

CHINESE-NATIVES RELATIONS IN CIREBON IN TRADITIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

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A B S T R A C T

This study aims to know how the relationship between the Chinese and the Natives in Cirebon from the 15th to the early of 20th century, based on the traditional historiography of the *Negarakrtabhumi* manuscript, *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari*, *Babad Cirebon*, *Babad Darmayu* and *Sedjarah Koentjit*. This research is diachronic by using analytical descriptive method. In the manuscript of *Negarakrtabhumi*, *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari*, and *Babad Cirebon* affirmed that the Chinese-Natives relations in the land of Cirebon in the 15th-16th century went harmoniously. The relationships between them are mutually beneficial, without any obstacles. Meanwhile, the manuscripts of *Babad Darmayu* and *Sedjarah Koentjit* tell the contrary, their relationship is split. At the beginning of the 19th century, the Chinese were considered by the Natives have extorted and tormented the people, so that they were often subjected to do rebellion and forced them out of Cirebon. In that area their existence was related to the policy of Preanger Stelsel (1686) as well as the events of the Geger Pecinan (1740-1743) in Batavia. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were anti-Chinese movements in Cirebon, Majalengka, and Indramayu. The natives demanded equality of material wealth over the Chinese, by cutting the pigtail. The anti-Chinese movement by the santri is a form of expression that the natives were in power over their own homeland. Thus, for about six centuries, Chinese-Natives relations in Cirebon as described above are strongly influenced by economic problems.

KEY WORDS : Chinese-Natives, traditional historiographies, manuscript, Cirebon

Background

Most of the traditional historiographies are originating from Cirebon include fragments of Chinese stories in Cirebon, such as the manuscript of *Negarakrtabhumi*, *Pustaka Raja i Bhumi Nusantara*, *Pustaka Pararatwan i Bhumi Java Dwipa*, *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari*, *Babad Cirebon*, *Babad Darmayu*, and *Sedjarah Koentjit*. It indicates that their existence is recognized by the natives, at least by the court poet as the creator of the chronicle script.

The existence of traditional historiography from Cirebon can be found in the palace of Cirebon, National Library of RI, UI Library, resident houses, Museum Sri Baduga, and a number of libraries abroad. If it is accumulated the amount is around to hundreds, even more. The writing bases are daluwang paper, european paper, papyrus, and lined paper; Javanese language; Javanese script/*Carakan* and *Pegon*.

Searching traditional historiographic of Cirebon can be done through a catalog of manuscripts, such as *Jawa Barat Koleksi Lima Lembaga: Katalog Induk Naskah- naskah Nusantara Jilid 5A* (Ekadjati and Darsa, 1999); *Katalog Induk Jilid 4 Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia* (Behrend, 1998); *Katalog Induk Naskah-naskah Nusantara Jilid 3A Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia* (Behrend, et al., 1997); *Katalog Naskah Indramayu* (Christomy and Nurhata, 2016), Research Report: “Pencatatan, Inventarisasi, dan Pendokumentasian Naskah-naskah Cirebon” (Pudjiastuti, Arismunandar, and Mahayana: 1994); Online catalog Portal Naskah Nusantara collection Java/Cirebon.

In West Java, Chinese-Natives relations from 80-320 Saka (ca. 158-399 AD), precisely in the Tarumanegara empire, as narrated in the *Negarakrtabhumi* manuscript, according to the manuscript, in that period the Kingdom of Tarumanegara had very close relationship with the Kingdom of China. When Maharaja Tarumanegara earned Maharaja Nagayawarman title in 562 Saka (640/1 AD), he told his companions through two messengers while carrying various crops and hunted animals. Delegations from Tarumanegara were rewarded by the Chinese Maharaja, in the form of beautiful all-round clothing and jewelry, gold, silver, diamonds and other valuable items. Their friendship was so warm, they sent letters each other, and continue until the time of the Dewawarman Kingdom.

About nine centuries later, in that area the Islamic sultanate of Cirebon stood. The Islamic kingdom located on the coast is an important destination for Chinese traders. There, the Chinese-Natives relations went harmoniously. The Chinese were free to occupy commercial centers, trade in Pasambangan Market and Muara Jati Ports, without disturbance from the natives. However, around the end of the 18th to the early 20th centuries, the Chinese were often the targets of unrest. The Chinese-Natives feud for two centuries was almost

never extinguished. The subject is narrated in the manuscripts of Babad Darmayu and Sedjarah Koentjit.

