

ISCTE  **IUL**
Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

School of Social Sciences
Department of Anthropology

Por-Tugu-Ese?

The Protestant Tugu Community of Jakarta, Indonesia.

Raan-Hann Tan

Thesis specially presented for the fulfilment of the degree of
Doctor in Anthropology

Supervisor:

Brian Juan O'Neill, Full Professor
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ABSTRACT

Por-Tugu-Ese? The Protestant Tugu Community of Jakarta, Indonesia

Keywords: Mardijkers, Betawi, Portuguese identity, Christian village, *Keroncong Tugu*

Although many centuries have passed since Portugal's Age of Discoveries, enduring hybrid communities are still surviving in places where the Portuguese had been present. Portuguese identity in Malacca, Larantuka, and East Timor, for example, has always been associated with Catholicism. But in Batavia, the Portuguese-speaking population (the Mardijkers, slaves, and Burghers) was converted to Calvinism under Dutch colonization, forming the Protestant Portuguese community in Indonesia. The original contribution of this study is to examine how and why the Protestant Tugu community in postcolonial Indonesia has maintained its integrity as "Portuguese" and has endured collectively for five centuries. To answer these questions, ethnographic fieldwork was undertaken in Kampung Tugu (and Pejambon) in Jakarta, Indonesia. In particular, we focus on the role of local religious practices, as well as on dimensions of the genealogies, apparel, and music of this quintessentially Creole group.

RESUMO

Por-Tugu-Ese? A Comunidade Protestante de Tugu em Jakarta, Indonésia

Palavras-chave: *Mardijkers, Betawi*, identidade portuguesa, aldeia cristã, *Keroncong Tugu*

Embora já tenham decorrido vários séculos desde os Descobrimentos portugueses, ainda sobrevivem comunidades híbridas em lugares onde os portugueses tinham estado presentes. Por exemplo, em Malaca, Larantuka e Timor-Leste uma identidade portuguesa tem sido sempre associada ao catolicismo. Em Batávia, pelo contrário, a população que falava português (os *mardijkers*, os escravos e os *burghers*) foi convertida ao calvinismo aquando da colonização holandesa, formando a comunidade portuguesa protestante da Indonésia. O contributo original deste estudo reside nas seguintes interrogações: como e porquê a comunidade protestante de Tugu, na Indonésia pós-colonial, se tem mantido integralmente como ‘portuguesa’, e tem persistido como um coletivo durante cinco séculos? Para responder a estas perguntas, foi efectuado um trabalho de terreno em Kampung Tugu (e em Pejambon) em Jakarta, Indonésia. Aprofunda-se, em particular, o papel das práticas religiosas locais, assim como as genealogias, o vestuário e a música deste grupo sumamente crioulo.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	v
RESUMO	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xvi
ABBREVIATIONS.....	xvii
GLOSSARY	xviii
INTRODUCTION	1
Point of Departure.....	1
Background of the Study	1
The Ethnographic Context: Tugu, Jakarta, Indonesia	3
Chapters Outline	7
CHAPTER ONE	8
The Problem in Perspective	8
The Notion of “Portuguese”	9
The Profusions and Confusions of Labels and Categories	10
Portuguese Identity: Cultural, Religious, or Essentialized?	12
From Foreigners to Indigenes.....	14
Southeast Asia	17
Portuguese Communities in Southeast Asia.....	18
Literature on Tugu	20
Point of Arrival.....	22
Conceptual Framework	24
Defining “Portuguese Identity”	24
The “Portuguese” as Creoles	26
Enduring People	28
Symbolic Community.....	29
Methodology.....	30
Auto-ethnography.....	37
CHAPTER TWO: The Genesis of “Portuguese” Tugu	41
Introduction.....	41
Historical Views	41
The Mardijkers.....	43
The Beginning of Kampung Tugu.....	48
Conclusion	51

CHAPTER THREE: From Isolated Village to Community	52
Introduction.....	52
Village Life in Tugu	52
Kinship and Categories.....	54
<i>Orang Tugu</i> : The Native Tugu, Their Descendants, and the Newcomers	54
Naming	64
Kinship Terms	65
Residential Patterns	66
Diasporas of the Tugu People.....	68
First Dispersions.....	68
<i>Orang Tugu</i> in Pejambon	70
The Founding of the <i>Ikatan Keluarga Besar Tugu</i> (IKBT).....	72
Tugu and Depok People: A Comparison	74
Descendants of Depok in Tugu and Tugu in Depok	79
<i>Orang Tugu</i> and the Kampung Sawah Christians	80
Conclusion	81
CHAPTER FOUR: The Protestant Christians of Tugu.....	83
Introduction.....	83
History of <i>Gereja Tugu</i>	83
GPIB Tugu.....	86
The “RT 11” of Kampung Tugu.....	92
<i>Orang Tugu</i> and Christianity.....	95
Life Cycles.....	95
Christianity and IKBT	101
A Complicated Relationship with GPIB Tugu	103
The Charismatic Influence	104
Conclusion.....	105
CHAPTER FIVE: Membership, Kinship, and the IKBT Graveyard.....	107
Prologue.....	107
Introduction.....	108
The IKBT Graveyard.....	109
Background.....	109
Death, Rituals, and Identity	110
Funerals and Burials in Tugu	111
Where the Problem Began.....	115
The Graveyard as Contested Space	115
Interfaith Marriages and Conversion.....	117
IKBT Revamp	121
Descent Groups and Associations	126
<i>Ikatan Keluarga Besar Quiko</i> (IKBQ)	127
<i>Arisans</i>	128

Conclusion.....	135
CHAPTER SIX: Becoming Betawi, Performing Portuguese	137
Introduction.....	137
<i>Keroncong Tugu: A Short History</i>	139
Tugu Repertoires and Ensembles	142
<i>Keroncong Cafrinho Tugu (KCT)</i>	144
<i>Krontjong Toegoe (KT)</i>	146
<i>D’Mardijkers Junior Toegoe (DMJT)</i>	148
<i>Keroncong Muda-Mudi Cornelis (KMMC)</i>	148
Tugu Festivals and <i>Keroncongs</i>	149
Perceptions of <i>Krontjong Toegoe / Keroncong Tugu</i>	154
Becoming Betawi.....	156
Batavia, Jakarta and Betawi Identity	156
Tugu and Betawiness.....	159
Performing Portuguese	163
Links with Portuguese	163
Sameness in Difference / Difference in Sameness	165
Tugu: Dutch, Portuguese, or Betawi?.....	169
A Matter of Creolization.....	171
Conclusion	172
CONCLUSION	174
BIBLIOGRAPHY	179

APPENDICES

A. List of Persons Interviewed	200
B. Census Forms.....	202
C. Tugu Harvest Festival.....	205
D. <i>Orang Tugu</i> Households according to Map of Tugu in Appendix Z	206
E. List of <i>Orang Tugu</i> in Pejambon according to Map of Pejambon in Chapter Three	217
F. Maps of Tugu drawn by Arthur Michiels (2013).....	220
G. Documentation and Photographs of <i>Orang Tugu</i> in Suriname, New Guinea, and the Netherlands	222
H. The Two Abrahams Families in Pejambon.....	224
I. Liturgies	225
Weekly Liturgy of GPIB Tugu.....	225
Liturgy of an IKBT Meeting.....	227
Liturgy of Funeral and Burial Services	229

J. Tugu Bhakti School	232
K. <i>Kampung Kurus</i> Residents.....	233
L. Life at RT 11	234
M. Tugu Life-Cycle Rituals	235
N. IKBT Membership Card for the Years 2012-2015	240
O. List of <i>Orang Tugu</i> beyond the Tugu and Pejambon Areas	241
P. IKBT Membership Booklet with IKBT Bylaws (2006)	252
Q. Old IKBT Membership Booklet with IKBT Bylaws (1976)	257
R. Photos of <i>Arisans</i>	260
S. North Jakarta Coastal Tourism Brochure	262
T. List of <i>Orang Tugu</i> in <i>Keroncong Tugu</i> ensembles.....	263
U. <i>Keroncong</i> Practice Sessions in Tugu.....	266
V. Materials for Portuguese Classes and Dance	267
W. <i>Keroncong Tugu</i> Performances.....	268
X. Tugu Specialty Food	270
Y. Portraits	272
Z. Map of Kampung Tugu drawn by Belinda Cheong, based on the sketches of Arthur Michiels and the author (2014)	282

ANNEXES (on DVDs)

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.	Tugu landowners according to the name list published in the 1692 Register ..	49
Table 2.	Categories of <i>Orang Tugu</i>	57
Table 3.	Kinship Terms in Tugu.....	66
Table 4.	Family Groups and Associations involving the Tuguese in Kampung Tugu and Pejambon	134

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.	Administrative Map of Indonesia	5
Figure 2.	Map of Jakarta and surrounding areas, indicating Tugu and Pejambon.....	6
Figure 3.	Signposts pointing towards Tugu Church and Tugu Village.....	35
Figure 4.	A Mardijker with his wife.....	45
Figure 5.	Mardijker in a Betawi hero attire.....	45
Figure 6.	Tugu on the map of Batavia and <i>Ommelanden</i>	48
Figure 7.	Coat-of-arms of the Michiels family, carved on a ring	50
Figure 8.	Ancestors of Gerard Stefanus Sepang	59
Figure 9.	Family Tree of Johan Sopaheluwakan.....	59
Figure 10.	Ancestors of Melly Cornelis.....	60
Figure 11.	The Four Categories of <i>Orang Tugu</i>	61
Figure 12.	Family of Elisabeth Anastasia Quiko-Banunaek	62
Figure 13.	Enlarged map of the Tugu Indah area.....	68
Figure 14.	Map of <i>Orang Tugu</i> Households in Pejambon	70
Figure 15.	Genealogy of Erna Loen.....	79
Figure 16.	<i>Gereja Tugu</i>	86
Figure 17.	Map of <i>Gereja Tugu</i> and its Compound.....	87
Figure 18.	List of Deacons and Elders in GPIB Tugu, 2012-2017	91
Figure 19.	Congregation of GPIB Tugu dressed in their ethnic costumes.....	92
Figure 20.	Logo of IKBT	102
Figure 21.	Gravestone of Jonathan Michiels at the Inscription Museum	110
Figure 22.	Tuguese lighting candles at the Tugu Graveyard on Christmas Eve.....	115
Figure 23.	Pastor Wangania preaching at an IKBQ reunion in the house of Albert Quiko	128
Figure 24.	Gravestone of Johannes Cornelis Andries and the inscriptions of the names of close family members	132
Figure 25.	A portrait of Tugu people, December 1949 (?) / January 1950 (?) at Pejambon	162
Figure 26.	The Betawi-style old house of the Michiels family in Kampung Tugu	162
Figure 27.	Visit of the late António Pinto da França to Kampung Tugu, 1970.....	164
Figure 28.	The Portuguese Ambassador to Indonesia, Joaquim Moreira de Lemos, visiting Kampung Tugu	164
Figure 29.	<i>Keroncong Tugu</i> costume worn by the KCT players during their performance at Senayan City Plaza, Jakarta.....	168
Figure 30.	<i>Tanjidor</i> players at the Betawi Art Festival in Jakarta	168

ABBREVIATIONS

DMJT	<i>D'Mardijkers Junior Toegoe</i>
GPI	<i>Gereja Protestan di Indonesia</i> (Protestant Church in Indonesia)
GPIB	<i>Gereja Protestan di Indonesia Bagian Barat</i> (Protestant Church in Western part of Indonesia)
IKBT	<i>Ikatan Keluarga Besar Tugu</i> (Tugu Community Association)
IKBQ	<i>Ikatan Keluarga Besar Quiko</i> (Quiko Family Association)
GERMASA	<i>Gereja, Masyarakat dan Agama</i> (Church, Society and Religion)
KUA	<i>Kantor Urusan Agama</i> (Office of Religious Affairs)
KT	<i>Krontjong Toegoe</i>
KCT	<i>Krontjong Cafrinho Tugu</i>
KMMC	<i>Keroncong Muda-Mudi Cornelis</i>
PHMJ	<i>Pelaksana Harian Majelis Jemaat</i>
PKI	<i>Partai Komunis Indonesia</i> (Communist Party of Indonesia)
RT	<i>Rukun Tetangga</i> (See Glossary)
RW	<i>Rukun Warga</i> (See Glossary)
TA	<i>Orang Tugu Asli</i> (See Glossary)
TD	Tugu Descendant (See Glossary)
VOC	<i>Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagniem</i> (Dutch East India Company)
JABODETABEK	Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi, Greater Jakarta.

GLOSSARY

<i>angkot</i>	Minibus
<i>arisan</i>	A form of rotating credit association common in Indonesia.
<i>arsik ikan mas</i>	<i>Batak</i> cuisine; a fish (usually common carp) dish cooked with spices.
<i>asinan Tugu</i>	The Tugu version of <i>asinan</i> - a salad made from a mix of pickled vegetables, yellow noodles and sweet, sour, and spicy peanut sauce, topped with a handful of rice crackers.
<i>assalamualaikum</i>	Arabic greeting meaning “peace be upon you”
<i>Baila</i>	A kind of music for social dancing, sung at informal parties and hotel receptions in Sri Lanka, played with combinations of banjo or mandolin, violin, guitar, <i>rebana</i> , and a pair of congas.
<i>baju koko</i>	Betawi fashion for men; a collarless long- or short-sleeved shirt (see <i>sadariah</i>).
<i>bakmi</i>	Fried noodles
<i>bakpau</i>	Steamed bread
Banda Neira (or Banda Naira)	Name of the largest settlement in the Banda Islands, located in the Maluku Province of eastern Indonesia. Historically, it was the centre of the spice trade, known for its nutmeg and mace production. It is now the administrative centre of the Banda Islands.
<i>batik</i>	1) A method of dyeing a fabric through which the parts of the fabric not intended to be dyed are covered with removable wax; 2) The fabric or design that is created by this method; typical in Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore.
<i>begadang</i>	Staying awake all night
<i>Belanda Depok</i>	Literally “Dutch Depok”; also a misnomer referring to the descendants of the slaves of Cornelis Chastelein in Depok, who were of Indonesian ancestry. The slaves were emancipated by Chastelein in 1714 and were given his land.

Betawi	Batavia; also, the indigenous inhabitants of Batavia and of today's Jakarta.
Betawi dialect	Also known as Jakarta dialect; a kind of Malay-based Creole, with notable Chinese Hokkien influence.
<i>bilik</i>	1) woven bamboo wall; 2) small room
black Portuguese	The offspring of miscegenation between Portuguese soldiers, sailors, and traders with Asian women. (see <i>Topasse</i>)
<i>brenebon</i> soup	Red bean soup typical of East Indonesia, consisting of red beans and meat broth, prepared with a mixture of herbs such as pepper, chili, cloves, and nutmeg.
Burghers	In Batavia, a free European citizen; in Sri Lanka, Dutch Burghers were distinguished from Portuguese Burghers, who were known in derogatory terms as "Portuguese mechanics".
<i>Cafrinho</i>	A male, black person
<i>cak</i>	A four-string guitar used in <i>keroncong</i> music, also known as <i>macina</i> in Tugu.
Coromandel	Coastal plain in the eastern region of Tamil Nadu state in southern India. By late 1530 the Coromandel Coast was home to three Portuguese settlements. Later, in the 17 th and 18 th centuries, European powers (the British, French, Dutch, and Danish) rivalled to seize the coast for control over Indian trade.
<i>cucur</i>	Minahasan food, made of rice flavor and brown sugar.
<i>cuk</i>	A three-string guitar used in <i>keroncong</i> music, also known as <i>prounga</i> in Tugu.
<i>dangdut</i>	A genre of popular music in Indonesia that has Arabic and Malay elements.
<i>Depokkers</i>	The indigenous (Protestant) Christian community in Depok, who were former slaves liberated by the Dutch merchant Cornelis Chastelein, and inherited his land in 1714. They are also known by the locals as " <i>Belanda Depok</i> " (Dutch Depok), a misnomer as they are not Dutch but Indonesians from Bali, Ambon, and Sulawesi.
<i>Dewi Sri</i>	Rice goddess

<i>diaken</i>	A church deacon or deaconess chosen from among the congregation and ordained for service, entrusted with the task of social <i>diaconia</i> and welfare matters of the congregation. (See <i>diakonia</i>)
<i>diakonia</i>	<i>Diaconia</i> – the biblical Greek word for service, which applies to all manner of official ministry or unofficial assistance that a person may perform or render either to the Church in general or to some private individual, e.g. serving the needs of the sick or the poor.
<i>Dinas Kebudayaan</i>	Jakarta Tourism and Culture Office
<i>dondang sayang</i>	A traditional verbal art form mainly associated with the Malay and <i>Peranakan</i> (Straits Chinese) communities in Singapore and Malaysia. The singers, accompanied by violins, drums, and gongs, engage in a kind of debate around a central theme in a series of impromptu exchanges, in which they use the traditional four-line Malay poem – “Pantun”, but add repetitions and fillers.
<i>Estado da Índia</i>	1) Former Portuguese possessions on the Indian subcontinent; 2) an umbrella term used in the 16 th and 17 th centuries for the Portuguese Empire, extending from the eastern coast of Africa to East Timor.
Eurasians	People of mixed European and Asian descent
<i>fam</i>	Family name
<i>gado-gado</i>	An Indonesian salad dish consisting of mixed vegetables, potatoes, tofu, and hard-boiled eggs, served with peanut sauce; in colloquial language it also refers to something incoherently mixed.
<i>Gado-gado Tugu</i>	The Tugu version of the Indonesian dish <i>gado-gado</i> , the difference residing in the ingredients added to the peanut sauce, especially coconut milk, and the way it is prepared and served by being poured over the salad.
<i>gambang kromong</i>	A kind of Betawi music particularly associated with the Chinese Betawi and the <i>Peranakans</i> , combining Indonesian, Chinese, and sometimes European-derived instruments in musical styles.
<i>gamelan</i>	A genre of traditional Indonesian music; an ensemble typically including many tuned percussion instruments including bamboo xylophones and wooden or bronze chimes and gongs.

<i>gereja</i>	Church
<i>haji</i>	Muslim man who has made a pilgrimage to Mecca.
Hollandia	The capital of a district of the same name in the northeast of West New Guinea from 1910 to 1962; the city was renamed Jayapura in 1968 and is now the provincial capital of Papua, Indonesia.
<i>ibadah</i>	Worship
<i>ikat</i>	To tie or bind
<i>Indo</i>	In the Netherlands and in the Indonesian Republic, the term refers to a person of mixed Asian and European descent. (See Eurasians).
<i>inheemse Christenen</i>	Native Christians
<i>inlander</i>	Native; the legal category into which all indigenous subjects of the Netherlands Indies were placed
<i>jitera</i>	A five-string guitar used in <i>keroncong</i> music. (see <i>keroncong</i>)
<i>kacung</i>	Young servants or errand boys
<i>Kaffrinha</i>	A form of social dance and music in Sri Lanka with Portuguese and African influences, characterized by asymmetric rhythms in 6/8 time and in which the last note in the bar was generally a crotchet.
<i>Kafir</i>	Unbeliever, non-Muslim; Jews and Christians
<i>kain pelekat</i>	<i>Sarong</i> with a plaid pattern
<i>kampung</i>	Village
<i>Kampung Serani</i>	Christian village. Also, Tugu Village in Indonesia (in Malaysia, this term referred to the Portuguese Settlement in Malacca, as well as the village where Portuguese-Eurasians were concentrated historically, in the Pulau Tikus district of Penang Island).
<i>Kampung Tugu</i>	Tugu Village
<i>kebaktian</i>	Christian religious service which may include praying, singing hymns, etc.

<i>kebaya</i>	A tunic worn traditionally over a <i>sarong</i> skirt, common among women in Southeast Asia, especially Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia.
<i>kebaya encim</i>	Also known as Chinese <i>kebaya</i>
<i>keroncong</i>	A string instrument similar to the ukulele; also a genre of popular music in Indonesia that has Portuguese and Indonesian influences.
<i>Keroncong Tugu</i>	A kind of <i>keroncong</i> music developed in Kampung Tugu since the seventeenth century.
<i>ketan</i>	Glutinous rice
<i>ketan unti</i>	Tugu dish usually served at wake services; steamed glutinous rice with grated coconut in brown sugar.
Koes Plus	The name of a popular musical band in Indonesia
<i>Komunitas Tugu</i>	The Tugu community
<i>Koninklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger (KNIL)</i>	The Royal Netherlands Indies Army
<i>Kopiah</i>	(see <i>peci</i>)
<i>kue basah</i>	Steamed cakes
<i>kue lepet</i>	Sticky rice dumpling mixed with peanuts cooked with coconut milk.
<i>kue lapis</i>	Cake made of sticky rice, served with grated coconut and brown sugar.
<i>kue pisang</i>	Banana cake
<i>kue putu</i>	Steamed cake in a cylinder shape
<i>kue semprit</i>	Cookies made with sago or tapioca flour
<i>Larantueiros</i>	Inhabitants of Larantuka on Flores Island, Indonesia; descendants of Portuguese settlers who intermarried with local women, also known as <i>Topasses</i> or black Portuguese.
<i>Lebaran</i>	The national holiday in Indonesia that marks the end of the Muslim holy fasting month of Ramadan, also known as <i>Eid-al-Fitr</i> in Arabic and <i>Idul Fitri</i> or <i>Hari Raya Puasa</i> in Malaysia and Singapore.

<i>lenong</i>	A genre of Betawi folk drama.
<i>macina</i>	A four-string guitar used in <i>Keroncong Tugu</i> , also known as <i>cak</i> .
<i>majlis</i>	Session or church board of the Protestant Church.
Malabar	The south-west coast of the Indian peninsula; the northern part of present-day Kerala state.
<i>Mandi-mandi</i>	A major Tugu festival that is celebrated on the first Sunday of the New Year.
Mardijkers	A distinctive social group in Batavia, consisting of slaves mainly derived from the Portuguese colonial settlements in India; during the 17 th century they arrived in Batavia and were emancipated. Other freed slaves from the Indonesian archipelago also merged into this category.
Mestizos	Persons of mixed parentage; in Latin America, the term refers to those of Spanish and American Indian parentage. In the Indonesian archipelago, it refers to persons of mixed Asian and European ancestry (see <i>Indo</i>).
<i>nastar (kue)</i>	Pineapple tart
<i>Natalan</i>	Christmas
Native Christians	1) Indigenous people who had been converted to Christianity during colonial times; 2) A status given by the Dutch government to Christians in the Indonesian archipelago.
<i>nyawel</i>	The act of giving money or things by audiences to performers during their show as sign of appreciation.
<i>ojek</i>	Motorbike taxi
<i>oma</i>	Grandmother
<i>Ommelanden</i>	Hinterland of Batavia
<i>opa</i>	Grandfather
<i>opor ayam</i>	Braised chicken in coconut milk, usually eaten during <i>Lebaran</i> .

<i>Orang Betawi</i>	The Betawi people, also known as natives of Jakarta, Indonesia.
<i>Orang Tugu</i>	The Tugu people; Tuguese
<i>Pak RT</i>	Colloquial form of addressing “Mr. Chairman of the neighbourhood unit”.
<i>panada</i>	Indonesian snack; fried bun with spicy tuna filling.
<i>panitia</i>	Committee
<i>pastori</i>	House of the residential pastor
<i>peci</i>	A head cap in the shape of a truncated cone, normally made of felt or velvet, mostly worn by Muslim males, also known as <i>kopiah</i> in Indonesia and <i>songkok</i> in Malaysia.
<i>penatua</i>	A church elder elected by the congregation.
<i>pendaringan</i>	A room in the house where rice is stored.
<i>pendatang</i>	Newcomers or migrants
<i>pendeta</i>	Pastor or preacher
<i>pepe (kue)</i>	A sticky, sweet, layered cake made of glutinous rice flour.
<i>perkedel jagung</i>	Sweetcorn fritters
<i>Pesta Panen</i>	Harvest festival
<i>Pindang Serani</i>	Tugu fish dish cooked in soy sauce and spices.
<i>pisang udang</i>	Tugu delicacy; wrapped in banana leaves, the dough (rice flour mixed with sago) is stuffed with shrimp, grated papaya, and seasoning.
<i>Poco-poco</i>	A kind of line dance popular in the Malay and Indonesian archipelago, especially in eastern Indonesia, where the dance is said to have originated.
<i>prounga</i>	A five-string guitar used in <i>Keroncong Tugu</i> that has developed into a three-string instrument, also known as <i>cuk</i> .
<i>Rabo-rabo</i>	A Tugu tradition in the form of house-to-house visits with <i>keroncong</i> music on the first day of the New Year.

<i>rebana</i>	A kind of tambourine used in <i>Keroncong Tugu</i> ; also a kind of Betawi folk music.
<i>Rukun Tetangga</i>	Neighbourhood unit; administrative division below the village level
<i>Rukun Warga</i>	Administrative unit comprised of several <i>Rukun Tetanggas</i>
<i>rumah tua</i>	Old house or ancestor's house
<i>rupiah</i>	Currency used in Indonesia
<i>RW</i>	Short form of <i>Rintek wu'uk</i> in the Minahasan language (lit. "fine hair"), used as a euphemism for dog meat
<i>sadariah</i>	A long-sleeved shirt; Betawi costume for men
<i>salam</i>	A general greeting
<i>sambal ikan roa</i>	Garfish chili sauce, typical of Manado cuisine
<i>sarong</i>	A garment usually consisting a <i>batik</i> cloth that is wrapped around the body and tied at the waist or below the armpits, worn by men and women in Southeast Asia. In Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore, it is worn by women as a skirt wrapped around the waist and matched with <i>kebaya</i> (see <i>kebaya</i>).
<i>sayur asem</i>	Vegetable soup with tamarind
<i>schotel</i>	Baked macaroni with meat.
<i>seksi diaconia</i>	Division or section in charge of charity.
<i>seksi rohani</i>	Division or section in charge of spiritual affairs.
<i>Shahada</i>	The proclamation of belief in Islam: that there is only one God, Allah; and that Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah; also called the <i>kalima</i> .
<i>sidi</i>	Confirmation; acceptance as a full member of the Protestant church
<i>singkong</i>	Cassava
Sion Church (<i>Gereja Sion</i>)	The oldest church in Jakarta, dated 1695; formerly known as <i>De Nieuwe Portugeesche Buitenkerk</i> ("The New Portuguese Outer Church"), built outside of the city wall for the black Portuguese.

synod	A council or assembly of church officials or churches; an ecclesiastical council.
TA (<i>Orang Tugu Asli</i>)	An indigenous Tuguese who bears one of the major Tugu family names, i.e. Andries, Michiels, Abrahams, Quiko, Cornelis, Salomons, Seymons and Braune.
<i>tanjidor</i>	A kind of Betawi music similar to a brass ensemble.
TD (<i>keturunan Tugu</i>)	Of Tugu descent
<i>tempayan</i>	A big container made of clay, shaped like a large belly and a narrow mouth, used for storing water or rice.
<i>Toegoenezen</i>	Tugu people in the Netherlands.
<i>Topasse</i>	People of mixed Portuguese and Asian descent; the term possibly originated from the Dravidian term <i>tupassi</i> , that means interpreter. <i>Topasse</i> were also known as <i>gente de chapeu</i> (hat people), black Portuguese, or <i>Larantuqueiros</i> .
<i>topeng</i>	Betawi folk drama performed on the outskirts of Jakarta, usually involving the wearing of masks and comprising a different mix of dialogue, song, comedy, drama, dance, and music.
<i>tortor</i>	A kind of dance accompanied by music and associated with the Batak people, especially at Batak wedding parties; the dance is characterized by simple and repetitive movements of hands and feet.
<i>wajik</i>	Steamed sticky glutinous rice, flavoured with palm sugar and coconut milk.
<i>wayang kulit</i>	Shadow puppet theatre which is a traditional art form in Indonesia and Malaysia.

INTRODUCTION

Point of Departure

It started with the Portuguese folk song “*Ó rama, ó que linda rama*” during a Portuguese class at the University of Malaya. The musical style of Vitorino, the melody, and the words captivated me. Learning the Portuguese language with Dr^a Maria Cristiana Casimiro, as an undergraduate student at the Faculty of Languages and Linguistics in Kuala Lumpur, marked the beginning of this intellectual journey. Thanks to the Portuguese lessons for which I initially enrolled as part of my elective courses, I had the opportunity to study in Portugal, and later involved myself in programs and works related to Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking countries.

The initial idea for this research occurred during a meeting with Prof. Shamsul Amri Baharuddin, the founding director of the Institute of Occidental Studies at the National University of Malaysia. Knowing my niche, he proposed the topic “The Making and Unmaking of Portuguese Identity in Southeast Asia”, to understand what defines “Portuguese” and consequently “Portugueseness” in Portugal and Southeast Asia, and how and under what conditions Portuguese identity persists or erodes. After a preliminary literature review, the scope was narrowed down to focusing on Malacca and Tugu based on considerations of feasibility and potential for comparative study. Both are similar in terms of Portuguese Creole language and songs. The Portuguese arrived in Malacca in 1511 and were ousted by the Dutch in 1641, whereas Batavia had never been colonized by the Portuguese. The glaring differences between them also makes them more interesting to study: the Tugu community are Protestants with Dutch-sounding family names, whereas the Malaccan *Kristangs* are mainly Catholics bearing predominantly Portuguese surnames. Portuguese identity in Malacca (and also in Larantuka and East Timor, for example) is associated with Catholicism – in the latter three places, to be a Portuguese is to be a Catholic.

Background of the Study

Portuguese Asia, otherwise known as the *Estado da Índia*, was a maritime trading operation held together by strategic ports, stretching from the east coast of Africa to Macao, and extending to Japan and Ambon (Bethencourt and Curto 2007: 3). Although the *Estado* was a term used as a collective name for all of Portugal’s possessions from the Persian Gulf to the Sea of Japan, according to Villiers in “The *Estado da Índia* in Southeast Asia”, it is difficult to define, one of

the explanations being: “at no time in its history was a unified mode of government or system of law and administration established for all the *Estado da India*’s constituent parts” (1986: 37).

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Portuguese established themselves in Southeast Asia basically through the form of trading posts (*feitorias*), fortified strongholds (*fortalezas*), and settlement. Alfonso de Albuquerque’s capture of Malacca in 1511 brought to Portuguese private traders not only the prospect of access to China, but to the Spice Islands. The Portuguese who first arrived in Malacca consisted of a small number who came in the service of the King, but they became the majority of the town population during the sixteenth century. Historical documents and chronicles show that some of the principal categories of Portuguese residents in Asia are the following: (i) *casado* or *casado morador*, which is to say married settler, (ii) *soldado* or soldier, (iii) *religioso* or ecclesiastic, (iv) *ministro* or official (Subrahmanyam 2012). In the Indonesian Archipelago, the Portuguese had sailed to Sumatra, Java, Banda, and the Moluccas between the years 1511 and 1526. Portuguese traders, soldiers, and sailors eventually settled down and formed a community of *mestiços*.

Portuguese influence in Southeast Asia was reinforced by two factors: miscegenation – whether legitimate unions or otherwise, and the Catholic religion. After taking Goa in 1510, Afonso de Albuquerque encouraged Portuguese men to marry local women by giving them incentives so that they would create a permanent Portuguese population. Within a generation, the *casado* community expanded to include those of mixed blood (or *mestiços*) (Subrahmanyam 2012). The King gave them certain privileges for defending the land when necessary and for the conversion of their wives to Catholicism (Thomaz 2000: 87). In early Portuguese Malacca, despite the natives’ conversion to the Christian faith, superstitious beliefs and traditional customs did not come to an end (2000: 100). Although the number of married settlers was small, the procreation of *mestiços* was made possible by female slaves. Offspring of Portuguese with native women remained loyal to the Portuguese Crown and the Roman Catholic religion even after the Portuguese themselves had gone. By the late sixteenth century, Dutch merchants began to challenge Portuguese dominance in Asian waters. They took over Malacca from the hands of the Portuguese in 1641. Like the Portuguese, the Dutch were mostly unmarried men, who when in Malacca took local wives, in most cases, Luso-Asian women.

Back in the twelfth century, the Sunda Kelapa harbour (now in North Jakarta), then controlled by the Hindu Pajajaran Kingdom, was an important *entrepôt* for spice trade. The Portuguese fleet landed at Sunda Kelapa in 1513, on their voyage between Malacca and the Moluccas islands in search of spices. As the Hindu kingdom was facing threats from its neighbouring Muslim state in the west – the Banten Sultanate – the Portuguese were welcomed

as allies and a treaty was established in 1522, granting permission to the Portuguese for building a fort. However, the Portuguese fleet was defeated by the military commander Fatahillah, and Sunda Kelapa was renamed Jayakarta (Abayeskere 1989: 6).

European powers like the British and Dutch, as well as locals like the Banten and Mataram Sultanates, were eyeing the town of Jayakarta. In spite of these rivalries, Jakayarta finally fell into the hands of the Dutch East India Company (the “VOC” – *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagniem*) to become a centre for their trading enterprise in Asia. The old Jakarta was destroyed by the VOC’s general governor, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, who decided to establish the VOC’s headquarters there, and the town was renamed Batavia, after their ancestral Germanic inhabitants in the Netherlands. City walls and forts were erected, to prevent retaliations from the natives of Java. Batavia was built in the form of towns in the Netherlands, but most of the inhabitants were non-Dutch. Labour and material supplies were needed. As a slave town, social strata were then distinguished between freemen and non-freemen, besides categorizations according to races such as Europeans, Indo-Europeans, Foreign Orientals, and indigenes; Batavia was also described as an “Indies” (*Indisch*) town, referring to mixtures of cultural elements, as “Indo” refers to a Eurasian of mixed Dutch-Indonesian blood (Nas and Grijns 2000: 7-8). There were also Portuguese-speaking people mostly of Bengali and Coromandel origins, who were taken to Batavia as slaves. After their conversion to Calvinism from Roman Catholicism, these emancipated slaves were called *Mardijkers*. Besides Malacca and Batavia, Portuguese was also the lingua franca almost everywhere in maritime Asia.

In the eighteenth century, plantations, Chinese sugarcane fields, and large country estates spread out from Batavia. In the nineteenth century, the Netherlands took over from the VOC which was already in decline, and the environs of Batavia continued to grow. The Japanese invasion in 1942 was momentous; they took over Java and the Dutch again renamed Batavia as Jakarta. From 1945-1949, the status of Jakarta was contested, with Indonesian nationalists declaring independence on 17 August 1945. Finally, the Dutch were defeated in 1949 and Indonesia gained its independence, with Sukarno being the first president of the Republic.

The Ethnographic Context: Tugu, Jakarta, Indonesia.

Initial pluralism in the Malay and Indonesian Archipelago predates colonialism, as typical Southeast Asian trading cities were characterized by the meeting of peoples from all over maritime Asia (Hefner 2001; Wang 2001). According to Ibrahim (2004: 116), colonial history is important to embark on any intellectual discourse on postcolonial ethnicities, and other

related “national questions” of identity formation and management in the evolving nation state. Castles (1967) called Jakarta a melting pot that contained every kind of ethnic group. For Furnivall (1948), the plural society – “comprising two or more elements or social orders which live side by side, yet without mingling, in one political unit” – characterized the fifty years before Dutch colonization ended in Java. This idea was debated and revised in post-war studies of Southeast Asia, for example in the article by the Indonesianist Charles A. Coppel “Revisiting Furnivall's ‘Plural Society’: Colonial Java as a Mestizo Society?” (1997).

The *bhinneka tunggal ika* (unity in diversity) policy, based on the national ideology of *Pancasila*, was implemented in postcolonial Indonesia to accommodate the diverse communities that formed the new Indonesian Republic. Indonesia is the largest Muslim nation in the modern world, with a population of 240 million, 88 percent of which are Muslim. The five State principles of Indonesia (*Pancasila*) are: belief in one supreme God, humanitarianism, nationalism expressed in the unity of Indonesia, consultative democracy, and social justice; the six religions recognized by the State are Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism.

As the capital of Indonesia, the Jakarta Metropolitan Area is also known as *Jabodetabek*, comprising Jakarta itself plus the adjacent regencies and municipalities around the city (i.e., Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, Bekasi). It is administered by a governor elected every five years and is divided into several sub-regions with their own administrative systems. Officially, Jakarta is referred to as the Special Capital Territory (*Daerah Khusus Indonesia*; or *DKI*) and is divided into central, east, north, south, and west Jakarta, each headed by a mayor, plus a regency – *Kepulauan Seribu* (Thousand Islands).

The Javanese constitute the largest ethnic group (Suryadinata et. al. 2003) but the Betawi are considered as the indigenous people of Jakarta. They came into being through processes of creolization during the time of Dutch colonialism when Jakarta was called Batavia. The *Orang Tugu* (Tugu people) claimed to be of Portuguese descent, as Abdurachman (2008) informs us, but they now represent part of Betawi culture, particularly through their music known as *Keroncong Tugu*. They also claim that their lifestyle is similar to the Betawis (as we will discuss in chapter six). How and why, then, did the “Portuguese” in Tugu become “indigenous” or native Jakartans?

As a minority group, *Orang Tugu* are neither a tribe nor an ethnic group like the ethnic majority which can be found in Indonesia, nor like the Bataks from Sumatera, the Torajans from south Sulawesi, the Minahasans from north Sulawesi, etc. A Tugu resident who emigrated

from one of the Lesser Sunda Islands famous for its *ikat*¹ weaving (listed in UNESCO, as World Intangible Cultural Heritage) claimed that Tugu is incomparable to their Sumba ethnic culture, whereas a preacher of *Gereja Tugu* asserted that “in the map of Indonesia (Figure 1), there is no tribe by the name of *Orang Tugu*”.



Figure 1. Administrative Map of Indonesia (Source: Nations Project Online http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/indonesia_admin_map.htm)

Kampung Tugu is located in northern Jakarta, near the Tanjung Priok harbor (see Figure 2). The current Kampung Tugu is part of what used to be a larger Tugu Village territory covering the *Sungai Begog* area in the East, to the North towards *Tanah Merdeka*, and to the South towards *Rawa Gatel*. To trace the origins of the name Tugu, there are various opinions: Firstly, the word *tugu* means “monument” in the Malay/Indonesian language; therefore, some claim that the name Tugu was taken from a monument to mark the boundaries of the area or territory. A second opinion suggests that the word *tugu* derived from the Portuguese language – “*Por-Tugu-Ese*”. The third is based on the archaeological discovery of the huge, oval stone inscriptions found in this area. The Tugu Stone was inscribed with Pallawa and Sanskrit

¹ *Ikat* means knotting or binding. The pattern that is required on the cloth is knotted and bound into the wrap yarn and the thread is dyed before weaving.

characters dating back to the fifth century and is one of seven inscriptions of King Purnawarman from the Tarumanegara Empire. Due to its historical importance, Tugu was assigned by a government decree (number CB 11/2/8/70) on 20th October 1970 as an old Jakartan reservation area (Shahab 1994: 140).



Figure 2. Map of Jakarta and surrounding areas, indicating Tugu and Pejambon (adapted from: “Jakarta Raya Map” *Maps of the World* <http://www.mapsofworld.com/indonesia/provinces/jakarta-raya.html>)

For administrative purposes, since 1986, the whole of Tugu Village has been divided into North Tugu Village and South Tugu Village, which belong to the Koja sub-district, Semper sub-district, and Cilincing sub-district. At present, *Orang Tugu* are concentrated in the area that falls under the administrative village of Semper Barat², a sub-district of Cilincing, North Jakarta. The Cakung-Cilincing toll-road separates the settlement of the Tugu Cornelis clan³

² According to the Semper Barat Report of March 2012, the administrative village covers an area of 159,07 hectares and has a total of 30.852 households.

