form or Description
Bie Hian Kong	Bî Hiên Kong	眉玄宮	Name of the temple in Sukabumi.
Giok Hong Sang Tee	Giok-hông-siōng-tè	玉皇上帝	The Jade Emperor of Taoism.
Han Tan Kong	Hân-tân-kong, Hiên-toâⁿ-kong	玄壇公	The main god of the temple in Sukabumi.
Hok Tek Tjeng Sin, Thow Tek Kong	Hok-tek-chèng-sîn, Thó·-tē-kong	福德正神 土地公	God of the earth and the graves.
Houw Tjiang Kun	Hó·-chiàng-kun	虎將君	The tiger-god.
Kut Goan	Khut-goân	屈原	The minister of the Ch'u dynasty in memory of whom the Dragonboat Festival is held on the 5th of the 5th lunar month.
Kwan Im	Koan-im	觀音	Goddess of mercy.
Kwan Im Hud Tjouw	Koan-im-hut-tsó	觀音佛祖	Kuan Yin, ancestor of Buddha.
Kwan Im Lam Hay	Koan-im-lâm-hái	觀音南海	Kuan Yin of the South seas.
Kwan Im Po Sat	Koan-im-pho-sat	觀音菩薩	Kuan Yin, Boddhisattva.
Kwan Kong, Kwan Tek Kong, Kwan Tek Kun	Koan-kong, Koan-tè-kong, Koan-tè-kun	關公 關帝公 關帝君	God of war; the famous hero of the period of the Three Kingdoms.
Kwee Seng Ong	Keh-sèng-ông	郭聖王	A deity of the surname Keh, alleged to be the ancestor of the people of Fukien.
Kuei Sing	Khoe-seng	魁星	God of literature.
Lauw Pi	Lâu-pī	劉備	One of the heroes of the period of the Three Kingdoms.

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Peranakan form	Hokkien form from which the Peranakan form is derived	Characters	English form or Description
Tio Hoey	Tiu^{n}-hui	張飛	One of the heroes of the period of the Three Kingdoms.
Tio Kong Beng	Tiō-kong-bêng	趙公明	The minister of the Chou dynasty worshipped as Han Tan Kong.
Tjauw Kun Kong	Tsàu-kun-kong	灶君公	The Kitchen-god.
Tjouw Soe Kong	Tsó·-su-kong	祖師公	A black-faced idol.

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APPENDIX VI

NAMES OF ORGANIZATIONS, SCHOOLS AND NEWSPAPERS

Form of romanization used in Sukabumi	Hokkien form from which the Peranakan form is derived	Characters	Description
Chung Hua Hsüeh Hsiao	(Mandarin)	中華學校	A Peking-orientated Chinese school.
Chung Hua Tsung Hui	(Mandarin)	中華總會	The community organization which was a continuation of the one set up by the Japanese and which is now replaced by the B.P.I.T. (in Sukabumi).
Chung Lien Hui	(Mandarin)	中聯會	Federation of (Indonesian) high school students.
Djin Gie Hwee	Jîn Gī Hōe	仁義會	A funeral association.
Eng Tjhun Kong So	Eng Chhun Kong Só	永春宮所	Association of people from Yung Ch'un.
Gie Say Hwee	Gī Sai Hōe	義獅會	A recreational club (Chinese boxing, lion and dragon playing).
Hak Suk Kung Hwee	(Hakka)	客屬宮會	Association of Hakkas.
Hsin Hua Hsüeh Hsiao	(Mandarin)	新華學校	A Peking-orientated Chinese school.
Hua Chiang Shih	(Mandarin)	華强社	A recreational club (music, lion playing).
Hua Ch'iao Tsung Hui	(Mandarin)	華僑總會	The name of the Chinese organization set up during the Japanese period.
Keng Po	Kèng Pò	競報	A Peranakan-owned and edited Indonesian-language daily.

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Form of romanization used in Sukabumi	Hokkien form from which the Peranakan form is derived	Characters	Description
Khong Kauw Hwee	Khóng Kaù Hoē	孔教會	The Confucian Society.
Kuomintang	(Mandarin)	國民黨	The Chinese Nationalist Party.
Lien I Hui	(Mandarin)	聯益會	A federation of foreign Chinese associations.
Ping Min Hsüeh Hsiao	(Mandarin)	平民學校	A KMT-orientated Chinese school.
Sam Kauw Hwee	Sam Kàu Hōe	三教會	Three Religions Society.
San Chiao Ching Nien Hui	(Mandarin)	三教輕年會	Youth section of the Three Religions Society.
Sin Po	Sin Pò	新報	A Peranakan-owned and edited Indonesian-language daily.
Su Chung Hsiao Yu Hui	(Mandarin)	蘇中校友會	Association of (Chinese) high school students and alumni.
Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan	Tiòng Hoa Hōe Koán	中華會館	A community organization concentrating on education.
Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee	Tiong Hoâ Kì Tok Kàu Hoē	中華基督教會	The Chinese Protestant Church.
Yeh Yu Shih	(Mandarin)	業餘社	A recreational club (Chinese boxing, lion and dragon playing).

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