The long experience of Chinese-Natives rivalry manifested itself in negative expressions, insulting or cornering Chinese, for example the Chinese “ndeleng Cina kebelep ‘saw Chinese were muddy’. So far, the expression is still preserved in the village community, although only in the limited circles.

The Chinese who settled in Cirebon in the 18th century, related to the policy of Preanger Stelsel in 1686, forced the Chinese out of places that became agrarian monopoly VOC (Nagtegaal, in Wibowo, 2013: 218). In addition, because of a bloody event in Batavia in the 18th century, it was known as the Geger Pecinan. Before the VOC occupied over a number of areas in the archipelago, they lived side by side without any significant obstacles. Their activities were not limited, allowed to mingle with the people to run their business.

In this discussion will be described how Chinese-Natives relations in Cirebon from the 15th century until the beginning of the 20th century. The source of reference is five traditional historiographies, namely Negarakrtabumi manuscript, Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari, Babad Cirebon, Babad Darmayu, and Sedjarah Konjtjtit. This study aims to know how the relationship between Chinese-Natives in Cirebon and its surroundings, so the causes behind the events could be found. Whatever the disadvantages, traditional historiography is the way ancestors did to immortalize the information they considered important. That is why traditional historiography occupies an important position in a historical study or culture of the archipelago in the past.

Method

A knowledge that examines the culture in general contained in ancient texts are called philology. This knowledge has come up with into textology and codicology. Textology is a study that specifically discusses text, while the specific codicology discuss the physical or the ins and outs of the manuscript (Karsono, 2008: 78-79). The steps to be taken in philological studies include inventory, description, comparison, text determination, accountability of alphabet, and textual criticism (Karsono, 2008: 81-106). The main task of a philologist is to make the manuscript readable, by presenting and interpreting it, so that it can be understood (Robson, 1994: 12).

The texts will be used as the source of this research have actually been studied philologically in the form of a research report, except Sedjarah Koentjit manuscript. The text of Negarakrtabumi was edited by Ayatrohaedi and Atja (1984); Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari manuscript by Atja (1972); Babad Cirebon manuscript by Rafan Hasyim et al. (2013); Babad Darmayu manuscript version of Museum Sri Baduga by Ruhaliah (2003) and Babad

Darmayu version of Dalang Ahmadi by Nurhata (in *Manuskripta* 2012); *Sedjarah Koentjijit* manuscript (being edited). Therefore, I am merely compiling and summarizing the Chinese-Natives relations in the land of Cirebon based on the work of the philologists.

The uses of method in this research is descriptive analysis. Chinese story fragments in the land of Cirebon, which are briefly recounted in five traditional historiographies mentioned above, will then be viewed diachronically. Each section is then described and analyzed, so that the fluctuations of Chinese-Natives relations from the 15th to early 20th century can be known.

.R E S U L T A N D D I S C U S S I O N

Traditional Historiography in Cirebon

Preparation of traditional historiography in Cirebon since the 17th century, about two centuries after Cirebon stood into the Islamic kingdom in the 15th century. Some traditional historiographies written at that time, including four *Negarakrtabhumi* manuscripts, each written in 1693, 1694, 1695, and 1697 as well as the *Pustaka Dwipantara* manuscript written in 1677 (Ekadjati and Darsa, 1999: 23; 26; 194).

The manuscript of the chronicle was originally created by a court poet, in the form of *tembang* or *dangding*. Then the ordinary people did copying, adapting it into several versions. Among the ordinary people, puppeteers are arguably the most productive and innovative ones. In the hands of the dalangs, the *babad* manuscripts (chronic) are summarized and adapted in such a way for the sake of being puppeteer (*dalang wayang*) or as the reference of his story.

The number of traditional historiographies such as the chronicle manuscript is so abundant. Its existence can be found in Kacirebonan palace, *keraton* family, and people's houses (especially puppets *dalang*). The public interest is so high to the type of chronicle script. The content of narrative is easily spread through the tradition of speech, developed orally. The native are so fond of him, especially for entertaining reasons. Each festival of theatrical (*sandiwara*) and puppet performing arts, *babad* stories are also often declared.