³ Although the term *clan* was used originally in anthropology to refer to Teutonic and Scottish society, we refer to these native Tugu families as clans because it is from these that the Tuguese trace their common ancestry. Nevertheless, they do not necessarily know the genealogical links that connect them to the apical ancestor. One exception is the Michiels, which will be explained in the following pages. Tuguese explained that their clans, however, are *fam*, which means family names in Indonesia, and not *marga* as in the sense of Batak clanship.

from the other *Orang Tugu*, and has demarcated them under the administrative village of Semper Timur. The construction of this toll-road significantly changed the situation of Kampung Tugu from an isolated village to a traffic-congested and populated area. A cluster of the Abrahams family lives near the Jakarta Islamic Centre, which belongs to the Tugu Administrative Village in Koja sub-district. About ten households of different families live in the flood-prone Beting area, Koja.

Another field site is the diaspora of Kampung Tugu residents in Pejambon, Central Jakarta. Their location is close to the Immanuel Church and Gambir Train Station. Many historical buildings from the colonial era are also found in this area of Gambir. The distance between Kampung Tugu and Gambir is about 15 km.

Chapters Outline

Chapter one addresses the research problem in perspective, followed by discussions on the concepts, methodology and approaches of the study. Drawing from historical studies on Batavia, chapter two deals with the historical background of how “Portuguese” Tugu came about, by taking a closer look at the *Mardijkers* category. Chapter three continues with the contemporary history of the Tugu people by showing how they have become a symbolic community in the sense that they are not bounded by the locality. This chapter also identifies the various categories of people in Tugu, their family histories, and the diasporas of the Tugu community.

Both chapter four and five deal with the religious identity of the Tuguese. We understand religious identity as a discourse of boundaries, relatedness, and otherness, on the one hand, and encompassment and inclusiveness on the other, and of the powerful forces that are perceived to challenge, contest, and preserve these distinctions and unities (Werbner 2010). Chapter four focuses on the life of the Tugu community surrounding the symbolic *Gereja Tugu*. It also describes the life of Tuguese as Christians. Chapter five is an extension of chapter three and four, focusing on the hitherto overlooked Tugu Graveyard – arguably a bastion of Tugu Christian identity. This chapter investigates the relations between kinship and religious identity, and the social organization of the Tugu community.

Another aspect of Tugu’s uniqueness is their music – *Keroncong Tugu* is the subject of chapter six. Building upon existing works on the history and musicology of *Keroncong Tugu*, this chapter contributes to the discussion of the performance of identity, re-connecting readers with the historical background of the community outlined in chapter two.

CHAPTER ONE

The Problem in Perspective

Although many centuries have passed since Portugal's Age of Discoveries, enduring hybrid communities still surviving in places such as Malacca, East Timor, Macao, Goa, Daman, and Diu are clear examples of linguistic and cultural attachment to Portugal surpassing the borders of that nation. Historian George Winius (2001) shows that the Portuguese colonial enterprise gave rise to a "shadow" empire created by escapees and renegades from its royal administration, whose presence was manifested by people who were culturally, religiously, or economically allied to the *Estado da Índia*. For example, in Timor and the surrounding islands between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, the fusion of both indigenous and Portuguese blood as well as other cultural forms perpetuated the continuation of this "shadow" or "informal" empire; this is illustrated in the case of the "black Portuguese" community (also known as *Topasses*) in Timor and the Solor archipelago (Andaya 2010). In subsequent years up to the twentieth century, they continued to survive through their ability to access the sources of spiritual authority in both the Catholic and the Timorese domains. Another example is found in *Creolization and Diaspora in the Portuguese Indies: The Social World of Ayutthaya* (2011), where historian Stefan Halikowski Smith looks into the community of indigenous Christians and Eurasians who were expelled from Makassar in the mid-seventeenth century and who took up residence at the Siamese court.

On top of this "informal" Portuguese presence came the impact of Christian missions, as Sanjay Subrahmanyam, the prominent historian, has noted:

The frontier between the official realm in Portuguese Asia and the rest of Asian society was not determined by renegades and mercenary soldiers alone. Once conversions to Christianity got under way in the sixteenth century, on account of the activities in particular of the religious orders, a grey area arose on the fringes of Portuguese Asia – inhabited by communities which were not merely Christianized, but also Lusitanized. It has been estimated that as many as a million and a half Christians existed in Asia by the early seventeenth century. Some of these were communities which had existed before the Portuguese arrived, such as the Syrian (or St. Thomas) Christians in Kerala. But the opening of a missionary front of expansion also had certain spectacular results, some of which were longer-lasting than the official, secular, Portuguese presence. (2012: 274)

However, the historians Bethencourt and Curto, with their global history outlook, acknowledge that Portuguese missionary work was significant, but highlight that Portuguese presence in Asia endured due to territorial conquest, political control of local populations, and commercial advantages, notwithstanding the autonomous Portuguese mercenaries who established

themselves outside the formal empire in places such as the Bay of Bengal, Pegu, and Cambodia (2007: 3).

In addressing Portuguese-Asian connections in Goa, Macao, East Timor, and other “parts of Asia”, Cristiana Bastos, a Portuguese anthropologist, considers that:

Portuguese-Asian connections go far beyond the experiences of the three little enclaves of Goa, Macau, and Timor. The history of encounters, entanglements, misunderstandings, conflicts, accommodation, resistance, assimilation, transmission, co-creation, annihilation, and invention that evokes some combination of “Asia” and “Portugal” – be it of people or representations – is vast in number, variety, and scope. Again, those examples can be, and have been, used for celebratory purposes, either in the older idiom of empire, refashioned as lusotropicalism, or lusotopic narcissism, as much as they may turn into precious case-studies for contemporary discussions and theoretical developments, from which the hyphenized Portuguese experiences have largely been absent. (2010: 21)

Bastos has pointed out the different approaches that characterize past studies and the potential for future studies. Indeed, over the centuries, there were Portuguese who have assimilated to local cultures in Africa or Asia, but the emphasis was rarely on the ways that those encounters and interactions contributed to the construction of the cultural landscape of Portugal and how Portuguese identity has changed as a result of those contacts (Ornelas 2001: 147). Portuguese anthropologist Miguel Vale de Almeida also puts forward that in Portuguese discourses of national identity, the stress had been on what the Portuguese have given to others and not on what they have received. The discourse of miscegenation and *mestiçagem*, therefore, was constructed as a “passing of Portuguese blood to the others” and not the other way round (2004: 80).

The Notion of “Portuguese”

Ronald Daus, author of *Portuguese Eurasian Communities in Southeast Asia* (1989), argues that the Portuguese in Southeast Asia have resisted assimilation but have shared a similar desire for a certain social dominance and privilege as “Portuguese” because they believed that Europeans were “born to rule”. In the article “The ‘Informal Portuguese Empire’ and the Topasses in the Solor Archipelago and Timor in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries”, Andaya echoes the argument of Daus’ study and affirms that “While they would probably have been rejected as ‘Portuguese’ by their Iberian counterparts, the *Topasses* held strongly to their own specific understanding of ‘Portugueseness’ because this was not only a distinguishing feature from the local people, but also the very source of their spiritual power and prestige in the region” (2010: 419).

In the same vein, we ask why the *Kristangs* still see themselves as “Portuguese”, while cultural interactions and sexual unions between foreigners and locals have been going on for at least five centuries? This has also been observed by anthropologist Brian O’Neill: “*Kristangs* gravitate toward anything originating in Portugal: language, people, clothing, customs, music, dance, religion, and traditions” (2008a: 63), in what he has coined as “lusomania” (2003). In Indonesia, Abdurachman (2008: 24, 26) writes that the *Mardijkers* called themselves “*orang Portugis*” to distinguish themselves from the “*pribumi*”⁴, and later, the Tuguese in contemporary Jakarta still believe that they are the direct descendants of Portuguese settlers. Although the idea of Lusotropicalism⁵ coined by Gilberto Freyre has been criticized, its effect still remains following the extension of the idea from an intellectual field to the realm of politics and that of mentalities. It is not known how this notion arrived in Tugu, but the Tuguese generally believe that the Portuguese were more inclined to mixing with the locals, unlike the Dutch colonialists, as I argue in the final part of chapter six. The Portuguese historian Francisco Bethencourt (2014: 200-201) dispels the assumption that the Portuguese were the only Europeans in Asia who created mixed-race communities by providing examples that the Dutch and English in Asia and Africa have mixed extensively with locals and foster close relationships with them. Joining Andaya (2010: 420), we ask “how and why did the notion of ‘Portuguese’ come to acquire such tremendous power among local communities?”

The Profusions and Confusions of Labels and Categories

Historians and anthropologists have described and examined the various colonial categories governing the Malay Archipelago and Dutch Indies (Bosma and Raben 2008; Hirschman 1987; Stoler 1992; Taylor 1983). Colonial categories show that exact criteria for racial classification were not always specified; for instance, in the Dutch Indies generally, legitimate children follow the race of their father, while illegitimate children follow that of the mother. To change legal categories, for example, from a foreign oriental (e.g. Chinese) status to full legal European status was possible by means of *gelijkstelling* (“alike-making”) in 1884, with the conditions that one had to: 1) be a Christian; 2) speak and write Dutch; 3) have a European upbringing and

⁴ The term “*pribumi*” was borrowed from the Javanese, and in Indonesian it is used to refer to an indigene, or native.

⁵ The notion of Lusotropicalism laid out in Freyre’s *Casa Grande e Senzala* [1933] [*The Masters and the Slaves*] lauds the exceptional Portuguese ability to adapt to the tropics and to create populations of mixed-race people in Brazil; hence Portuguese colonialism is a more humane one as compared to the French, British, or Dutch cases, as the Portuguese have been more inclined to racially intermix with native peoples (which also include those in Africa and Asia).

education; 4) demonstrate a suitability for European society; 5) marry a European, or be adopted by a European (Stoler 1992: 339).

“Eurasian” is a term coined by the British during their colonizing period in the Malay Archipelago, defined as one whose progenitor in the male line was of European or Caucasian origin (Chan 1983). The Dutch in Indonesia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries employed the term “Mestizo” to describe people of mixed birth, which also signifies Eurasian, but without the old Dutch distinction as to the degree of proximity to a white male. It also characterizes a culture made up of many influences, extending beyond the Dutch and Indonesian (Taylor 2009: xix).⁶ The Mestizos were also in the Spice Islands – Kota Ambon in Amboina and Ternate. These were the Portuguese who intermarried with the local women, creating mixed communities that were Catholic and Creole-speaking (Byrne 2011: 136).

The term “black Portuguese” was used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the Dutch to refer to Portuguese descendants in Timor, Flores, Solor, and Java (Litamahuputty 1998: 71). From Larantuka and the Flores Islands, the descendants of the original Portuguese who settled there in the early 1500s and intermarried with local women, together with later Portuguese groups who were expelled from Malacca and Makassar in 1651 and 1660, are known as the *Larantuqueiros*, who were originally called *Topasses* and “black Portuguese”. They remain fervent Catholics, further identified by their Portuguese surnames. The descendants of these families became the “Mestizos” when they ended up in East Timor. They were followers of the Catholic faith and speakers of Portuguese. In Java, the black Portuguese are concentrated in Batavia and Tugu, but the earliest Tugu inhabitants were known as “Mardijkers”, who were slaves liberated by the Dutch.

Categorization, according to Jenkins (1996: 83) represents a general social process and is “a routine and a necessary contribution to how we make sense of, and impute predictability to, a complex social world about which our knowledge is always partial”. The identity of a collectivity is not necessarily defined by how they are being categorized; nonetheless, categorization can become identity as a result of enforcement. Hacking (1990) has argued that categories had to be invented into which people could conveniently fall in order to be counted. The categorization of individuals and populations, e.g. via censuses, is one of the ways in which humans are constituted as objects of government and subjects of the state.

⁶ Taylor (1983) used the term *Mestizo* interchangeably with Eurasian.

Since the Portuguese Eurasians do not belong to any of the major ethnic groups in Malaysia, they have been categorized as “Others” in post-Independence Malaysia.⁷ However, it is not uncommon for mixed-race persons to be put into a “residual” category as such, as people often see multiplicity and heterogeneity as accidents or exceptions (Bowker and Star 2000: 300). We are reminded by these authors that the endless classifications and ruling standards that exist to perpetuate this modern world often caused people to overlook the significance of the “other” category that is part of the social whole (2000: 301). It has been a challenge to social statisticians and bureaucrats in dealing with the issue of how to define mixed-race people for census purposes and sociological accuracy. To analyze mixed-race individuals and racialization, Parker (2004: 125) argues that we must recognize the diversification of diversity, which is beyond the simple mixture of black and white. Hence, the challenge was: how to find a way to talk about these hybrid communities, e.g. the Eurasians in Malaysia, the Anglo-Indians in India, and the Indos in the Dutch East Indies, who traverse racial or ethnic boundaries? Where do they fit, if they are neither considered as Europeans nor fully Asian, neither a race nor an ethnic group? Or simply an “Other”?

Portuguese Identity: Cultural, Religious, or Essentialized?

Writings about the identities of Portuguese Eurasians usually refer to their “cultural traits” or “cultural identity”⁸ (Abdurachman 2008; Daus 1989; Espada 2009; Fernandis 2000, 2003; Goh 2002; Sta. Maria 1982; Walker 2009). In this sense, cultural identity generally means an identity that is made up of customs and habits, traditions, values, beliefs, ways of living, thinking and behaving, and a certain style of existence and presence in the corresponding community. It has been noted that the “Portuguese”, within the Eurasian grouping, are “on quite a different level of culture to the bulk of the Eurasian community” (Walker 2009: 17); an important cultural trait to identify Eurasians of Portuguese descent is their religion, i.e. Roman Catholicism.

⁷ In an interview on *BFM* – a radio station in Malaysia in conjunction with Malaysia Day – Sheila da Costa, President of the Eurasian Association in Malaysia, discussed the role of a person being considered a ‘*Dan Lain-Lain*’ (“And Others”) in Malaysia, and explained what it means to be a Eurasian and a Malaysian. According to her, “ ‘Others’ is not a race”, and therefore, tends to be forgotten, because “Others seem insignificant” (10/9/2011).

⁸ In “Cultural Identity and Diaspora”, Stuart Hall (1990) proposed two different ways of thinking about cultural identity. The first position defines cultural identity as “one shared culture, a sort of collective ‘one true self’, hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed ‘selves’, which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common”. Hence, it emphasizes the “oneness” of cultural identities reflected by common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as “one people”, with stable, unchanging, and continuous frames of reference and meaning. The second view sees cultural identities as a matter of “becoming” as well as of “being”, not fixed in some essentialized past, but subject to the continuous play of history, culture, and power (225).

Portuguese in Malacca, Larantuka, East Timor, Sri Lanka, Goa, Daman and Diu and Macau, for example, are associated with Catholicism.⁹ On the other hand, we also find historical studies such as that of Albert (2011), who focuses on Portuguese and Asian Catholic identities in Hoi An (Cochinchina), Malacca, and Ayutthaya during the early modern Southeast Asian period; and Carvalho (2011) who provides us a “snapshot” of the *bandels*¹⁰ of Siam at the end of the seventeenth century. These studies challenge us to question the conflated relationship between the Catholic faith and Portuguese identity.

Nevertheless, if being Portuguese is defined by having cultural traits such as practicing Portuguese traditions, or speaking Portuguese Creole, then how do we view the Portuguese Eurasians in the north of Malaysia (in Penang and Kedah, and even in Phuket, Thailand, where many of them do not celebrate the same festivals as the Malaccan Portuguese nor speak *Kristang*)? And particularly, in our Tugu case, the “Portuguese” are not Catholics but Protestants, who no longer speak Portuguese Creole. How then do they define their “Portuguese” identity?

After centuries of interactions between the various sub-groups of Eurasians and heterogeneous local communities, it is problematic to identify “Portuguese Eurasians” without granting primary importance to their family names and genealogies, which explains why we adopt genealogical inquiry as one of our research methods in this study. Legally, only those classified as Eurasians under British rule are considered to be Eurasian, irrespective of any kind of modern mixed marriage between an Asian and a European. It is also difficult to describe what constitutes “Eurasian-ness”, because the identity and life experiences of Eurasians are shaped around transcultural negotiation (Choo 2007: 71).

⁹ On the Malaccan *Kristangs*, see for example, O’Neill (2002, 2003, 2006, 2008a, 2008b); Sarkissian (2000); Guimarães and Ferreira (1996). On the Penang Eurasians (Sibert 2002; Goh 2002; Nonis 2012; Walker 2009); on East Timor (Schouten 2000; Paulino 2011); on Siam (Smith 2008; Van Roy 2011); on Goa (Sardo 2003, 2010); on Sri Lanka (McGilvray 1982, 2007; Jayasuria 2010). A recently submitted PhD thesis focuses on the Macanese (Gaspar 2013), and another on the Portuguese in Singapore, Malacca, and Tugu (Espada 2012). On Larantuka, see Viola (2013), who has studied the history of Portuguese presence in Larantuka, and the implications and legacies resulting from the long interaction between the Portuguese and local populations for the shaping of the hybrid character of present day Larantukan identity – particularly apparent in Catholic devotions and cyclical festivals. For the Nagi people (*Örang Nagi*), “being Portuguese” essentially means “being the founder of Catholicism” (2013: 29). On Daman, see Ana Cristina de Oliveira Almeida (2013), an ethnomusicologist who studied the Catholic Damanese and the role of music in the construction of *lieux de mémoire* and places of imagination in the homeland (Daman) as well as in the diaspora (United Kingdom). Almeida informs us that fifty years after the integration of Daman in India, Catholic Damanese still feel different from non-Catholics; the older generation continues to identify themselves more with Portugal than with India.

¹⁰ The small and scattered Portuguese community in Ayutthaya (Siam) that consisted of a myriad of people including merchants, soldiers, and missionaries (Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, Jesuits).

From Foreigners to Indigenes

We should not forget that when Portuguese ships arrived in Malacca, the natives called them “White Bengalis”, thus comparing them with the people from Bengal, India, except that they were fairer. Later, they called the Portuguese *Nasrani* (*Serani*) or “Nazarenes” from Nazareth, and *Ferrengi*, or Franks, as found in the *Sejarah Melayu* (Fernandis 2000), or “*Frangues*/Franks” and “infidels” (Flores 2014).¹¹ This was how Asians saw European foreigners. The Eurasians in Malaysia, Singapore, and even in Tugu were suspected as being pro-colonialists by nationalists in the struggles for independence (as I show in chapter three concerning the Tugu diaspora).

Contrary to the perspective of Daus (1989), Gerard Fernandis (2000), a Portuguese Eurasian from Malacca, has claimed that the Malacca community has assimilated to local culture but at the same time maintained their Portuguese heritage. This kind of contradiction has been noted by the historians Bethencourt and Curto, who call it “the paradox of Portuguese miscegenation”, referring to the Portuguese mercenaries who “spread the traits of Portuguese identity by integrating themselves into native communities” (2007: 3-4).

The questioning of the relation between “Portuguese” and indigenosity is evoked by several recent incidents in the context of a postcolonial society like Malaysia. I briefly highlight three cases as follows in a chronological order:

1. The demolition of *Kampung Serani* (“Eurasian Village”).

Residents of *Kampung Serani* in Penang, north Malaysia, were widely perceived as the descendants of a group of Portuguese Eurasians. In the 1980s the villagers were evicted due to a property development project. In this context the community began to reclaim their Portuguese Eurasian heritage and identity. The Penang Eurasian Association drew on national and regional debates on Malayness and indigenosity to construct the rhetoric of a unique Portuguese Eurasian identity, with historical, racial, cultural, and linguistic roots dating back to the Portuguese settlements in Malacca 500 years ago (Goh 2002).

¹¹ The non-Catholics in Damansara used the term *fangah* to label the native Catholics who adopted the religion and practices associated with Portugal, including language, music, dress habits, and culinary practices. The author quotes Noel Gama, a Damansaran, who explained that “*Fangah* means Damansaran Catholics who live the Portuguese way of life. If you're a native and Christian then you are a *fangah*” (Almeida 2013: 55).

2. Opening up of the National Unit Trust Scheme to the Portuguese Eurasians in 1984.¹² The National Unit Trust Scheme was established under the New Economic Policy to promote active distribution of corporate wealth among individuals within the *bumiputra*¹³ category. The Portuguese Eurasians neither belong to the Malay ethnic group nor aboriginal groups, i.e. *Orang Asli* (literally “original people”); however, they were then given the right to invest.¹⁴ Since 1993, the community has been pursuing full *bumiputra* status from the government with the following justifications:

- Their history can be traced back to the Malacca Sultanate as the Mother of the other Malay governments
- the Portuguese were conquerors, not immigrants
- the Portuguese have existed in the land since the early 16th century
- the Portuguese contribute to the pluralism of Malaysian society
- the Portuguese contribute to tourism and heritage.

(Fernandis 2000, 2003)

3. Malacca: “The place where it all began”

Since the 1990s, Portuguese elements have been part of the package to promote Malacca as “The Place Where It All Began”, by presenting the political and religious traditions of the pre-colonial feudal Malaccan Sultanate as an emblem of the modern nation. The emphasis on ethnic Malay heritage in turn indigenized other Malaccan inhabitants such as the Portuguese Eurasians (Worden 2001).

Directly or indirectly, categorizing people can potentially be an intervention in peoples’ lives. The fluidity of the “*bumiputra*” concept paved the way for the Portuguese Eurasians to enjoy some of the benefits previously restricted to *bumiputra*. As categorization generates policies and programs, many “kinds of *bumiputra*” had arisen, leading people to think of themselves as “second-class”,

¹² It should be clarified that benefits accorded to the Portuguese Eurasians are limited, and that they still do not enjoy all the *bumiputra* privileges as do the Malays. In view of this, the status of the Portuguese Eurasian community is equivalent to semi/*quasi bumiputra* status, which does not exist as an official category.

¹³ The Malaysian Constitution states that:

- In West Malaysia - If either parent of a candidate is a Malay who is a Muslim/*Orang Asli* as defined in Article 160 (2) of the Federal Constitution, the child is considered a *bumiputra*;
- In Sabah – If the father of the candidate is a Malay who is a Muslim/native of Sabah as defined by Article 161A(6)(a) of the Federal Constitution, the child is considered a *bumiputra*;
- In Sarawak - If the father and mother is a native of Sarawak as defined under Article 161A (6)(b) of the Federal Constitution, the child is considered a *bumiputra*.

¹⁴ With the following conditions: the person: 1) must be a Malaysian citizen; 2) must be referred to as “Eurasian”, “*Serani*” or “Portuguese” on their identity card; 3) has a Portuguese (family) name; 4) professes the Christian faith (Roman Catholicism); 5) practices Portuguese customs and traditions; 6) speaks *Papiá* Creole; 7) has obtained a declaration of approval by the *Regedor* (Fernandis 2003).

“partial”, or “full *bumiputras*”. Identification and allocation of resources and penalties also go hand-in-hand (Jenkins 1996: 168-169). How one is identified may influence what, and how much, one gets. Allocation also loops back to identification: being deprived of or given access to particular resources connote what it means, for example, to be a Malay or a Portuguese Eurasian in Malaysia. Shared experience of being treated in particular ways has generated a sense of collectivity not existing before amongst the different classes of Eurasians in different parts of the country. The examples we have just mentioned seem to essentialize Portuguese identity, which also demonstrates what Ian Hacking (1999) calls the “looping effect” – individuals take up an external identification to construct an internal identity. In this sense, the Portuguese Eurasians began to think of themselves as *quasi-bumiputra*. Relating to racial classification, Warnke (2007: 64-65) writes that one’s racial identification suggests the attainable prospects for life planning, and fashions their attitude in relating to circumstances and people. Following this, individuals’ approaches to, or contemplations of, their future possibilities loops back to shape the content of the racial classifications.

The modern state has been one of the most important agents of identification and categorization (Brubaker 2004: 42); two extreme examples are Nazi Germany and the Republic of South Africa, which developed systems of racial categorization to the extent of governing every aspect of life (and death). Whereas for millions of people in Asia and other parts of the world, the term “indigenous” exceeds semantic concerns as categories such as “indigenous peoples” also imply a matter of life and death (Gray 1995: 41).

Indigenous movements that have spread throughout the world have drawn together Indian nations, aboriginal peoples, ethnic groups, and minorities to demand respect and rights that concern land, culture, and self-determination. In this context, the term “indigenous” has become prominent, but the concept is still somewhat incoherent and dependent on the notion of the state, which is bound up with identity and power (Gray 1995: 41). There are various definitions of indigenous peoples,¹⁵ but the challenge of reaching a consensus remains, as the meaning of the term is constantly changing

¹⁵ 1. They are the descendants of the original inhabitants of a territory that have been overcome by conquest.
2. They are nomadic or seminomadic peoples, such as shifting cultivators, herders, and hunters and gatherers, who practice a labor-intensive form of agriculture that produces little surplus and has low energy needs.
3. They do not have centralized political institutions; they organize at the level of the community, and they make decisions on a consensual basis.
4. They have all the characteristics of a national minority: they share a common language, religion, culture, and other identifying characteristics and a relationship to a particular territory, but are subjugated by a dominant culture and society.
5. They have a different worldview consisting of a custodial and nonmaterialist attitude toward land and natural resources, and they wish to pursue a development path different from that proffered by the dominant society.
6. They consist of individuals who subjectively consider themselves to be indigenous, and are accepted by the group as such.
Gray adds that an indigenous people may possess some or all of the traits, which themselves overlap to a degree.

to accommodate new groups of people who decide that they are indigenous or want to align themselves with the indigenous movement (Gray 1995; Kingsbury 2008).

Stressing a historical connection with the land and assimilation to local customs seems to be a strategy to assert indigenous status. However, why are other creolized groups in Malacca, like the Chitty Indians (Straits-born Indians) and *Peranakan* Chinese (Straits-born Chinese) who have been around for almost as long as the Portuguese, perhaps even longer, still been denied similar privileges? James Clifford had raised two relevant questions: “What are the historical and/or indigenous rights of relative newcomers – fourth generation Indians in Fiji, or even Mexicans in the southwestern United States since the sixteenth century? How long does it take to become ‘indigenous’?” (1994: 309).

The term “indigenous” is not a commonly used word in Asia, except by leaders who are familiar with international developments associated with indigenous movements (Gray 1995: 57). In Indonesia, the question of who fits into the special category of the indigenous peoples remains challenging. Literature on indigenous peoples in Indonesia tends to scrutinize regions in which government policy is, or at least has been, in conflict with the wishes of the local population (Barnes 1995: 307); for instance, East Timor and Irian Jaya (or West Papua), and the southern Moluccas. Furthermore, in a study focusing on the impact of development on ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples in Southeast Asia, it has been found that classifications of “ethnic minority” and “indigenous peoples” are both highly political and subjective (Clarke 2001: 416). The concept of “indigenous peoples” appears to be complicated for our case. Furthermore, Wawrinec (2010: 99) argues that besides a political dimension to indigeneity, the sociological dimension should not to be ignored; after all, people may be reclaiming selves, not necessarily aboriginality or indigeneity. In view of this, our discussion of indigenesness will go only as far as our concept of creolization proposed by Knorr (2010), that indigenization and ethnicization are the key criteria for creolization.

Southeast Asia

Southeast Asia, according to the prominent historian Anthony Reid, is a coherent geographical and human region comparable to the Mediterranean (Wade and Li 2012). Another approach is Gunn’s global history (2003), which is in line with Goody’s notion (1996) of Eurasia, concerned primarily with the making of a Eurasian world system as an ideological and cultural as opposed to an economic system. One of the main difficulties in defining Southeast Asia as a region was its marked ethnic diversity, outside contacts, and its increasing cultural differentiation through time. As a region, Southeast Asia is characterized by ethnolinguistic and cultural

variation. King and Wilder even point out that “attempts to apply cross-cultural definitions of ethnic unit identification to Southeast Asia have usually failed” (2003: 193).

The theme of “Identity, Ethnicity, and Nationalism” has been a major theme in Southeast Asian studies, constituting one of the chapters in the latter authors’ volume *The Modern Anthropology of South-East Asia: An Introduction* (2003). In a recent review of anthropological studies focusing on the social organization and cultural forms of archipelagic Southeast Asia between 1980 and 2010 (Ellen 2012), the same theme is identified by the author, who mentions, among others, the examples of ethnogenesis and the formation of new subnational ethnic identities through creolization such as the *Peranakans*. Ellen deals with the consequences of official labelling and imposed versus self-identities, ethnic identities as roles and forms of boundary maintenance, and how these contribute to understanding the complexities of multicultural societies such as Malaysia. The intricate relations between nationalism and questions of identity have become a key focus in the context of nation-building and the making of modern Malaysians, Singaporeans, and Indonesians (2012: 433), in its relationship to hybridity, diaspora, and cosmopolitanism, and in terms of how multiculturalism works and is manipulated in modern states.

Portuguese Communities in Southeast Asia

Ronald Daus has made a formidable attempt in studying Portuguese Eurasians across Southeast Asia (i.e. Malacca, Singapore, Larantuka, and Tugu). He focuses on the implications of colonialism and his thesis is that the idea of a dominant Europe is still a reality outside Europe. Nonetheless, it is puzzling that he saw the Tuguese as having a new identity as “Portuguese Javanese” (1989: 39). In no instance have I come across such a description or designation in Tugu, although some Tuguese have Javanese¹⁶ spouses, but this is only one of the many ethnic backgrounds found among the *Orang Tugu*, besides Chinese, Sundanese, Ambonese, Torajan, Batak, Madurese, Timorese, Manadonese, just to name a few. Betawi is instead a more common self-ascription for the Tuguese.

Despite the lack of statistical data on the Eurasian population, a survey by John Byrne entitled “The Luso-Asians and Other Eurasians: Their Domestic and Diasporic Identities” provides us with a comprehensive overview of the (Portuguese) Eurasians in Asia. He informs us that in the Netherlands Indies, British Malaysia, and the Philippines, the Eurasians have been enumerated as “Europeans”, “Eurasian”, and “native” respectively, according to the varying

¹⁶ To be Javanese means to be a person who is civilized and who knows his or her manners and his or her place (Geertz 1961; Koentjaraningrat 1985).

official attitudes towards Eurasian identity (2011: 141). This explains why it has been difficult to obtain data on the Eurasians. In most cases, individuals of mixed ancestry were raised by their non-European mothers and socialized into native Asian society without close contact with Western culture. These children and their offspring have disappeared as identifiable racial hybrids. Many Eurasians have also chosen to conceal their ethnic identity by “passing” as pure-blooded whites. Subsequently, many Eurasians have immigrated to Western countries.

Daus (1989) argued in his book is that the four Portuguese Eurasian communities in Southeast Asia are tools of colonialism. Byrne, on the other hand, has found that the similarity between Luso-Asians, both in the official and unofficial Portuguese empire, is that they were “a unified group in their identity...they saw themselves as one people, the Portuguese of Asia” (2011: 150). Perhaps it is still early to come to these conclusions, as only a few of these Luso-Asian/Eurasian enclaves had been rigorously studied, especially through ethnographic fieldwork. It is not a coincidence that Brian Juan O’Neill, in his review of *The Eurasian Miracle* (2010) by Jack Goody, maintains that:

From Malacca in Malaysia to Macau in China, Daman and Diu in India to Tugu or Larantuka in Indonesia, a whole string of Portuguese-Eurasian relic populations still exist, shouting out to be studied by anthropologists. There are other (albeit less visible) enclaves of Eurasians in Hong Kong and even in Paris, the latter *Eurasiens* the fruit of French-Vietnamese intermarriages. Although known to linguists and historians, these micro-enclaves of Creole-speaking hybrids serve to prove Goody’s argument that Eurasia was, and is still, a fascinating theatre of creolisation and cultural mixing. Perera is doubtless a distant descendant of an originally Portuguese colonist, with the surname Pereira, or perhaps a Sri Lankan burgher. Or, alternatively, one of the carriers of the surname Perera may even have been a convert to Catholicism, complicating the matter yet further. Through the centuries, the orthography changed, as did the pronunciation. Do these living populations not provide a truly modern, contemporary angle on that “lost continent”, Eurasia? As Goody has resuscitated the continent, can we not now resuscitate the peoples themselves – Eurasians of Portuguese, Dutch, and British descent? (2012)

On the surname Pereira/Perera, I can add that I have also come across Parera (note: the orthographic variation; See Figure 18 in chapter four) and other Portuguese-like surnames in Tugu, e.g. de Fretes and Alfons. I was told that these are from Ambon but have no Portuguese origins, contrary to the Tuguese who carry Dutch family names but claim to be of Portuguese descent. Hence, having or not having Portuguese surnames may not be the ultimate marker that defines “Portugueseness” or Portuguese identity.

Literature on Tugu

Sources on Portuguese in Indonesia rely heavily upon the work of the Indonesian historian Paramita Abdurachman and the Portuguese diplomat António de Pinto França. Abdurachman's *Bunga Angin Portugis di Nusantara: Jejak-jejak Kebudayaan Portugis di Indonesia* (2008) is a collection of ten essays written during her lifetime, most having been published in the 1970s-1980s in different journals. Another contribution to knowledge on Portuguese influence in Indonesia was carried out by Antonio Pinto da França (1970) while serving as Portuguese Consul to Indonesia. His historical study identifies and records certain aspects of Portuguese influence in some of the regional cultures of Indonesia which have survived for 300 years.

Literature focusing on Tugu falls mainly within two disciplines: linguistics (Schuchardt 1891; Maurer 2011; Suratminto 2011), (ethno)musicology (Becker 1975; Heins 1975; Seebass 1997; Ganap 1999, 2006a, 2006b, 2011). Both Daus (1989) and Abdurachman (2008) have written small articles and chapters on Tugu.¹⁷ Lilie Suratminto, an Indonesian scholar who conducted preliminary research on the Creole Portuguese of Tugu Village, suggested further investigation to test the hypothesis in his article, regarding the differences between the Tugu community and its surrounding Muslim neighbours (2011: 27). The recent publication by Maria de Jesus Espada entitled *Io Dali Vos Mori* (2009) is a welcoming contribution, albeit written for a Portuguese-speaking audience. Espada used a historical and ethnological approach to study the contemporary community of Tugu, focusing on their actual socio-cultural situation and interethnic relations. Based on fifteen days of fieldwork, she studied the textual work of the autochthonous authors, on the one hand, and on the other hand she conducted interviews *in loco* and an analysis of questionnaires. While trying to trace the genealogies, the author had difficulty because written records of events and memories were not available in that community. The amount of data collected from her two-week ethnographic fieldwork in Tugu is impressive, in particular the burial data and the results from her surveys. The author could have generated more discussion from the data provided in the appendices.

In comparison, a more thorough work is the monograph *Krontjong Toegoe* (2011) by Victor Ganap, an Indonesian ethnomusicologist, based on his PhD thesis. His study elucidates why the music of Tugu has still survived up to now.¹⁸ As our study is concerned with the persistence of the Tugu people, his detailed narrative of the history of Kampung Tugu into the Mestizos period (1513-1641) and the Mardijkers period (1641-1815) is enlightening. Although

¹⁷ Daus's chapter on Tugu makes reference mainly to Abdurachman's "Portuguese' Presence in Jakarta" (1975) and António Pinto da França (1970).

¹⁸ He has resumed in an earlier article (2006b: 12).

Ganap quoted Schuchardt (1891) on a few occasions concerning the Portuguese *cristao*, he only refers to Pinto da França (1970) and Madalena Pereira, who works at the Portuguese Embassy in Jakarta, in terms of the Tugu linguistic element (Ganap 2011: 63). According to the linguist Philippe Maurer who translated Schuchardt's *Kreolische Studien* (1891) and produced a systematic analysis of Creole documents related to Tugu in his recently published *The Former Portuguese Creole of Batavia and Tugu (Indonesia)* (2011), Batavia Creole and Tugu Creole demonstrate more similarities with the *Papiá Kristang* in Malacca than with South Indian Portuguese-based Creoles. Baxter (1998: 33) confirms that the song “*Nina Bobo*” found in Malacca was also found in Tugu, thus providing proof for the theory that the Portuguese Creole of Java was an extension of Malaccan Portuguese Creole. In this respect, one is not convinced by Ganap's theory that the ancestors of the Tuguese are not from Malacca, but were instead Goanese who had mixed with Bandanese. Furthermore, Ganap's chapters on the history and musicology of *Krontjong Toegoe* could have been enriched with references to or comparisons with similar cases of Portuguese Creole communities in Asia, particularly Malacca and Sri Lanka.

Espada (2009), and to a larger extent Ganap (2009), have both quoted from the Tugu author, Frieda Manusama-Moniaga (1995).¹⁹ Frieda was born in 1930 to Mathilde Abrahams, a native Tuguese, and David Mesak Moniaga from Manado, north Sulawesi. Frieda's husband was Ferdinand Lewis Manusama, an Ambonese. She passed away in 2007 and was survived by her six children.²⁰ Her fluency in Dutch allowed her to draw information from Dutch literature on Tugu. As Frieda's main concern was writing about Tugu for Tugu, she has included excerpts from the works of J. Beukhof (1890), who was a missionary in Tugu, and the linguist Schuchardt (1891), *keroncong* expert A. Th. Manusama (1919), C. Conijn (1937), and Pinto da França (1969). On top of this, the narrative of her childhood and the formation of IKBT provide us pictures of her lived experience. She has done us great service by providing a hand-drawn map indicating the Tugu area before the Second World War, and the genealogies of fourteen Tugu clans and families, i.e. Abrahams, Andries, Bacas, Braune, Cornelis, Hendriks, Kantil, Lauw, Loen, Michiels Pendjol, Quiko, Salomons, and Seymons.

¹⁹ She started writing at the beginning of 1977 and has made two revisions in 1982 and 1992 due to several obstacles, e.g., 1) the disappearance of the Register of *Orang Tugu* that possibly happened during the Second World War; 2) the everyday names of the *Orang Tugu* were different from their original (given) names; consequently, she needed more time to compile the genealogies; 3) the evacuation or relocation of *orang Tugu* to other places and countries, and consequent loss of communication for nearly twenty years.

²⁰ One of them is Florence, whose family is among the Pejambon Tugu community. Florence is also married to an Ambonese. Frieda's grave can be found at the IKBT Cemetery.

Point of Arrival

Before deciding on the field site, I made my first trip to Jakarta in December 2012 for two weeks, in order to analyze the timing of major Tugu events, i.e. Christmas²¹, *Rabo-rabo*, and *Mandi-mandi*. During a first visit to the Michiels family in Tugu, the siblings Arthur and Saartje sang me a few songs, including a Creole song and a Macanese song “*Macau Sa Asi*”, while the 12-year old daughter of Saartje sang me *Tres Pombinhas*. Besides telling me the history of Tugu, Arthur said a few words and sentences in Portuguese, the little that he remembered from the Portuguese Language classes and from his trips to Albufeira.

Arthur then asked me about my religion. When I answered that I go to a Charismatic church, like his family, he exclaimed “Hallelujah! Hallelujah!” During my next visit to their home for the *Rabo-rabo* festival, Saartje gave her testimony to a relative in the room that she felt that she had *pembaharuan* (renewal) and had started to know God in a new way after attending the Charismatic church. She elaborated that now that she knew God can speak to her and that the Bible is not a mere story, as in the book of Job, God grants wisdom. The relative agreed with her by referring to the female preacher who orated on the pulpit of GPIB Tugu on the 30th of December, and said that the latter’s sermon was so uplifting because the preacher pointed out that “Amen” and “Hallelujah” are not charismatic words. I was also present at that particular church service, and as a Christian myself, I understood very well what they meant. This gave me the impression that further research on the theme of Christianity might elucidate much more about the relation between the Tugu people and *Gereja Tugu*, as well as about their religious identity, beyond the often-told history of their church.