The most uses of chronicle copies *Babad Cirebon*, a manuscript that contains the origin of Cirebon. The Manuscript of *Babad Cirebon* in *Katalog Induk Naskah-naskah Nusantara 5A Jawa Barat Koleksi Lima Lembaga* recorded 27 manuscripts (Ekadjati and Darsa, 1999); *Catalog of online, Portal Naskah Nusantara* records 3 manuscripts; *Katalog Naskah Indramayu* records 3 manuscripts (Christomy and Nurhata, 2016); *Research Report "Pencatatan, Inventarisasi, dan Pendokumentasian Naskah-naskah Cirebon"* record 6 manuscripts (Pudjiastuti, Arismunandar, and Mahayana: 1994); *Seri Katalog*

Induk Naskah-naskah Nusantara recorded 3 manuscripts (Behrend, 1997). There are many more catalogs that registered the Babad Cirebon manuscript. This indicates that the story about the origin of Cirebon has many devotees, not just the laity (through the speech tradition) but also the poets (the tradition of writing or copying manuscripts).

The title for the chronicle script was sometimes given by the copyist arbitrary, has no provisions. For example, the Babad Cirebon manuscript, has many titles, such as *Cariyos Pangeran Walangusngsang*, *Serat Carub Kanda* (original title *Wacan Sujarah, Dalem Bupati Cirebon Raden Adipati Arya Suradiningrat* collection), *Pustaka Carbon Garaghéng Pratama Parwa*, *Wawacan Sunan Gunung Jati*, *Pustaka Carbon Garaghéng*, *Sejarah Cirebon*, *Sejarah Kian Santang*, *Babad Ratu Carbon Girang-Singapura lawan Japura*, and *Sejarah Caruban Kawedar* (author of Sukri Hidayat). The characterizations, plots, and backgrounds described therein are maintained by every copyist, in which there is little variation.

The oldest Cirebon Babad manuscript was written on European paper by Ki Somad Manggala in 1790 in Cirebon. The source of writing of the *Carita Purwaka Caruban* manuscript created by Pangeran Arya Carbon written in 1720 and *Negarakrtabhumi* manuscript creation “Wangsakerta Committee” written in 1693-1697. Preparation of *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari* manuscript is also based on *Negarakrtabhumi* manuscript (Ekadjati and Darsa, 1999: 43; 76). Not surprisingly, these three manuscripts have many similarities. The manuscript of *Babad Darmayu*, whose number of copies reached 15 manuscripts, the source of writing from the manuscript of *Babad Cirebon*.

By the Cirebon humanist, the “Wangsakerta Committee” is believed to be the author of thousands manuscripts of *babad* through important meetings involving a number of countries, known as the *Gotrasawala*. Scholars such as Boechari (2012: 557-558) and Ayatrohaedi (2005: 19) doubted the work of the “Wangsakerta Committee” numbering in the thousands. This doubt can be broken if it searches for the genealogy of manuscripts sourced from *Negarakrtabhumi* manuscript, as described above. In other words, if the *Negarakrtabhumi* manuscript is not the 18th century product, then dozens of manuscripts of *Babad Cirebon* and *Babad Darmayu*, as well as a *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari* manuscript will be denied.

Chinese in the Traditional Historiography

The story of the Chinese in Cirebon region is described in the *Negarakrtabhumi* manuscript, *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari*, *Babad Cirebon*, and *Babad Darmayu*, actually is only a fragment in the large frame of the story about the origin of Cirebon. So in the manuscripts it does not mention it specifically, except *Sedjarah Koentjit* manuscript.

In the manuscript of *Negarakrtabhumi*, *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari*, and *Babad Cirebon*, it was glimpsed about the Chinese-Natives cooperation in the early development of *Kebon Pesisir* village, a small group that became the forerunner of the establishment of the Cirebon Islamic sultanate. Meanwhile, the manuscript of *Babad Darmayu* and *Sedjarah Koenjtit*, tells the contrary, the Chinese-Natives feud is because of economic problems. The story described in *Sedjarah Koenjtit* is more explicit, namely the tragedy of Chinese pigtail cut done by thousands of santri in Cirebon, Majalengka, and Indramayu. Below are five manuscripts that tell the Chinese-Natives relationship in Cirebon.

a. The Manuscript of *Negarakertabhumi*

Formerly, *Kebon Pesisir* village located on the north coast of western Java was densed with people from abroad, such as China, Arab, Persia, India, Malacca, Pasai, Madura, and Palembang. In the new established village, there are the *Muara Jati* Port and *Pasambangan* Market which freely open for the presence of foreign nations. The activities of the migrants are in two trading centers. The impact that is felt, the surrounding community was prosper because many benefits could be gained.