I also visited the Tugu diaspora in Pejambon in Central Jakarta, based on my reading of Maria de Jesus Espada’s work on Tugu. The guide who drove me to Pejambon asked the *tukang parkir* (parking assistant) for directions to *kampung portugis* (Portuguese village). Surprisingly, he directed us to walk straight in and turn right.²² As we walked in the neighborhood, we saw Christmas decorations in some of the houses, my guide having commented that they must be Christians. Not knowing which houses actually belonged to the Tuguese, he asked two men passing by about the *Orang Portugis* in this area. They answered that they are Portuguese, and introduced themselves as David and Zakaria Djimun, father and son, and immediately showed us where the Abrahams live; they then led us to the residence of

²¹ One middle-aged man approached me at *Gereja Tugu* and asked where I came from. I replied that I was conducting a study of the Tugu community. I asked if he was from Kampung Tugu; he responded that he was from Medan, but had married a “Portuguese” from Tugu.

²² We later found out from the Tuguese that outsiders do not generally know there are “Portuguese descendants” here.

Olga Hukom, who invited us into her house for a long conversation. She explained that her father's side is from Jakarta whereas her mother is a Portuguese from Ambon; hence, she does not consider herself genuinely Portuguese as she does not hold a Portuguese passport, but rather Tuguese or Ambonese. So, it is up to us to decide how we see her. This visit to Pejambon, and further discussion with my key informant, confirmed the need to include Pejambon in my study of the Tugu community.

On this first trip to Tugu, in Jakarta, I was accompanied by my aunt (Lyn) who is a retired policewoman. She volunteered to accompany me as well on a visit to Jakarta for the first time. Aunt Lyn's presence was not only comforting; it seems that because my aunt was with me, people were less initially suspicious of me. After they knew that my aunt had come with me, they felt the need to protect me when she was not around. When we visited the Michiels, the family immediately invited me to stay with them after they realized that I do not have family or relatives in Indonesia.

On New Year's Day, after visiting the first house and the pastor's residence according to the *Rabo-rabo* tradition, Lyn asked me "Aren't two or three examples enough? They are all the same!" (my aunt was referring to the way the Tuguese sing and dance from house to house). According to anthropologists in *Fieldwork and Families*, in examining families in the field, the latter "contribute to the analytic power of the autobiography of fieldwork, and they contribute to the ways in which reflexivity can tell us something pragmatically and methodologically about us as anthropologists, but also theoretically about the people with whom we work and the unique and complicated relationships generated by our shared lives" (Flinn et. al. 1998:198). This was the beginning of my reflexivity.

Following the fascinating encounters in Tugu and under the guidance of my supervisor – Professor Brian Juan O'Neill – the final decision was taken to conduct fieldwork in Tugu (and Pejambon) with the following research objectives:

- To study the daily life of the Tugu community in Jakarta and provide ethnographic details.
- To examine the relation between a Protestant community and Portuguese identity; how has the Tugu Protestant community maintained its integrity as "Portuguese"?
- To understand how and why the Tugu people have persisted as a collectivity despite centuries of subordination, displacement, persecution, and transition from colonial to postcolonial society.

In June 2013 I returned to Kampung Tugu to start my prolonged fieldwork, and concluded in January 2014. I was hosted by Saartje Michiels – the lead singer of the *Krontjong Toegoe* ensemble residing at the extended part of their old Betawi-style house²³ inherited from her great-grandparents Lucas Andries and Saartje Margarietta. I shared a room with Saartje’s 12 year-old daughter, who once told a taxi driver that she had Dutch, Manadonese, and Portuguese blood because her father is Dutch and her mother is “Manadonese plus Portuguese”.

Conceptual Framework

Defining “Portuguese Identity”

Apart from the many articles from the two volumes of *Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511-2011* (2011) which are useful for our study, as we have referred, the editor’s definition of a “legacy” as “something that has been left...by an abstract predecessor – the presence of Portuguese and subsequently Luso-Asian peoples in Asia – and that continued for some time or still continues to survive, to be observable, and to be influential at some level of being or existing, well beyond the lifetime of its original agent, albeit with modifications along the way” (Jarnagin 2012: 2) helps to clarify what we mean by “Portuguese identity”.

On Portuguese identity, Peter Mark’s “The Evolution of ‘Portuguese’ Identity: Luso-Africans on the Upper Guinea Coast from the Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century” (1999) and “*Portuguese*” *Style and Luso-African Identity* (2002) provide an excellent picture of the dynamic interaction of Portuguese and indigenous cultural factors in the ongoing redefinition of what it meant to be ‘Portuguese’ on the Upper Guinea Coast from Senegal to Sierra Leone. It is useful to compare the characteristics of Luso-African identity with Luso-Asian identity; for example, Luso-Africans are identified not by physical features, but cultural and socioeconomic characteristics, e.g. occupation (they were traders or merchants); language (from speaking Portuguese to Creole) (Mark 2002: 14-15); and religion (they were Catholics). On an individual level, conversion was a first step in the process of becoming Portuguese and paved the way towards cultural assimilation between people of heterogeneous backgrounds. Another marker of identity was their material culture, as in the case of the distinctive architecture of their houses, which came to be known as exhibiting an “*à la portugaise*” style (Mark 1999:178). Mark argues that identity is a “continuous dynamic process” which he

²³ Nevertheless, household occupants are faced with house mice, mosquitos, air pollution, traffic congestion, and floods. This house has five rooms but only one is occupied by Luki Michiels, the elder brother of my host Saartje, and his Betawian wife, Martini. The rest live in the extension, where the floor was built about 1 metre higher than the old house to prevent flooding.

describes as “*métissage culturel*” (2002: 5), consisting of interaction and assimilation; a continuous process whereby two or more dynamic and continuously evolving cultures interact to create a new constellation of cultural elements that is distinct from its progenitors. The development and application of ethnic labels was often a product of the colonial period.

A. J. Bernet Kempers, an archaeologist and historian working on various places in Batavia, differentiates between the “real Portuguese” and the “so-called Portuguese” by putting the word “Portuguese” in quotation marks, as shown in the title of his short article “Portuguese and ‘Portuguese’ in Old Batavia” (1974). In his text he asserts: “The scraps of the Portuguese language and customs in Indonesia, however, were not left by the real Portuguese such as those from Malacca. They come from the so-called ‘Portuguese’ of Old Batavia, being representatives of the mixed populations of Portuguese settlements in eastern parts” (1974: 234). Peter Mark (2002) also much later used quotation marks for the term *Portuguese* to distinguish for readers between Luso-Africans and Portuguese who were born and continued to live in Europe.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term “identity” originated in the late 16th century (in the sense of the “quality of being identical”): from the Late Latin *identitas*, and from the Latin *idem* meaning “same”. The notion of identity involves two criteria of comparison between persons or things: similarity and difference. Identity can only be understood as a process of “being” or “becoming”. One’s identity – one’s identities – is or are never a final or settled matter (Jenkins 1996: 4). Gerard Fernandis, a Portuguese Eurasian from Malacca, has defined identity as “to know one self” in his article “Papiá, Relijang e Tradisang – The Portuguese Eurasians in Malaysia: Bumiquest – A Search for Self Identity” (2000). However, we see that individual selfhood is a social phenomenon; as such, identity is a fluid, contingent matter – it is something we accomplish practically through our ongoing interactions and negotiations with other people. Individual and collective identities are also produced, reproduced, and implicated in and with each other. Hence, identity in this research also means social identity, a social process in which the individual and the social are inextricably related.

Barth (1969) made a distinction between “boundary” and “content” – between nominal identity and virtual identity. We are interested both in the name and the experience of an identity. It is possible for individuals to share the same nominal identity, and for that to mean very different things to them in practice, to have different consequences for their lives, for them to ‘do’ or ‘be’ it differently. According to Jenkins (2008: 44), nominal-virtual identity may be related to the group-category distinction, and this may imply that categorization has consequences. The nominal is how the group or category is defined in discourse, the virtual how its members behave or are treated. We also view questions of identity in the context of the

changing nation-state. Although the modern state has been one of the most important agents of identification and categorization, earlier colonialism had already influenced how societies were labeled, via categories such as “Eurasian” and “Mestizos”.

The “Portuguese” as Creoles

Speaking of Creoles, one may think of the Caribbean and Latin American zone, from Louisiana to Cuba to Martinique and Guyana, and Brazil. The term “creole” stems from the Portuguese *crioulo* or the Spanish *criollo*. *Criar* is the Spanish verb “to raise” or “to breed,” deriving from the Latin *creare*, “to create.”²⁴ The concept of Creole did not originally indicate mixture, but a person of “pure” Old World parentage (Stewart 2007: 7). However, “creole” denotes different things in different places. A creole community has been typically characterized as one where the elements of different ethnic groups form the basis of a shared culture which departs from its origins, enough so to constitute a new identity (Mandal 2003: 60).

K. David Jackson, in his study *Sing without Shame* (1990), examines the cultural syncretism of Eurasian creole communities in South Asia through an analysis of Portuguese oral traditions and their role in establishing, defining, and prolonging a new cultural identity. He notes that almost every Portuguese settlement seems to have provided a version of language contact and syncretic folklore, of which the Creole Portuguese of Sri Lanka is one of the most persistent examples for historical, religious, and cultural reasons (1990: 1). Jackson has argued that we need to put Creoles and creolization in historical and cultural context, as well within the political-economic history of expansion, colonialism, and postcolonialism. He points out that late colonialism in the twentieth century is of particular importance because there are emerging postcolonial identities constituted mutually in the ex-colonies and in Portugal; there was also a conservative discourse on national identity (Jackson 1990:114).

Although such groups are known as ‘Portuguese’ in Asia, and may judge themselves to be ‘Portuguese’, their traditions exist as a space in between, a translation drawing on multiple sources. Literary, linguistic, and cultural components of newly defined texts, representing European, African, and Asian sources, come together in what the Russian Formalists have termed an encounter of extra-cultural spaces. (Jackson 1990: 120)

The linguist Alan Baxter (2011: 135-136) asserts that Creole Portuguese communities constitute a very significant cultural and linguistic component of the Lusophone world. A

²⁴ Cf. Frank Martinus Arion (1998: 110), who suggests that the concept of creolization derives from the past participle “*criode*” in the Afro-Portuguese Creole spoken on the West Coast of Africa from the fifteenth century, whereby the creole verb is *cria*, from the Portuguese verb *criar* (to breed); the participle means “locally” bred, standing against that which is foreign and imported.

bibliographical survey of Portuguese Creole languages by Maria Isabel Tomas (1992), a Portuguese sociolinguist, demonstrates the evolution of these languages throughout the historical process tracing back to Portuguese maritime expansion. Jackson (1990) further points out that while both the linguistic evolution and cultural history of Portuguese Creoles in Asia have played their roles in transforming the societies in which they flourished, still little attention has been given to the cultural and social dynamics of creole languages.

The terms “Creole” and “Mestizo” are rarely used in the Malay Archipelago, although the Malaysian scholar Sumit Mandal (2003: 60) refers to the the Baba-Nyonya (of Penang, Melaka, and Singapore) as “Creole Chinese” and a “creole community” because of their mixed Chinese and Malay traditions that created an identity distinctive from either Chinese or Malay culture. Another example is provided by the Arabs from the Hadramaut valley in Yemen, who became part of seafaring communities of Malays, constituted primarily by ethnic Bugis but also Javanese, Malays, and others; they eventually became neither distinctly “Arab” nor “Malay” but “Creole”. Hence, while highlighting Asian-European contacts, we also recognize the Asian-Asian creolization; a prime example of this is historical Malacca.

“*Peranakan*” is a term that is used in Malaysia to refer to amalgams or the offspring of ethnic mixing due to the practice of inter-ethnic marriages between a non-indigenous minority group and indigenous majority groups. Pue and Shamsul (2011) group the Portuguese Eurasians under the *peranakan* ethnic category and argue that the concept of *peranakan* is more neutral, as the term is derived from the root word *anak*, which means child in the Malay/Indonesian language.²⁵ They assert that *peranakan* contains the notion of embracing differences, whereby “societies in the Malay Archipelago are seen as openly accepting the amalgam as part of their own ‘flesh and blood’ ”. Whereas according to Knorr, *peranakan* in the Indonesian context refers to “people with historically exogenous (Chinese) origins who have become indigenized – i.e., Indonesianized” (2014: 135).

Nevertheless, we agree with Mandal (2003: 60) that “Creole” and “creolization” could serve as analytical terminologies for describing multiple and mixed ethnolinguistic communities, as well as offering insights into the making of a world of complex cultural identities. For scholars like Mintz (1998) creolization indicates historically specific processes, while Hannerz (1987) has borrowed the term to refer to today’s globalization of culture. It has now been applied to many different time periods and societies. In anthropology, the term “creolization” is used more or less interchangeably with “hybridity” and *mestizaje* to refer to

²⁵ They explain that when the word *anak* is circumfixed with “*per-* ... *-an*”--i.e. *peranakan*, it originally refers to the womb as part of the female’s reproductive system.

displacement or mixing (Eriksen 2007: 171). Creolization challenges the “truth” of identity, suggesting that loss is not necessarily a lack, but rather a dynamic process, “not from A to B, or A plus B, but bits of A plus altered A plus bits of B” (Vergès 2007: 148). In his study of the *Kristangs*, O’Neill (2002: 86) calls for a more diluted concept of Creole because the miscegenation process spans at least five centuries, as he also discovered that Creole cultural identity has flowed also from Europe to Malaysia, instead of constituting a solely local phenomenon. Based on his fieldwork research, O’Neill (2008a) conceptualizes displaced identities as a series of processes which involved firstly the moment of displacement when “Portuguese” identity was adopted to replace *Kristang* in the 1940s, followed by a rejection of Malay elements in this new Portuguese identity (post-1957). Hence, the first and second displacements replace a prior *Kristang* identity, but there is also the superimposition of a third element from other ethnic groups (Baba-Nyonyas, Chinese, and Indian, etc.). These kinds of superimposed identities thus complicate processes of creolization even further.

Enduring People

It is not uncommon to find remarks by scholars with regard to the persistence of Portuguese Creoles, both the language and the people. For example, from Byrne’s article we hear that:

As the oldest of the Eurasian groups, the Luso-Asian communities have had to adapt to many changes in their long history and to survive the assimilative processes of both the incoming European colonists as well as their local Asian neighbours. It is truly remarkable that the Luso-Asian communities have survived for 500 years. (2011: 150)

Byrne made this conclusion after his survey of fifteen Luso-Asian and Eurasian communities; yet, besides survival, what have they gained from their resistance or assimilation?

To conceptualize the Tuguese as an enduring people is to label them as a “limited and clearly defined social type” (Castile 1981: xvi). This is to avoid the simplistic use of the “ethnic” term and notion, which has also become confused with race. Peter Mark (2002: 7) has also made the point that the concept of ethnicity is problematic to describe cultures separated by four centuries. According to Spicer, the defining characteristic of an enduring people is a continuity of common identity based on “common understandings concerning the meaning of a set of symbols” and this image of collective identity is made up of the symbols “which a people develop, together with their meanings, concerning their experience as a people...thus the persistence of a people rests on a set of meanings about actual events of history, as uniquely experienced by the people and stored as it were in a stock of symbols” (Castile 1981: xviii).

The condition for the endurance is a continuity maintained in the symbol system despite changes or adaptation. Another condition is the consistency of the interpretations of the symbols; collectively they construct a single interrelated set of meanings through successive generations.

Symbolic Community

The conceptualization and the empirical forms of communities have changed over decades. For instance, we move from Tönnies's (1887) concept of *Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft* (community and society), to Robert Redfield's classical *The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture* (1960), with its concept of small communities as a kind of human whole, characterized by distinctiveness, smallness, homogeneity, and self-sufficiency, to the "imagined communities" coined by Benedict Anderson (1983) to describe nations, which were imagined because the members of the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members.

According to Gusfield (1975), instead of localities like villages or neighborhoods, a community is built upon symbols and even attitudes. In *Belonging: Identity and Social Organisation in British Rural Cultures* (1982), Anthony Cohen illustrates the importance of the discrete local experience of those communities who see themselves as peripheral or marginal, and "in which the reality of difference is continually being glossed by the appearance of similarity" (1982: 13). He advocates the exploration of the "intrinsic and idiosyncratic characters of particular communities – even though its eventual statements will inevitably have a much broader and comparative applicability" (Cohen 1982: 13-14) and suggests that we look at the two dimensions of belonging to a culture – membership of the part, and membership of the whole – and how to associate that part to the whole.

Bearing in mind criticisms of the "community study" method which have revolved around its lack of agreement in defining communities, its inclination towards studying small, isolated ("exceptional") communities, its unscientific nature as they not only lack statistical data but tend to be descriptive, we approach the group as a "symbolic community" that exists rather in the minds of its members, and that "can accommodate all of its members' selves without them feeling their individuality to be overly compromised" (Cohen 1985: 109). The greater the pressure on communities to modify their structural forms to comply more with those elsewhere, the more are they inclined to reassert their boundaries symbolically by instilling these modified forms with meaning and significance which belies their appearance (Cohen 1985: 44). Hence, I approach community as an amalgam of symbols, values, and ideologies, which provides a sense of identity within the bounded whole of its members. In *The Symbolic*

Construction of Community (1985), Cohen shows that the issue with community is this: regardless of whether the structural boundaries of a community remain resilient despite social change, the reality of community depends on how its members perceive and contribute to the vitality of its culture, forming a symbolic community that gives meaning and identity for themselves. Community is also an avenue for people to acquire culture or learn to be social, by acquiring the symbols which will equip them to be social (Cohen 1985: 16). Community is thus seen as an aggregating device more than an integrating mechanism. Commonality need not be equal to uniformity; hence, community members' ways of behaving may have varied meanings (Cohen 1985: 20). It is within this framework that, besides our main focus – Kampung Tugu – we also take into account the Tuguese in other localities, namely Pejambon in Central Jakarta, and all over Indonesia.

METHODOLOGY

Perspectives from ethno-historians have provided the foundation for the historical turn in anthropology, as described by Sherry Ortner (1984). These perspectives involve the reconstruction of the past of a region and a people who have no written history, and suggest the option of writing history from the insider's point of view and the study of historical consciousness (Bretell 1998: 514). In her Introduction entitled "Updating Practice Theory", Ortner (2006) lays out three main aspects of this practice: the power shift, the historic turn, and the re-interpretation of culture. By insisting that cultures are not timeless objects but products of internal dynamics (e.g., local power relations) and external forces (e.g., capitalism, colonialism) over time, the historic turn implies a research method that destabilizes the traditionally static modes of ethnographic inquiry.

George Marcus identifies a new mode of ethnographic research – multi-sited fieldwork – "that is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact define the argument of the ethnography" (1995: 90). Classical ethnographic fieldwork tends to be long-term, face-to-face, and with a holistic concern for depth. Understandably, the anxieties of multi-sited fieldwork are that it will weaken the intensity of deep analysis of a chosen locality, as the time factor can determine the depth of an ethnography. Nevertheless, how thinly or thickly the ethnographic fieldwork in these different sites becomes depends not only on the focus of the research, but also on what its actors, biographies, and narratives lead to. As Robben and Sluka have pointed

out, the focus of a multi-sited fieldwork research, which stresses multiple connections, is “in part epistemological, in part methodological, in part a reflection of the times” (2007: 331).²⁶

Traditional ethnography tended to assume a distance from the subject, and created notions of otherness in writing styles that display authority and an unbalanced power dynamic. But we can now recognize and incorporate reflexivity – “a turning back on oneself; a process of self-reference” (Davies 1999: 4) – into ethnographic research methods as an important starting point, rather than as an end to ethnography (Dewalt and Dewalt 2002: 31). We may examine how personal history, as well as disciplinary and sociocultural influences, affect our interpretations of information, and our interactions with the people we study.

Our research methods, among others, include participant observation, dubbed as the “queen of anthropological field method” (Robben and Sluka 2012: 513); Bronislaw Malinowski’s description of this method in his classic *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1992 [1922]) still shapes our fieldwork in that it still leads us to place emphasis on the daily social life of the people we study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to allow the community members to elaborate on the themes that they found most important. Combined with participant observation, this data can be used to obtain information that cannot be directly observed, and to check inferences made from observations (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 125).

My fieldwork has been facilitated by my Christian religious affiliation and my participation in various Church activities, starting from Sunday services to the weekly home fellowship, womens’ meetings, and senior citizens’ reunions. Some people took notice of me at different meetings and complimented me for being *rajin* (diligent). The key methodological point here is that, as a Christian, it was difficult to draw the line between my participating and my observing at church services or related occasions.

Members of my host family were my key informants, namely Andre Juan Michiels, Arthur James Michiels, and Milton Augustino Michiels. They provided me with the history, the map of Kampung Tugu, and the most informative archive. Our communication code-switched between English and Bahasa Indonesia. Among the family members, Arthur is my main reference. Born in Tugu in 1969, Arthur James Michiels is the fourth child of Arend J. Michiels – the first leader of the *Ikatan Keluarga Besar Tugu* (Tugu Community Association; or IKBT)²⁷ and founder of the *Krontjong Toegoe* ensemble. Having grown up in Kampung Tugu, Arthur

²⁶ Robben and Sluka have even argued that instead of participant observation, interviews, and text analysis, the internet, photography, and video are far more important research tools (2012: 334).

²⁷ Literally, *Ikatan Keluarga Besar Tugu* means Tugu Big Family Tie. For the purpose of this study, *Ikatan Keluarga Besar Tugu* will be translated as Tugu Community Association.

pursued further education at the Borobudur Academy of Accountancy in 1991 but did not practice as an accountant. What interests him more are the arts and politics. His knowledge of the history, the people, and the daily life of Tugu derives from his many years of interviewing the older generations, both those residing in Tugu and those in the Netherlands. His narrative is consistent and he has a good memory for years and dates. He was on the board of IGBT from 2006-2012. At the church level, he has been in the youth movement for 3 years and a deacon for a year, but his commitment to *krontjong* as a bass player has been ongoing since 1988. Arthur often goes fishing at night, and during the day he usually receives visitors who come looking for him as a source of information related to Tugu.

Apart from my host family who can speak English, many Tuguese, and most Indonesians whom I came across, could only communicate with me in Bahasa Indonesia. I used the Indonesian language throughout my fieldwork, and there was only one interview which was recorded entirely in English. Interviewees were selected among individuals of differing ages, genders, and occupations. These include a couple of senior citizens recommended by the local community, non-native Tugu residents, as well as non-Tuguese.²⁸ A young informant assisted me in transcribing some of the interviews.

²⁸ Among the native Tuguese are Ana Quiko, Erni Michiels, and Frenky Abrahams:

- Ana Quiko is the oldest living Tuguese. She moved to Tanjung Priok upon marriage and is now living with her son, Daniel Corua, a widowed daughter-in-law, and a grandson. She is confined at home due to physical disability. The interviews became more difficult each time, as her hearing and health turned weaker. Consequently, other informants were selected.
- Being often referred to as *Tuan Tanah* (landlady) and *Puteri Tugu* (Princess of Tugu), Erni Michiels is one of the most well-known figures in Tugu. Tuguese generally agreed that she knows Tugu very well as she has never left it. She often hangs around at the security hut of *Gereja Tugu*, sitting, sleeping, smoking, or chatting. Although it is easy to have conversations with Erni as she can be found at the church compound almost every day, whenever I asked her for an interview, she never gave me a straightforward answer. She often told me, in front of other Tuguese, that it was meant for her to give me obstacles and challenges since everyone else was nice to me and would always say “yes” to my requests. In a group conversation whenever she found other Tuguese talking about old Kampung Tugu life without experiencing Tugu as she had, she would become annoyed and withdraw herself from the conversation. Partly due to her seniority, she manages to bring people together when she organizes anything. Erni is married to a Timorese, Josias Baleng. They have two sons, Ivan and Mesak. They live at their ancestor’s house, left by Erni’s father – Rusyard Michiels –, which has been fully renovated with modern facilities by her late brother Kefas, who has been very successful in his career.
- Frenky Abrahams is one of the very few Tuguese who have been involved in almost all major institutions in Tugu, i.e., as the headmaster of Tugu Bhakti School, as leader of *Krontjong Toegoe* for a short term, currently as a deacon in the Tugu Church, and also as one of the advisors for the Tugu Community Association. He is self-conscious as being a source of information regarding Tugu. After the death of his first wife, Ernestina Sepang, a Tugu descendant, he was introduced to a Javanese lady who was then of a different religious affiliation. She converted, they got married, and have 3 sons. After the first interview with Frenky, I followed him to attend one of the Home Fellowship meetings under Sector IV of *Gereja Tugu*. From then on I started to participate in different Home Fellowship meetings every Wednesday evening. In that way also I got to know the location of Tugu houses as well as their residents.

When I first arrived, I was told: “You came at the wrong time... things have changed”, but “maybe it is not a bad thing – you will be the last witness because Kampung Tugu will be no more”. The changes, among others, refer to the shift of leadership and factions in Tugu.²⁹ As a consequence, there was preoccupation in selecting and approaching potential informants outside of my host family.³⁰ Despite staying with one of the most prominent families in Tugu, it took a while to gather how to proceed with data collection.³¹ Before I left Tugu, there were two farewell parties for me as one of the organizers made known to me that she would not attend the other.

Conversations among Tuguese do not avoid gossip, genealogy, and issues about inheritance. Davies (1999: 79) reiterates the importance of choosing informants – that ethnographers must develop a reflexive understanding of their relationship with their informants, interrogating and exploring not just the information being obtained but also the social dynamics that lead to certain individuals becoming central to their study and others not. While taking a census, I invited respondents to talk about their family histories. The issue of informants who may lie, also mentioned by Davies (1999: 81-82), is common during fieldwork. My informants judged that I as a researcher must be confused, because everyone who spoke to me would only say good things about themselves but paint others in a bad light. They claimed that they told me truths and that I should only write the truths (their truths?) in my work. Hence, I use external triangulation to compare information from various informants. In my final interviews with one of my key informants, he judged that most information that I gathered outside were lies. However, lies can themselves be as useful as other kinds of information; myths they live by or the contradictions they express are data in themselves (O’Reilly 2005: 154).

Apart from these three senior Tuguese, my other informants include the Yunus families who live right across the river in front of Gereja Tugu. Some native Tuguese see the Yunuses as newcomers to Tugu who are not adept with the history of the place, but Carolina Yunus is known for her *gado-gado Tugu*.

²⁹ During my fieldwork, the charismatic leader of Kampung Tugu, Andre Michiels, had been replaced by a new leader and it was a time of transition in the village. Due to his health problem, especially at the beginning of my fieldwork, and notwithstanding a complicated relation with fellow Tuguese, he is seldom seen at Tugu events.

³⁰ When I first talked to the leader of a *Keroncong Tugu* band, he commented that he was impressed that I was brave to approach him, seeing that I was hosted by the family of another *keroncong* band. Several Tuguese raised their eyebrows when they heard that I was staying at “Andre’s old house”. Two Tuguese who took me home after my interview session told me that they did not want to be seen by my host. One confessed that he was neutral but wanted to avoid gossip.

³¹ There seemed to be a distancing between my host family and the community as well as the Church. Although friends and family came to the house regularly for visits, I had not been introduced to the other Tugu residents, although there was occasional mention of their aunt, Erni Michiels.

Pelto and Pelto (1978: 196-197) point out that earlier ethnographers used genealogical data to discover cultural traits of the people studied, e.g., supposedly lineality of descent, matrilineal or patrilineal residence, or marriage rules, but recently the shift has been to focus once again on behavioral systems, for example, as formerly delineated by J.A. Barnes (1971). Although the study of kinship has cooled down in recent decades, and notably since the radical turn by Schneider (1968) – who questioned the Western view of kinship as ultimately biological and dismissed kinship as a useful category – kinship is still alive and well, with recent works that cast the topic in new light (e.g., Carsten 2000, 2004; Strathern 2005; Bamford and Leach 2009).

The genealogical work of Manusama-Moniaga (1995), fondly known as *ibu Ida*, is much referred to by the Tuguese. One of the most flagrant confusions that appeared to me during the initial phase of fieldwork was: who is a Tuguese and who is not? At the beginning of my stay, my host's sister-in-law introduced her father to me as *asli Tugu* (an original Tugu). When I was about to record his genealogy, the daughter, Ning, told me that they are *Orang Betawi*, whose ancestors have been living in Kampung Tugu for seven generations. The family is still Muslim and even have their own mosques around Kampung Tugu; only Ning was converted to Christianity before getting married to the brother of my host, Luki Michiels. Some *Orang Tugu* also consider Ning as Tuguese because her family has been around for a long time.

The second problem was: where does Kampung Tugu begin and end? Although there is a signboard put up by the local authority indicating both *Gereja Tugu* and Kampung Tugu as tourist sites of the northern Jakarta coastal region (See Figure 3), the boundaries of Kampung Tugu lie in the memories or the concepts of the local people. As genealogical data is insufficient to understand the overall condition of the Tugu people, and also due to the lack of official data, enumeration is undertaken to provide a more comprehensive idea of the profiles of the Tugu community. Due to the aforementioned intricacies, my census taking only started in the middle stage, contrary to the suggestion of Barnard and Good (1984) to initiate census work early on in the field.

The maps (See Appendix F) that were drawn by my key informant, Arthur Michiels, were crucial in serving as a guide for me to undertake my census. They provide an emic perspective of which areas geographically comprise Tugu and precisely who are considered to be *Orang Tugu*. On this map, Arthur marked the locality in front of *Gereja Tugu* as a “special zone” because it is highly populated and also where most Tuguese are concentrated.³² Moving

³² Besides, for practical reasons, the space on the paper was insufficient; hence, he drew a separate map to magnify the houses of the Tuguese.

from there, I added another map (See Figure 13 in chapter three and Figure 17 in chapter four) to show the central space where most activities take place, i.e. the Tugu Church and surrounding areas. The maps locate major action settings, social divisions of the community, ecological features, etc.³³



Figure 3. Signposts pointing towards Tugu Church and Tugu Village (Photo by author, 2013)

Data collected from respondents include the following (See Appendix B for Census Forms): The first section of page one follows exactly the format of the Indonesian household card (*kartu keluarga*); it has the columns to fill in the names of household members, gender, date-of-birth, relations between household members, occupation, and marital status. My own addition in this section is a column on “nicknames”, as local residents tend to refer to others by their nicknames. The second section is a simple genealogical enquiry concerning *ego*’s parents and grandparents, on both the maternal and paternal sides.³⁴

³³ Following Peltó and Peltó’s emphasis on the need for fieldworkers to map out “spatial relationships of significant social groups, constructed physical features and other elements of the socio-physical landscape” (1978: 193-194).

³⁴ All relevant data concerning individuals were keyed into the *MyHeritage Family Tree Builder* – a free family history software, from where all the genealogical charts in this thesis are generated.

Burial, the Church, and *Keroncong Tugu* are the themes for page two of these forms. The first section invites respondents to provide names and nicknames of deceased family members; their gender, date-of-birth, date of death, relations with *ego*, burial place and cause of death. The section on the church records church membership and involvement of the Tuguese. This includes dates and places of baptism, confirmation and marriage, and whether they hold any position or participate in any church activities. Names of family members who are involved or were previously active in *Keroncong Tugu* are also registered, along with the name of the band, year(s) involved, and motivation of involvement (section three).

The third page of the forms attempts to demonstrate Tuguese membership in the Tugu Community Association (IKBT) and their reasons for being a member. Other social organizations or activities that they take part in come under section two, for example *arisans*, charitable organizations, Portuguese-related activities, e.g. Portuguese language classes, dance. The final question is about *Orang Tugu* overseas: whether respondents have any Tugu relatives in Suriname, Papua New Guinea, and the Netherlands.

Most of the enumerations were done by myself, whereas some were filled in by the respondents. Enumeration data are categorized into: a) Households in Kampung Tugu; b) Households in Pejambon, and c) *Orang Tugu* elsewhere. Fieldwork in Pejambon, particularly enumeration, was undertaken in several trips, accompanied by one or two informants from Kampung Tugu. Martinus Palit, a Tuguese in Pejambon, kindly assisted in the map drawing.

In her chapter “Expanding the Ethnographic Present”, Davies has explained that the concept of “an ethnographic present” was “an attempt to make a virtue out of practical necessity for anthropologists encountering societies without a written tradition” (1999: 156). A range of local documents gathered during my fieldwork include those from personal archives such as letters, photographs, visitors book, song books, birth certificates, baptism and marriage certificates of individuals; voters lists from the neighbourhood chairman; church membership and attendance records; school students’ records, and so on. Nevertheless, the church, school, and neighbourhood records, in particular, do not differentiate between Tuguese or non-Tuguese, hence there is difficulty in identifying Tuguese if not through Tugu clans and family names. For earlier sources, especially archival research, we refer to Taylor (2009 [1983]), Niemeijer (2012), and Kanumoyoso (2011). Ultimately, the sources of data to use will be based upon our anthropological theoretical interests and research objectives.

Auto-ethnography

I adopt an auto-ethnographic approach, which is both a method as well as a style of writing in qualitative research (Reed-Danahay 1997). In Ellis and Bochner (2000: 739), auto-ethnography is defined as “an autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural”. And as a method, auto-ethnography is both process and product. Standing at the intersection of native anthropology, ethnic autobiography, and autobiographical ethnography, auto-ethnography refers either to the ethnographic study of one's own group(s) or to autobiographical reflections that include ethnographic observations and analysis.

Although the Tugu people know that I am a Malaysian by nationality, there are occasions when I have been introduced as “a student from Portugal”. A TV station who came to interview the *Krontjong Toegoe* band leader for a TV program interviewed me after hearing from my host that I came as far as Portugal to study Kampung Tugu. At the Tugu Expo opening ceremony, the chairperson acknowledged me by announcing to the Tugu Church congregation that there was a student from Portugal doing research here.

As a Malaysian Chinese, I could be taken initially as an Indonesian of Chinese descent; only when I talk a bit do my listeners notice the difference. I speak Malay while the local people speak the Jakarta (Betawi) variant of the Indonesian language.³⁵ As a Chinese, I have been asked why I dedicated myself to write the history of Tugu instead of involving myself in business, like other Chinese.³⁶ Being a Malaysian Chinese in multi-ethnic Jakarta – the province with the largest number of Chinese Indonesians – I find myself somewhat like a native anthropologist. Hoon's (2006: 91) fieldwork experience in Jakarta resonates with me, but the difference between us is that Hoon worked among the Chinese-Indonesians; thus, being able to speak and write Chinese rendered him an exotic “Other”, whereas in my case, my knowledge of Malay and Portuguese became an advantage. The principal of the Tugu Bhakti School, who has made several requests to the Embassy of Portugal for sending a Portuguese teacher to Kampung Tugu, suggested that I offer Portuguese classes.

Although Arthur is my key informant, as an unmarried, young, female researcher, I spent more time with the ladies: at home, my daily routine included helping with household chores, especially kitchen chores in the morning. My official host was Saartje Michiels, but my

³⁵ Although I had later picked up the local slang.

³⁶ There is a general assumption that Chinese are more interested in, and also do well in, business. It was constantly assumed that I had come to Tugu in search of their history, in spite of my explanation that I was doing anthropology.

rapport with Ning, Saartje's Betawi sister-in-law in the same house,³⁷ granted me access to the Muslims' circle, thus also allowing me to conduct participation observation in their life-cycle events, namely Betawi weddings, *Qurban*, and *Idul Fitri*. Living in this house and following Ning to her village, I have witnessed the socialization between Tugu Christians and Muslim Betawis. Ning's father, uncle, and brother often show up at her place. Saartje's elder brother, Luki Michels, takes care of the trucks and containers that park in the house compound, and hence spends most of his time staying up late and socializing with male friends and relatives under the tree in front of his house, smoking and chatting over cups of sweet tea or coffee, served by the ladies of the house. A joint hobby and passion for stone collection is another factor that draws the men together.

Outside home, Erni Michiels, another important person during my fieldwork, can be found at the Tugu Church compound most of the time. Despite her eccentric character, she sometimes surprised people (including myself) with her sound advice. She was often impressed that I, a Malaysian and a Chinese, came to study Kampung Tugu with funding from my government. In her words:

If it is human planning, it is impossible that you come here to study Tugu, but by the grace of God...the important thing is this is a calling; you were arranged by God to stay at Andre's house (...). Andre has good connections both inside and outside of Tugu (...); from the start of your studies you were being funded by your government (...); what you received was the wisdom from God, have you realized? You are here because you were called by God to write the history of Tugu; maybe this history, this community will disappear (...). From the beginning I had asked you: why a Chinese like you would want to write the history of Tugu? You had never been to Tugu before this, and there are many other places for you to write history in Indonesia, like Komodo (...). If this is not God's will, it is impossible that you were being called. What for? You don't get money in doing this research.... (18/1/2014)

Erni said this to me at the end of my final interview with her, although she has mentioned this several times throughout my fieldwork, and she went on encouraging me to persevere. Finally, she reminded me that when I achieve success, I should come to *Gereja Tugu* to pray and present my thanks and offerings to God. Her belief has in turn influenced me in believing that this is part of the divine plan.

It seemed that the Tugu Church members and the Tugu people have assumed that I am a Christian, based on my frequent attendance in the various church activities, although once in

³⁷ There are three households in this house who prepare their meals separately and eat separately: Saartje and her two daughters; Ning and her husband Luki Michiels; and Arthur Michiels, whose household registration card is joined to his mother's. Only a wall separates the houses of Saartje and that of Luki. My crossing of this physical wall in the house was akin to Ning's traversing the Betawi world and the Tugu world, through her daily contacts with her family and friends by returning to her village or by visits from her family.

a while I encountered people who asked in a subtle way whether I am a Christian.³⁸ Upon knowing that I am like them, some of the most recurring questions thrown to me were: How is the situation of the Christians in Malaysia? Is it difficult to build churches in Malaysia, as in Indonesia? Are there many who convert from Islam to Christianity, and vice versa? How does the media report this? These queries tell me about the concerns of most Christians in Jakarta, if not in Indonesia as a whole.

Participant observation implies simultaneous emotional involvement and objective detachment, but my field experience has led me into the “observation of participation” (Tedlock 2000). In spite of being low profile about my religious background, I have been asked to pray for people; I have also been prayed for as well, and have also been asked to give testimony of my faith.³⁹ These personal experiences led me to rethink the question of the religious “self” versus the anthropological “others”. If the question of what it means to be an “insider” cannot be reduced to national or ethnic identity (Howell 2007: 374), then I am an insider. Otherwise, my role resembles a *halfie*⁴⁰ – “the ethnographer standing in two places, both as ‘self’ and ‘other’ at the same time” (Howell 2007: 376). I felt comfortable worshipping and praying with the community but I was also aware of the researcher’s role.

Nevertheless, it is not my intention to privilege my status as an “insider”. Rather, I use my personal connection to the identities and characteristics of my respondents in a reflexive fashion in order to explore the very nature of such identities, as Howell argues in his compelling article “The Repugnant Cultural Other Speaks Back: Christian Identity as Ethnographic ‘Standpoint’” that “regardless of the presence or absence of social stigma attached to Christian commitment within anthropology, the inclusion of the Christian subject position should be

³⁸ I refer to the Tugu people and Tugu Church members not as one and the same group, because most Tuguese are members of the Tugu Church but not all of these members are originally from Tugu. Actually, most of the leaders as well as the members are non-Tuguese.

³⁹ On two occasions I was requested to pray for the Tugu Christians: once when visiting a Tugu patient whom I had not met before in hospital, and on another occasion when the *Krontjong Toegoe* band requested me to say a prayer for them before they embarked on a 14-hour drive to where they were going to perform. I prayed in English with translation to Indonesian by Augusta Michiels. These instances were surprising to me, perhaps because I thought that the people would only see me as a researcher. I was touched by two elderly Tugu residents who volunteered to pray for me at the end of our interviews. A preacher living in Tugu proposed that I give testimony in his church service. Erni advised me to organize a “Thanksgiving” service before leaving. During my last day in Tugu, Joice, who gave me a farewell party, invited the secretary of IKBT to pray for me, and before I left she requested a friend from the charismatic church to come and pray for me again.