The existence of *Muara Jati* Port has attracted the attention of Commander *Cian Wang Ping* and Admiral *Cheng Ho* while they were sailing towards *Majapahit*. The two officials ordered thousands of his soldiers to set up lighthouses at the port of *Muara Jati*. Viewed from a distance, the lighthouse looked like a star in the sky. After the construction project, the porter's lighthouse gave him the rewards of salt, shrimp paste, sticky rice, pottery, and *jati* wood.

A first king of Cirebon, named *Sheikh Sharif Hidayatullah* or *Sunan Gunung Jati*, had a wife *Princess Ong Tien Nio* or *Lia Nyon Tien* from China. *Princess Ong Tien* dubbed *Princess Petis* because she love eating *petis*. From his marriage to the *Sunan Gunung Jati*, China princess was blessed by having a son, but died when she was born. Because of his deep sadness, the *Princess Ong Tien* parented *Raden Kemuning* son of *Ki Ageng Luragung Kuningan*. *Ki Ageng Luragung* was given a brass *bokor* made by a *maharaja* from *Ming* Dynasty named *Hong Gi*.

Princess Ong Tien stopped by at the Port of *Muara Jati* by *Bantalleo* ship, escorted by 40 soldiers. The two men who accompanied her were *Senapati Li Guan Cang* and *Captain Li Guan Hin*. A total of 20 soldiers have embraced Islam. When they died the body was buried in *Amparan Jati* mountain. Meanwhile, the rest sailed back to China.

b. The Manuscript of *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari*

In *Tegal Alangalang* village was crowded by people from *Pasambangan* mark. There the migrants were trading, some were working as fishermen. Although the fish searching location is just around the shore, but the catch is abundant.

At that time, the chief padukuhan (kuwu) named Ki Gedheng Alangalang, while the treasurer (mangkubhumi) was Walangsungsang.

People from all over the world were coming. There were many differences between them, language, script, character, work, or religion. But they live side by side. Tegal Alangalang then turned into Caruban Larang village because of its population from different cultural and religious backgrounds.

Further told, a first Cirebon Sultan Sheikh Sharif Hidayatullah married Princess Ong Tin in 1481 M. Princess Ong Tien parented a son of Ki Gedhe Luragung named Raden Kemuning because his son died at birth. He did it to cure his pain so deeply. Ki Gedhe Luragung was given a bokor from China. In the bowl there was a diamond dragon painting and Maharaja Honggi is riding a horse, also there was the inscription: Ming Dynasty.

Princess Ong Tien's journey from China is escorted by 40 soldiers, led by Senapati Li Gwan Cang and Captain Li Gwan Hin. The captain was the uncle of Ki Dampu Awang from Campa. A total of 20 soldiers of whom have embraced Islam and they settled in Cirebon. When they died their dead body were buried in Amparan Jati mountain. Meanwhile, 20 other soldiers continued to embrace the Prawa Buddhist religion and they sailed back to China by Bantalleo ship. The Chinese maharaja was very sad because his daughter, Princess Ong Tien, didn't return to his palace anymore. Sheikh Sharif's wife liked to eat petis so she was given the nickname the Queen of Petis. Sheikh Sharif died in 1568 and his body was buried at the top of Sembung Mountain

c. The Manuscript of Babad Cirebon

It was retold, Sheikh Sharif Islamized some countries, such as Palembang, Aceh, Bustam, Turkey, Rum and Sham. Then Sheikh Sharif went to China, planned to Islamize Chinese Maharaja. There he lived with head of port (Syahbandar) Usin who had become the Ki Gedhe (the captain big of a ship). At that time China is being hit by a deadly disease outbreak. People begged Sheikh Sharif help to be healed. After being treated with two sentences their creed could be healed.

The news of the supernatural (karamah) of Sheikh Sharif was heard by the Chinese Maharaja. The King sent Ki Patih to call the people who lived with Syahbandar Usin. Sheikh Sharif came to the king's palace. By the king, he was instructed to guess the contents of his daughter's stomach that actually contained a bokor (copper bowl). However, after being guessed it was actually contained a baby, the daughter was pregnant. The Chinese king felt very ashamed. The king ordered the soldiers to immediately bind Sheikh Sharif and drown him to the bottom of the sea. Not longer after the princess gave birth a beautiful baby girl, but she did not want to suckle to her mother. As an adult, the girl's daughter searched for the place her father drowned, Sheikh Sharif. By the Nabi Hidir, the daughter of a bowl is named Nyi Junti, which means the prestige of earth's light.

d. the Manuscript of Babad Darmayu

Broadly speaking, there are two stories contained in the manuscript of Babad Darmayu: the story about the origin of the establishment of Indramayu and the rebellion in Indramayu during the reign of Governor General Daendels. The rebellion action was led by Bagus Rangin, Bagus Urang, Bagus Serit, and Bagus Surapersanda. They planned to seize Indramayu Pendopo.