⁴⁰ Howell (2007) was referring to Abu-Lughod (1991) in “Writing against Culture”, in R. Fox (org.) *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, pp. 137–62. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press. According to Abu-Lughod (2000) in “Locating Ethnography”, she had paid some attention to the ways her own situation as a young woman and a half-Arab shaped her research in her ethnography entitled *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society* (1986). But in her subsequent writings on this society, she began to explore more systematically “what difference it would, might, or should make to be a feminist and/or a ‘halfie’ – both particular positions and identities – doing ethnography” (262).

made in such a way as to bring the sorts of fruitful possibilities such as the explicit inclusion of other perspectives. (2007: 385)

In “Christianity in Indonesia: An Overview”, Schröter (2011: 9) has made the important point that “the situation of Christians in Indonesia is an important issue that goes far beyond research on minority, touching on general issues relating to the formation of the nation-state”. She has noted that the role of Christianity has been marginal in most anthropological studies, as there has been a tendency to avert Christian societies (normally considered as “Own”) while focusing on the cultural traditions of “Others”. Nonetheless, it appears that a change of attitude is evident, as the topic of Christianity is increasingly being recognized as relevant in light of social development issues (2011: 27); especially worth mentioning is *The Anthropology of Christianity* by Fenella Cannell (2006).

Although this monograph of Tugu is not situated within the anthropology of Christianity *per se*, it is hoped that being reflexive about my own Christian identity, understood as a standpoint, will productively inform this ethnographic study.

CHAPTER TWO

The Genesis of “Portuguese” Tugu

Introduction

Although the Portuguese never occupied Batavia, a Portuguese-based Creole existed there due to the position of that city as the centre for commercial, maritime, and military operations of the Dutch East India Company (the “VOC”). In the history of Batavia, the Portuguese-Creole speaking people consisted of the *Mardijkers*, slaves, and *Burghers*. The *Mardijkers* (derived from the Sanskrit word “*Maharddhika*” which means "great man," "high and mighty") acquired in Indonesia the meaning of free(d) person (Taylor 2009: 47). They also consisted of freed slaves from Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Malabar, Gujerat, and Sri Lanka, as well as people from other places previously controlled by the Portuguese. Recruited as soldiers or bodyguards, they helped the VOC to protect the town from local revolts (Daus 1989). The slaves who originated from the Maluku Islands, Borneo, Timor, and New Guinea formed the second largest group, whereas the *Burghers* who were skillful and knowledgeable in dealing with Europeans came from Portuguese occupied Malacca, Ceylon, Cochin, and Calicut, which later become Dutch. Most of the *Burghers* earned their living as shopkeepers or artisans. In the seventeenth century, language and religion made it possible for these diversified groups to merge into a single community and they formed the Protestant Portuguese community in Batavia.

Historical Views

Among these three categories of Portuguese-Creole speaking people, historians such as Abdurachman (2008), de Haan (1922), Heuken (1997) and Niemeijer (2012) have pointed to the *Mardijkers* as the first settlers of Kampung Tugu. Precisely how “Portuguese” Tugu came about has raised different theories. Ronald Daus (1989: 35) collected two versions of the origins of the Tugu community: one says that they were the direct descendants of Portuguese prisoners of war who had been deported by the Dutch after the fall of Malacca in 1641 and who had then been freed in Batavia. They avoided the Dutch but mixed with people from Bandaneira, creating a settlement outside of Batavia. Another version says that the *Orang Tugu* are the descendants of the Portuguese who had lived in Java even before the Dutch. After being defeated by the Dutch, they retreated to Eastern Indonesia and Tugu.

If the first Tugu community was composed not of Mardijkers of Bengal and Coromandel⁴¹ origin taken by the VOC from Malacca, but by the Portuguese soldiers of Goan origin, how did they end up in Tugu? The ethnomusicologist Victor Ganap has analysed historical studies and the theories put forth by different scholars⁴² in his monograph entitled *Krontjong Toegoe* (2011). According to Ganap, Manusama (1919) believed that they were Portuguese naval forces who came back to old Batavia upon completion of their duty, and when the VOC came into power, they were forced to escape to Kampung Tugu. According to Brata (1968 cited in Ganap 2011), they were a group of Portuguese soldiers of Goan origin who were shipwrecked in the bay of Jakarta, captured by the VOC and liberated when they converted to Protestantism and then were made to settle in Kampung Tugu. Nevertheless, Ganap found that historical and sociological narratives of these Dutch Indies historians are incompatible with musicological analysis. He concludes that the Tugu community is a mix of Goanese and Bandaneirans because the Goans are more faithful to their Portuguese identity, e.g. in their conversion to Christianity, compared to the Portuguese from Bengal and Tamil. In addition, he noticed that among the Tugu community, there is a common belief that they are descendants of Mestizos rather than of Mardijkers. From a musicological point-of-view, Ganap (2011: 63) subscribes to the theory that the Tugu Community might have originated from the Moluccas because:

1. The Moluccas have the most enduring Portuguese influence;
2. Portuguese music was first introduced in the Moluccas;
3. Portuguese music can still be found today in the Moluccas;
4. The Portuguese guitar – the *cavaquinho* – came to the Moluccas from Goa in the sixteenth century.

Amidst these multiple theories, what do the Tugu people think of their origin? According to a text collected by the linguist Schuchardt in 1891: “This is it, the news which the gentlemen ask for: [they] want to know our language [and] how come we live here in Tugu. That we don’t know, [but] we know well our language, the language of the Portuguese people” (Maurer 2011:151). It shows that towards the end of the 19th century, the people of Tugu were not clear about how they ended up in Tugu. In 2013, at the beginning of my fieldwork I asked the brother of my host “who are the *Orang Tugu*?” and this is how he answered:

⁴¹ According to Mcpherson (2004), by the 1520s, the Portuguese enclaves on the Coromandel Coast were “an important source of rice imports for the Portuguese settlement on the Malabar coast, and the growth of their trade with the pepper and clove markets of the Indonesian archipelago attracted the attention of the *Estado*” (75).

⁴² He referred to Schuchardt 1891; Manusama 1919; Brata 1968; Heuken 1997; Thomaz 2000.

Orang Tugu are people who claim that they are *Orang Tugu* and are recognized by the authority as people of Portuguese-descent originated from Malacca. When the Dutch went to Malacca, they took hold of Malacca, captured the Portuguese and took them to Batavia as prisoners of war. They were made slaves; that happened in 1641. Then they were liberated in 1653 and were known as the ‘Mardijkers’. The freedom that they gained was not full, they were still under the surveillance of the Dutch. They were unsatisfied and consequently, 25 families, or 150 persons from those who were liberated, chose to leave Batavia and hid in a secret place...which is now Kampung Tugu. This is the origin of the *Orang Tugu* in 1661... that is *Orang Tugu*. (Arthur Michiels 7/7/2013)

In relation to the writings of some scholars (Daus 1989; Abdurachman 2008) who have claimed that the emancipated slaves were given a piece of land as reward for their good service, this Tugu informant reasoned with disbelief: “The Dutch snatched this country and controlled it for 350 years...is it possible that they freely offer a gift to anyone? Impossible (...) where is the proof of the land donation letter?” He believed that because the Mardijkers were somehow related to the Portuguese and unwilling to become Dutch, they had to flee. A similar opinion I gathered in Tugu views *Orang Tugu* as the “Portuguese” people who were banished to a remote, swampy area by the Dutch to die a natural death. In 1700, the cholera outbreak in Batavia took many lives. Referring to this catastrophe, Ganap (2011: 24) also discovered that the Tugu Community are still convinced that the Dutch had the intention to destroy their ancestors using the strategy of land allotment.

The Mardijkers

In “The Ethnic Profile of Djakarta”, Lance Castles (1967: 157) shows that the ethnic composition in the 1673 Dutch register consists of 5362 Mardijkers, but that this category disappeared in the 1813 and 1893 registers. They were soon joined by a group of Mestizos of Dutch origin, usually the offspring of illegal unions. Bosma and Raben (2008: 53) have noted that the Mardijkers category, as well as the Mestizos, was an administrative construct not based wholly on reality; to distinguish between the two was not easy. The local native people called the Mardijkers “Portuguese” or “black Portuguese”, probably because they spoke a Creole Portuguese language and were protected by Portuguese law in the *Estado da Índia*. To the local people, anyone who was in any way connected with the Portuguese, who was Christian and spoke Portuguese or a Creole Portuguese, was called “Portuguese”. In Southeast Asia, “Portuguese” society was divided into “white” (more European in lifestyle) and “black” (more local in lifestyle, hence, of lower standards) (Andaya and Andaya 2012: 227). In Solor, for example, the black Portuguese who were locally-born by the late seventeenth century were also known as “*Topasse*”. The role of women as cultural brokers should not be underestimated,

regardless of them being slaves, manumitted, or Mestizos, as Schouten (2010) emphasizes. These women marked the influence and mixture of European and Asian elements in their homes. With their proficiency in Portuguese, they served as linguistic and cultural interpreters for their Dutch husbands, be they officials or merchants.

Some members of the Indian population, freed or still enslaved, already had a Christian background when they arrived in Batavia. If they had not, they would be given a Christian identity soon. This was meant for the VOC to expand the native Christian population in Batavia in order to increase the number of people they could trust (Niemeijer 2012: 33). Bosma and Raben (2008: 49) inform us that the *Mardijkers* constituted a separate group within the Christian community in Batavia. Among the principal patrons of the Portuguese church (now Sion Church) were the *Mardijkers*, who became baptismal members. Taylor (2009: 48) notes that there is a 1695 inscription on a silver plate in the church that mentions the “Portuguese or Native community”,⁴³ which refers to the *Mardijkers*. Church services in Portuguese stopped in 1808, when there was no successor after the last minister passed away.

According to Indonesian historian Mona Lohanda, the oldest *Mardijkers* had Portuguese names like de Sousa and de Lima, but after baptism a Pieter from Bengal became Pieter Jansz, following the name of his godfather Matthijs Jansz (2002: x). The *Mardijkers* tended to choose Portuguese or Dutch names for their descendants and very often also added the name of their original place (toponym); for example, Pieter van Bengalen or Marcus van de Cust, will mean Pieter from Bengal and Marcus from the Coromandel Coast. They also tended to add the father’s name and, as a consequence, it became difficult to identify their background and identity. For example, a Pieter van Bengalen who married a Susanna van de Cust named their son Francisco Pietersz, that is, son of Pieter. Slowly, the names of their original places were no longer used (Niemeijer 2012: 34).

The appearance of *Mardijker* men also caught people’s attention. A visitor to Batavia noted that the Christian *Mardijkers* wore socks and shoes even during the hot season, and clothing that showed their group identity, such as loose leg pants and black European hats. In Timor, the Black-Portuguese, also known as *Topasse* (derived from the Hindustani word “*topi*” which means “hat”), also displayed the same characteristic in this aspect: wearing European-style silk shirts, pantaloons and hats, so much so that the Portuguese called them “*gente dos chapéus*” or “hat people” (Andaya 2010: 397; Andaya and Andaya 2012: 227). These were

⁴³ The full inscription is “In honor of the new Church for the Portuguese or Native community endowed and bequeathed by Joannes Camphuys, born in Haarlem 18 July 1634, being from 11 January 1684 to 24 September 1691 Governor-General of Netherlands India, died at Batavia 18 July 1695” (Taylor 2009: 48).

meaningful signs that demarcated them from the local population. Abdurachman (2008: 34) affirms that “the ultimate sign of being Portuguese or being different from the indigenous people, was the wearing of a hat”. Another visitor by the name of Jacob Haafner was quoted in Taylor (2009) for commenting that: “The black Portuguese who are rich parade it excessively, especially in their dress; still, for those not used to such a sight there is no stranger or more contradictory display to be seen than these people in the richest clothing, with ruffles at their wrists, but bare feet, wandering along the streets with neither shoes nor stockings” (23). Contrary to the previous description, this comment shows that the *Mardijkers* did not wear shoes on stockings. A painting (Figure 4) from the seventeenth century may give us a clearer idea about the *Mardijker*’s appearance. This visual representation is not without importance.



Figure 4. A *Mardijker* with his wife (*Source*: Heuken 1997)



Figure 5. *Mardijker* in a Betawi hero attire (Photo by author, 2013)

I first noticed the human-sized replica of a *Mardijker* (See Figure U1 in Appendix U) standing in the music studio of my host family, and I was told that it was created based on imagination. When I visited the Mayor's Administrative Office at Tanjung Priok, I found out that the North Jakarta Cultural and Tourism Agency had used the seventeenth century *Mardijker* representation in their tourism brochure (See Appendix S). The organizer of the Kampung Tugu Festival in 2013 found it useful as an icon for Tugu and designed it on the invitation cards, posters, banners, etc. They even went so far as to create signposts of *Mardijkers* (Figures 5) in contemporary attire.

Abdurachman (2008: 34) informs us that a church ordinance of 1643 prescribed the wearing of a hat and western-style clothing for all Christian converts. The women preferred white, long *kebayas*, which is believed to be of Christian influence, but there was no difference between *Mardijkers* and the other Christians in villagers of Batavia, in terms of apparel worn. Clothing does not only reflect group identity but also social status. The *Mardijkers* liked to buy black cloths made in Holland because black clothing showed a man's social standing. Those who desired to climb the social staircase sharpened their shooting skills in order to be accepted in the military and be considered as a complete *inlander*⁴⁴ (Niemeijer 2012: 36). Nevertheless, very few of them became wealthy or prominent to the extent of making coats-of-arms for themselves and lived like the Dutch colonial elite, but we can single out Augustijn Michiels, a *Mardijker* captain, popularly known as *Major Jantje*, as one of the very few. However, militia companies of *Mardijkers* were on a decline already in 1797 and were eventually dissolved due to the lack of *Mardijkers* identifying themselves.⁴⁵

In the late seventeenth century, economic expansion in Batavia needed extra manpower to work in agricultural and production sectors. Work opportunities attracted mainland Chinese and inland Javanese from all over the Malay world. By then, the population in Batavia and *Ommelanden* (the hinterland) consisted of four categories, namely the

⁴⁴ Indigenous population of the Netherlands East-Indies. In the archival source of the seventeenth century, the *Mardijkers* were given the same status as an *inlander*. That is why in seventeenth century Batavia, *inlander* did not yet refer to the natives of this area, but to the *Mardijkers* (Niemeijer 2012: 36).

⁴⁵ Another story of a *Mardijker*'s life from rags to riches was told by Dr. Lilie Suratminto of *Universitas Indonesia* in an e-mail message received by the author on December 31, 2012. Among the eleven remaining tombs in the graveyard of Sion Church, Jakarta, lies the gravestone of the former slaves of Malacca, the husband and wife Titus Anthony and Rigel Tities Anthonisen. Dr. Suratminto explained to me the inscription on the gravestone and the background of these people: "Titus Anthony's father was a former slave from Bengal and belonged to the Portuguese slaves from Malacca that were transported by the VOC to Batavia after the fall of Malacca in 1641. In the beginning he was very poor. Later he worked as a free merchant and became very rich. His dependence on the Sion church was very great; he could not even read or write. But the government of the VOC allowed them to bury their corpses in front near the door of the church next to the gravestone of former Governor General Zwarde Croon, who had been buried in the same year that Anthony had died (source: Heuken 2003; Diesen 1989)".

indigenous soldiers who worked for the VOC military, the slaves or freed slaves (Mardijkers), the free immigrants like the Chinese who were attracted to the economic potential of *Ommelanden*, and the Europeans and Mestizos who were the minority (Kanumoyoso 2007: xvi).

Although the VOC attempted to segregate the people by setting up *kampungs* based on ethnic origins, people were more driven by geographical proximity and social relations than ethnic backgrounds. Ethnic identity in *Ommelanden* society was never articulated clearly (Kanumoyoso 2007: xix). One of the main reasons was the frequency of inter-marriages between Europeans and Asian women, between Chinese and natives, and between natives and natives. The offspring of inter-ethnic marriages would in turn marry people of different ethnic groups or persons who had similar backgrounds to themselves. A few generations later, they would have lost their own ethnic identity and formed a new one as *Orang Betawi*, or people of Batavia (Kanumoyoso 2011:167-168).

Secondly, the members of military troops who fought for the VOC consisted of various ethnic groups. Their solidarity in fighting against a mutual enemy eroded ethnic identity. Thirdly, there was a tendency to identify with religion, more than ethnicity; for example, the Mardijkers were Christians. Moreover, a religious conflict between Ambonese Muslims and Christian Ambonese in 1671 caused the VOC to set up a separate village for the Christian Ambonese (Kanumoyoso 2007: xxii). Fourthly, slaves coming into *Ommelanden* originated from different ethnic groups. According to the 1781 VOC rules, all freed slaves who converted to Christianity were considered as part of the Mardijkers, whereas non-Christians slaves were to register themselves with their village leader of the same ethnic group.

The Mardijkers intermarried with other segments of Batavia's population which had become Christian or with similar minority groups, and gradually these groups amalgamated to what became known by Dutch law as "Native Christians" or "Eurasians", but very often in popular speech were still called simply "Portuguese". The culture of Batavia was becoming more metropolitan, and as a result Mardijkers could not remain for much longer as a separate group without a constant influx of Asians from India having some acquaintance with Portuguese language and culture. The natural decline of the Mardijkers population was also due to daily mixing, the use of Malay, and a common experience of Company law – all contributed to the making of the Batavian (Taylor 2009: 48). Many of the Mardijkers and Christian Indonesians thus passed their lives in Batavia in the same manner as their fellow Asians.

The Beginning of Kampung Tugu

The year 1661 marks the genesis of the Tugu Community, when twenty-three Mardijker families decided to settle in Tugu (see Figure 6), most of them carrying land titles issued by the VOC. With the land donation and permission to cultivate the terrain, the number of families increased to fifty in 1676 and kept increasing in the 1680s and 1690s; the population in 1688 was recorded as 211 persons, including twenty-two church members; until the middle of the eighteenth century, there were only 263 Christians (Niemeijer 2012: 139).

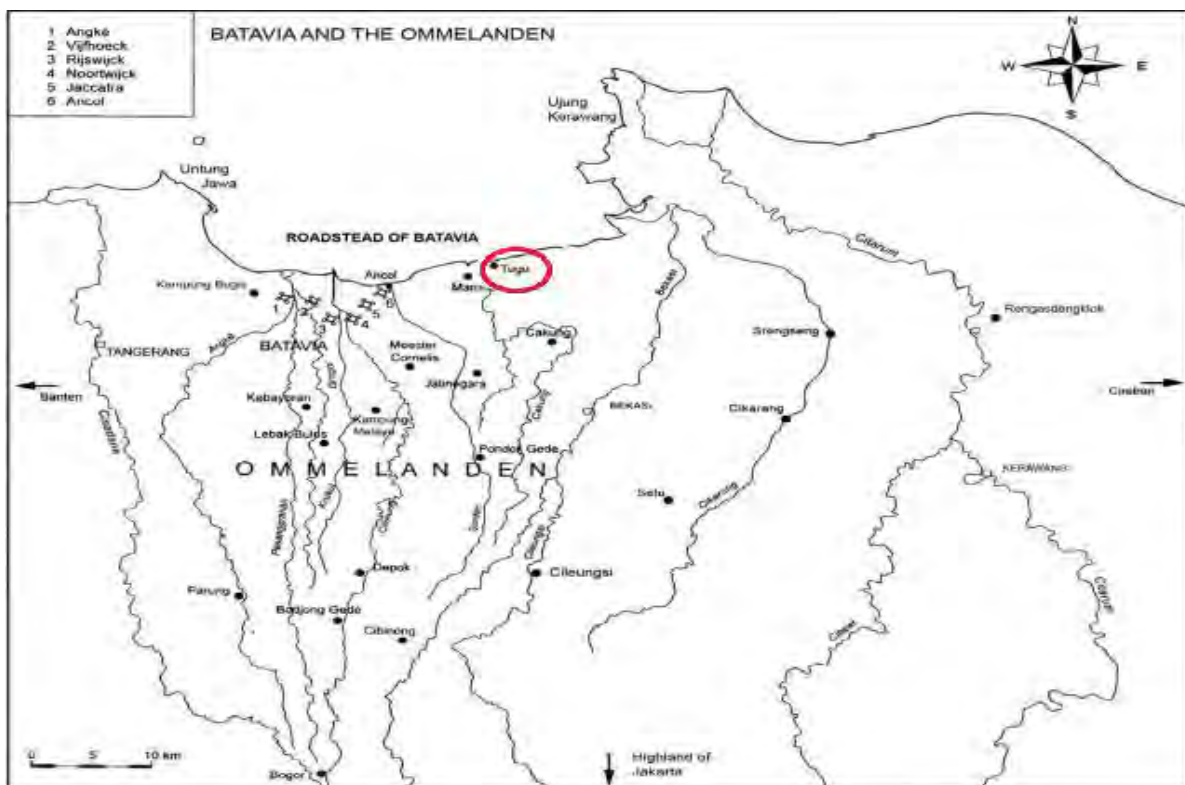


Figure 6. Tugu on the map of Batavia and *Ommelanden* (Source: Niemeijer, Hendrik. *Batavia: Eenx koloniale samenleving in de 17de eeuw*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 2005: 8-9).

The first settlers cleared the land in Tugu for planting rice and sugarcane, stage by stage. It is useful to look at the name list of the twenty-nine landowners who received land donations in 1661 (see Table 1). Most of the Mardijkers in Table 1 have Indian backgrounds, but they adopted either toponyms, Portuguese, or Dutch names. It is not possible to ascertain if they were of Portuguese descent, but during that time, a Tugu “Portuguese” culture was part of Mardijker “Portuguese” culture in Batavia (Niemeijer 2012: 142).

Table 1. Tugu landowners according to the name list published in the 1692 Register.

Portuguese	Dutch	Indian	Women
Anthony Rodrigo	Pieter Jansen	Anthony St. Thome	Maria Cousjin
Paulus Fermento	Nicolaas Jansz	Cornelis van Bengale	Josepha de Cruz
Bastiaan Dona	Thijs Thijsz	Louys van Bengale	Maria Perera
Anthony Gatia	Willem Kuper	Alexander Bengale	Clara Mendis
Isaacq Mogo	Lourens Salomons	Anthony van Bengale	Chararina Bengale
Domingo Sourde	Carel Gerrits	Frans Bengale	
Laurens de Silva	Bastian Jacob	Louis d'Agra	
Anthony Ferera	Mastensz		

Source: Data from Niemeijer (2012: 142).

Another 1702 report about landownership in Tugu shows that the *Mardijkers* were by no means the only people living there. Europeans, Chinese, and indigenous people also acquired plots of land in this area, either by means of a grant from the Company or through purchase from the *Mardijkers*. But 40% of the land in Tugu was indeed owned by *Mardijkers* and one big plot could be divided into smaller plots, and be owned by several people (Kanumoyoso 2011: 98).

According to the 1650 register, six *Mardijkers* owned 17 hectares of land respectively; another three owned 11 to 15 hectares, whereas the rest did not own more than 9 hectares (Niemeijer 2012: 104). Sources from the Notary Archive show that there was cooperation between the *Mardijkers*, the Chinese, and the Javanese. To cite an example, in 1693 a *Mardijker* sugarcane trader, Joseph Thomasz, made an agreement with a Javanese regarding his employment, and another agreement with two Chinese who would plant sugarcane in a plantation which he rented from a fellow *Mardijker*, Domingo Diogo (Niemeijer 2012: 104).

Taylor (2009: 60-61), on the other hand, gives us insight into the history of the *Michiels* clan in Tugu. It began when the free man Titus from Bengal took the baptismal name of Titus *Michielsz* upon conversion in 1694 in Batavia. He married an Indian woman named Christian Martha Pieters. His sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons were spokesmen for the *Mardijker* community and heads of their militia companies, notably Jonathan *Michielsz* (1737-1788). He had a family coat-of-arms (See Figure 7) and consolidated the clan's fortunes through acquisition of large landholdings.



Figure 7. Coat-of-arms of the Michiels family, carved on a ring (Photo by author, 2013)

The swallow in the coat-of-arms (Figure 7) probably symbolizes the bird nests which he had in Klapa Tunggal (Citereup)⁴⁶ – a business that had prospered with him. “*Majoor Jantje*”, the great-grandson of Titus from Bengal, whose real name was Augustijn Michiels (he dropped the "z" from the surname), inherited the fortunes. He owned large country estates located at Citereup and Semper Idem, where he entertained leading members of the Dutch community with *gamelan* and *tanjidor*. In 1833, he needed 320 domestic maids, not including the 24 range workers for his 362 horses, 80 gardeners and so forth (Soekiman 2011: 38). The Michiels family was still almost wholly Asian until Agraphina Augustijna, the daughter of Augustijn Michiels, was married to a Creole by the name of Jacobus Anthonij Beijvanck in 1809. This alliance gave a descendant of Mardijker immigrants full European status in her own right (Taylor 2009: 60-61).

There is another group of liberated slaves in Batavia which scholars like Suratminto (2007) referred to as Mardijkers.⁴⁷ Earlier in 1890, a detailed history of Tugu, including its musical tradition, was presented in a book titled *Eene verwaarloosde Zuster* (“*A Neglected Sister*”) (1980) by J. Beukhof, who intended to draw attention to the poor state of Tugu compared to its sister-community in Depok village south of Batavia. He made this comparison probably because both communities consist of native Christians; preachers who served in Depok also ministered to the Tugu people. When the VOC stopped sending Dutch preachers to Tugu, it was replaced by existing preachers in Depok to serve Tugu once in a while, whereas the Tuguese also began to send their children to study at Seminary schools in Depok or in Mester Cornelis (Manusama-Moniaga 1995: 9). Although the Depok community, or *Depokkers*, are

⁴⁶ Citereup is located in Bogor, West Java Province.

⁴⁷ My key informant, however, disagreed that the *Depokker* were Mardijkers. He asserts that the Mardijkers are specific to Tugu.

commonly known as “*Belanda Depok*” (Depok Dutch), the older residents were not of Dutch descent but were slaves from Makassar and Bali who were later freed by the landowner Cornelis Chastelein and converted to Protestantism. They adopted Dutch names and were organized into twelve families with the surnames Jonathans, Leander, Bacas, Loen, Samuel, Jacob, Laurens, Joseph, Tholense, Isakh, Soedira, and Zadokh (Jonathans 2011). We will look into this community in chapter three.

Mardijkers culture was slowly disappearing in Batavia, and Tugu remained the only place where a type of Portuguese Creole, music, and way of life were still being preserved within families. Referring to the list collected by Niemejer (2012) in Table 1, “Salomons” is still included as one of the core surnames in Tugu, but the other names are unheard of. According to Abdurachman (2008: 34), a bundle of family papers kept in the National Archives of Jakarta provides a list of Tugu families in 1782, like Salomons, Andries, Delcroes, Koeyko, and Makatita⁴⁸; until 1866 family names like Quicke (Koeyko) and Andries were present.

Conclusion

Despite the various postulations put forward by scholars as well as *Orang Tugu* themselves, historical research has provided us with more and more details of the Mardijkers in Batavia, which helps us to perceive how a “Portuguese” Tugu came into existence. Their “Portuguese” origin and wealth from cultivating lands made the people from Tugu perceive themselves differently from others. In the past they distinguished themselves from the locals in their outfit, particularly through the wearing of hats. Today they still allude to their outward appearance (long narrow noses, the wearing of hats) as being characteristic European features, as we will continue to see in the following chapter.

Most of the *Orang Tugu* cannot explain the origin of their family names. The Michiels are fortunate to have historical records that can trace their ancestors to Titus from Bengal. Despite the natural decline of the Mardijkers, the identity of the Tuguese was resuscitated along with the development of *keroncong* music, while publicity of Kampung Tugu has resuscitated the Mardijker identity. This aspect will be further discussed in the fifth and sixth chapters. With the historical background from this chapter in mind, we will examine the processes of how this group of people in an isolated village became a community, known as *Komunitas Tugu*.

⁴⁸ She further points out that Makatita is an original Mollucan name; therefore, there might have been intermarriage of non-Mardijkers with Mardijkers.

CHAPTER THREE

From Isolated Village to Community

Introduction

In her analysis of the notion of village in Eldom, Marilyn Strathern writes that “when Elmdoners say, then, that so-and-so is a real village person, or a newcomer declares that the real Elmdon families have been there for generations, we should not ask so much whether it is true but why it matters” (1981: 17). Like the “real Elmdon” in *Kinship at the Core* (1981), the Kampung Tugu residents have the idea that the old village families have a long history in Tugu with the supposition that their present-day members are of Portuguese descent. Their discourse involves the constant tracing of genealogy in order to justify why they are *Orang Tugu* and how they are related to one another. They also describe their physiognomy as similar to the Portuguese, or in general, the Europeans.

Commencing from the historical narrative of Kampung Tugu, our discussion will develop with the descriptions of *Orang Tugu*, their categorizations, naming system, kinship terminologies, and residential patterns. Part Three records the dispersions of *Orang Tugu* in Central Jakarta, Papua, and the Netherlands. The last section examines the construction of a post-diaspora Tugu Community through the formation of a community organization known as *Ikatan Keluarga Besar Tugu* (IKBT).

Village Life in Tugu

Let us look at one of the texts collected by Schuchardt from the people of Tugu entitled “The place where we live and its people”:

We live in a small village which we call Tugu. And [it] is in the district Becassie, in the Meester Cornelis division. The village of Tugu is near the seaside and [when] its mist goes up, there is sun. Drinking water is difficult [to find], because [there are] many wells whose water [is] salty. In the village of Tugu there are many coconut trees, mango trees, bananas and many others. The number of people in the village of Tugu is more or less one hundred and thirty-seven people, old and young; those who are there are not the same as other people of the village over there, because of their customs and their language. The people of the village of Tugu speak their Portuguese language which is already mixed with the Malay language, and these people profess the Christian religion. (Maurer 2011: 144-147, emphasis mine)

This text reveals many aspects of the situation of the Tugu people; besides the geographical condition, the people were aware of their differences from the people of other villages and knew that their language had changed with time. *Orang Tugu* naturally delve into the topic of paddy

fields when they reminisce about the “good old days”. Quite a number of people can describe in detail the life working in the rice fields, involving specific terms related to rice-planting, like the utensils, activities etc.⁴⁹ It is worth mentioning that in the Tugu Creole texts collected by linguists during the 1800s and up to the 1920s, a significant part touch on the topics of “planting rice”, “planting coconut palms”, “cultivating a plot” (See Maurer 2011). And since the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, Tugu village has not changed much from the above description.⁵⁰ Some Tuguese women recall that there should always be rice in the huge clay *tempayan* (rice container) to ensure a smooth-sailing life. Water should be poured inside because the rice goddess *Dewi Sri* is thirsty. When cutting paddy, the owner of the paddy field should not use kerosene while cooking; besides, one should not scoop or take rice at night, less the paddy become ugly, because *Dewi Sri* needs to sleep.

In the past, Kampung Tugu was very isolated and people were afraid of dark forces like *Tuan Hitam*,⁵¹ so when they walk through a dark area they would recite verses⁵² asking permission to walk through without being disturbed by the spirits.⁵³ Children should not giggle or laugh while taking showers, lest they invite the evil spirit.⁵⁴ In this case, pork ribs should be used to avoid these bad spirits. In terms of obtaining blessings, different families may have different practices. Some perform daily splashing of water around the house (tap water mixed with “holy water”) and pray for success in business and protection.

Yohana Abrahams, Frenky Abrahams, and Erni Michiels, who were born in 1935 and 1950 respectively, recall the Kampung Tugu where they grew up as an enclave that was far from everywhere. Activities were restricted; food sources come from planting, fishing, and hunting. In this sense, although the Tugu people own land, life was equally difficult for everyone, as the people had to find food from the sea, forest, river, or involve themselves in rice cultivation activities. Some families had housemaids to take care of cooking and domestic

⁴⁹ Besides Frieda Manusama who recorded in her book about rice planting, I found descriptions of rice planting in the guest book of the late Prana Abrahams, written in his handwriting. Perhaps he also wanted to know about rice planting, as his family was living in Bandung and only moved back to Kampung Tugu in the 1970s.

⁵⁰ A map prepared by Moniaga-Manusama (1995) shows us the Kampung Tugu before the Second World War, with patches of land marked as *kebun* (plantations) and *sawah* (rice fields).

⁵¹ Literally meaning “Master of the Dark”.

⁵² For example, “*numpang numpang, anak bagong mau lewat*” (Erni Michiels 2013).

⁵³ According to Erni Michiels, this still happened in the 1960s.

⁵⁴ This happened on 29th December 2013 when I was visiting a family at night. Suddenly, from inside the house somebody shouted that the children were laughing in the bathroom. The adults quickly grabbed a torchlight and ran to the back. I could not see what was happening at the back, but it seemed as if they were searching for something in the dark. The children were being scolded and told not to laugh while taking showers because this may be misunderstood as playing with the spirit. More so if the house is near the river, where innocent children could be easily possessed. As prevention, Charlie (a pseudonym) told Kenny (pseudonym) to fry lard, or throw salt or pork ribs at the back of the house. Charlie was so worried about the children that he held the boy’s head to prevent the spirit from possessing him.

chores. Although they hired temporary workers (or “*kacung*”) from other villages, normally all the family members having their parts to play in the rice field. The boys bathed the buffalos whereas girls helped to cut the paddy. Some families who did not have land to grow rice went to assist fellow Tuguese during the harvesting period in order to earn one big stalk of rice from every five stalks of the harvest; the remaining four would be the owner’s share.

Until the 1970s, *Pesta Panen* (Harvest Festival) was a major celebration in Tugu Village that used to take place in the month of August. After cutting the paddy stalks, they tied two bundles together as a symbol of husband and wife, while a smaller bundle would be attached to these, symbolizing the child. In between there was a jar containing water, and all of the bonds were covered with a white cloth and surrounded by the remaining rice grains. The Harvest Festival was a thanksgiving to God for their crops. The congregation delivered their harvest from the field or livestock to *Gereja Tugu* (See Appendix C). Proceeds from the sales and auction went to support the church and the pastors.

After the late 1980s, the paddy fields and plantations in the Tugu area were transformed into parking lots for trailers and containers. Currently there are around 21 lots along the main road of *Jalan Raya Tugu*. A Tugu resident, K. Andries, who used to live in his ancestral property on their family land, was forced to relocate to a nearby residential area as the house was surrounded by trailers, bringing problems like accidents, floods, and difficult access to his house.

Kinship and Categories

Orang Tugu: The Native Tugu, their Descendants, and the Newcomers.

In a strict sense, *Orang Tugu* refers to the people who live in Kampung Tugu and are connected to the indigenous Tugu families, i.e. of *Mardijkers* background, either by descent or by marriage. It was recorded that Tugu had twenty-five “Portuguese” families and was now reduced to eight, when the *Hendriks* ceased to have male descendants.

Basically, the residents of Kampung Tugu are divided into two categories, i.e. *Tugu Asli* (Indigenous or Native Tugu) and *pendatang* (outsiders/foreigners or newcomers). *Orang Tugu Asli* (TA) are those who directly bearing a Tugu family name, i.e. *Abrahams*, *Andries*, *Braune*⁵⁵, *Cornelis*, *Seymons*, *Salomons*, *Michiels*, or *Quiko*, as shown in Table 2. The category of *Tugu Asli* (TA) is further broken down according to origins, i.e. Portuguese and German. When naming the core families of Tugu, residents always point out that *Braune* is German. Arthur

⁵⁵ There are two ways of spelling: *Braune* or *Broune*.

Michiels, my key informant, claimed that family names that end with an “s” indicate that they are of Mardijkers background, which infers that all the surnames mentioned are of Mardijkers descent, except Quiko and Braune. It should be noted that in Tugu, there are Abrahams and Abraham (without “s” at the end).⁵⁶ Most of the Tuguese are aware of this but could not explain it. Seymons and Salomons⁵⁷ have no male descendants to carry on the family names. In Tugu, one can find offspring of marriages between two TAs, like Abrahams-Cornelis, Andries-Abrahams, or Cornelis-Quiko.

The numbers of Chinese, Ambonese, Manadonese, and Timorese in Tugu are visible in Table 2. The Ambonese in Batavia/Jakarta may have been around as early as 1656 when the VOC recruited the first troop of soldiers from Ambon, who were also given a piece of land to stay on, near the Marunda area. The Eastern Indonesians probably came in large numbers to Kampung Tugu after the 1930s, while the Christians were noticeably concentrated in Tanjung Priok, near Kampung Tugu, in 1961; a large number of them, probably mainly Ambonese and Manadonese, settled in Central Jakarta, for example in Gambir district where Pejambon is located (Castles 1967: 199). In 1936, there were 4000 Ambonese in the KNIL (*Koninklijk Nederlandsch Indisch Leger* – Royal Netherlands Indies Army); both the Ambonese and Manadonese were favored by the Dutch as being exceptionally reliable (Cribb and Kahin 2004:221). Quite a number of Tugu women married ex-KNIL officers and sailors from Eastern Indonesia.⁵⁸ Another reason is that many Eastern Indonesians were of Protestant faith, and they became the preferred marriage candidates. On top of that, *Gereja Tugu* belongs to GPIB (*Gereja Protestant Indonesia Barat*), and Protestant churches in Eastern Indonesia are under the umbrella of GPI (*Gereja Protestan di Indonesia*; Protestant Church in Indonesia), just like GPIB. Therefore, normally the Manadonese and Ambonese are already members of GPI in Manado and Ambon; even most of the GPIB preachers have originated from there.

The kinship system of the Tugu people is patrilineal; they inherit the surname of the father and a woman loses her surname upon marriage by adopting her husband’s. Hence, *Orang Tugu* also include those who are related to the above-mentioned TA families through the maternal link, e.g. Thenu, Sepang, Moniaga, Yunus, Mega Tadoe, Rame Bunga, Balelang,

⁵⁶ e.g. Hardy Abraham, who married Elly Abrahams.

⁵⁷ On Christmas Eve (24/12/2013), I saw a family at the grave of Salomons lighting candles. I approached the family and talked to a young man who identified himself as W. Setiawan, whose mother is the last Salomons and whose father is Chinese. His grandfather is Leonidas Salomons, a TA who could make the *keroncong* instrument.

⁵⁸ For example, T.H.M. Sopaheluwakan, a KNIL officer from Tiow Separua, Ambon, who married Betsina Quiko from Tugu. From the Braune family there were also three members who joined the KNIL, i.e. Otto, Derek, and Adrian. Mega-Tadoe and Rame-Bunga are both sailors who travelled to Tugu and married Tugu women from the Michiels family.

Formes, Corua, Soumokil, Pinantoan, Hutahaeen, Saiman, Susanto, Lauw, Suyono, Tentua, Bacas, Burkens etc., as well as those who have married non-Tuguese, like Tooy, Banunaek, Siregar, Awiwara, Tamiowas, Thalib, Manusama, Tomassouw etc. Hence, I will use the category of Tugu Descent (TD) to refer to the offspring of a marriage between a TA and a non-Tuguese. Among these names, Burkens is the only Indo (or known as *Indo Tugu*⁵⁹). It started with Johan Cornelis Burkens, who is of Dutch descent. His Dutch father was probably involved in the war with the British in Indonesia; after that it is not known how he was left behind and accommodated in a house for the poor. Later he obtained a job at the State Printing Department, and met Classina Quiko while he was taking a walk in Tugu. They got married in *Gereja Tugu*. During the Japanese Invasion, they moved to Pejambon. However, he did not live with his family, but for three and a half years he had to hide in the forest and only returned to visit his children in secret during the night. When Indonesia gained independence, Johan was given the choice of becoming a citizen of the Netherlands or Indonesia. Unable to decide, he continued to work at the Printing Department. He was given education and later as a technician he also trained the Indonesians. In 1954 he was again invited to become a Dutch citizen, but this time he chose Indonesian citizenship. That same year, his first child returned to the Netherlands with his aunt. Johan remained in Indonesia till the end of his life. He has five children: Siane, Julius, Willem Karel, Frans Hendrick, and Meynard.⁶⁰

Chinese families such as Thomas, Sura, Setioso, and Susanto came to Kampung Tugu in the early 1930s. They are not descendants of *Orang Tugu* but are considered as *Orang Tugu* based on their long-term association with the Tugu people, under special conditions of the Tugu Community Association (IKBT) which refers to the eligibility of those who have lived for more than 25 years in Kampung Tugu and contributed to the Tugu community. Hence, membership in IKBT is another way of determining whether a person is *Orang Tugu* or not, even if that person is not indigenous. People who are not born in Tugu but have at least lived in Tugu for a minimum of 25 years, or as long as several generations, may be recognized as *Orang Tugu*, but not in the same meaning as native Tugu.

⁵⁹ According to Meynard Burkens (11/8/2013), here they are called *Indo Tugu* whereas in Depok there are *Belanda Depok* (Depok Dutch).

⁶⁰ Meynard recalled that they had lived in Rawa Sari near his father's work place, the staff house. Until 1960s, because they were unwilling to support the PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia), they moved back to Tugu to be with his mother's family. He was three years old when his father passed away and his mother became a widow at the age of 37. The children grew up in Tugu. Classina passed away in Tugu in 1985.

Table 2. Categories of *Orang Tugu*

<i>Orang Tugu Asli (TA)</i> Since 1661	<i>Orang Tugu</i> by intermarriage with <i>Orang Tugu Asli</i> (early 1900s)	<i>Orang Tugu</i> by intermarriage with <i>Orang Tugu Asli</i> (since the 1930s)	<i>Orang Tugu</i> by long-term association and according to IKBT bylaws
Abrahams	Manusama (Ambon) Corua (Manado)	Pinantoan (Manado)	
Andries	Lauw (Chinese)	Hukom (Ambon) Yunus ⁶¹ (Gunung Puteri) Thenu ⁶² (Ambon) Loen (Depok)	Sura (Chinese)
Cornelis	Tan (Chinese) Pendjol (Kampung Sawah)	Lim (Chinese) Matuankota (Ambon) Kailuhu (Ambon) Thenu ⁶³ (Ambon)	Thomas (Chinese)
Michiels	Rame-Bunga (Timor) Meda-Tadoe (Kupang)	Formes (Ambon) Benyamin (Bandung) Leiwakabessy (Ambon)	
Quiko	Corua (Manado) Sopaheluwakan (Moluccas) Burkens (Dutch- Indo) Tentua (Ambon)	Yunus ⁶⁴ (Gunung Puteri)	Susanto (Chinese) Setioso (Chinese)
Salomons	Kantil		
Seymons Saimons ⁶⁵		Soumokil (Ambon)	
Braune	Bacas (Depok)	Sepang (Manado) Kantil	
Hendriks			

Note: The surnames in the second, third, and fourth columns are placed in the same row as the clan names where intermarriage between them happened.

⁶¹ Marriage between Arsan Yunus and Mince Andries. Arsan Yunus and Sastria Yunus are cousins.

⁶² Marriage between Dantje Thenu and Eva Andries

⁶³ Marriage between Arsan Yunus and Mince Andries. Arsan Yunus and Sastria Yunus are cousins.

⁶⁴ Marriage between Dantje Thenu and Eva Andries

⁶⁵ The different spellings are found in different sources, namely from books, from the tombstone at the Tugu Graveyard, and from baptism certificates.

It should be noted that some of the native Muslim Betawi people who have lived in the area of Kampung Tugu and Kampung Kuru for generations – like Haji Banjir, Haji Najihun, or Haji Makmun etc. – are recognized by *Orang Tugu* and by the IKBT as *Orang Tugu*, but they cannot be members of IKBT. It is one thing being acknowledged as *Orang Tugu* by Tugu residents, and yet another being recognized by the IKBT as a member, as this involves privileges and rights for Tugu Christians. Hence, religion proves to be the main explicit boundary-maintaining mechanism. The Thomas's are respected by *Orang Tugu* for their positions in *Gereja Tugu* and active involvement in community activities. Besides them, the three Chinese families assimilated with the Tugu inhabitants and some of them intermarried with Tugu people: Sien Thomas (Lauw) with Duin Michiels, Redhead Andries with Elida Sura (Oey), Bertus Yunus (TD) with Itje Rosita Susanto (Thio).

Due to the status of the core TA families, the Tugu people often trace their ancestors cognatically to prove their historical link with Tugu. All cognatic descendants from the founding ancestor of the descent group are entitled to membership, but those patrilineally descended occupy a privileged position in it; for example, only those bearing a core Tugu surname can be legitimate candidates for the post of IKBT leader. They also have a tendency to refer to themselves and others by the core family names (i.e. Andries, Michiels, Quiko, Cornelis, Abrahams, Braune), including the descendants who do not carry the so-called “Portuguese” surnames. The first time I met Gerard Sepang at the house of my host family, my host introduced him as “This is my uncle (MB ⁶⁶); he is a Braune, German”. When his genealogy (Figure 8) was being explained to me, I learnt that Braune comes from the maternal line:

⁶⁶ MB refers to the mother's brother. Throughout this thesis, I follow the “System A” abbreviations for kin types universal among contemporary British anthropologists, as in *Research Practices in the Study of Kinship* (Barnard and Good 1984).

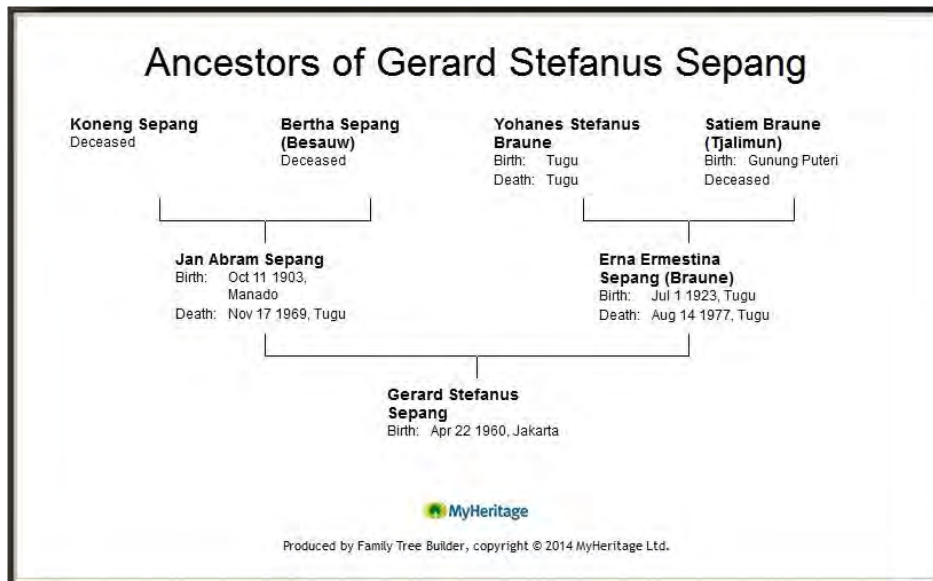


Figure 8. Ancestors of Gerard Stefanus Sepang

To cite another example, Johan Sopaheluwakan, a self-confessed Quiko, traced his link to Tugu through his paternal grandmother (Figure 9). Johan has also added the clan name to her children's name to immortalize their ancestors. Hence, to bear the family names of the original settlers, and to be somehow related to them, is something to be proud of.

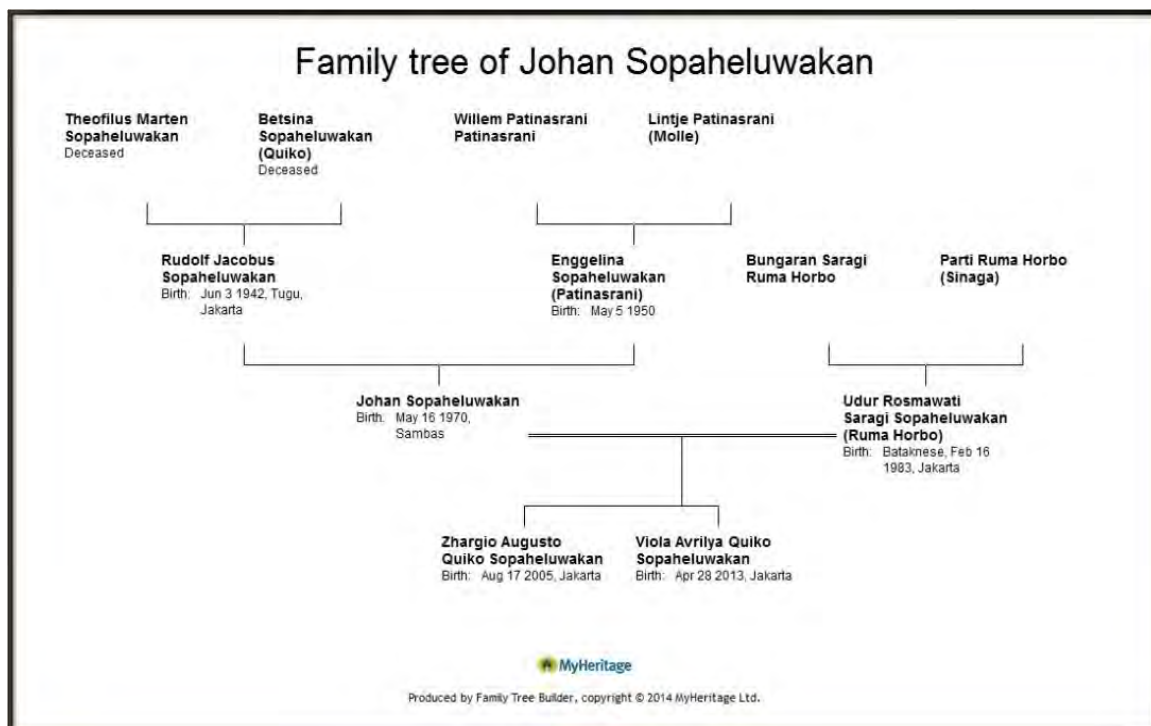


Figure 9. Family tree of Johan Sopaheluwakan

Mixed marriages with these outsiders, interactions with other communities, convenience, and nationalistic sentiment bring about different expressions of self-identity. One of the oldest Tugu residents described himself as “Betawi-Ambon” although his mother is a TA and his father from the Moluccas. A highly educated Tugu descendant shared with me a special incident whereby she chose to selectively describe herself as “Sundanese-Javanese” (Sundanese-Portuguese on her father’s side and Javanese-Chinese on her mother’s side) to an immigration officer. As Portuguese and Chinese indicate foreignness which might hamper the immigration procedure, the immigration officer was not convinced because of her facial traits, which had traces of European features.⁶⁷ A member of the Thomas family described himself as “Cina-Melayu” (Chinese-Malay, which he says is equivalent to Chinese-Betawi). Others, like the Cornelis, asked me about my Chinese surname and readily informed me concerning the Chinese surnames of their ancestor(s) (see Figure 10), their Chinese features (slanted eyes and fair complexion), and their interest in doing business:

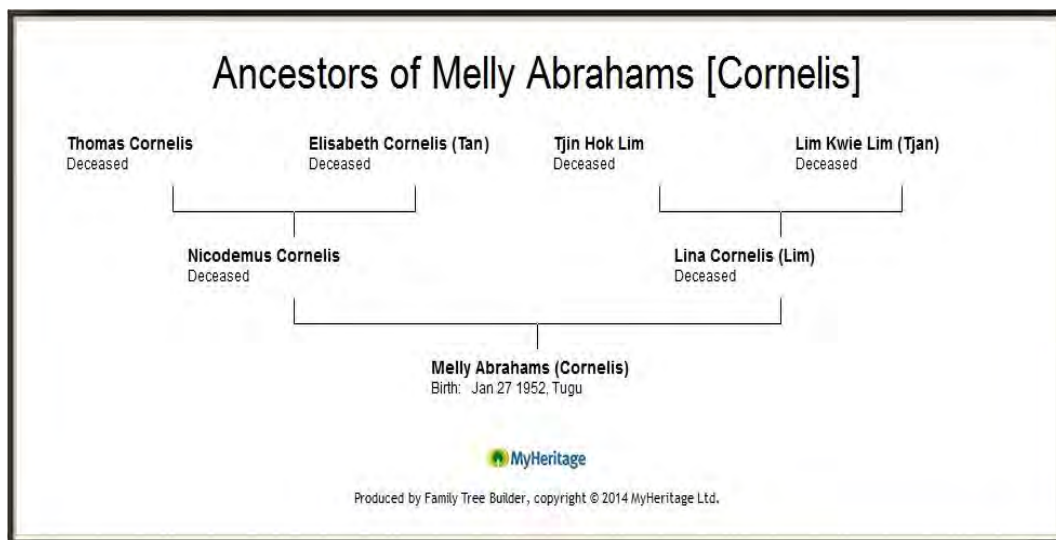


Figure 10. Ancestors of Melly Cornelis

Figure 10 shows that Melly’s mother is a Chinese whose family name is Lim, whereas her paternal grandmother is Tan, which is the family name that Melly and her family can identify with me. Melly addresses her Chinese relatives using Chinese kinship terms and she is familiar with Chinese cooking.

⁶⁷ The informant described that the immigration officers referred to a handbook to verify her identity based on her physiognomy.

Apart from common Indonesian food like *perkedel jagung* (sweet corn patties), *tempe dan tahu goreng* (fried beancurd), living with my host family whose mother is a Tugu-Manadonese, my everyday food consists of a Manadonese recipe like *babi rica*, *sambal ikan roa*, Chinese dishes like *Fuyong Hai* (omelette with sauce), *bakmi goreng* (fried noodles), and *cap cai* (fried mixed-vegetables) bought from *Bakmi Apin*, a Chinese stall at the Koja market frequented by many *Orang Tugu*. A favourite Betawi dish among the *Orang Tugu* is the *sayur asem*, and Betawi sweets are also well-spoken of. I was told that in the past, *Orang Tugu* did not eat dog meat (“RW”), but due to Manadonese influence, RW has become a likable dish.

The Manadonese component appears to be more dominant and more often referred to when talking about outward appearance (beautiful women and fair complexion) and food (how spicy and how delicious Manadonese food is). In Tugu it is common to hear ethnic stereotypes or labels that deal with emotions, aggression, and food. The Javanese are generally regarded as very polite and hardworking, whereas some ethnic groups are regarded as party people. The Tuguese see themselves as a loud, rough, and hot-blooded people, who speak the Indonesian language with Betawi slang.

For Tugu residents, there is hardly any confusion in identifying who is or is not *Orang Tugu*. When I checked with the secretary of IKBT if so-and-so is considered as *Orang Tugu*, he gave me the “Four-Ring” (Figure 11) answer:

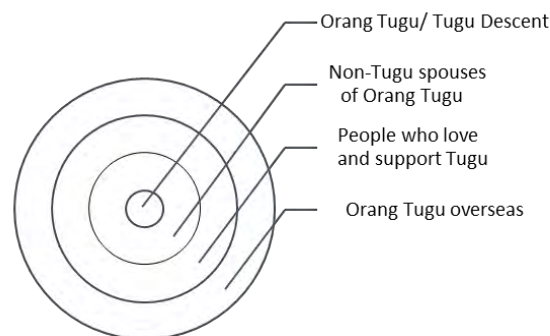


Figure 11. The Four Categories of *Orang Tugu*

(Johan Sopaheluwakan, personal communication, 10/10/2014)

Ring one would refer to the TA in Table 2 as well as TD. Ring Two would be the spouses of TA and TD. However, the family members of the non-Tugu spouses live among or with the

Orang Tugu; they do not become *Orang Tugu* (this occurs only in cases of the person who has a marriage alliance with *Orang Tugu* ⁶⁸). For example:

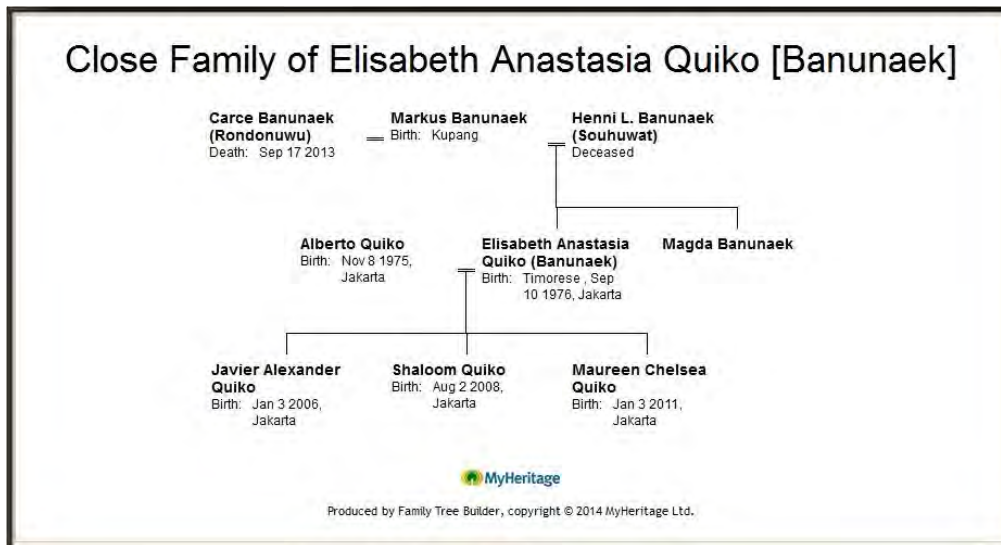


Figure 12. Family of Elisabeth Anastasia Quiko-Banunaek

Elisabeth Anastasia Banunaek was married into a TA family (Quiko) and automatically she is recognized as *Orang Tugu*. However, her sister (Magda) and father (Markus), who are also residents of Kampung Tugu and members of *Gereja Tugu*, are not considered as *Orang Tugu*. Normally, these spouses identify themselves according to their origin instead of calling themselves *Orang Tugu*.

There is another categorization that distinguishes between the core clans and the rest, i.e. “*Fam yang lemah*” (weak clans); my key informants explained how the non-original Tugu became Tuguese:

Because we want to recognize them, although no marriage ties. That is up to us whether we want to recognize them or not. But if now we say ‘you are not *Orang Tugu*’, they cannot get angry. Clans outside of Tugu, outside of the 8, are in weak positions (...). Why are they weak clans? ‘Well, you claim Tugu, where does your Tugu come from?’ This is the expression. What more if you cannot explain who you really are. Hence, the recognition come from these 8 clans, we have the real veto. (Arthur Michiels 7/7/2013)

⁶⁸ At the end of a house fellowship I attended at RT 11, I distributed census forms as people were preparing to go home. At the time I was not sure who were Tuguese and who were not. When I was giving out the form to a lady, she returned it to me with the excuse that “Actually, I am not *Orang Tugu*, neither is my father”. At that moment, I did not understand, because I knew her sister was married to a TA. After some clarification, I came to understand that the sister had become part of the Tugu community by marriage, but the family members still remain non-Tugu.

This brings us back to the differentiation between the status of TA and the rest who are not directly linked to Tugu through marriage but through long-term association, like the cases of Thomas, Sura, Setioso, Susanto, Hiskia and Wawan Yunus, or through adoption like Limi Sopaheluwakan, who was adopted by Betsina Quiko-Sopaheluwakan. When I requested a Tugu descendant to take me to visit a certain family for census purposes, on the way to the destination, my informant stopped and asked me, “Actually, that family is not *Orang Tugu*; do you really have to go there?” On another occasion, I mentioned to an elderly TA that I did not manage to collect the census of a particular person in Pejambon; the response that I received was: “It is not important; that person is not *Tugu Asli* anyway”. Another Tugu resident who has lived in Kampung Tugu since 1968, and has served the Tugu community for many terms as an IKBT committee member, shared with me the fact that he has often been told the following by the Tuguese: “*ngapain repot-repot, kan bukan Orang Tugu*” (“Why so busy with Tugu affairs? Aren’t you not a Tugu?”).

When Kampung Tugu was still very isolated, quite a number of *Orang Tugu* married within the community, but mixed marriages were already common. As the second chapter has shown, there were already interactions with and co-operation between the *Mardijkers* and other groups like the Chinese and Javanese. According to my key informant:

My father had another wife before he married my mother. His wife was a Muslim but converted to Catholicism. There are *Orang Tugu* who married Catholics. So *Orang Tugu* are already mixed, no more original Tugu; 520 years have passed since 1661, isn’t it impossible? Even (the people) of one country have mix-marriages with people of another country, what more a small community like Tugu? Because if we only marry with *Orang Tugu*, we all become family; it should not be. (Arthur Michiels 7/7/2013)

It implies the incest taboo and the impossibility of not having mixed with people outside of their group. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that a high percentage of the *Orang Tugu* are related to one another, in one way or another. “*Sebenarnya, kita semua family*” (“Actually, we are all family”), as they used to tell me. Especially when they want to stress their neutral position amidst a conflict, they would trace their genealogy to all the Tugu clans to make a claim that everyone is a relative and there is no way to be partial. The leader of IKBT assured the Tugu community and also told me personally that although he is an *Andries*, it is not possible for him to swing to any side because his mother is a *Quiko*, his aunt (MZ) was married to a *Cornelis*, whereas his uncle (FB) and aunt (FZ) had married the *Abrahams*. However, when they are in a context to support the cause of a particular clan or a conflict of interest, as usually happens with

the *Keroncong Tugu* bands, it is more common to hear them selectively call themselves a “Quiko”, or a “Michiels”, for example.

Members of the same clan have no single authority nor come together for collective action, although we can see in chapter five that the Quikos gather clan members under the Quiko Family Association and they regularly meet and organize activities together. *Orang Tugu* with the same surnames are not necessarily closely related or similar to one another. For example, there are Abrahams in Pejambon and Kampung Tugu, but they explain, “We are very far removed” because of different family lines. Local people sometimes differentiate the Michiels clan by calling them “*Michiels Tengah*” (“The Middle Michiels”) or “*Michiels Hujung*” (“The Michiels at the end”) based on their settlement location in Kampung Tugu and the different characteristics they display. Within the Coruas, the family line of Benjamin Corua converted to Islam, whereas the line of Heine Corua remain Christians.

Naming

Personal names in Kampung Tugu are mainly Western names of Dutch and Latin origin. There is a tendency to pay homage to ancestors, taking the names of grandparents, uncles, and aunts. A person’s full name usually consists of a first name and middle name; for example, from the Michiels family the siblings were named Decky Deddy Michiels, Luki Alandefe Michiels, Andre Juan Michiels, Artur James Michiels, Saartje Margaretha Michiels. The commonest names found among females have a Dutch influence “-tje” (old spelling) / “-ce” (new spelling), e.g. Saartje, Itje, Sintje, Mintje, Rintje, Lentje. Names may also derive from the month that the person was born in, e.g. Augusta, Julietta, Julia, Novita, Aprila, Julinse etc. Despite being a Christian community, no one explained that they were given biblical names or names of saints. Nicknames and short forms of names are more commonly used than calling a person by their first name. For example, my host “Saartje” is known as “Atje” to her friends and family, whereas her sister “Julinse” is known as “Lisa”. “*Nyo Nyo*” is a common nickname in Tugu for men, which suggests that it might have originated from *Sinyo*, as Tuguese men were addressed by local inhabitants as *Sinyo*, deriving from *Senhor* in Portuguese.

Portuguese-sounding names can also be found in Tugu; for example, Jacobus Quiko named his children Fernando, Eduardo, Rosita, Liberta, Estrelita, Erlita, Ermelita, Megalita, Ivonita, and Florita. One of the children, now in her 60s, introduced herself to me: “My name is Estrelita – ‘little star’, in Portuguese, you know; like the Portuguese, the name of female ends

with ‘a’ and for male, the name ends with ‘o’ ”.⁶⁹ Samuel Quiko, Jacobus’ brother, followed the same pattern in naming his children, but did so according to alphabetical order, i.e. Alfredo, Bernardo, Carolina, Diana, Eugenia, and Guido. Interestingly, in the Quiko family, there are also names that start with “Al-”, i.e. Alfondo, Alfindo, Albrendo, Aldriando, Aldonaldo, and Alona.

As with the Chinese after 1966, the Suharto government encouraged Indonesian citizens of Chinese descent to change their Chinese names to Indonesian-sounding names to facilitate assimilation. In this sense, they were free to create new surnames to replace their Chinese surname. In general, the Chinese changed their Chinese names to Indonesian ones, which were similar to their surrounding local people’s names. Take the Thomas family, for example: the history of Thomas started from Lauw Kay Hin who came to Tugu, became a Christian, and adopted “Thomas” as his baptismal name. Henceforth, his children’s surname became Thomas. Luther Thio, another Chinese who came to Tugu in the 1940s, chose the Indonesian-sounding name “Susanto” as the surname for his children, but his name remained as Luther Thio. There are no familial relations between these Chinese families.

Kinship Terms

Orang Tugu basically use the standard kinship terms in Indonesia, like “*papi*”, “*mami*” for father and mother, “*om*” and “*tante*” (or short form “*tan*”) for uncle and aunt, “*cici*” or “*Kak*” for elder sister, “*opa*” “*oma*” for grandfather and grandmother. The Dutch term “*zus*” can be heard among the older generation to refer to ladies.⁷⁰ There are several terms (see Table 3) that are claimed to be specific to Tugu. It appears that *Tata*, *Enchang* and *Dodo* are more attached to the older generation, as in *Cang Sana* (Suzana Lauw), *Tata Tatut* (Matheus Quiko) and *Tata Lonjong* (Carel Andries). *Koseng* refers to older, male cousin who shares the same surname from the paternal family whereas female cousins are usually called “*cici*”. With the single exception of *koseng*, all the kinship terms in Table 3 are also used in addressing non-kin of comparable seniority in Tugu.

⁶⁹ Estrelita Quiko, personal communication, on the occasion of the Seven-Month-Pregnancy thanksgiving service at the house of Rentani Michiels, 7 September 2013.

⁷⁰ One informant pointed out that “*zus*” is used to address Tugu women who are not originally from Tugu; for example, “*Zus Deni*”, the wife of Rudolf Tentua, who is the son of Jan Piet Klaas Tentua from Ambon, who married a TA named Maxina Quiko. “*Zus Olga*” refers to Olga Cornelia Hukom, whose Ambonese father Yohannes Hukom married Johanna Andries, of Tugu descent. A different opinion from my key informant was that the term does not distinguish between native or non-native Tuguese women.

Table 3. Kinship Terms in Tugu

Tugu Kinship Terms	Referring to:
<i>Mung</i> ⁷¹	Aunt
<i>Bung</i>	Elder Brother
<i>Dodo</i>	Great-grandmother or Great-grandfather
<i>Tata</i> ⁷²	Grandfather
<i>Encang/ Chang</i> ⁷³ / <i>Cang</i>	Grandmother
<i>Koseng</i> ⁷⁴	Cousin

During the opening of the Christmas event organized by IKBT on 21 December 2013, the emcee still addressed the congregation as “*Tante, Om, Tata, Enchang, Dodo...*” In terms of speech, addressing one another by the appropriate relation term is important in Tugu; when a person does so, he or she will be seen as an *Orang Tugu* who knows family trees, and has been well educated by his or her parents. A thirty-six year-old informant commented: He should call me “uncle”, but he called me *bung*; that is wrong, because I am the same level as his mother; he is not, he is below me. He should be told. Who knows about this? His family. This is the thing that caused the culture of Tugu – politeness in Tugu has disappeared”. Besides these terms, some forms used are restricted to specific groups. Terms from different ethnic groups are also used to address a Tuguese of non-Tuguese origin; for example, if a Javanese is married to a Tugu, she will be addressed as “*Mbak*” while for a man, “*Mas*” will be appropriate. Likewise, to refer to women of Sundanese and Batak descent, “*Neng*” and “*butet*” are used, whereas Ambonese men are addressed as “*Nyong*” and Chinese as “*Ko*”.⁷⁵

Residential Patterns

A map drawn by Arthur Michiels in *Io Dali Vos Mori* (Espada 2011: 60) tells us about residential areas of *Orang Tugu* by families. The residential patterns of the Tuguese people are largely linked to ancestral land. The Cornelis share a piece of land that is equally divided among five siblings (Merry, Arnold, Melly, Johanes, Martinus); each built their house on their inherited

⁷¹ This term is used like *tante*.

⁷² The word “*Tatá*” is found in *Glossário Luso-Asiático*; it is another form for *papa*. In Sanskrit it has the same meaning, and also denotes respectful or honourable (Dalgado 1921:362).

⁷³ “*Chang*” appears in Maurer’s Tugu word list (2011: 256). Maurer has noted that “*Chang*” in Javanese is “*canggah*”, meaning great-great-grandmother. *Encang* is also a Betawi kinship terminology that refers to father’s brother or mother’s brother.

⁷⁴ Also found in the word list of Maurer 2011 .

⁷⁵ At home, different terms of address are used. I was advised to call my host “*Cici*” (the Chinese version), to refer to her mum as “*oma*” (Dutch), to her mum’s sister as “*tante*” (Indonesian/Dutch), to her uncle as “*Pak*” (Indonesian), to her brother as “*bung*” (Tugu), and to her sister-in-law as “*Mbak*” (Javanese).

land, whereas the youngest among these siblings occupies the ancestral home. The other descendants of the Cornelis clan, i.e. the Matuankota and Kailuhu, moved to their compensated land in Beting when their ancestral land was acquired by the government for road construction.

The ancestral land of the late Lentje Quiko (who was married to Sastria Yunus) and her sister Anna Quiko covers almost the whole of the RT 11 neighborhood unit, also known as Tugu Indah (see Figure 13). Four out of Lentje's eight children are residing here in their individual houses. Carolina, the youngest, occupies the ancestral house with her husband and a son. Although in Tugu there seems to be an unstated consensus that the youngest child occupies the ancestral house, normally it does not wholly belong to the one occupying as it is more of a family house. Anyone among the siblings who has a need can also stay there. The Mega-Tadoes shared a piece of land at Kampung Kurus inherited from their mother, the late Martha Michiels. The youngest son, Petrus Mega Tadoe, and his family live in the ancestral house that still preserved a section of *bilik* (bamboo walls). It is one of the two old houses in Tugu most well-known for their Betawi features. Further down the road, there is a tiny lane on the left with the road sign "*Gang Benjamin C.*" which is named after the late Benjamin Corua. He is survived by his wife and children (Susi, Fredo, Josep, the late Gerard, Mohamad Ristiano) who live next door to one another. At *Perapatan* is the land of the late Stevanus Braune where the brothers Hendrik and Christopher Braune and their families are residing.

During my fieldwork, I was often informed by the Tugu people that many of them have sold their lands. Before that, many *Orang Tugu* worked as seamen or officers at the nearby port. In the 1980s, the construction of highways and main roads has created more access and has seen a rise in land prices. Those who could afford to, purchased newly constructed houses at nearby housing projects or bought land from their fellow Tugu people to build their own houses. Those who cannot afford to, rent a room or a low-cost house (*rumah petak*⁷⁶) with fellow Tugu who utilized their inherited land to build rented properties.

⁷⁶ The *rumah petaks* have three partitions: from the entrance, the first part is used as a living room, the middle part for sleeping, and the third as kitchen with a bathroom at the back. Some Tugu people who have a family of 4-6 also live in this type of house. Some houses have no sofas, chairs, or dining table in the hall; in the middle section, it is common to find mattresses on the floor instead of beds.

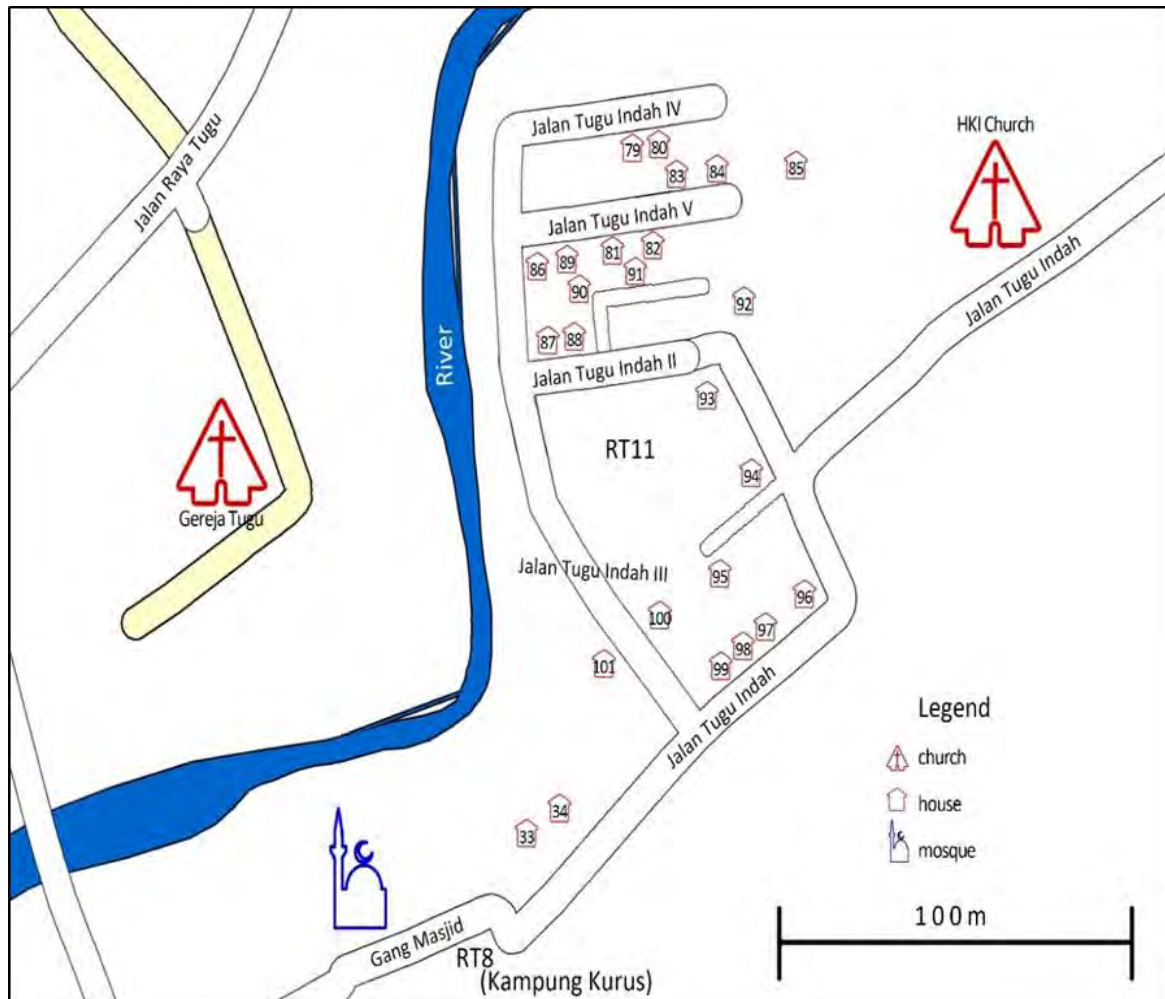


Figure 13. Enlarged map of the Tugu Indah area ((Map drawn by Belinda Cheong, based on the author's sketches, 2014).

Diasporas of the Tugu People

First Dispersions

During the Indonesian nationalistic movement in 1945-1948, the *Orang Tugu* were suspected to have been Dutch collaborators that should be wiped out.⁷⁷ Not only them, but also the Indonesian Eurasians, faced a tragic dilemma in the 1950s; thousands have, often with Dutch government assistance, migrated to the Netherlands and Netherlands New Guinea (Kroef 1953, 1955). When Indonesia became independent in 1949 the problem did not end; the Tugu Community had to be protected by Dutch soldiers, offering them refuge in Hollandia (Jayapura) as the situation in Kampung Tugu was threatening their lives. The rest who did not relocate

⁷⁷ Anna Quiko, the oldest Tugu resident, remembered that her grandfather had been accused of being a spy for the Dutch; he was arrested, sent to Nusa Kambangan, and tortured.

found shelter in *Gereja Tugu* and were protected by a Muslim by the name of *Haji Massum*.⁷⁸ In 1950, almost all Tuguese were evacuated to Pejambon in Central Jakarta, near the Immanuel Church. They stayed there while waiting to be transported to Hollandia. Due to political circumstances at that time, the community was more or less forced to leave Indonesia. Consequently, *Orang Tugu* were divided into two fractions; one, led by Leopold Tomasouw, felt the need to seek for protection in the Netherlands; another, led by Arend Michiels, chose to remain in Tugu. The contingent that went to the Netherlands left with the ship to Hollandia before going to the Netherlands. The exodus was a total of at least twenty-eight families.⁷⁹ They stayed for twelve years from 1950-1962 in the Toegoe A.P.O. camp set against the hillside village, sleeping in barracks and earning their living as farmers, fishermen, and labourers. They also continued to play music and even formed a band called *The Hill Rockets*.⁸⁰

Tugu traditions like *Rabo-rabo* and *Mandi-mandi* were still practiced in Hollandia in the 1950s and 1960s. The Dutch anthropologist Jan Pouwer observed that “the heterogeneous descent of the Tuguese and their fusions with other population groups never hampered them in the creation of a strong community spirit and a distinctive pattern of life” (1962: 366). The Dutch government repatriated them on August 12, 1967 to the Netherlands and Tugu families were distributed and housed in Apeldoorn, Deventer, Arnhem, Enschede, Zutphen, Hoogeveen, Groningen, and Amsterdam. The older and younger generations began to form two *krontjong* bands and continued to have their Sunday services and Sunday school. After one year, they were sent to Suriname when it was still a Dutch colony in South America. They were settled in the Kondre Camp in Sloopwijk and hence were known as the *Toegoe Kondre Community*. Their life was not much different from that in Hollandia but the arduous conditions caused them to want to return to the Netherlands. Their plea was granted four years later and they were shipped back to Holland in 1967. They were no longer put in camps but free to choose their residence and gained Dutch citizenship.

After Indonesia restored its relations with the Netherlands, the Tuguese in both Indonesia and the Netherlands resumed contacts. Currently, *Orang Tugu* who remain in Papua are the Loens, Subianto-Michiels, Hasjim-Michiels, and Robert Quiko families. Some of those who came to seek refuge in Pejambon during the turbulence period have moved back to Tugu.

⁷⁸ A Muslim hero, still remembered by *Orang Tugu* for his contribution.

⁷⁹ They are Leopold Tomasouw; Theo Abrahams; I. Lauw; A. Michiels; A. Saimi; Carel Michiels; Els Michiels; Gerrit Abrahams; Paulus Lalenoh; J. Nasarani; J. Pendjol; J. Quiko; J. Cornelis; J. Kantil; Lauw; S. Quiko; M. Michiels; P. Abrahams; R. Bubui; R. Pendjol; M. Michiels; S. Kantil; Dhr. Pardoen; W. Lauw; W. Sopacua; Dhr. P. Warwar; Entjang Emmy (Ganap 2008: 166-167).

⁸⁰ According to the *Orang Tugu* website in the Netherlands: www.toegoe.nl.

The descendants of the older generations who remained in Tugu still take pride in the fact that their parents did not leave Tugu, whose action is interpreted as love for their *kampong*.

Orang Tugu in Pejambon

Pejambon is located in Central Jakarta with landmarks like the Immanuel Church and Gambir Train Station. Currently, there are thirty *Orang Tugu* households with a total number of about 98 persons living in Pejambon, precisely under the RT 03 neighborhood unit, RW 01 administrative village in the district of Gambir (See Figure 14).