By the orders of Bagus Rangin, about 3000 rebels departed to Indramayu Pendopo (government offices). Along the way they cheered while carrying machetes, swords, spears, and rifles. Their faces were filled with colorful streaks that looked sadistic. On the way to Indramayu Pendopo, they robbed buffaloes, cows, rice, and other possessions.

The Chinese knew the plans of the rebels who would attack Indramayu and rob his possessions. Therefore, the Chinese who lived in Lohbener Indramayu Village blocked it. Although they were only 20 people but they were very strong, some of them are Baba Kwi Beng, Heng San, Heng Li, Heng Jin, and Tiyang Li. They were ready to die in the battlefield for their property. A number of rebels were killed in the hands of the Chinese.

They planned to take revenge to the Chinese people who lived in the village of Celeng Lohbener. Bagus Surapersanda came to meet his best friend, Baba Kwi Beng, that secure his property immediately because his friends would rob and destroyed it. Baba Kwi Beng felt surprised because his friend was dare to rob, to make riot and to get many people into trouble, even intend to seize the central government of Indramayu.

Bagus Surapersanda pleaded to Baba Kwi Beng and his friends not to interfere in the plan of rebellion because the number of rebels were many more, if they fought the Chinese would be defeated. Baba Kwi Beng agreed about his good intension as long as his property was not taken. It was delivered to get goodness for all. After all, the main purpose of the rebels was to seize the central government of Indramayu.

In the village of Pamayahan, when the night came, the rebels made noise and rob people's homes, and raped. The Chinese were not the target because they have made agreement. Meanwhile, a top leader of the uprising, Bagus Rangin, kept thinking hard how to tell the plan and strategy of the attack to his 7000 troops in a short time.

The news of the riots in Pamayahan was known by Dalem Indramayu Raden Semangun. In 1808, Raden Semangun sent Demang Wangsanaya to send a letter of requesting a help to Governor General Daendels in Batavia because his territory was hit by a major chaos. The petition was addressed to Daendels because he thought he was a mighty, strong, tall, great, helpful, and hateful man to anyone who liked to riot. A total of 300 soldiers led by two lieutenants were brought in to combat the rebels.

The Celeng Chinese (Cina Celeng) led by Kai Beng and the New Chinese (Cina Baru) people led by Lai Seng again interfered, helping the Batavian army to crush the rebels.

e The Manuscript of Sedjarah Koenjtj

The Sedjarah Koentjtit manuscript contains stories of Chinese pigtail cut in Cirebon, Indramayu, and Majalengka, in 1915-1918 AD. The scriptwriter, according to the owner, Ki Abdullah was the other name of Jaka Sari one of the characters in the story. The manuscript was written in 1818.

At the beginning of the story, a number of youth from Indramayu went to Sindang Laut Cirebon. They were Jaka Sari, Murbawijaya, Raden Bunawan, Muhammad Bogor, Sanusi, Tarmidi, Ki Sapih, Ki Satu, and Suhaimin. The weapons they have prepared were wind pistols, arrows, knives, swords, and chains. They were also equipped with a knowledge of supernatural power.

In Losari Cirebon, a grand session was held which attended by thousands of santri, elders (sesepuh desa), and bupati. Delegation from Indramayu, Raden Bunawan also witnessed it. The result of the trial, they agreed to pound the Chinese people because it was considered as a colonist and can not mingle with the natives.

Thousands of santri who have gotten blessings from elders and regents, set out for the Chinese settlement in Jamblang Cirebon City. The sounds of thousands of santri rumbled, they have been equipped with oil of prayer (Q.S. Yasin), to be immune (a knowledge of supernatural power/antibacok) from various kinds of sharp weapon attacks. In front of thousands of santri, Raden Bunawan did oration, "You all don't have to be afraid, believe in Hyang the Great and the Noble."