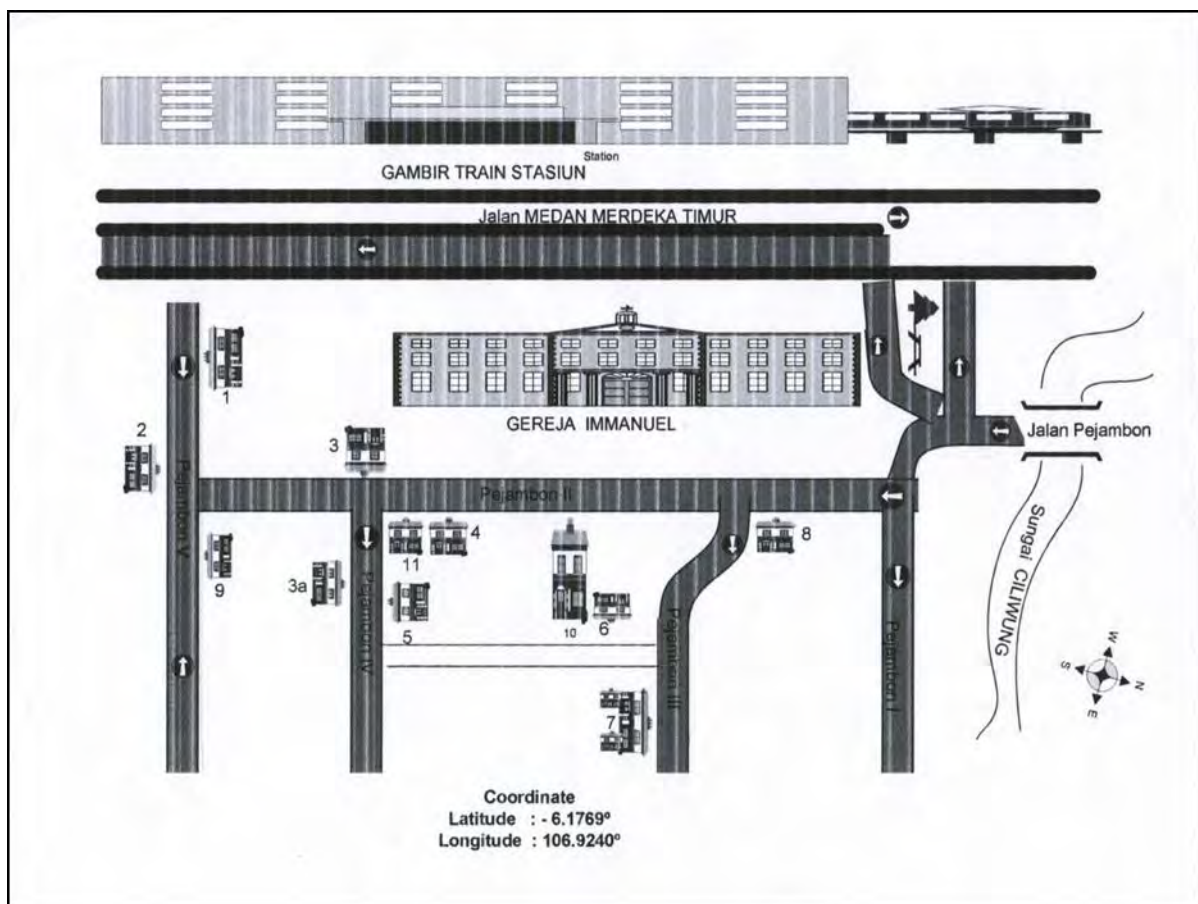


Figure 14. Map of *Orang Tugu* households in Pejambon⁸¹ (Map drawn by Martinus Palit, 2013).

⁸¹ Figure 14 shows the houses of the Tugu people in Pejambon according to the following list of families:

1. Olga Cornelia Hukom
2. Family of the late Yetty Abrahams:
Family of the late Karel Abrahams
Family of the late Alfred Abrahams
Family of Lily Abrahams-Piris
Family of Narulita Abrahams-Klokke
3. Family of Florence Olivia Manusama
4. Family of Henky Frenky Abrahams
5. Family of Veronica Lataruin

Yohana Abrahams was 11 years old when she had to move to Pejambon in 1946. She recalled there were a lot of empty houses probably belonging to the Arabs, and they merely went in to stay. Her father stayed for four years in Pejambon and returned to Tugu with her mother and younger siblings because they were worried about the house and land that they had left behind. Yohana, her sister Martina, and three brothers Hanes (Johanes), Juli (Julius) and Okes (Augus), continued to be taken care of by *Om* Jonathan (MB), *Tante* Dora (MZ) and *Encang* Salvina (MM) in Pejambon. Although she worshipped at the Immanuel Church and became active in the Youth Fellowship during holidays and Sundays, together with her brothers and sister they would go back to visit the family in Kampung Tugu. In 1955, after meeting her Manadonese husband who was also in Pejambon, they moved back to Kampung Tugu and got married in Tugu Church.

All of the *Orang Tugu* in Pejambon are members of GPIB Immanuel⁸² unless they have converted to Islam. Among them, three are currently serving at congregational level in the *Majelis* (Session).⁸³ Olga, the eldest member of the Tugu community in Pejambon, was ten years old when she first arrived in Pejambon and had since settled down here. Having been educated in Dutch, she worked in the church publication section until retirement and is still serving at the Dutch-language service. All the Tugu Christians in Pejambon belong to the Sector II Home Ministry area of GPIB Immanuel. As the coordinator of this Sector, Olga ensures that the meeting takes place every Wednesday, with occasional extra meetings on Saturday or Sunday if any family requests thanksgiving services. She introduced her mother (Saartje Margarietta Andires) as a Portuguese descendant from Ambon, whereas her father Yohanes Silas Hukom is from the Moluccas. During the revolution in 1945, they were being warned by Matthias Michiels (MB) that the situation in Kampung Tugu was very dangerous because

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6. Family of Martinus Palit
Family of Lily
 7. Family of Agustina Djimun-Panggabean
Family of Luciana Panggabean-Poceratu
Family of Zakaria Djimun
Family of Hanis Djimun
Family of Hendrix Djimun
 8. Family of Novita Djimun-Takaria
Family of Esther Djimun-Widjaya
 9. Family of Petrosina Dolfina Duma Soumokil
 10. Family of David Djimun
Family of Frida David Djimun-Elbracht
Family of Melina Djimun-Hidayat
 11. Steven Abrahams

⁸² The current name of Immanuel Church after coming under the organization of GPIB.

⁸³ They are Jules Panggabean, Petrosina Dolfina Duma, and Olga Cornelia Hukum.

people from East Indonesia, especially the Manadonese, Ambonese, Timorese, and Indos, were suspected as having been pro-Dutch. Unfortunately, Olga's father was arrested in Kampung Tugu, never to be found again. In January 1946, the Dutch sent trucks to bring the Tugu villagers to Pejambon. She was one of them, with her mother who was still pregnant with a pair of twins. Her grandparents Lukas Andries and Saartje Margarietta returned to Tugu when the situation had improved in 1948.

According to Kiki Abrahams, the IKBT committee member responsible for Pejambon Tuguese, the house that he is staying in is the old house of his grandfather, who first moved there when the Tuguese escaped. The house was then managed and repaired by his father and after his decease, Kiki and his family continued to live there. He informs that the neighbourhood has many Tuguese and Ambonese. Until the 1970s, the Tuguese in Pejambon still return to Kampung Tugu to collect bananas, rice, and coconuts.

The older generations of Pejambon used to travel back to Tugu to visit their friends and families. According to Olga, "all the Tuguese in Pejambon will go back to Kampung Tugu for *Mandi-mandi*"; including herself, "Tuguese would not come to Pejambon for *Mandi-mandi*; it has to be in Kampung Tugu". There is no obvious difference between the Tugu people in Tugu and Pejambon; one can only point out that there is no *krontjong* band nor traditional events like *Mandi-mandi* and *Rabo-rabo* in Pejambon. My census data shows that noone in Pejambon has learnt the Portuguese language nor do they play *keroncong* music.

The Founding of the *Ikatan Keluarga Besar Tugu* (IKBT)

The dispersions of *Orang Tugu* and their loss of contacts with one another for almost twenty years caused them to have a yearning to reunite. They began to talk about having an association. As a result, a group of respectable community members had a meeting to discuss this and as a result IKBT was founded on 2 May 1976, at the residence of Arend Julinse Michiels, who then became its first leader. In the same year, he travelled to the Netherlands to visit his fellow Tugu family and friends after being separated for more than two decades. On November 22, 1976 they had a reunion there and the *Stichting SOS Toegoe* (*Save Tugu Foundation*) was formed with the objective of maintaining and strengthening the ties among the *Toegoenezen*⁸⁴ and between them and the Tugu community in Indonesia. This body also provides social support and collects any information or material related to the *Toegoenezen*. Twenty-one years later, the name of the foundation was replaced by *Toegoe Commissie* at the second reunion

⁸⁴ I employ the Dutch term *Toegoenezen* for the *Orang Tugu* in the Netherlands.

commemorating 47 years after the departure from Kampung Tugu, 35 years after leaving New Guinea, and 30 years of post-Suriname life (Ganap 2011: 169).

It was decided that the IKBT meeting would be on the first Sunday of every month at the home of a member who would be willing to open his/her house, normally in conjunction with a thanksgiving service for a particular person in the family, especially celebrating a birthday or memorial service. The initial concept of the meeting was to have three fundamental elements: a worship session (as the Tugu people are Christians), lunch, and an after-meeting chit-chat time. It was planned with a concern for many of the *Orang Tugu* who were outside of Kampung Tugu, who missed the Tugu specialty like *Gado-gado Tugu*, *sayur asem*, and the fruits planted in Tugu.

The *Orang Tugu* in Pejambon continued to attend IKBT meetings and events in Kampung Tugu. From the position of IKBT, community events should be organized in Kampung Tugu; this is to encourage the external *Orang Tugu* to remember their village, and to instill a sense of “*cinta kepada Kampung Tugu*” (“love for Kampung Tugu”). The act of going back to Kampung Tugu is seen as an act of love for their *kampung halaman* (“hometown” or “native village”). However, during my fieldwork, the new IKBT leadership has a new perspective: instead of expecting the Tugu people in Pejambon to come to Kampung Tugu, why not have the Tuguese from Kampung Tugu go to Pejambon for the IKBT meeting? Therefore, in August 2013, the IKBT meeting took place for the first time in Pejambon at the house of Henky Frenky Abrahams. The leadership engaged a *metromini* (mini bus) to transport IKBT members in Kampung Tugu to Pejambon. I went in the bus with more than 20 members, consisting of mostly women, children, and two men. At the end of the meeting, the IKBT leader asked who would like to open their house for the next meeting, and another Abrahams family from Pejambon offered to be the host. At the end, Agustina Djimun, a 67 year-old Pejambon resident, took the opportunity to go back to Kampung Tugu with the transport provided. When the bus sent us back to *Gereja Tugu*, she invited me to visit her old Tugu friend – the widow of Yohanes Thomas, Yuliana, who lives nearby.

Apart from the monthly meetings, the major activities of IKBT are *Natalan* IKBT (IKBT Christmas Celebration), *Rabo-rabo* and particularly *Mandi-mandi*, which is the highlight of the year for the Tugu community. Besides Pejambon and Kampung Tugu, the remaining Tuguese are currently spread all over JABODETABEK⁸⁵ and throughout Indonesia,

⁸⁵ Indonesian acronym for Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi – Greater Jakarta.

but most of them who live in places like Bekasi, Cikarang, Depok, or Bogor still find their way to Kampung Tugu for family or community reunions.

Tugu and Depok People: A Comparison

According to Abdurachman (2008), “The name *Mardika* disappeared since the last quarter of the 18th century. At times the term was still erroneously used to denote freed slaves irrespective of nationality, language or religion”.⁸⁶ For example, the freed slaves from Bali who became Christian and settled on the lands of Depok were often called *Mardikas* or *Portugis*” (37-38).⁸⁷ On the other hand, they used to be called *Belanda Depok* (Depok Dutch) by outsiders, in spite of their ethnic backgrounds as Indonesians. The 1930 census data – “the last source to give detailed official data on the ethnic composition of the Jakarta population” (Nas and Grijns 2000: 11) – indicates “Tugu and Depok people” as a category with 998 people, whereas the Betawi category had 778,953, approximately half the inhabitants of Greater Jakarta. Knorr (2014: 132n. 31) has suggested that the categorization of Tugu and Depok people as one group may be due to their similarities, i.e., the Christian religion and their perceived proximity to European culture. Let us take a step further to analyze the two cases.

To start with, Portuguese Creole was not the language of the Depok population. According to Yano Jonathans⁸⁸ (2011), a sixth-generation descendant of the Christian slaves in Depok who were given freedom by Cornelis Chastelein on 13 March 1714,⁸⁹ Dutch was still spoken until the 1960s (89). The older residents of Depok, a city in West Java which is now part of the Jakarta metropolitan area, were known as *Belanda Depok* (Depok Dutch), but Jonathans (2011: 91) has stressed that the term is a misnomer because they did not have Dutch “blood” at all. They were Balinese and Makassarese who later intermarried with the local residents (except the Chinese, it seemed, as Chastelein forbade the Chinese to live in Depok to

⁸⁶ Suratminto (2007) has referred to them as *Mardijkers* as the liberation of these slaves was accomplished with the condition of accepting the Christian religion. Niemeijer (personal communication, 2015) has also referred to the Depok case as *Mardijkers*.

⁸⁷ Daus (1989: 32), referring to Abdurachman (2008), writes that “even the freed Balinese slaves who had just settled in the area of Depok before the eyes of all the inhabitants of Batavia, simply started to call themselves ‘Portuguese’ ”.

⁸⁸ In his monograph *Depok Tempoe Doeloe* (2011), he presents the founding history and development of Depok through a period almost reaching 300 years, using methods such as field study, collection of old photos, mapping, and interviews. One can easily find books with the term *Tempoe Doeloe* in bookstores all over Jakarta. *Tempoe Doeloe* is understood as the Dutch mode of nostalgia for empire, a longing for the ‘colonial good old days’. This Indies nostalgia, dominated by the middle and upper classes, turned into a hegemonic discourse within Dutch society at large, and found expression in Indies literature and films.

⁸⁹ Date according to Shahab (1994: 138), but according to Jonathans (2011: 74) the emancipation of Chastelein’s slaves was effective from 28 June 1714, when his last will was read for the first time in *Gereja Depok*, i.e., GPIB Immanuel Depok.

protect his freed slaves from being influenced by their bad habits).⁹⁰ The slaves had toponyms such as Louis van Makassar (Louis from Makassar), or Jarong van Bali (Jarong from Bali). The twelve clans⁹¹ in Depok are Bacas, Isakh, Jonathans, Jacob, Joseph, Loen, Laurens, Leander, Tholense, Soedira, Samuel, and Zakokh. Among this list, “Bacas”⁹² and “Loen” are found in Kampung Tugu’s burial list compiled by Espada (2009: 121-126). Besides these twelve, there are other families who were also considered as part of the old Depok community based on their long-term residence in Depok and their assimilation to this particular group, which is akin to the case of Kampung Tugu.

The Immanuel Church, built in 1700, stands in the center of old Depok.⁹³ There is also a church bell and a graveyard for the twelve clans of Depok, who have also adopted a recycling system; the graveyard is now endowment land granted by the Cornelis Chastelein Foundation. Depok contrasts with Tugu mainly in terms of land ownership: Depok was originally situated on private land, where the landowners exercised the right to fully manage their land;⁹⁴ this is why Suratminto (2007) has described it as “state within a state”. This land status thus allowed the Dutch VOC official Cornelis Chastelein to build a socio-economic system in the plantation community based on the Protestant ethic.⁹⁵

The life of Chastelein, a Huguenot, left a profound impact on the Depok community. The sense of gratitude and respect for Chastelein are not only expressed in the narrative and poems, but also through the celebration of *Chastelein Dag* (Chastelein Day), also known as *Depoksche Dag* (Depok Day). Curiously, Christmas was only celebrated from 1870 onwards, whereas their tradition on New Year’s Eve consists of lighting firecrackers at 12.00 am.⁹⁶ The other two yearly traditions are related to agricultural activities, i.e., fishing and paddy harvesting. This is linked to the VOC’s establishment of Depok as a site with plantations for its trading

⁹⁰ The Chinese were only allowed to stay at the edge of the city, which is now known as *Pondok Cina* (lit. trans., Chinese Shelter).

⁹¹ Jonathans (2011:42) has used the term *kaum keluarga* (literary “family group”) for these twelve clans, and “marga” for other family names in Depok who are not descendants of the freed slaves. Hence, I translate *kaum keluarga* as clans, and *marga* as surnames or family names.

⁹² i.e., Rina Dina Bacas (born 31-12-1930; died 28-01-1998), Jonas Bacas (born 04-07-1990; died 16-04-1977), Sanjte Bacas (born 19-09-1936; died 24-03-2002); and the family name “Loen”, i.e., Albert Loen (born ?; died 30-05-1931), and Charles Loen (in the community registry of Tugu). However, according to Jonathans (2011: 55), Bacas is also a surname that is familiar amongst the Javanese.

⁹³ The origin of the name “Depok” itself has several explanations; one of these refers to DEPOK as the short form for *De Erste Protestantse Organisatie van Kristenen*, which can be translated as “The First Christian Congregation”.

⁹⁴ The right is known as *eigendom* in Dutch, referring to the capacity to use property freely and control and dispose of it in the most absolute way. See, for example, *Property in Social Continuity* (1979) by Franz von Benda-Beckmann.

⁹⁵ Cornelis Chastelein bought the land from several persons, including a Chinese owner.

⁹⁶ The number of firecrackers burned was related to the social status of the family; the more firecrackers, the more they were looked-up to (Jonathans 2011: 109).

purposes. *Tanjidor* is known as the most famous artistic form of old Depok, besides *keroncong*.⁹⁷ Interactions between the churches in Depok and Kampung Tugu, notably under the leadership of the Dutch minister, C. de Graaf, probably contributed to the spreading of *Keroncong Tugu* to Depok in the 1900s (Jonathans 2011: 122). Nevertheless, even though agricultural activities in Depok and Tugu may be similar, they differ greatly in their major festivals, namely the way Tugu celebrates the New Year with *keroncong* music during *Raborabo* and *Mandi-mandi*.

According to a pilot-study of the Depok community entitled “Krisis Identitas pada orang asli Depok” (1975)⁹⁸, the relatively isolated location of the old Depok community hindered them latter from mixing with the groups in Batavia City or Bogor, where residents were of equal status with them, resulting in a tendency towards endogamy (Marzali 1975: 12). Mixed marriages were infrequent and only happened after the arrival of the Dutch, Indos, and Ambonese. Nevertheless, the development of *Buitenzorg* (now Bogor, in West Java) as a place of retreat with a *landhuis* (land house) of the Dutch governor-general, made Depok become more integrated than Tugu.

The *Orang Depok asli* (literally “original Depok people”) acquired a social position equivalent to that of the Indos, which is a higher status compared to other Indonesians, especially the Muslim *orang kampung* (village people). Hence, they would not marry village people as this would downgrade their status (Marzali 1975: 12).⁹⁹ This tendency is not reported in Tugu. Although the Tugu people generally prefer to marry Christians, women of non-Christian and non-Tugu backgrounds do not appear to pose a problem, because in Tugu the latter normally follow their husbands’ religion.

According to Marzali (1975: 13), the relationship between the *Depok asli* and the *orang kampung* can be described as patron-client: the landowners needed the village people as labourers in the field and as domestic helpers, but they were nonetheless close-knitted, as the villagers recognized the *Depok asli*’s ownership of the land, and the *Depok asli* were also protective towards the village people and welcomed them to celebrate the typical Depok

⁹⁷ Jonathans 2011 did not trace how *tanjidor* developed in Depok, but he dated this process back to 1934 when a number of *tanjidor* bands owned by the *Depokkers* already existed.

⁹⁸ The article was originally published as: Marzali, Amri. “Krisis Identitas Pada Orang Depok Asli”. *Berita Antropologi* Tahun VII (22) (Juli 1975): 55-82. The page numbers cited in this chapter follows the reproduction of the article retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/6337545/Krisis_Identitas_Pada_Orang_Asli_Depok.

⁹⁹ However, the Depok author Jonathans (2011: 90) states that in spite of this social stratification, the boundaries between the *sinyo* and his subordinates were not marked, based on their everyday mingling and joking with one another as well as on their forms of dress. Jonathans (*ibid*: 91) further gave an example of a *Depok asli* family who married a woman from the village.

festivals together. The local people used terms like *tuan*, *nyonya*, *non*, *sinyo* to address the *Depok asli*. This shows that such characteristics and labels are not specific to Tugu. It should be noted that Muslim village people were not the only ones who worked on the land of Tugu landlords, but also Tugu families who were landless, as well as Chinese families such as the Thomases, who came to Kampung Tugu in the 1940s.

Suratminto (2007) distinguishes two categories within the old Depok community: *Depok asal* were the Betawis – the original Muslim inhabitants of Depok – who worked on the land that was later bought by Chastelein, whereas *Depok asli* were the freed slaves of Chastelein. The *Depok asli* were divided into *Depok Kulon* and *Depok Wetan* not only in terms of their residential locations, educational level, occupations, the use of the Dutch language, and their Dutch-like way of life, but also in the frequency and intensity of their interactions with the *orang kampung* (Marzali 1975: 13). The *Depok Kulon* residents were the elite group who were well educated (e.g., went to the *Europeesche* School), fluent in Dutch, and nearer to Dutch culture in their daily life, hence acquiring the *gelijkgestelden* status which was equal to that of Europeans. In contrast, *Depok Wetan* were more involved in the plantations and rice fields, and were educated in the *Depoksche* School, an institution for the *inlanders* (indigenes) (Jonathans 2011: 92-93). Kampung Tugu was also divided into *Kulon* and *Wetan*, and the older generation in Tugu still refer to the western part of Tugu as *Kulon* (West) and the eastern one as *Wetan*; however, this was merely a geographical reference.¹⁰⁰

The Old Depok community had a penchant for Batavia, as reflected in their socio-economic and political pattern, invoking their white skin tones and Dutch language as symbols of status; their role in assisting the VOC to produce crops for world commodities granted them privileges, leading to their loyalty towards the Dutch Government (Suryana 2004: 50). The Japanese occupation had a profound impact not only on this group but also on the Eurasians in general, including the Tuguese, who we have discussed in this chapter.¹⁰¹ The *Depok asli* and

¹⁰⁰ The map of Tugu in Manusama-Moniaga (1995) has this indication of *wetan* and *kulon*.

¹⁰¹ In “The Eurasian Minority of Indonesia”, van der Kroef wrote that:

Early in 1942 the Japanese introduced a racial classification system for Indos, based on the racial origin of their fathers: (1) a European father with an Indonesian or Eurasian wife (2) an Indo father with an Indo, European or Indonesian wife and (3) an Indonesian father with a European or a Eurasian wife. Every Indo was expected to prove his descent. Most Indos who were offspring of unions in the last two categories were given a choice: they could either side with the full blood Dutch and be certain of a harrowing existence in some concentration camp or they could renounce their European status, become Indonesians and ipso facto supporters of Japan's ‘Greater Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere’. Indos with parents in the first category were virtually automatically deemed unsafe and imprisoned; how many in the other categories elected to remain or perhaps ‘become’ Europeans is not known. It is certain that thousands of Indos decided to become Indonesians for the time being and not a few openly collaborated with the Japanese. (1953: 489)

the Indos lost the elevated social status which they previously took pride in. They used to identify themselves with the Dutch but since then have requested to be acknowledged as indigenous Indonesians, while the Indos began to label themselves as *Peranakan* (Marzali 1975: 14). When the Japanese left and the Dutch returned, the *Depok asli* again hoped to be restored to their previous status, and were supportive of the Dutch during the Revolutionary era. This resulted in many having been tortured, killed, or captured by the *Tentara Keamanan Rakyat* (People's Security Forces); but this was interpreted by the *Depok asli* as an assault by the village people, causing an even wider gap between these two groups, as the *orang kampung* could no longer tolerate the patron-client relation (1975: 15). The trauma of these incidents caused the older as well as the younger generation to be stigmatised by the *Belanda Depok* label and thus they lived in frustration and indifference, in what Marzali has called an “identity crisis”, as the title of his article indicates. Van der Kroef has explained that the Indos were a group who tended to be suspected by different parties, i.e., “by the Japanese because of their suspected European loyalties; by the Europeans because of their collaborationist behaviour, and by Indonesians because of their pre-war conservatism and hostility to nationalist aims” (1953: 489). These reasons, on top of the Japanese classification system, intensified the psychological tensions within the Indo minority.

Many of those among the elite *Depok Wetan* have chosen to move to the Netherlands. The *Depokkers* in the Netherlands formed an association and have continued to dwell on nostalgic songs and organized group activities like *Depok Dag* (Depok Day) to reminisce about their good old days in Depok (Jonathan 2011: 52). After the abolition of private land ownership status in Indonesia in 1949, the old Depok community appealed to the Government of Indonesia for the management and ownership of some land and buildings for their social functions, such as the church, cemetery, and hospital (Suryana 2004: 36). For this purpose, the community founded the Cornelis Chastelein Foundation. In turn, membership in this foundation distinguishes them from the rest of the inhabitants of Depok (37). Likewise, this pattern is found among the Tugu people, with their community associations both in the Netherlands as well as in Jakarta, and the role of IKBT in managing the Tugu graveyard and maintaining the boundaries of Tugu identity. This aspect will be further discussed in chapters four and five.

The effect was also far-reaching on the mission fields in parts of Indonesia where no autonomous church had been established, namely Sulawesi and eastern Indonesia (Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008: 181).

Descendants of Depok in Tugu and Tugu in Depok

In Kampung Tugu, I interviewed Erna Loen (See Figure 15 for genealogy), a widow who was married to a descendant of the Michiels clan. She presumed that Loen is from Depok, but was not certain if they still maintain relations with the Loens, who constitute one of the twelve clans in Depok. Erna's mother is a Chinese (Lauw) but she believes that Loen is “*Belanda Depok*” or “*Belanda Hitam*”¹⁰² due to her dark complexion. She only knows that there are Loens in Irian from her father's side (about five persons), particularly a certain Martinus Loen who was a preacher in Jayapura.¹⁰³ Besides the Michiels, the Loens also have kin ties with the Cornelis clan through Erna's paternal grandmother; in her own words – “I have Cornelis blood”. She informs that her father could speak Dutch, as well as Tugu Portuguese Creole. Erna was born in Pejambon during the period when the Tuguese were escaping to Irian. Her father, Charles Loen, returned to Tugu and stayed there until his death. Erna grew up in Tugu, went to school in Tugu, and there she met her husband, Lazarus Mega Tadoe of Timorese and Tugu parentage, who lived nearby. They were involved in *Gereja Tugu's* youth and choir groups, and got married in the same church.

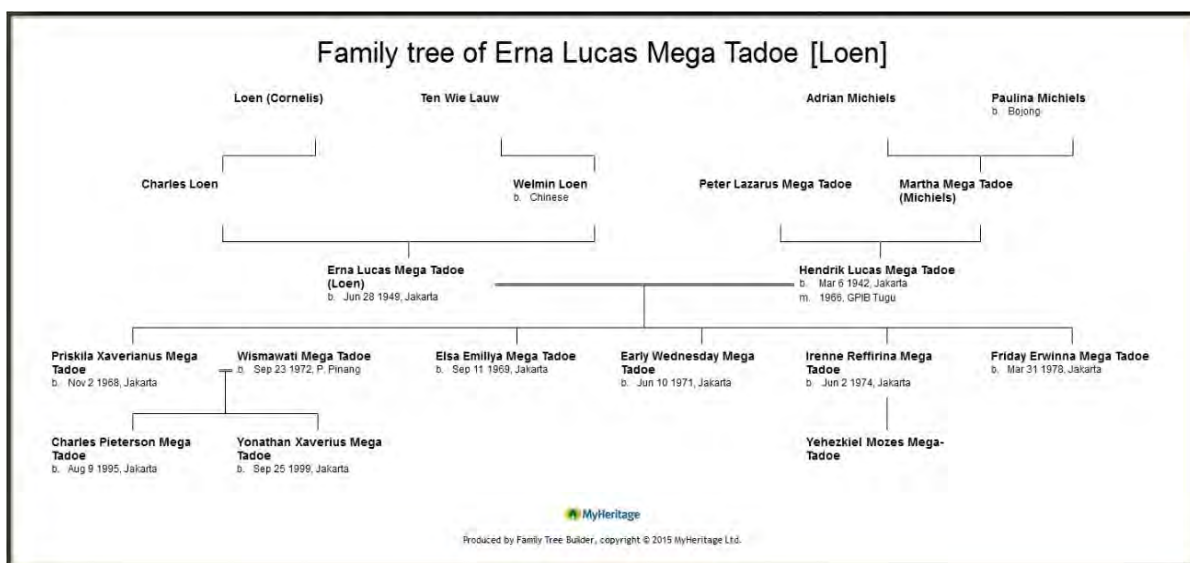


Figure 15. Genealogy of Erna Loen

¹⁰² Or *blanda item*, as van der Kroef (1953) referred to in his article. He wrote that this label was literally “Black white man”, a common Indonesian epithet for the Indo, but this group of people were considered as “even more dangerous than the Dutch” (1953:489).

¹⁰³ According to Erna, during that time, all the Tuguese wanted to be evacuated to the Netherlands, but it appeared that Martinus had a dream. In the dream he was given a church key. This was interpreted as an indication for him not to go to the Netherlands, but to be an evangelist and preacher in Irian.

Orang Tugu who are living in Depok are the descendants of *Tuan Guru Arsan*¹⁰⁴, the teacher who was highly regarded in Tugu. They are not related to the old Depok community. According to Erick Yunus, the son of Arsan, his father was a Sundanese Christian from Gunung Puteri, Bogor. He also informed that although the majority of Sundanese are Muslims, there are pockets of Christian communities in Malalangan, Cianjur, Cibubur, Ciranjang, and among others, Gunung Puteri, which has kin ties with Tugu. In his father's generation, the three main professions taken by Christians were teachers, paramedics, and preachers. Arsan was a teacher working under the Department of Religious Affairs who was posted to Tugu. He met Mintje Andries in Tugu and they got married. Erick's brothers, Herling, Hentri, and Heran, were born in Tugu. Later Arsan was posted to teach at a primary school in Depok. Erick, the seventh child, recounted that he arrived in Irian in 1962 when he was in his sixth year of primary school; the Tugu Village there was headed by a certain Michiels who later relocated to the Netherlands. He recounted that life in Jayapura was socially and financially stable because his father was a government servant and his brother a doctor. They were also accepted by the indigenous people there. He returned to Jakarta in 1974 when his father retired.

The siblings and their families worship at the GPIB Immanuel of Depok. They go to Tugu when there is a funeral, or during Tugu Festivals. According to Yetsi, daughter of Arsan (aged 68), she used to go to Tugu in the past because her mother had a rice field there; she adds: "our Sundanese-ness has disappeared, we are more to the Tugu side; in our family we follow our mother's side, eating Tugu food; even now I make traditional Tugu cookies (i.e., *kue semprit*). Nowadays, it is difficult for the *Orang Tugu* to make it but I still can".¹⁰⁵

Orang Tugu and the Kampung Sawah Christians

Another Christian enclave community in Jakarta that has been mentioned by anthropologists (Knorr 2014; Shahab 1994) in parallel with Tugu is that of the Kampung Sawah Christians, who are known for their proximity with the Betawi lifestyle. Kampung Sawah (literally "paddy village") is located on the outskirts of Jakarta, Pondok Gede, close to Bekasi, west Java. The village is surrounded by paddy fields, with a 53.7 per cent Muslim population, 25.5 per cent Catholics, and 20.8 per cent Protestants, according to Shahab (1994: 141). There are two churches: a Protestant and a Catholic one, but there is a lack of information about how Christianity came to the village, as Shahab tells us; she had to use oral history in order to reconstruct the picture of Kampung Sawah.

¹⁰⁴ Arsan Yunus was the cousin of Sastria Yunus, who married Lentje Quiko from Tugu.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Yetsi Yunus in Depok, 17/12/2013.

During the colonial period, being Christians in Kampung Sawah granted them access to education, government jobs, and better living conditions in general as compared to the Muslims, who were being hired by the former to work on their land but at the end of 1945, they shared the same fate as the Tugu and Depok communities; being suspected as Dutch collaborators, they were attacked by the Muslims. Many were killed or escaped to Bekasi, Cirebon, Sukabumi, and Bandung, with a majority of them ending up in Keramat Raya, the Christian Centre in Jakarta (Shahab 1994: 143).

As in Tugu, in 1980s, an association called “Rimun Djaja” was founded by some Kampung Sawah families to bring together the community members dispersed in different areas in Jakarta (1994: 144). The community considered *Keroncong* as their typical music, which they wanted to revive.¹⁰⁶ There are kin ties between Jacobus Quiko from Tugu, who married Melsi Rikin, a preacher’s daughter from Kampung Sawah. Shahab (1994: 145) wrote about a Tugu family by the name of Dance in Kampung Sawah; however, my informants in Tugu are not aware of this case and do not see any further link between the two communities. Furthermore, the Christians in Kampung Sawah consider themselves more Betawi-like due to their historical background as indigenous Muslims who converted to Christianity; hence, they are seen as being different from the Tugu and Depok people, who are westernised, speak Dutch at home, use Dutch names, and wear Western dress (Shahab 1994: 356).

Conclusion

Given the changes brought about by road access and urbanization trends in Jakarta, the *Orang Tugu* have become a minority amongst the big influx of *pendatangs*, affected by traffic congestion, pollution, and flooding. In terms of their relations with the locality, there are those who see themselves as coming from Kampung Tugu, where they wish to return, and there are those who are not originally from Kampung Tugu, but come from many other places. The latter are later incorporated into the Tugu community, and acquire a sense of belonging through marriage and shared interest. What is most crucial is that one need not be born in the locality to be a real Tuguese, but one has to be born into the core families of Tugu. The preoccupation with genealogy highlights the status of being an “indigenous Tugu” (TA) or belonging to the core Tugu clans.

Thus far, we have shown that the Tugu community is not a homogenous group; different families seem to have different practices, due to influences from family members from

¹⁰⁶ Shahab (1994) adds that *keroncong* is regarded by them as an art belonging to the Christian tradition only (144).

other cultures or other regional origins. Like the *Kampung Serani* in Penang, despite having a historical identity as a Portuguese-Eurasian village, it is not a homogenous community: Goh (1998: 187) makes it clear that in spite of a majority of Portuguese-Eurasians as well as an active projection of its image as a Portuguese-Eurasian *kampung*, the residents have also consisted of Eurasians of other European descent. Similarly, it is not a surprise that besides the Portuguese, Dutch, and German influences, additional European and Asian backgrounds might have contributed to the *Tugu Asli* category.¹⁰⁷ Like the Tuguese, nobody in Depok can explain how and since when their surnames came about. In dealing with different versions of histories of the twelve old Depok families, Marzali (1975: 11) has made the point that it may not be necessary to find out the truth, since their explanations might have been processed during a complex and prolonged historical journey.¹⁰⁸

Compared to the indigenous Christian communities like the *Depok asli* and the Kampung Sawah Christians, many Tugu people affirm that they are not only different but also not even remotely related to the “Dutch” *Depokkers* because of their “Portuguese” (rather than Dutch) background and influence. They claim that the Dutch failed to transform them into being Dutch. The three communities nonetheless display similarities in terms of: 1) Christian religion; 2) persecution during the Japanese occupation and revolutionary period; 3) diaspora; 4) community associations; 5) musical expressions, i.e., *keroncong*. Furthermore, if we look at the Eurasians in Malacca, Penang, and Singapore, or the Anglo-Indians in the post-independence period, all of the latter have likewise faced this “identity crisis” (Goh 1998; Fernandis 2000; Rappa 2000; Caplan 2001, 2003).

After several centuries of mixing with local populations and people coming from different places, *Orang Tugu* are aware that they are “mixed” not only in their language but also in the flexible manner through which they describe themselves. As my key informant puts it:

Jadi di Tugu ini sudah tidak ada lagi yang 100% darah Tugu, karena sudah *mixed*. Ada yang dengan Betawi, Cina, Sunda, Jawa, Batak, Ambon, dan sebagainya. Lalu kalau disini ada yang mengaku; 'Saya 100% *Orang Tugu Asli*.' itu salah. [Therefore, in Tugu there is no 100% Tugu blood, because everyone is already mixed. Some with Betawi, Chinese, Sundanese, Javanese, Batak, Ambon, etc. Hence, if anyone here claims that ‘I am a 100% Original Tugu’, that is wrong].

¹⁰⁷ According to Dr. Hendrik Niemeijer, “a German name is very well possible as 40-60% of the VOC servants in the 18th century were actually Germans. So a son with a certain German father and a Mardijker woman may have had the name Braune” (*e-mail* correspondence, 4/10/2015).

¹⁰⁸ His hypothesis is that the twelve clans might have only formed after 1862 because they did not appear in the list of the first board members of the land; furthermore, they were still using toponyms at that time.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Protestant Christians of Tugu

“In the whole of Indonesia, the names of churches are taken from the Bible but the uniqueness of *Gereja Tugu* is that the name came from the community.”

(Tugu residents 2013)

Introduction

Orang Tugu are proud of their religion¹⁰⁹ and their Church. As an institution and building, it unites three powerful themes: history, Protestantism, and identity. In Durkheim’s view, religion and group identity are intimately tied together. The core of this chapter is to investigate how the Tugu people use religion as a means to articulate their identity. How do they view their relation with *Gereja Tugu*¹¹⁰ and how do they talk about Christianity? We begin with the brief history of *Gereja Tugu* and turn our focus to the current *Gereja Tugu* that has become part of the Protestant Church of West Indonesia (GPIB, or *Gereja Protestan Indonesia Barat*) synod. The second section illustrates the daily life of the Tugu residents who live near the church, and moves on to describe the life cycles of *Orang Tugu* and their interactions with GPIB Tugu. The final section explores the influences of Charismatic movements.

History of *Gereja Tugu*

When the VOC ruled in Batavia, the Reformed Church underwent a period of slow but steady growth. *Gereja Tugu* (Tugu Church) is one of the oldest Protestant churches in Jakarta, harking back to the time of the Dutch Indies. The other two are *Gereja Sion*, previously known as *Portugeesche Buitenkerk*, and *Gereja Immanuel*, or *Willemskerk*. The first Tugu church was built in 1678 by the VOC for the Tugu population. Dr. Melchior Leydecker, the preacher-doctor who translated the Old and New Testaments from Dutch to Malay, was in Tugu from the year

¹⁰⁹ According to Durkheim, “A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite in one single community called a Church, all those who adhere to them” (1954 [1912]: 47). This is of course a somewhat dated definition, but still applies in large part to the Tuguese today. See also Weber (1958) [1904-05], Geertz (1966), and more recently Mills (2012) and Werbner (2010).

¹¹⁰ Throughout this thesis, my usage of the term “*Gereja Tugu*” has a symbolic and historical reference. The church is generally known as *Gereja Tugu* both by the locals and the public. “GPIB Tugu” refers to the *Gereja Tugu* that is part of the GPIB organization, implying a standardization or system that is similar to other GPI churches all over Indonesia, but more specifically the older churches in Jakarta such as GPIB Immanuel, GPIB Sion, and GPIB Peniel.

1678 to 1701. He was assisted by Domingo Pietersen, both of them having contributed to the construction of the church building and the first school in Tugu. This simple wooden edifice was recorded as the first church to have been erected outside the Batavia city wall.

More or less fifty years later, a second church was built on the same place together with a bell tower to replace the first church. Justinus Vinck, a wealthy landlord of Batavia, was very concerned about this issue and asked permission from the General Governor of the VOC to rebuild a more permanent church for the Tugu people with a request for land to bury *Orang Tugu*. The third Tugu church was completed in 1747. Following that, Vinck donated paddy fields, estate, and money to *Orang Tugu*, and gave them the duty of taking care of the church and cemetery. *Orang Tugu* who assisted the preachers and served in church were given permission to live in the vicinity of the Tugu church. Vinck also contributed to the Tugu community by writing in his will that the interest from his bank deposits was to be used to pay the salaries of Tugu schoolteachers and the persons who served at *Gereja Tugu*. He had a 13-hectare paddy field in *Kampung Rawa Gatel* where the harvest was appropriated as provision for the teachers and ministers. A short text narrated in Tugu Creole gives us some insights into the religious aspect of the Tugu population:

The people from Tugu get a lot of favours from the Government because the Government gave us a church to practice our religion, namely the Christian religion, with a gospel teacher who teaches the people of the village more of the religion. Furthermore, a government school where the children are taught reading, writing, and counting. Twice a month, during the dry season, a Dutch priest arrives there to examine in the matters of religion, to teach or to admonish the people of the village of Tugu who are there. This all happens at the expense of the Government, which pays the teacher or the priest. (Maurer 2011: 144-147)

The first native preacher who served in *Gereja Tugu* was Leimena from the year 1800, who was also a teacher at the Tugu School. He proposed to the Dutch governor for the Tugu people to become “*Inheemse Christenen*” (native Christians¹¹¹) (Manusama-Moniaga 1995: 7). He passed away in 1805 and his graveyard can still be found in the Tugu cemetery. He asked for the church liturgy in Portuguese Creole to be replaced by Malay, and hence Malay has been used in the *Gereja Tugu* liturgy since 1816.

¹¹¹ These native Christians, as discussed in chapter two, include the Portuguese-speaking slaves and *Mardijkers* whose place of origin could be Malacca, India, or any other place in Asia populated by the Portuguese. Hence, they are distinct from the native Christians referred to by Vilaça and Wright (2009), who are indigenous peoples of the Americas.

After Leimena, seven Dutch *zendeling* (missionaries) have served in *Gereja Tugu* from 1825-1889.¹¹² While waiting for the second missionary to come from Holland, a Tuguese by the name of F.C. Salomons took the position as *Inlandsch Leeraar* (native Bible Teacher) (Ganap 2011: 156). Existing preachers in Depok served in Tugu once in a while when the VOC stopped sending them there. Preachers who served both in Depok and Tugu were Wentink (1835-1840) and a bible teacher named Simauw, followed by a J. Bacas, who graduated from Mester Cornelis Seminary. Due to the distance between Tugu and Depok, some preachers were not able to serve in both places. In 1878 the first theological seminary for indigenous ministers was established in Depok. People from Tugu began to send their children to study at Seminary schools in Depok or in Mester Cornelis (Manusama-Moniaga 1995: 9). Until the 1920s it was the major institution of its kind in the country, and its students originated from all parts of the Netherlands Indies (Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008: 650). From the year 1920 onwards *Gereja Tugu* was ministered by a native preacher and *inlandsch leerar* who came from the Moluccas, Manado, and Timor. As a result, they lived in Tugu and became part of the Tugu community.

In 1948, the Protestant Church of West Indonesia (GPIB) was created with a view to including all church members outside the three autonomous churches in East Indonesia, and it eventually became the church of the Minahasans, Moluccans, and Timorese living in the cities of Java and other parts of Western Indonesia (Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008: 649). It is a Reformed Church of the Dutch tradition. GPIB sent preachers to serve in *Gereja Tugu* until 1952, when a TA by the name of Albert Hermanus Quiko was ordained by GPIB after finishing his theological studies in Manado. During his term of service, *Gereja Tugu* joined the GPIB organization, as the law of Indonesia required all religious institutions to belong to formal bodies. Hence, *Gereja Tugu* became GPIB Tugu, marking the end of *Gereja Tugu* as an autonomous church. This move was not without disagreements among the Tugu community because *Gereja Tugu* would be subjected to the rules of GPIB: for example, adopting the program and liturgy of GPIB would imply that the traditional music of Tugu (*krontjong*) would not accompany the church service but had to follow the standard of GPIB in using an organ.

¹¹² They were: Staring (1825-1828), Douwes (1833-1835), Wentink (1835-1840), C.L. Casteren van Cattenburgh (1849-1854), Van Gonggrijp (1855-1864), Beukhof (1864-1888), and A. Des Amorie van der Hoeven (1889-?).



Figure 16. *Gereja Tugu* (Courtesy of Andre Michiels, 2013)

GPIB Tugu

As one of the largest Protestant churches in Indonesia, the Protestant Church in Western Indonesia (GPIB) is part of a GPI (Protestant Church of Indonesia), formerly known as *Indische Kerk*. Founded on October 31, 1948, its theology is based on the teachings of the Reformation of John Calvin. There are 293 congregations across Indonesia, with 1.305 million members.¹¹³ The Synod Assembly is headed by a chairman, a secretary, and a treasurer. Church programs cover education services, health care, rural development, etc. GPIB is also active in inter-faith dialogue with other religious communities and publishing activities for both internal and external needs.

At present, the residential pastor of GPIB Tugu is Pastor Herlina H.I. Raintung-Silitonga, a Batak whose Manadonese husband, Manuel Raintung, is also a GPIB preacher. The family resides at the spacious *Pastori* (See Figure 17) in front of *Gereja Tugu*. Previously, the *Pastori* was the old house of Jacobus Quiko and his family. It was demolished to construct a new accommodation for the leading pastor of GPIB Tugu. The land and the buildings on the church compound belong to GPIB Tugu, including the Secretariat of IKBT, which is beside the church office. The head of this office is Caroline Molle, an Ambonese who was the first

¹¹³ Based on the church profile provided by the website <https://profilgereja.wordpress.com/2010/07/25/gereja-protestan-indonesia-bagian-barat/>

administrative staff member for *Gereja Tugu* in 1986.¹¹⁴ When she first arrived, Tugu was very much a village and there were only a few *Orang Tugu* families living around *Gereja Tugu*.¹¹⁵ These families were required to move out of the church area but they received compensation to relocate and most of them are now in the RT 11 area. The “studio” beside the *Pastori* is normally occupied in the evening for the men’s choir practice and the weekly *keroncong* music practice by the Cornelis band. On Sundays, the Children’s Ministry takes place in several locations: the younger ones have their classes at the houses of church members or use the classrooms of the Tugu Bhakti School, according to the Sectors that their parents belong to. The older children have their Sunday Schools at the Studio. The Yeruel Hall is for combined meetings or bigger events.

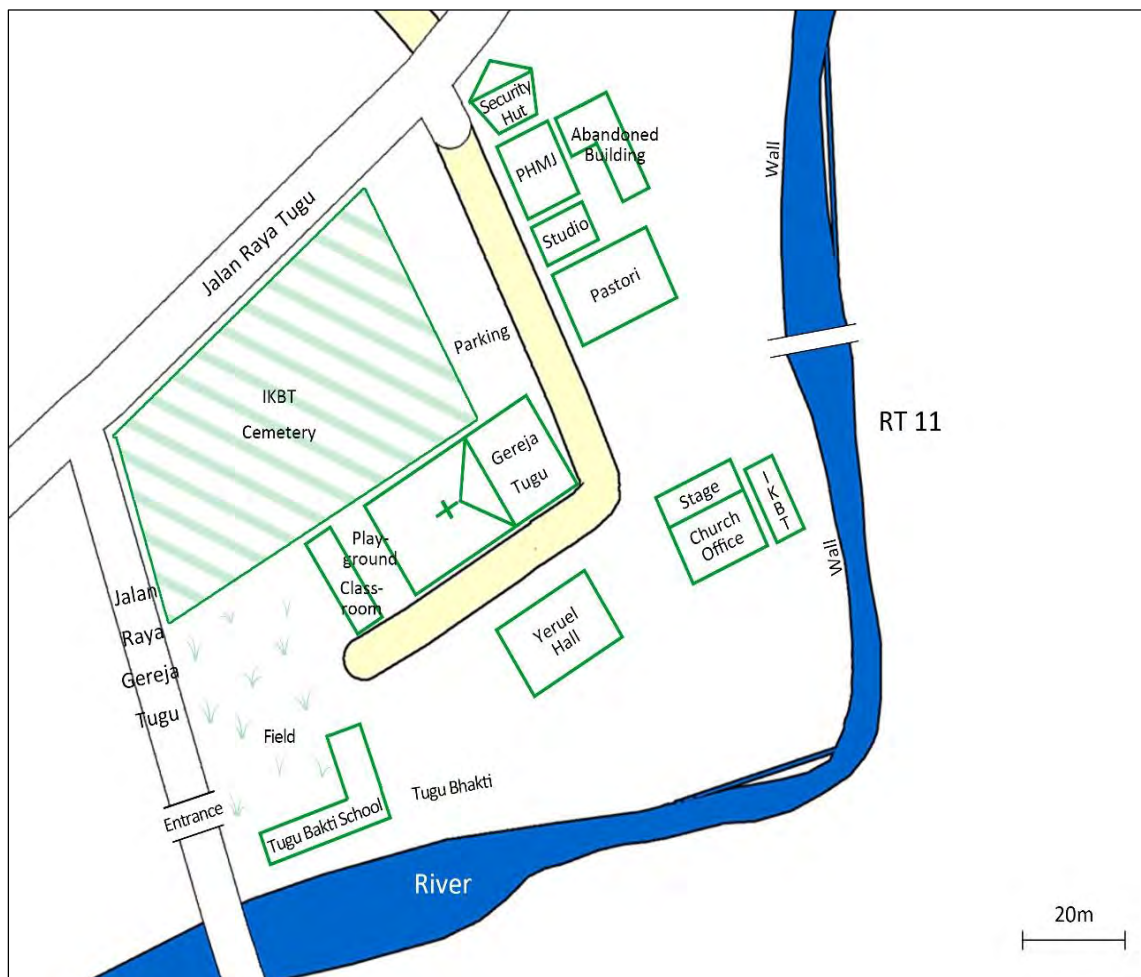


Figure 17. Map of *Gereja Tugu* and its Compound (map drawn by Belinda Cheong, based on the author’s sketches, 2014)

¹¹⁴ Caroline has a co-worker who is a Tugu descendant from the Abrahams family.

¹¹⁵ For example, the place where the security hut is located now was the house of the Sopaheluwakans.

The Tugu Bhakti School is a private school run by *Yayasan Yapendik* – the educational foundation of GPIB. Frenky Abrahams, a native Tuguese, was the principle for the SMP (Primary School) for more than ten years. He was succeeded by a Tugu descendant, Johan Sopaheluwakan.¹¹⁶ The first school in Tugu was Sekolah Raykat (SR) in the Tugu Church building. After that it became S.R. Tugu Semper. Most Tuguese had their primary education there, taught by Arsan Yunus from Bogor and Tirayoh from Manado, whom they addressed respectfully as “*Tuan Guru*” (Master). The Tugu School was replaced by SD Semper 01, a public school constructed nearby *Gereja Tugu* by the local authority. Tugu Bhakti Primary School started in 1977 and the headmaster was Hentri Yunus, the son of Arsan Yunus.

GPIB Tugu has three services on Sundays at 6.30am, 9am, and 6.30pm. The sound of the church bell can be heard 30 minutes before the service, followed by a second chime 15 minutes later. It is rung again when the service starts. Normally, 5 minutes before the service, half the church is already filled, and there is hardly any talking. Men dress in long-sleeved *batik* shirts, whereas women usually wear *batik* blouses or *kebayas* with over-the-knee skirts, high-heel shoes, and make-up¹¹⁷. The choir group sits at its designated area on the left, the conductor standing at the opposite side; he makes use of the few minutes prior to service to warm up the choir group as well as the congregants in practicing the songs that are going to be sung during the service. The deacons and elders who are on duty wear standardized formal coats, escorting the preacher who wears a black academic robe, forming a line as they march into the church.

The first two Sunday services at 6.30am and 9am normally consist of those over 30 years of age, who prefer to worship earlier so that they can go home more quickly to do their household chores and other activities. The younger generation mostly attends the 6.00pm evening service. In the weekly GPIB Tugu bulletin, one can find headcounts of male, female, and children parishioners present at every church-related meeting. By taking a look at the numbers randomly from July to November 2013, the numbers sometimes fluctuate but the 9.00am Sunday service has the most worshippers, usually more than 200. The 6.30am service has about 120-180, whereas the evening service at 18.00 is quite consistent with more or less 130 people. Female participants generally exceed the men at almost every meeting, but percentages of female and male parishioners do not show a predictable pattern; at times there

¹¹⁶ Other *Orang Tugu* at the school are the administrator “Chicky” Rizkylla Junindha Formes and the teachers Vans Rotte Braune and Salvius Abrahams.

¹¹⁷ Tugu ladies in their 50s and 60s recall that in their earlier years, one week before Holy Communion, they used to go through a phase of emotional preparation, wash their hair, and wear black attire in order to participate in the Communion ceremony; menstruating women abstained from it. On Sundays, Tugu women did not wear pants to church, but rather long skirts and blouses.

is a slight margin of 45%-55% but sometimes the numbers of females are double that of the men.

At times, there is individual testimony by way of a song dedication, but most of the time the worship songs are sung by the women's or men's vocal group, who usually sing with musical instruments like the ukulele, guitar, and conga drums. The Cornelis Kroncong Band is scheduled to accompany the worship during the Sunday service about once a month. The preaching lasts about 30 minutes and is followed by a period of intercessory prayers which concern the sick, widows, the church, Jakarta, and the Indonesian nation. After some announcements, the preacher delivers the benediction, turns to the back, walks down the stairs, comes out from the room behind the pulpit, and is again escorted by the deacons or elders on duty as they march out of the church. Then the congregants leave their seats and walk towards the aisle on the left, right, and middle to exit the church hall. At the entrance, the three lines of congregants patiently merge into a single line to greet and shake hands with the preacher as well as the deacons and elders on duty. Outside the church two or three members sell snacks like *cucur*, *bakpau*, and *wajik*. At times, members exiting from the church are entertained by the youth band or children from the Sunday Schools singing songs to collect offerings for their Youth Retreat or Christmas projects.

GPIB Tugu categorizes their members into *sektor* (sectors) which are based on geographical zones. Beginning with five sectors in 1975-1978, the ministerial areas have expanded to nine sectors at the moment.¹¹⁸ The Tugu Indah area, known locally as "RT 11"¹¹⁹ is the "Sector I" of *Gereja Tugu*. Statistically, Sector I has more members than the other Sectors. It is often assumed to be so even without a conscientious head-count, as Christians are concentrated in this territory.¹²⁰ Another Sector that also has a larger proportion of Tugu people is Sector IV, whose area leader is a Tuguese from the Thomas family.

To a certain extent, these sectors determine socialization among *Orang Tugu*, and *Orang Tugu* with non-Tugu church members, as the majority of the Kampung Tugu residents participate in church activities at least two times a week – the weekly *ibadah keluarga* (home

¹¹⁸Sector I : Tugu Indah, Kampung Kurus / Jalan Haji Suit
Sector II : The area of Kampung Kurus / Jalan Haji Suit that is behind Gereja Tugu, Kavling
Sector III : Kebantenan, Cilincing
Sector IV : Kampung Beting, Kompleks Deperla / BPP
Sector V : Kompleks Pertamina, Bulak
Sector VI : Perapatan Semper, Cakung
Sector VII : Kompleks BPP, Bea Cukai, Sukapura
Sector VIII : Jalan Toar
Sector IX : Walang, Tugu Permai

¹¹⁹ RT refers to Neighbourhood Unit.

¹²⁰ The current area leader is a Madurese living in RT 11, whose son is one of the staff at Tugu Church office.

fellowship) on Wednesday evening and a Sunday worship service. Normally, the women will allocate another evening to attend the weekly Ladies' Fellowship at their zone, whereas the men also have their Men's Fellowship. On top of that, there are a Women's Choir Group and a Men's Choir Group, who may have their practice sessions on different evenings. The Church has taken the approach of alternating between having a combined Christmas celebration and separate Christmas celebrations at Sector levels every two years. This is seen as a positive way to enhance the relationship between members at the local level, by giving them an avenue to work together and to gain experience in how to organize an event.

The Senior Citizens' Fellowship for those aged 60 and above is held once a month on Friday at 10am at Yeruel Hall and ends with lunch provided by the church. The youth fellowship also uses the church as a meeting place on Sunday evening. The Mens' and Ladies' Fellowship meet at the house of one of their members, except when the sectors hold a combined meeting at the Yeruel Hall. The Ladies' Fellowship tends to start earlier than other meetings as more than 90% of the women are housewives. All these formal meetings coordinated by the church have pre-arranged hymns and preachers printed on the weekly church bulletin. As these are formal meetings, attire is similar to that worn on Sunday. At the Ladies' Fellowship, committee members wear tailor-made purple uniforms, whereas the senior citizens have orange t-shirts. Starting by singing their Fellowship anthem, the liturgy for all fellowships basically follows a similar program flow and ends with food, or alternatively, a snack box with drinks and cakes or pastries. Occasionally, there are fundraisings for these Fellowships by way of selling a lottery for the price of 2,500 or 5,000 rupiah. At the end, they draw lots to see who gets the price.

The list (see Figure 18) of Session members in *Gereja Tugu* consists of many surnames linked to Manado, Ambon, Timor, and Sumatra. One can identify a TA from the list, i.e. Frenky Abrahams; the other names can only be identified following the categorization of *Orang Tugu* laid out in chapter three and by looking at their genealogies.¹²¹

¹²¹ Such as Johan Sopaheluwakan, Rony Banunaek (great-grandson of Roberto Hubertus Corua and Aleta Salomi Abrahams), Elsa Mega Tadoe (granddaughter of Peter Lazarus Mega-Tadoe and Martha Michiels), Aprelo Formes (son of Joppi Formes and Felya Michiels), Ade Pattiwaellapia (daughter of Dominggus Mega-Tadoe, whose mother was Martha Michiels). Moreover, there are several members from the Thomas family (Yunita Suharto, daughter of Yohanes and Yuliana Thomas; Wardi, Freddy and Hendrik Thomas) as well as non-Tugu spouses of *Orang Tugu* such as the deaconess Mulya Hati (wife of Martinus Cornelis), elder Deitje Benyamin (wife of Alberto Benyamin, son of Natanael Benyamin and Lydia Michiels), deaconess Wismawati (wife of Priskila Xaverianus Mega-Tadoe, whose paternal grandmother was Martha Michiels), elder Widhi Sanda Sasmita (husband of Welmintje Matuankota, granddaughter of Markus Matuankota and Nelly Cornelis), elder Alboyn Manurung (husband of Marta Maria Kailuhu, whose maternal grandmother was Nelly Cornelis). There is an Andries in the list but he is not related to Tugu.

PELAKSANA HARIAN MAJELIS JEMAAT PERIODE 2012 – 2015					
Ketua			Pdt. Ny. Herlina H.I Raintung – S		0214407223
Ketua I	Pnt. Wailan D. Gerung	081354706868	Sekretaris	Pnt. Ny. S.U Soebagijo	081514408290
Ketua II	Pnt. Arthus A. Alfons	081371923191	Sekretaris I	Pnt. Ny. Murni Siregar-S	081318839299
Ketua III	Pnt. Yohanis C. Neolaka	081380066575	Sekretaris II	Pnt. Ny. Elisabeth Taopan-N	081511777739
Ketua IV	Pnt. George Letwory	02194519966	Bendahara	Pnt. H.S.Fredy T. Sihotang	081289344236
Ketua V	Dkn. Benyamin A. Paat	087884948699	Bendahara I	Pnt. Ny. Yunita Suharto	02196010878
KoorSek I			Pnt. Rustam E. Manuel		02160535031
KoorSek II			Dkn. Ny. Wismawati Mega Tadoe		083899945919
KoorSek III			Dkn. Ny. Win Aryanti Saamena		085211192491
KoorSek IV			Pnt. Widhi Sanda Sasmita		02198707256
KoorSek V			Pnt. Ny. Soviana S. Surbakti		08170981640
KoorSek VI			Dkn. Ny. Susilowati Simanjuntak		081380719501
KoorSek VII			Pnt. Parluhutan Gultom		081385253343
KoorSek VIII			Pnt. Ny. Sri M. Waluyo		082113105009
KoorSek IX			Pnt. Ny. Jeanne Lengkoan – L		081385368842
Pdt. Pelum GPIB			Pdt. M. E. Raintung S.Si. MM		0818317411
Pdt. Emeritus			Pdt. A.Z Wangania		087884920315
Pdt. Domisili			Pdt. Ny. S.E Mandagi – R		08159129027
DAFTAR MAJELIS JEMAAT GPIB JEMAAT TUGU MASA BAKTI 2012 – 2017					
NO.	SEK.	NAMA DIAKEN	NO.	SEK.	NAMA PENATUA
1.	I	Dkn. Ny. Mulia Hati Cornelis – Z	1.	I	Pnt. Ny. Deltje Benyamin – M
2.		Dkn. Ny. Ratna Dora Manalu	2.		Pnt. Ny. M.M.Fientje Ticoalu – M
3.		Dkn. Ny. Ratna Komala Suhandia	3.		Pnt. Ny. Yunita R. Suharto – T
4.		Dkn. Bpk. Hizkia Yunus	4.		Pnt. Bpk. Aprello Formes
5.		Dkn. Bpk. Johan Sopaheluwakan	5.		Pnt. Bpk. David Haryono
6.		Dkn. Bpk. Roni Banunaek	6.		Pnt. Bpk. Rustam E. Manuel
7.	II	Dkn. Sdri. Arleinda L. Parera	7.	II	Pnt. Ny. Ade Pattiwaellapia
8.		Dkn. Ny. Sabaria Simatupang	8.		Pnt. Sdri. Elsa E. Mega Tadoe
9.		Dkn. Ny. Susanna Melmambessy	9.		Pnt. Ny. Lusi Yuniarti Prayitno
10.		Dkn. Ny. Wismawati Mega Tadoe	10.		Pnt. Ny. Murni Siregar – S
11.	III	Dkn. Ny. Win Aryanti Saamena	11.	III	Pnt. Ny. Suryaning Soebagijo
12.		Dkn. Bpk. Albert Souhuwat	12.		Pnt. Ny. Yessy Victorina Boeky
13.	IV	Dkn. Ny. Rame L. Toruan – B	13.	IV	Pnt. Ny. Lientje Albertien Tooy-G
14.		Dkn. Bpk. Frenky Abrahams	14.		Pnt. Bpk. Alboyn Y. Manurung
15.		Dkn. Bpk. Freddy Thomas	15.		Pnt. Bpk. Wardi Thomas
16.		Dkn. Bpk. Hendrik Thomas	16.		Pnt. Bpk. Widhi Sanda Sasmita
17.	V	Dkn. Sdri. Lily H. Napitupulu	17.	V	Pnt. Ny. Soviana S. Surbakti
18.		Dkn. Ny. Tiodoma M. Prasetyo – H	18.		Pnt. Bpk. Demisi H. Pandelaki
19.		Dkn. Bpk. Agus D. Sahetapy	19.		Pnt. Bpk. Paulus S. Andries
20.	VI	Dkn. Sdri. Maria T. Haryati	20.	VI	Pnt. Ny. Elisabeth Taopan – N
21.		Dkn. Sdri. Susana D.W Sinambela	21.		Pnt. Bpk. Supardi
22.		Dkn. Ny. Susilowati Simanjuntak	22.		Pnt. Bpk. Yohanis C. Neolaka
23.	VII	Dkn. Ny. Elvi S.Saragi – Sihombing	23.	VII	Pnt. Bpk. Haposan S.Fredy T. Sihotang
24.		Dkn. Ny. Holliah Tuka Lay	24.		Pnt. Bpk. M.A.R Manongga
25.		Dkn. Bpk. Adrianus Wenas	25.		Pnt. Bpk. Parluhutan Gultom
26.	VIII	Dkn. Ny. Estefien A. Dotulong – N	26.	VIII	Pnt. Ny. Sri M. Waluyo
27.		Dkn. Ny. Sri Warsini	27.		Pnt. Bpk. Arthus A. Alfons
28.		Dkn. Bpk. Benyamin A. Paat	28.		Pnt. Bpk. Wailan D. Gerung
29.	IX	Dkn. Ny. Susanne Wantah – Dien	29.	IX	Pnt. Ny. Jeanne Lengkoan
			30.		Pnt. Bpk. George Letwory

Figure 18. List of Deacons and Elders in GPIB Tugu, 2012-2017 (Source: GPIB Tugu Weekly Bulletin (*Warta Jemaat*), 2013)

Different ethnic groups contributed to the diversity of the church in terms of music, food, language, and traditions (See Figure 19). At the two-day Tugu Expo in July 2013, a variety of food and products were sold by church members to raise funds for the church.¹²² At the Church Anniversary Celebration in 2013, different sectors presented songs in languages and attires of different ethnic groups. The musicians, for example, wore Batak headdress and *ulos*¹²³. A Batak percussion instrument was also played in their music. Sector I presented a song in Nias language, taught by their Sector Coordinator who hails from the Nias, North Sumatra. Other sectors rendered praise and worship songs in Javanese, Betawi, and Ambonese.



Figure 19. Congregation of GPIB Tugu dressed in their ethnic costumes (Photo by author, 2013)

The “RT 11” of Kampung Tugu

In Kampung Tugu, the *Orang Tugu* are concentrated in the neighbourhood unit of RT 11/ RW 06.¹²⁴ This area is located in front of *Gereja Tugu*, across the river, connected by a tiny bridge

¹²² After purchasing coupons, one was free to choose from different stalls offering regional cuisines, to name a few: Manadonese Red Bean Drinks, *brenebon* soup, and *RW*, Batak *arsik ikan mas*, Ambonese bread, etc.

¹²³ The *ulos* is a woven textile normally worn draped over the shoulder. Different kinds of *ulos* have different ceremonial significance.

¹²⁴ In Indonesia, RT stands for *Rukun Tetangga*, the smallest unit in the neighbourhood system, covering about sixty households, whereas RW stands for *Rukun Warga*, which is made up of several RTs. The neighbourhood association, or RT/RW, is an urban locality group. In principle, all of the households in the area become members of their RT/RW, and the neighbourhood association manages various community matters comprehensively. These include hygiene maintenance, crime prevention, organization of events, poor relief, promotion of peace and harmony among residents, facilitating census enumeration and general elections. (See Logsdon 1974)

wide enough for two persons to walk. Given its location, the river periodically floods the neighbourhood during rainy season.¹²⁵ According to Luther Tandibua, the neighbourhood chairman of RT 11 (known locally as *Pak RT*), there are 120 households of heterogeneous origins, e.g. Kupang, Jawa, Batak, Madura, and Toraja, but based on my census, only twenty-three of these 120 households with a total number of 87 persons are of the Tugu community. The area is now inhabited by more “*pendatang*”¹²⁶ than *Orang Tugu*, either because of *Orang Tugu* who sold their land to outsiders or who utilized their inherited land to construct low-cost houses and rent them out to outsiders.

Residents start their day early; at 6am or 7am housewives go shopping at the Koja Market or the Impress Market in Tugu. Sellers on motorbikes stop in front of the stall of Carolina Yunus for residents to buy chicken and vegetables. Selvia Abrahams walks around the neighbourhood to sell her homemade *panada* and doughnuts, while her daughter takes care of the noodle stall in front of their house. Ruth, the wife of Rustam Manuel - coordinator of Sector I – owns a vegetable stall in front of a Balinese stall which occupies the space of the former residence of the late Lentje Yunus, selling cooked food like rice and soup. Most housewives are free by 11am when all household chores are done. Several Tugu people like to hang out at the security hut, chatting with the security guard *Pak Mamat*, observing the people who walk through the entrance of GPIB Tugu, greeting fellow church members and residents. Sometimes they gather at the IKBT secretariat, casually sitting on the floor, joking with the church gardeners Marlon or caretaker Wawan who pass by when cleaning the compound; sometimes they just lie down and take a nap. Tugu housewives are concerned about their image: “I don’t want to be seen as if I am so free and not managing my home”. Another hesitates to join her friends there because if she were to be seen sleeping on the floor at the secretariat by the pastor of GPIB Tugu, whose office is next door, it would be embarrassing. Residents do not like to rent their houses to unmarried couples (*kumpul kerbo* in colloquial language) as they fear misfortune like *kerja tanpa hasil* (working without gain) because the couple has not been blessed by the church.

Every lane in RT 11 has at least one petty trader, with a total of about thirteen stalls selling drinks, snacks, top-up credit for mobile phones, etc.¹²⁷ Additionally, some Tugu

¹²⁵ During my fieldwork in January 2014, residents were offered shelter at *Gedung Yeruel*, the newly renovated hall of *Gereja Tugu*.

¹²⁶ This term usually refers to outsiders, migrants, or non-natives.

¹²⁷ Among them are Tugu traders like Netty Sopaheluwakan who lives by the river, and the sisters Carolina and Joice Yunus; each has their little store on different lanes. Carolina Yunus is known for her banana fritters and fried snacks, whereas Joice and her Batak husband focus more on selling rice and household products.

housewives earn extra income by offering massage treatment, selling *tupperware* products, sourcing clothes from Jati Negara or stationaries from wholesalers at Mangga Dua and re-selling to their neighbours and friends. Some of them are paid for cooking specific dishes for special occasions when requested by their neighbours, or normally for church activities like the Home Fellowship. In the evening, they sit in front of their houses chatting with one another and then get ready for church meetings. At this time, Carolina's popular banana fritters are in demand. Beside the stall, Carolina's husband, Samuel, and Erni's husband Josias, sit around a table, playing dominos with their neighbours. The lanes are inaccessible by car; only motorbikes can go through. Most of the residents do not own cars, but rely on motorbikes or public transport like trishaws, *angkot* (minibus) or *ojek* (motorcycle taxis) for marketing, or going to school or to work. Only a few houses near the main road of Tugu Indah have car porches, whereas others use the parking lot at *Gereja Tugu*.

Probably also due to the location of Kampung Tugu near the port of Tanjung Priok, many Tugu men were sailors in the 1970s and 80s. The younger generations, particularly in the Andries, Corua, and Yunus families, are undertaking seafaring courses.¹²⁸ However, not only *Orang Tugu*, but *pendatang*s, especially Torajan sailors, have also chosen to settle down in Kampung Tugu. Luther hails from Toraja and was a sailor. He has been living in Kampung Tugu since 1985 and managed to buy a piece of land from the Quiko family to build his own house there. He named three reasons why people like to stay in this area: it is a Christian area; there is a place of worship (*Gereja Tugu*), and the port nearby offers job opportunities.

RT 11/ RW 06 is the only neighbourhood unit in Jakarta that has a Christian majority; Luther had been organizing Christmas events for the residents since he first became the *Pak RT* ten years ago. He is proud of the fact that this is the only neighbourhood unit in Jakarta that has managed to gather people from the Batak, Toraja, Catholic, and GPIB churches for a combined Christmas Celebration, an achievement that could only be concretized because the majority are Christians. At the 2013 "*Natal RT*" which took place at the HKI Church in Kampung Tugu, the invited preacher commented that, in her twenty-three years of service, this was the only Christmas celebration at *RT* level that she had ever come across.

On top of that, they also participate in the Christian activities of their relatives, friends, and neighbours. In RT 11 there are eighteen Torajan households, but as their church location is further away they also worship in *Gereja Tugu* occasionally. Once, the Tugu Indah residents invited me to join them for the Home Fellowship of their Torajan neighbours; "Torajan food is

¹²⁸Daus (1989) also wrote about the adventurous sailing inclinations of Tugu youths.

delicious”, they added. The liturgy is basically similar to GPIB Tugu. Christian activities are not restricted to the above-mentioned events. Especially during the Christmas season which extends right up to January, a series of Christmas programs at different levels keep them occupied.¹²⁹

Orang Tugu and Christianity

Life Cycles

Almost all Tugu who are above 50 years of age are Protestants. During the elaboration of a census for this research, some of the respondents explicitly clarified that they were “Protestant” when I merely wrote “Christian” in the forms. The number of Catholic Tuguese is very low; among the four cases found in Kampung Tugu three involved Tuguese women who are married to Catholic husbands and one case is based on personal decision. In Pejambon, only four individuals from the eleven households are Catholic (none of these four being of Tugu Asli descent). The majority of *Orang Tugu* are registered members of *Gereja Tugu*, although some of them do not devote their time to church activities. Some of those who have shifted to other denominations (Adventist, Baptist, Charismatic) still keep their membership record with *Gereja Tugu*.

A very high percentage, if not all, of Tugu Christians have been baptised as infants by sprinkling in *Gereja Tugu* when they reached the age of one. Some parents wait for the annual baptism service on the 26th of December, while others have theirs during a regular Sunday service. Compared to the numbers of infant baptisms, a smaller proportion had their *sidi* (confirmation), usually at the age of seventeen. This is probably due to the requirement of having to attend catechism class. Moreover, Tuguese who marry a Muslim spouse, or a Christian Tuguese who shifts to a Charismatic denomination, normally skip this process. Four *Orang Tugu* that I know had their second baptisms by immersion in a Charismatic church. Non-Christian spouses of *Orang Tugu* normally have their baptism and confirmation on the same day, after they have completed the catechism class.

Most of the *Orang Tugu* in Pejambon were married at the GPIB Immanuel. A few couples celebrated their weddings at the GPIB Petra or GPIB Sion Church not far from Tugu, especially before GPIB Tugu could grant civil marriage certificates. Only a small number of

¹²⁹ On Christmas day, I followed some Tugu women who went around greeting their neighbours in RT11. We entered a few Torajan houses and were offered sticks of *lemang* (glutinous rice) to bring home. Many Tugu residents also attended the Christmas event organized by political parties, for example the National Christmas Celebration of the Hanura Party on 10 January 2014.

Orang Tugu did not perform their wedding ceremonies in *Gereja Tugu*; this usually happened to couples who are of different religions. To be blessed by the pastor of GPIB, there are a standard series of procedures and courses to be followed.¹³⁰ Couples who find this burdensome will conduct their wedding ceremony in other churches that are more flexible or accommodative. Otherwise, Tugu residents who marry spouses who want to remain Muslims legalise their marriage through an Islamic ceremony at the *KUA*.¹³¹

Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve in Tugu have a lot in common. Many housewives make *kue nastar* (pineapple biscuits) for these festive seasons. GPIB Tugu sets up temporary extension tents in front of the church, and extra chairs are arranged for a capacity of about 500 persons for the two night services and one in the following morning. The Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve church services are followed by the midnight family prayers at individual homes. GPIB Tugu prepares the liturgy for the family prayer but it depends on the individuals to utilize it or not. During my fieldwork, my host family gathered at Lisa Michiels' house. Lisa performed the prayer and when she finished everyone hugged and kissed one another, asking for forgiveness. It was an emotional moment, but ended on a happy note when everyone wished one another "Happy New Year" and then took a group photo. As I left the house and went around the Kampung Kurus and RT 11 area, a karaoke session was going on at the Thomas house, the Andries brothers were having a barbeque in front of the *Rumah Tua* Quiko, the Yunus sisters were gathering at the *Rumah Tua* Yunus, while the non-Tugu neighbours were also having a party time outside of their houses. In the past, when visiting a Tugu home on Christmas Eve, before entering the house, they wished the owner "*Bisingku dia di Desember, nasedu di nos Sior jamundu libra nos pekador unga ananti dikinta ferra asi klar kuma, di dia unga anju di Sior asi grandi di allergria. Asi mew boso tar. Dies lobu Sun da bida cumpredae lom pang kria so podeer, Santu Justru*" (Manusama-Moniaga 1995: ; Pinto da França 1985) which means "on the day of 25th of December, God has given us His only Son, the Saviour, so that whoever believes in Him shall not perish but have eternal life, and therefore we should put our hope in him" (Sejarah Tugu, 1979:3-4).

¹³⁰ According to the criteria laid out by GPIB Tugu:

- Members should be formally registered as having celebrated confirmation and having reached the age of 21 (those who were not confirmed in GPIB Tugu should provide a letter from the church where they were confirmed for the purpose of the wedding ceremony);
- It is compulsory to attend pre-marital catechism classes, marriage pastoring, and a liturgy preparation that should also be attended by the couple's parents;
- Documents that need to be submitted to the church office include marriage forms, photocopies of birth certificates, baptism certificates, confirmation certificates, and other personal documents, while non-Christians should also submit a declaration of conversion to Christianity and should have already obtained confirmation. All of these forms should be submitted three months prior to the wedding date.

¹³¹ *Kantor Urusan Agama* (KUA) or the Office of Religious Affairs.

The next morning, there are New Year services at GPIB Tugu. Around 1pm, *Rabo-rabo* – a Tugu tradition that takes place on the first day of the New Year – was set to begin. A small group of Tugu people first gather at a house selected by the organizing committee before they go from house to house greeting fellow Tuguese with their music – *keroncong*. The number of people following this group increases as those being visited tail behind to visit the next home. *Rabo-rabo* is informal and does not involve any religious activities, albeit the head of the committee led everyone in prayers before and after the event. This event will be elaborated on later in chapter six with reference to Tugu festivals and music.

The *Mandi-mandi* festival takes place on the first Sunday of the New Year. As it is the highlight of the year, Tuguese from all over the wider Jakarta area return to Kampung Tugu for this celebration. It ushers in the New Year by providing an occasion on which all Tuguese forgive one another, represented by the ritual of putting white powder on one another's faces. It starts with a worship service, followed by a sermon. The meaning of *Mandi-mandi* in itself serves to strengthen community solidarity by communicating the value of forgiveness, although those who participate might not necessarily mean it when they perform the act of forgiveness through spreading white powder on other people's faces. A key informant, when giving an example of how to preserve Tugu traditions, commented that:

People who follow (the traditional festivals) ought to know the meaning of the tradition, not only for getting drunk, for fighting with one another, for hoorah hoorah. There is something more important there. It should be explained. The persons who can explain are their respective parents. What is the meaning of *Mandi-mandi*? *Mandi-mandi* means clean. What is the meaning then? Clean means "begin something new with a new heart", by forgiving one another, isn't that a good meaning? (...) If we want to organize *Mandi-mandi*, we need money, it is simple: we can make a proposal, request from the authority. More importantly, the meaning of the tradition should be emphasized, because at the end of the day *Mandi-mandi* and *Rabo-rabo* are meaningless if we begin the New Year with old hearts. (Milton Augustino Michiels 8/7/2013)

Consequently, people who hold this perception refrain from taking part in *Mandi-mandi*. It is conventional to have the IKBT Christmas Celebration in *Gereja Tugu* but *Mandi-mandi* takes place at a Tugu home. "Because it is impossible to be drinking in church. How do we do it without alcohol? We can only cut down on purpose, but there is always initiative to buy again, and again", the secretary of IKBT explained.¹³² "*Mau gak mau, harus minum, biar sedikit pun,*

¹³² Beer consumption during *Mandi-mandi* is about ten crates, costing about 310,000 rupiah (approx. 20,50€) per crate (if empty bottles are returned to sellers) bought with collective contributions. During my first time at a *Mandi-mandi* event, I asked a TA until what time the event would last, to which she responded, "*Sampai mabuk!*" (until they are drunk!), and she left in the middle of the event. However, at my second *Mandi-mandi*, the committee had fixed the time to finish at 5pm and the place was already cleared by 6pm.

itu simbol” (Want it or not, you have to drink, even a little bit; it is a symbol)”, the ex-leader explained.