Meanwhile, Baba Keng Wan told Baba Seng Kik and his friends that no longer the guest would come from the santri, they would cut the pigtail. The Chinese felt surprise because they were often disturbed by the santri, whereas their existence was legal according to the government (Dutch East Indies). The Chinese were on the alert, welcoming them.

When the santri came, Baba Seng Kik said, "What are you going to do? What are your goals here?" Ki Brahim replied, "We are sorry, we want to cut your pigtail, to be used as a marine azimat by fishermen, in order to get abundant fish, that's a clue I get from a dream". "I'm not afraid of you at all, I have lots of friends" replied Baba Seng Kik. Baba Keng Wan came out of the house, his friends followed from behind.

Baba Suwing suddenly flashed his sword, but it was caught and thrown by Ki Sanusi. Baba Suwing attacked again using a dagger knife. Ki Sanusi moved faster and hit Baba Suwing until he fell and died.

The Jamblang Chinese shoot the santri. But the santri kept attacking to invade because the weapons are supernatural power. As a result, many Chinese have fallen, the rest ran away with their children and wives. They

thought it would be better to cut a pigtail and looked like a native, like what the santri wanted. By doing that, they could do their activity as usual.

The Chinese who were in Plered Cirebon went to Jatiwangi Majalengka to meet their family. There they complained and begged for reinforcements to relatives and friends who were in Leuwi Munding Majalengka City. They discussed, set the strategy of how not to be targeted by santri for days and night. Three very courageous, strong, and experienced Chinese people were present: Su In, Sung Yat, and Sang Wih.

While they were discussing, Durajak and Raden Sanusi came up from behind, without being know by the opponent, then they wipe while reading a spell on a large wooden beam. Not longer after that the logs went berserked, attacking the Chinese until many Chinese were killed. Baba Su In, Sung Yat, and Sang Wih ran away.

In Arjawinangun, Suhaimin entered the pig pen, then he poured liquor to the pigs drink bowl. As it made, the pigs ran after them and bit the ladies until they were attack, even a few of them died. Then, Suhaimin recited the mantra while streaking the coconut tree trunk. The tree trunk was moving wildly here and there. The Chinese were surrounded by santri and ulama from all directions. They surrendered in front of Demang Gurinda. Finally, their pigtail (taucang) was then cut and put into a crate, stored in the nearest district office.

On the 12 Th. of Wau 1915 AD, a deliberation was held in Wot Galih Singaraja Indramayu Village. The grand meeting was attended by Kiai Idris, Kiai Mail, Kiai Harun, Kiai Maruq, and thousands of santri. Two ulamas from Lelea, Kiai Prana and Kiai Saripin, while they were on they way attended conference, fought with Baba King Wat in the Boars. The two kiai kept saying dhikr (zikir) and read the holy verses of the Qur'an. Baba King Wat was dropped by Kiai Saripin and fell into the mud. Baba King Wat rose up fighting by a sword. Kiai Prana and Kiai Saripin were surrounded by Chinese, then they ran to Singaraja.

The santri then attacked the Chinese who lived in Lelea Village. All their treasures and the worth things were destroyed. They ran into the villages all the way to back country. They begged for help to the regent of Indramayu instead they were put in jail. According to the regent, the Chinese didn't not recognize the power of the regent of Indramayu because of their wealth. They were considered too arrogant.

The attack continued into Jangga Village. There the Chinese fled to the Village Karimun, Pendawa, Pangkalan, Ranca Gunda, Puntang, Sukawera, Ranca Gandok, Losarang Kulon, Thunder, and Karang Anyar. For those who could be caught directly they made them bald, and temporarily stayed in Karangsinom Indramayu.

In 1917 an agreement was made between the Chinese and the natives. The goal was making the children and grandchildren knowing it and the

incident didn't happen anymore. Kiai Demang Gerinda, as the representative of santri and ulama, signed the agreement. The representatives from Chinese were not known by name. For anyone who dares to break would be punished as hard as possible.

The Chinese who lived in Anjatan Indramayu were unwilling to take risks. They preferred to cut their own pigtailed to avoid having similar destiny with their friends. They were aware that keeping the pigtail also the government and is against the natives. They were aware that all the food and clothing they have, it come from native land (Java), therefore they must mingle with the local people, otherwise the consequences would be expelled to his native country.

History Reconstruction Relation Chinese-Natives in Cirebon (15th century to early 20th)

Since the beginning of its development, in the 15th century, Tegal Alangalang Village or Kebon Pesisir Village is a very open area for the presence a number of traders from overseas, such as, China. In the village val there was Muara Jati Port. A lighthouse at the harbour was built by the Chinese by the orders of Commander Cian Wang Ping and Admiral Cheng Ho. The head of Labuhan, Ki Gedheng Jumajan Jati, gave various spices to Chinese troops as reward. The lighthouse was an important mark and had a major impact for the Coastal Economy.

Kebon Pesisir has developed rapidly, then it changed its name to Caruban 'mixture', the inhabitants came from different countries with different cultural background. Caruban or Cirebon later became a coastal Islamic sultanate, sponsored by the Demak Sultanate (Ricklefs, in Gunn, 2011: 89). Sheikh Sharif Hidayatullah or Sunan Gunung Jati as the first sultan of Cirebon, who had the wife of Princess Ong Tien from China.

The Chinese-Natives relationship was getting closer, bound by a mutually beneficial interest, a symbiotic mutualism. From the group they contributed to set up a lighthouse, even Sunan Gunung Jati's wife was one of their group. The Chinese were more free to trade in the Pasambangan Market and in the Port of Muara Jati. They were free to live side by side without being limited by differences of religious, linguistic, racial, or country differences. In the 16th century, Cirebon was more crowded being visited by traders from various countries after Malacca conquered by Portuguese (Brown, 2003: 33).

The situation changed after the European nations managed to enter and conquer a number of kingdoms in the archipelago of Nusantara, which is in the 17th century. According to Pudjiastuti, in the "Kajian Kodikologis atas Surat Sultan Kanoman, Cirebon (COD. OR. 2241 ILLB 17, No. 80)", in 1681 the position of Cirebon was already under the control of the Dutch Company (2007: 59).

At the end of the 18th and the early of 19th centuries, Chinese-Natives relations were being weakened. The Chinese settled along Cirebon of pantura (north beach) line were unrelated to their predecessors who had long friendships with the native, whose family lineage could only be traced back to the 19th century (Onghokham 1983: 30). They were from Batavia as a result of Preanger Stelsel's policy of 1686, issued by the VOC. The policy regulates that ethnic of Chinese were not allowed to occupy the places that become agrarian monopoly of VOC (Nagtegaal, in Wibowo, 2013: 218).

Cirebon became more and more crowded being visited by Chinese from Batavia after the anti-Chinese tragedy (the Geger Pecinan) in 1740, and grew larger in 1741-1743. They entered a number of regions down into the back country. By Governor General B.G.W. Van Imhof, they were considered as rebels, and in June 1743 they were granted amnesty on condition of being good citizens and the position was under the company and given political, legal and economic rights (Rommelink, in Wibowo, 2013: 219). The Chinese who spread to various places seemed to be a threat to the natives. Their existence disturbed and made people in to the problem a lot.

It made the inhabitants of Cirebon went into back country and many of them joined the rebels. On July 23rd 1806, a leader of the rebellion Bagus Sidong and his two sons Bagus Arisim and Bagus Surapersanda, sent a letter to Nicolas Enghard. The rebels asked him to move the Chinese out from Cirebon and its surrounding areas because they extorted the people and asked the land of natives. The extortion by the Chinese left proverb, *aja dolanan beras engkoné ditagih ning Cina*, 'don't play on rice, if you don't want to be billed by China'. In addition, the rebels also demanded the return of Prince Kanoman King, King of Kabopate`n, and Raja Lautan to the palace and asked the Batavian soldiers to be taken back from Cirebon. The demand was fulfilled by 46 agreements between members of the Council and officials of the Director General of the Dutch East Indies Governor with Sultan Kanoman and Sultan Kasepuhan. One of them read (chap. 15) that if the Chinese were considered a cause for migration, then the Chinese are not allowed to live in the back country (Marihandono 2003: 14-15).

In fact, the rebellion kept to continue in the reign of Governor General Daendels (1808-18012). The rebellion headquarters are in Pamayahan (Indramayu) and Bantarjati (Majalengka). The Chinese who settled in the village of Celeng Lohbener Indramayu became the main target. All their valuable things were destroyed. The rebellion could stop when a rebel leader, Bagus Surapersanda who had good relationship with Baba Kwi Beng warned him not to interfere. All the Chinese leaders agreed so they were not the target anymore.

In 1830, Dutch colonialism began. One of its politics was the Apartheid system, which divided the Indies society into three groups: (1) Europe or the Netherlands, (2) the Foreign Orient, (China, Arab, India, etc.), (3) the native.

Each class must live in its own place, and the space was limited. The Chinese were characterized by the clothes he wore and the men had a pigtail, even those traits were still visible until 1910 (Ongkhokham, 2008: 3-4).

In 1850, a number of Chinese families managed to accumulate capital wealth invested into several sectors. As a result, in 1892 they owned 45% of land legally from non-natives; 63% of private estates; 31% of buildings; 22% of cargo ships and containers (vessels); 18% sugar milling; 32% ownership of timber or a kind of wood (Diehl 1993: 202, in Christian, 2008: 33-34). This subject has sparked many restrictive rules, discriminatory regulations and divisiveness under the moral principles of 'ethical policies' -a program for natives peoples to have a better life, explicitly it was directed against China (Wertheim 1965: 58, in Christian, 2008: 33-34).

In 1905, the apartheid system was abolished. Physical restrictions for the Chinese were removed because the Chinese Movement that emerged in 1900 demanded equal rights with Europeans (Ongkhokham, 2008: 4). However, the system did not disappear easily there were still many Chinese piggyback and isolating themselves from the natives. By the natives, such an attitude is considered to violate the government's rules. Therefore, thousands of santris and clerics got the support of elders and regents, cut their pigtails and asked them to live side by side with the natives. Moreover, the Chinese had the wealth invested in a number of sectors as mentioned above, resulted in jealousy for natives.

In 1915-1917, a number of Chinese settlements in Cirebon, Majalengka, and Indramayu, were attacked by santris. The homes and a number of Chinese possessions were destroyed, the inhabitants ran to the villages, into the forests, through the muddy places. The tragedy told byword that was still preserved in the tradition of saying, ndeleng Cina kebelep "saw Chinese were muddy". The connotation meaning of the phrase is "about to defecate." In other words, the person who could not bear to defecate like a Chinese who fled in fear of being chased by thousands of santris and ulamas.

For those who were caught, they would be forcibly cut off. Many of them were killed at the hand of santris for fighting. The rebellion could stop after an agreement was made between the santri and the Chinese: their taucang was cut and had to mingle with the natives. The agreement was made so that there were no more riot in the future. One more important thing was, the santri showed the Chinese that the natives are sovereign over their own land. The natives were not lower than Chinese just because of economic problems, although the reality of the natives were indeed poor.

Those involved in the cutting of pigtail action were suspected from Qadiriyyah Wanaqsabandiyah followers. In Indramayu, there were three tarekat spreading points namely Paoman (Sheikh Abdul Manan), Lunggadung (Sheikh Abdul Gofar), and Munjul Cikedung (Sheikh Abdullah). Meanwhile, in Cirebon it was only entered in Kalisapu Gunung Jati. It was not surprising

that most of the movers of pigtail cutting action came from Indramayu, even Jaka Sari (another name (Sheikh Abdullah) before becoming a mursyid 'grand master' of the Qadiriyah Wanaqsyabandiyah involved in the action.

C O N C L U S I O N

In the 15th-16th century, the Chinese-Natives relations in Cirebon according to the traditional historiography of the *Negarakrtabhumi* manuscript, *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari*, and *Babad Cirebon*, did not experience significant obstacles. In economic affairs, they worked together, and both were mutually beneficial. A lighthouse construction by Admiral Cheng Ho and Commander Cian Wang Ping and his troops at Muara Jati Port became an important mark for trade routes in the archipelago, so Cirebon attracted foreign traders. At the Muara Jati Port and the Pasambangan Market the Chinese lived side by side with the natives and trade freely, without any significant obstacles.

By the end of the 18th century the Chinese-Natives relations were fading, due to various problems. The existence of Chinese in Cirebon originated from Batavia due to the policy of Preanger Stelsel (in 1686) and the Geger Pecinan (1740). By natives they were considered to make trouble for the people. As a peak, an anti-Chinese movement emerged in the early 19th century. According to *Babad Darmayu* manuscript, the cause of the attack against the Chinese people led by Bagus Rangin because they often extorted the people, pro the Dutch government, and support the regent of Indramayu. About a century later, at the beginning of the 20th century, tragedy of poker-cutting was happening at the same time with attack in Cirebon, Majalengka, and Indramayu, as told in *Sedjarah Koentjit* manuscript. The reason was that they were exclusive (as a result of the apartheid system). The natives demanded a similar fate with the Chinese, possessed as the wealth of the Chinese, which was demonstrated through the act of forcibly cutting a pigtail.

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