There is a primordial expression of identity among the *Orang Tugu*. This is often expressed verbally; for example, an elderly native Tugu raised the issue of language use at the 2014 *Mandi-mandi* festival: “To me, our doctrine is Christian; if any *Orang Tugu* convert to Islam that is their right. Our doctrine from the year 1747 has been Christian, it is wrong for him as a leader to greet with “*Assalamualaikum*”, it should be “*salam sejahtera*” or “*salam*”; it should not be “*assalamuailaikum*”, unless from the beginning our religion is Islam (...)”. This informant expressed disapproval of the expressions used by the IKBT leader who had a consideration for the non-Christian VIPs in his welcoming remark of *Mandi-mandi*. Here, “*Assalamualaikum*” is perceived as a greeting uttered by or to Muslims, and therefore is inappropriate in the context of a Tugu event that took place at a Christian house. On the other hand, it is common that when the Tugu converse with one another, there are interjections like “*Amin*”, “*Puji Tuhan!*” (Praise God), or expression like “*Syukur pada Tuhan*” (Thanks be to God).

Secondly, Tuguese consider themselves religious and blessed by God, as the following except from an interview with Arthur and Milton Augustino Michiels (8/7/2013) shows:

Artur: *Orang Tugu* are religious people. Like what Tino said just now, “Thankful because God is with us. God has blessed us to this moment.” Therefore, we should give thanks first of all to God, then only we carry out our activities, because everything we have is from God, so we request, we respect, and we ask for permission. That is *Orang Tugu*. And the uniqueness is, *Orang Tugu* has *Gereja Tugu*. In the whole of Indonesia, names of churches were taken from the Bible.

Tino: And we can still be here...still be here with you, because God blessed *Orang Tugu*...How can we not be proud? We are blessed people...if not....

Arthur: We were already finished.

Being religious here is being thankful to God, respecting God, praying to God. Erni Michiels, a native Tugu, advised me “When you have completed your thesis, you should come back to *Gereja Tugu* to offer your thanksgiving to God.” At the end of my stay, she suggested that I should celebrate a thanksgiving service in Tugu. Prayers are often included on many family occasions. It is customary for the people to host a thanksgiving service whenever someone in the family is celebrating their birthday. They can request to hold this service via GPIB Tugu or IKBT.

Paying tithes and making offerings to the church are further expressions of being thankful and religious. This is an integral part of the Christian social life of Tugu, even if some

do not take part in Church worship. On one Sunday morning while walking to *Gereja Tugu*, a Tugu lady stopped me: “please take my tithes to church and say ‘Hi’ to Jesus”. Every month, sector coordinators of GPIB Tugu have the duty to visit houses to hand out envelopes for tithes and offerings to registered members (with their ID number written on the envelopes). The total amount collected in every sector is then published in the Sunday bulletin. Birthday cards are sent to members, with an envelope for tithes and offerings enclosed inside. Besides during church-related activities, tithes and offerings are also collected during IGBT meetings. The *Krontjong Toegoe* band also offers their tithes to *Gereja Tugu* from their income.

Orang Tugu tend to prefer Christian spouses regardless of denominations. The genealogies of *Orang Tugu* show that apart from marrying Christians from Eastern Indonesia, there are also marital links with local Christian communities. Joseph Quiko married Melsi Rikin, a preacher’s daughter from Kampung Sawah, a Christian Betawi village in Jakarta. The Yunus family in Tugu today is a result of the marriage between Lentje Quiko and Sastria Yunus, who hails from the Sundanese village of Gunung Putri in Bogor.¹³³

Although the number of younger generation converting to Islam is noticeable, it is believed that the proportions of Muslims converted to Christianity upon marrying *Orang Tugu* are equally significant. A TA claimed that before 1970s, no Tuguese were Muslims, except one or two who had “failed” to convert their spouses. When asked regarding conversion from Christianity to other religions, those who responded normally said that it is the individual’s choice: “In Tugu, it depends (on the) family, every family has their own rule. In this house, if you want to marry with another religion, but if you know the only way to heaven ... (...) one of my sisters married Muslim. That’s OK – “it’s your life, your choice.” A young Tuguese whose elder sisters were married to Muslim husbands confessed that she was sad but nothing much could be done. Moreover, in her family there is freedom of religion because her own father was a Muslim but converted to Christianity upon marrying a Tuguese wife. “That is so, so Tugu”, she added. Although Tuguese claim that changing religion is not a problem as people are free to choose their affiliation, there were still negative remarks on fellow Tuguese who have converted to another denomination. A native Tugu resident emphasized: “Culture is number two, religion is number one. Do you understand? Religion is number one; even if they got married by way of Islam, still they would be pulled over to Christianity. For example, my

¹³³ According to Julia Yunus, her grandfather was the first Muslim in Gunung Puteri, Bogor, to become Christian, and brought the whole Yunus family to Christianity. Julia’s father, Sastria Yunus, met her mother Lentje Quiko in Ambon while serving as a KNIL soldier. He then came to settle down in Tugu and also brought along two of his cousins (Hiskia Yunus and Setiwan Yunus) with him.

grandmother, she was a Muslim. She had an Islamic wedding but still underwent a Christian wedding. My sister Lydia: her son was a *haji* but still converted to Christianity.”

There is a sense of relief when a non-Christian family member has “finally” undergone a Christian ritual to make known his or her faith publicly. The Betawi wife of a native Tugu decided to convert after having two children. At their wedding ceremony, neither the parents nor any family members from the bride’s side were present. No formal invitations were sent and not many Tugu people were informed about this solemn occasion. Only close friends and relatives attended, making a total of about twenty persons. The ceremony was followed by a luncheon at home. At the end of the ceremony, when the bride and bridegroom hugged the father, he cried. There was a sense of fulfillment amongst the witnesses that finally the marriage has been blessed by God. A relative of that family who knew that I attended the wedding commented that “You know, she is my aunt, but we were not invited; but still I compliment her for doing the right thing.”

The opposite is also true: when a Tuguese renounced his Christian faith in public, as a Tugu resident he commented on the embarrassment of hearing the announcement from the loudspeaker of a neighbouring mosque that so-and-so (a Tuguese) converted to Islam upon marrying a Muslim bride. More so if someone in that family holds a position in the church. Conversions of non-Tuguese to Christianity take place mainly in cases of the wives of Tugu people who are of Javanese, Sundanese, or Betawi backgrounds. There are still a few who remain as Muslims, but their children are free to choose their denomination or follow the religion of the Christian husband.¹³⁴ However, according to my census, in most cases when one of the parents is a Muslim, the children also become Muslims. There are, however, cases of reverse conversion from Christianity to Islam and back to Christianity, and vice-versa.

Inside a Tugu house, there are usually paintings or ornaments related to Christianity, such as portraits of Jesus, The Last Supper, or a cross. It is common to find Christmas trees in their houses during Christmas time. The use of the rosary for protection is also found among the Tuguese, both in Kampung Tugu and in Pejambon. Although the *Orang Tugu* have a Christian outlook, at the same time they also believe in the supernatural or local mysticism, e.g.

¹³⁴ The family of the late Bernes Michiels is a good example. Bernes was a Christian, but his wife from Cirebon remains a Muslim and has performed the *haj*. They have five children; Renardi Michiels, the first child, is a Christian who married a Muslim, Rensyi; the eldest daughter is married to a Catholic husband and attends the Catholic Church; Rensya, the second daughter, is a Muslim. The second son, Rentana, married a Muslim wife; the youngest child, Rentani, is a Christian.

*tuyul*¹³⁵, *babi ngepet*¹³⁶, *Nyai Lara Kidul*¹³⁷, *Dewi Sri*¹³⁸. It is not uncommon for them to seek *dukun*¹³⁹ for success in business or career, for solving personal problems or mysterious cases, etc. However, some Tuguese also have contacts with pastors who are believed to have the special gifts of seeing visions which help to solve puzzling cases. Some preachers and outsiders were confused by what they observed in relation to the kind of Christianity that *Orang Tugu* professed. A GPIB Tugu preacher kept shaking his head when referring to the Tugu Christians: “it seems to me that they do not care about the church”, he lamented, when referring to issues concerning church land, abandoned construction, and elected deacons and elders who did not perform their duties. He also pointed out that some Tugu residents, albeit living so close to the church, hardly ever step into the church to worship God. An elderly Tuguese who I interviewed asked me: “Do you know so-and-so? He lives so near the church, but have you ever seen him in church?”

Nonetheless, there is an assumption that *Gereja Tugu* is the *de facto* church for *Orang Tugu*. Johan, the IKBT secretary, expressed hope that his children will not leave *Gereja Tugu*, even though they are free to worship anywhere. A Tugu descendant who has a sister attending the Charismatic church still disagrees that a Tugu should leave *Gereja Tugu*. Melly, a native Tuguese who knows of her Tugu friends in the Charismatic church, questioned the preachers’ qualifications and stood by her conviction that *Gereja Tugu* is the church for her, no matter where she lives. A preacher from the Charismatic Church who tried to discuss baptism with his Tugu neighbours confessed that “It is difficult to change their mindset”. The majority of *Orang Tugu* are used to the Reformed Church model and are not very open to other denominations.

Christianity and IKBT

The symbol of IKBT (see Figure 20) shows *Gereja Tugu* in the middle, representing the church as the centre of Tugu life; a dove hovering on top represents ‘the Spirit of God’, and a stalk of rice on the left side of the church and a stalk of cotton on the right side represent food and clothing – the comfort of life. The community’s concern for spiritual matters is reflected in the decision of having a *Diaconia* Section (*Seksi Diakonia*) and a Spiritual Section (*Seksi Rohani*) on the board of IKBT. They have the duty to make arrangements for the monthly IKBT meeting,

¹³⁵ Indonesian ghost of infant boys, frequently used by the living to steal. *Tuyul* is a common suspect when people lose their money mysteriously.

¹³⁶ A boar or swine demon in Javanese mythology.

¹³⁷ Goddess of the Southern Ocean.

¹³⁸ The Rice Goddess.

¹³⁹ Black magic.

to make sure that there is a hosting family and a person to deliver the word of God; after that they prepare the liturgy. Normally, people request for the gathering to take place in their home at specific occasions: especially, for celebrating birthdays, or thanksgiving for a child who has finished exams. Priority is given to those who make this kind of request, and if there is any month without a host, the Spiritual Team coordinators conduct house-to-house visitations in order to solve the problem. Besides visiting ill people at the hospital or at home, the coordinators are also expected to contact those who are absent from IKBT meetings, to find out why, and to take necessary action.



Figure 20. Logo of IKBT

The monthly membership fees collected are spent mainly on making photocopies of liturgy, paying transport fees for the preacher, offering *diaconia* support in monetary form (75,000 rupiah, approx. 5€) to *Orang Tugu* who are hospitalized, and subsidizing transport fees for board members who visit the sick at hospital. Unless the host family has a specific preacher to invite, they should bear the extra cost incurred, on top of the 75,000-100,000 rupiah paid by IKBT. The preacher can be an IKBT member, a pastor, an elder, or a deacon of GPIB Tugu. When a host family is willing to cover all the expenses, IKBT can save the money in IKBT's own account.

The IKBT meeting always gives priority to the Sunday church service; hence, meetings will only start at 12 or 1pm and always on the first Sunday of the month. Thanksgiving birthday celebrations are granted priority when there are requests from different families to host the meeting. Nonetheless, it is unusual for IKBT to postpone their meeting. Compromise would only be made if the host wants to celebrate a wedding anniversary, which usually does not-occur before or after the exact date.

The IKBT Spiritual Section Coordinator has encountered protests in his arrangement of preachers for the monthly meetings. Initially he tried to make good use of a Tuguese who had theological training to become the coordinator of spiritual affairs. However, after several meetings, he was being rejected due to his affiliation with the Adventist Church. From there,

the coordinator realized that “*Orang Tugu metodenya beda, harus protestan*” (“The Tugu method is different, it must be Protestant”).¹⁴⁰ Hence, he gave the Tugu people opportunities to share the Word of God; however, their preaching was not up to expectation. After a few attempts, he felt that IKBT should be meaningful and should help members to grow spiritually. From then on he decided to invite only qualified preachers. Normally, the host family has the freedom to choose any preachers from any denomination they prefer, but there were still complaints by Tuguese who only accept preachers from GPIB.

A Complicated Relationship with GPIB Tugu

Fifty years after joining GPIB, grievances can still be heard among Tuguese who felt that they have lost the autonomy of *Gereja Tugu* to outsiders. The root of the problem is that the Church assets have been surrendered to GPIB, hence, the Tugu community has to ask for permission to use the space and facilities on church ground. In short, “*Secara de facto, Gereja Tugu milik Orang Tugu. Secara de juri, Gereja Tugu bukan milik Tugu*” (“de facto, *Gereja Tugu* belongs to *Orang Tugu*, but *de jure* it does not belong to Tugu”), a former IKBT board member explained. A few years ago, the IKBT committee was discontent when GPIB Tugu did not allow them to organize their Anniversary Celebration after the Sunday morning church service, reasoning that the event might disturb worship in church; but IKBT meant to start at 12 pm while the church service ends at 11am. In 2013, for the *Festival Kampung Tugu* event, permission was again denied for having the event on a Sunday. Even a non-Tuguese resident in RT 11 observed that:

Orang Tugu became guests in their own house. If they want to get out of GPIB, they can't, because the certificates are controlled by GPIB Tugu. It's a pity....What a pity... In the end, this building (Tugu church) became a cultural monument which is protected by the country. The country protects it from being sold, but the one who controls the assets and land is GPIB. You try to ask for permission to visit the church; where do you go to? Not IKBT, so, what is the role of *Orang Tugu*? We can say that this village is almost disappearing.

Some Tugu residents lamented that *Gereja Tugu* did not have to join GPIB; there were other options like *Gereja Pentekosta* or *Gereja Kristen Indonesia* (GKI). The credibility of GPIB has been questioned by the Tuguese, due to a few controversial incidents in the past.¹⁴¹ A native Tuguese made this remark:

¹⁴⁰ In this sense, the Dutch Reformed Protestant structure.

¹⁴¹ According to Tugu informants, the incidents involved the assets of GPIB Peniel, the Old People's Home which was meant to be built in Tugu, the renovation work of GPIB Tugu, and more recently, the selling of church land as in the case of GPIB Immanuel in Pejambon.

GPIB intimidated the congregation so that they talk well of GPIB (...) GPIB is not good, since the beginning they were not good, *Orang Tugu* has rejected them. Because of the law, all churches have to join an organization. 99% of *Orang Tugu* at that time chose to merge with *Gereja Kristen Indonesia*, not GPIB. But one person chose GPIB, to the extent that his decision could influence us. We wanted to merge only the liturgy, not church assets, but with GPIB everything changed. No *Orang Tugu* is pro-GPIB.

GPIB Tugu has appointed several members from the Tugu community to be on the GERMASA¹⁴² committee. Their main responsibility is to communicate with the church issues concerning the Tugu community. Besides, they host incoming visitors by telling them about the history of the Tugu church and the community.¹⁴³ As *Gereja Tugu* is frequented by an increasing number of visitors, some *Orang Tugu* suggested that there should be a tourist information center near the church; however, they could not come to a conclusion as to whom the center should belong to – the church, or the Tugu community?

Nevertheless, GERMASA seems insufficient to appease the Tugu community. It was suggested that if *Orang Tugu* want to be able to play a role in GPIB Tugu, this would be possible if they are active in the church so that they can be elected into the church session, to form the majority. However, currently the session has more outsiders, so it is still difficult for the *Orang Tugu*. *Orang Tugu* who are already active in church and in the community find this a challenging issue, as a Tugu deacon expressed to me that the conflict between GPIB Tugu and the Tugu community is a headache. He asked me if I had any suggestion on how to solve this problem. Consequently, *Orang Tugu* who are disillusioned with GPIB Tugu have withdrawn themselves from their ministry and participation, although almost all of them still keep their membership intact with GPIB Tugu. Spiritually, they prefer to be nourished in other churches such as the GBI Tugu Raya, which is a few hundred metres away from GPIB Tugu, and some other Charismatic mega-churches in Jakarta city.

The Charismatic Influence

Once, the uncle of my host family came to visit and both of them had a long conversation that led to the topic of the Charismatic church. He expressed the rejoicing atmosphere of the Charismatic churches, whereby people can clap their hands and shout “Hallelujah!” and “Amen!” They are among those who see *Gereja Tugu* as traditional and boring, whereas

¹⁴² Acronym for **Gereja-Masyarakat-Agama**, which stands for Church-Society-Religion. Tugu residents in GERMASA are Frenky Abrahams, Hetty Corua, Juley Yunus, and Martinus Cornelis.

¹⁴³ Usually this is done through a powerpoint presentation inside *Gereja Tugu* by Frenky Abrahams and Johan Sopaheluwakan.

Charismatic churches are energetic and have the Holy Spirit. A Tugu lady who suffered depression after her son's premature death shared with me that going to a GBI church has been a breakthrough for her; when the pastor delivered an invitation for prayers and deliverance, she responded and since that day she has been able to forgive and has started to grow in faith. These examples correspond with what one scholar has identified as reasons for the rapid growth of Pentecostalism in Indonesia. These reasons include: supernatural experience, divine encounters with God, the power of the Bible and the Holy Spirit to transform lives, and the importance of loving and serving people (Robinson 2005: 340).

The Charismatic movement entered Indonesia in the mid-1960s, but only became influential in the 1970s. Scholars have argued that the strict national policy of Suharto's government and Christian-Muslim conflicts in Indonesia might have contributed to the rise of the Charismatic movement. Christians, especially the middle class and intellectuals, whose needs for assurance and security could not be met by existing churches, found the Charismatic "casual" services, warm fellowship, and comfortable environment to be both enjoyable and therapeutic (Wiyono 2005: 314). Due to the ecumenical or inter-denominational character of the Charismatic church, churchgoers who were unwilling to give up their formal membership in their existing churches, or who were not satisfied by the ministries of their own churches, felt free to attend these Charismatic gatherings as a way to deepen their spiritual experience (Wiyono 2005: 315).

Some *Orang Tugu* attend the Indonesian Bethel Church ("GBI"), namely the one in Tugu (GBI Tugu Raya), in Cilincing (GBI Racing) and GBI Mawar Sharon, Tiberias, and Abbalove. In the last few years, GBI churches have seen tremendous growth, members ranging from 500-2,000 (Wiyono 2005: 317-318). GBI Mawar Sharon in Jakarta, for example, has more than 10,000 congregants. Their success may be attributed to characteristics like the decentralization of structural organization – all GBI are autonomous, and use an entertaining worship style with excellent musicians, tambourine dancing groups, and high-tech sound systems. Preaching is also more pragmatic-oriented, and is conveyed through testimonies, stories, and jokes.

Conclusion

In Indonesia, religion has always been, and still is, a constituent factor of collective identities. At the local level, *Gereja Tugu* is a powerful symbol of the Tugu community that distinguishes them from their neighbouring Muslim communities, as a native Tugu puts it:

With the existence of *Gereja Tugu*, it symbolizes that the *Orang Tugu* are people who have a religion...people who have a God. They have their house of worship; that is part of Tugu identity, because *Orang Tugu* are people who were being labelled as *Orang Serani* by their neighbours, which means Christians. Therefore, the Church is another aspect of our identity. (Arthur Michiels 7/7/2013)

Different perspectives are found in relation to Tugu's relation with *Gereja Tugu* and with Christianity. The first relates Kampung Tugu to a primordial Christian identity, a Kampung Tugu that is also known as *Kampung Serani*, signifying a community that is known for its Christian tradition. Another standpoint is that *Gereja Tugu* is the church for *Orang Tugu*, disregarding the church organization and individuals. The third point-of-view comes from those who are against the GPIB organization due to alleged corruption claims, whereas some others wish that *Gereja Tugu* might adopt a more dynamic form of preaching and worship. There is also a pessimistic view, from observers who question the Christianity of *Orang Tugu*.

CHAPTER FIVE

Membership, Kinship, and the IKBT Graveyard

Prologue

At the *Festival Kampung Tugu 2013* – an event funded by the local government to promote Tugu – the leader of Tugu community was responsible for hosting the VIPs; he approached me and asked me to assist him in accompanying them to the VIP waiting room. The faces of many of those who participated in the series of preparatory meetings prior to the event were not seen: the chairman went out to attend a meeting; one group left for the birthday party of their relative; the Quiko family, famous for making typical Tugu food, had two representatives sitting at the food stall to sell *gado-gado Tugu*, *pisang udang*, and *asinan Tugu*. The stage showcased *Keroncong Cafrinho Tugu* in the beginning and the group took a rest at the IKBT Secretariat while the program went on. *D'Mardijkers Junior Toegoe* performed at noon but the VIPS were ushered in to have lunch at the hall. When the singer of *D'Mardijkers Junior Toegoe* sang the Batak song “Situmorang”, the family members of the band who were sitting in the first row got up from their seats and responded to the performance with their dance and *saweran*¹⁴⁴.

At the end of the festival, several Tuguese gathered at the IKBT Secretariat with the event organizing officer and commented on the performance. One confessed that he had imagined the poor outcome of the festival so he avoided it. They raised the issue about the family doing *saweran* – that it was inappropriate because of the negative connotation embedded within this practice, and “what will happen if the pastor of *Gereja Tugu* saw them flashing their money and *nyawer*?”¹⁴⁵ Then a senior Tuguese questioned the leader about why his clan members had not come to support the event nor to help him; after all, they had supported him to win the community election.

Two weeks prior to the festival, the leader and his family members were absent at one of the Tugu community meetings because they had their own clan retreat, which I was told gathered 70-80 clan members. This caused discontent among the Tuguese; responding to this, a Tugu lady descended from the Quiko clan challenged: “See what will happen if the Quikos boycott the IKBT meetings!”¹⁴⁶ It was envisioned that the leader should prioritize community

¹⁴⁴ *Saweran* is the practice of giving money to the performer; *nyawer* is the verb for *saweran* – the act of giving money. In Indonesia, it is common at *dangdut* and Batak performances.

¹⁴⁵ Curiously, according to the family who did *saweran*, they did the same thing at the previous *Festivals Kampung Tugu* and there were no issues; even other Tuguese joined them.

¹⁴⁶ It is interesting to mention that the leader’s mother is a Quiko.

meetings, but the leader felt that he was responsible for organizing and coordinating his family's event.

Introduction

If we observe the series of events leading to *Festival Kampung Tugu 2013*, there seems to be a community breakdown in Tugu. One wonders how they organize themselves and persist at all as a collective. Maria de Jesus Espada (2009: 90) has made the point that besides religion, traditional rituals, and language, other factors that contribute to the persistence of Tugu identity are namely networks of familial relationships, friendships, genealogies, and space – particularly the cemetery. Rather than treating them separately, this chapter intends to analyze the relations between graveyard, rituals, religious identity, and kin ties. Discourse surrounding the Tugu Graveyard illustrates how life-cycle rituals play a part in constructing personal and collective identity in the face of death and memorialization, and how religious identity markers as well as kinship can be claimed for this enterprise.

During my first visit to Kampung Tugu, *Gereja Tugu* was closed for visits due to preparation for Christmas services. A local guide approached me and took me to visit the graveyard. He showed me many graves with non-Tuguese names, telling me who these people were and where they came from. If the graveyard is a “town of the dead” (Brown 1993), Tugu must have been a heterogeneous society comprised of people from different ethnic backgrounds and places of origin.

The burial data collected by Espada (2009) is helpful for our study but the stories and arguments concerning the Tugu Graveyard that I heard during my fieldwork beg for more attention. They were told many times in different contexts, and very often included strong statements, e.g. “*Orang Tugu begitu bicara gereja, pasti bicara kuburan. Tapi bicara kuburan, tidak bicara gereja*” (“When the *Orang Tugu* talk about the church, surely they talk about the graveyard; but if they talk about the graveyard, they do not talk about the church.”)¹⁴⁷; “*Masalah pemakaman itu jangan digoyang!*” (“Don’t touch burial issues!”)¹⁴⁸; “All problems start in the graveyard”¹⁴⁹. These problems tend to be associated with interfaith marriages and

¹⁴⁷ This statement was enunciated by a former board member, who fears that the cemetery land will be claimed or closed down by its landowner, the church. This is also a preoccupation of the Tugu people.

¹⁴⁸ This statement was made by a preacher of GPIB Tugu.

¹⁴⁹ Gerard Sepang, who was one of the coordinators of the Burial Section of IKBT in the previous term, talked about the cemetery and concluded that “*Semua masalah mula dari kuburan*” (All problems began with the cemetery). He also highlighted the fact that his contribution, besides cleaning the graveyards, included paving the small pathways to and around the cemetery during his term of service.

state management of religions¹⁵⁰. In this chapter, I begin with mortuary rituals in Tugu and then examine the symbolic and religious meanings of graves as focal points of identity expressions. If indeed the Tugu community has disintegrated, as lamented by many Tuguese who often refer to the unity of Tugu people in “the good old times”, how do they (re)organize among themselves? The second part of this chapter identifies and describes these family groups and associations.

The IKBT Graveyard

Background

In the seventeenth century, the Tugu Christians had to go all the way to Batavia to bury the dead but eventually they were allowed to have a graveyard in Tugu, nearby the small wooden Tugu church. It became the IKBT Graveyard of today and is part of the church land located in the churchyard. Nonetheless, two gravestones belonging to the ancestors of the Michiels (See Figure 21) are located at the *Museum Taman Prasasti* (Inscription Museum) in Central Jakarta. This museum was originally a cemetery built by the Dutch colonial government in 1795 as a final resting place for those of Dutch ancestry, particularly those from noble and senior official families.

In the 1970s, the local authority intended to close down the graveyard, reasoning that it was no longer relevant for burial purposes as new cemeteries had been opened.¹⁵¹ However, *Orang Tugu* fought for the case with the argument that the Tugu Christians needed their own burial ground. As a result, the graveyard has been maintained by the Tugu Community Association (IKBT) until today. The Tuguese hardly consider cremation. The graveyard is much preferred because it is nearby and free-of-charge. However, only Christian IKBT members have the right to be buried in this graveyard.¹⁵² Formerly it was run by the Tugu Community and there was no clear boundary indicating who could be buried there. Therefore, one can see graves with non-Tuguese names, but these pertained to members of *Gereja Tugu*. Since there were no written records of the graves, and because the burial ground was being recycled, it is not possible to trace burial data. Manusama (1995: 45-47) provided a provisional list of eighty individuals who were buried in the Tugu Graveyard, whereas Espada (2009: 93)

¹⁵⁰ For example, the Presidential Decree in 1965 on state-recognized religions, the Joint Ministerial Decree on Houses of Worship in 1969 and 2006, the National Marriage Law in 1974 and the Ministerial Decrees on Overseas Aid to Religious Institutions, and the Guidelines for the Propagation of Religion in 1978 (Seo 2012: 1046).

For a more detailed analysis of Indonesia’s religious regulations promulgated during the New Order era, see Seo (2012).

¹⁵¹ For example, the Budi Darma Public Cemetery at Semper Timur, North Jakarta. Based on my enumeration data, several Tuguese were buried at the T. P. U. Kusir (or the Tanah Kusir Cemetery) in Southern Jakarta.

¹⁵² In practice, non-Christians are not excluded if they accept Christian burial rites.

has counted 235 graves in August 2011 and she noted that the original clans of Tugu such as Da Costa and Mayo were not found in the graveyard. The oldest remaining grave belongs to a preacher by the name of Leimena, who served in *Gereja Tugu* between 1800 and 1805. Graves belonging to the same surnames are arranged close to one another. Once in a while, the Tugu community organized themselves for *kerja bakti* (voluntary service) to help tidy up the graveyard, especially before the arrival of special guests.



Figure 21. Gravestone of Jonathan Michiels at the Inscription Museum

Death, Rituals, and Identity

Death and bereavement rituals have long been the subject of anthropological research. Mortuary rituals have been the most studied topic within the anthropology of death, still very much influenced by the seminal texts of Robert Hertz (1960 [1907]) and Van Gennep (1960 [1909]) (Robben 2004). In *A Contribution to the Study of the Collective Representation of Death*, Hertz argued that human death is not wholly a biological phenomenon or sorrow felt by the bereaved, but evokes moral and social obligations expressed in culturally determined funeral practices. Whereas for Van Gennep, mortuary rituals are similar to other rites of passage in having three distinct phases: separation, transition, and incorporation. Death is not only a radical breach in the social fabric of human society, but as Metcalf and Huntington argue, “the issue of death throws into relief the most important cultural values by which people live their lives and

evaluate their experiences. Life becomes transparent against the background of death, and fundamental social and cultural issues are revealed” (1991: 25). Hence, this is our point of departure.

Eva Reimers (1999), who examined the relations between migration and funerary rituals in her article “Death and Identity: Graves and Funerals as Cultural Communication”, discovered that death heightens the risk of group maintenance that people constantly experience; hence, a social group in diaspora tends to employ funerary rituals to strengthen their ethnic or cultural identity. Mortuary rituals promote the solidarity of the group just as death brings the Tugu community together and confirms the individual’s membership. Regardless of the differences that exist between them, they make their presence felt because the deceased was a relative, a friend, or a fellow Tuguese.

This chapter, however, is not concerned so much with death, but with the landscape of death, i.e. the graveyard. The graveyard is a specific type of socially bounded space where funerals and memorial ritually order relationships between the dead and the living. Kong (1999) points out that the State tends to stress the secular utilitarian views of planning, efficiency of land use, and concerns for sanitation when analyzing their discourse and practice surrounding cemeteries and crematoria. But at the local level, communities are concerned with the symbolic and religious meanings of graves as nexuses of identity, expressions of relationships with the land, and their crucial role in the practice of religious beliefs and rituals. She also reminds us to look at the significance of the intersection between the politics and the poetics of religious place, identity, and community, rather than to treat these as separate. This perspective from cultural geography is relevant to the Tugu context: the local authority is concerned with the planning of developing proper burial grounds for green space and sanitation purposes, while the Tugu community emphasizes the landscape (or deathscap¹⁵³) as a symbol of Christian identity and traditions. We will return to this discussion surrounding the Tugu Graveyard later.

Funerals and Burials in Tugu

In Tugu, funerals are more or less a church and community affair. GPIB Tugu coordinates the service sheets for the wake and burial services, whereas IKBT prepares the burial ground. Most Tuguese believe that when a bird sings, it is without a doubt that somebody has just died. A

¹⁵³ The idea of deathscap was found in Kong (1999), but prior to her work, the idea of “scapes” was proposed by anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1996) as a way to understand contemporary social processes. Deathscapes here refer to “the places associated with death and for the dead; and how these are imbued with meanings and associations” (Maddrell and Sidaway 2010: 4).

yellow flag at the gate symbolizes a bereaved house. The coffin is placed in the living room and the immediate family sit around it. Direct contacts with the corpse are not feared; in one case, a young lady sat beside the coffin talking to her deceased father, caressing his face. The hands of the deceased are normally put crossed over in front but in one case that I observed the hands are placed straight besides; it was explained to me that this symbolizes that the deceased can let go as all his or her children are married. In another case, the shoes of the deceased are arranged by putting the left shoe beside the right foot and the right one beside the left foot. It is believed that this prevents the spirit of the dead person from walking about or haunting the living. People are fearful of the spirit of pregnant women who die during childbirth. Unmarried women are dressed in a white wedding gown, whereas men usually wear a black suit. Regardless of a Tuguese being a Christian or simply *tidak jelas* (unclear), as they call it, it is important to call a pastor to pray for the soul. Sometimes the character of the deceased is linked to happenstance during a burial or funeral. People who have *pegangan*¹⁵⁴, or bitterness, are said to look ugly when they lay in their coffin. On the other hand, Nature is thought to be on the side of good people; for example, the graveyard can be wet or flooded due to raining, but the burial ground of a good person is miraculously dry.

At the wake service, church members stand in front to sing hymns, represented by the choir groups from GPIB Tugu and also from different sectors. They are followed by a brief sermon by the GPIB Tugu pastor. Then there are remarks from an IKBT representative, followed by a church session and *Pak RT*. After the formal service ends, snacks are offered together with coffee and tea. *Ketan unti* (steamed glutinous rice with grated coconut in brown sugar) is a Tugu specialty for this occasion. Some people stay for some chit-chat, but *Orang Tugu* generally emphasize that *begadang* (staying up late) is reserved for close relatives of the mourning family. They usually pass their time at this occasion playing card games and gambling.

The burial service is usually conducted on the afternoon of the day following the wake. The program starts with a welcoming remark by a member of the GPIB Session, followed by comments from members of the deceased's family and IKBT. After moments of worship, preaching, and paying last respects to the deceased, the coffin is closed and mourners follow the procession which proceeds to the IKBT Graveyard beside *Gereja Tugu*. The church bell is not used in this circumstance. No specific structure governs the procession from the household of the deceased to the graveyard. A family member, usually a son or daughter, carries a

¹⁵⁴ The local expression, referring to "holding on to some issues or heartaches". In the context of superstitions and witchcraft, *pegangan* means amulet. In Indonesian Language, *pegangan* literally means handle.

photograph of the deceased. The other church members and villagers follow behind. At the graveyard people are dispersed; some wait under the shade, some sit on the graves, some stand. At this moment, one can find *Orang Tugu* from Pejambon and those living outside of Tugu coming back to say their final goodbye to the deceased.

The way the dead are disposed of or memorialized also speaks of the social identity of the living. Rituals may differ according to cultures and religions, and people use them to demonstrate where they belong and what constitutes their identity. For Tuguese who have family members from other ethnic backgrounds, the latter may perform rituals according to their own ethnic traditions (“*adat*”) on top of Christian rites.¹⁵⁵ The burial service is usually conducted by the main pastor of GPIB Tugu, unless the deceased has become a member of another church¹⁵⁶. The pastor who ministers usually dresses in a white blouse and black skirt. Although black and dark colours are preferred for such an event, there is no strict rule. Again, after a welcoming remark by a member of the GPIB Session, church deacons and elders stand beside the lady pastor, assisting her by carrying a loudspeaker; another helper holds an umbrella for her. Following the service sheet, they sing a few traditional hymns translated into Indonesian e.g. “In the Sweet By and By”, “Each Step I take”, “What a Friend We Have in Jesus”, “In the Cross”, etc. (See Appendix I for liturgy). When the casket is lowered into the ground, mineral water and snacks (buns and cakes) are distributed to all who attend, while the deceased’s family and mourners begin to throw a handful of soil and flowers onto the coffin as a parting sign. When the burial is complete, more flower petals are spread over the grave, and water is poured on the soil; immediately a cross with the name, date of birth, and date of death is erected. Then, the closest kin, starting with the wife or husband and children, stand behind the cross for photo sessions, followed by the siblings and extended family. The family then send a representative to thank the people who have come, and an announcement is made regarding the day and time of the next mortuary service. Three religious services for the soul of the deceased (*Kebaktian Syukur*, or thankful worship) are customarily held: following the first week, then after 40 days, and finally following the first year.

Raised headstones in the Tugu graveyard are mainly covered by marble. “R. I. P.” and bible verses are commonly inscribed but there are also many without inscriptions, such as

¹⁵⁵ For example, on 16 June 2013 at the burial service of Alboyn Manurung – a Batak whose wife is a descendant of the Cornelis clan wore a headgear and *ulos* – the traditional cloth of the Batak ethnic group from North Sumatra was draped on her shoulders and tied around her waist; the same goes for the daughters and daughters-in-law, except for headgear. The sons wore tuxedos with a neatly-folded *ulos* on their shoulders. The cross that marks the deceased’s burial plot was written in Batak (See Figure M6 in Appendix M).

¹⁵⁶ Depending on the membership of the deceased or family preferences, the liturgy and burial service may be prepared and conducted by the Catholic Church or another denomination to which they belong.

wooden crosses with only names, dates of birth and death, and places of birth and death. In some cases, particularly for the Batak, inscriptions are in their ethnic language. The Tuguese normally hire local residents Kres Michiels and Thomas Cornelis to refurbish the graves of their family members when they can financially afford to do so. A Tuguese widow who came to the graveyard to place flowers at her family plots made comparisons of the graves she passed by. Pointing to a tombstone, she commented that it should be attended to and upgraded since the children of the deceased are becoming successful, whereas the other children have given their father's grave a facelift once they started entering the workforce. Another Tugu lady told me that she was waiting for the Tuguese handymen to finish the renovation work for other Tuguese before she can overhaul her daughter's grave. Nevertheless, there are more than fifty neglected graves without proper tombs or markers; hence, one is not able to identify to whom they belong.

Tugu Christians consider the Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve church services as sacred. Correspondingly, *Gereja Tugu* has a bigger turnout of worshipers during these nights, when services are conducted twice and the church has to use the space outside the church for extra seating. Chidester and Linenthal (1995: 9) have argued that sacred place is ritual place, a location for "formalized, repeatable symbolic performances". It can be argued that the sacralization of the Tugu graveyard has to do with ritualization during Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve, where during daytime they clean the graves of their loved ones and then place flowers; at night they light up candles at the family graves (Figure 22). This is claimed to be a Tugu tradition, but one can also find similar practices in countries like Finland and Sweden. Depending on the economy of a family, some Tuguese buy flowers by bulk, as they normally do not only put flowers and light candles on the graves of their immediate families but also the brothers and sisters of the father's side and the mother's side, or even cousins.¹⁵⁷ When the candles are lit, they spend some quiet moments remembering their loved ones and then take photos. The older generation practiced *suguhan* during Christmas and New Year – making offerings to their deceased family members at a place called *pendaringan*¹⁵⁸ with a set of cups of sweet coffee and tea and another of bitter coffee and tea, cakes or any food that is affordable,

¹⁵⁷ Some *Orang Tugu* go to the Rawa Belong flower market as early as 4am to buy bulk flowers. On New Year's Eve, I walked to the graveyard with Lisa Michiels and my host family. A trishaw man helped us transport two buckets of flowers and a big bag of flower buds. The children joined us too. They lit up candles and put them at *papi* Arend's (Lisa's father) grave first before going to others. Passing by a few graves who are not related to their family, Saartje said "*Kesian, taruh bunga, kesian*" (Such a pity; place flowers for them also). They also went to the Sepangs (from her mother's side) and put flowers there. Saartje's daughter, Angel, sat alone sorrowfully at the grave of her grand-uncle Yosef Adolf Sepang. She told me how kind *opa* Yosef once was to her.

¹⁵⁸ A room in the middle section of house that is used to store rice and other family belongings.

readily available, or that the deceased like to eat.¹⁵⁹ They referred to Chinese tradition as having influenced this practice. Although the Tuguese stress that Christians do not talk to deceased people at the graves, some go there to lay flowers before an important project or travelling, with the hope that what they intend to do will be smooth-sailing.



Figure 22. Tuguese lighting candles at the Tugu Graveyard on Christmas Eve (Photo by author, 2013).

Where the Problem Began

The Graveyard as Contested Space

Writing about the role of cemeteries in the life of American communities, Warner (1959) analyzed these as “collective representations which reflect and express many of the communities’ basic beliefs and values about what kind of society it is, what the persons of men are, and where each fits into the secular world of the living and the spiritual society of the dead” (280). Cemeteries, according to Warner, are like organizations subject to forces of the life-cycle:

¹⁵⁹ Interview with Frenky Abrahams at his house on 11 January 2014. He mentions the practice of *nyuguh* by his mother, and he also knows other Tuguese women who did the same. My private conversations with the Yunus family also mentioned the mother practicing *nyuguh*. According to my key informant, it is true that Tuguese people used to practice this, but nowadays perhaps only one or two families still do.

As long as a graveyard is being filled with fresh steam of the recently dead, it stays symbolically a vital and life emblem, telling of the living of the meaning of life and death. But when the family, the kindred, and other members of the community gradually discontinue burying the loved ones there, the graveyard, in a manner of speaking, dies its own death as a symbol of life and death, for it ceases to exist as a living sacred emblem and through time, becomes a historical monument. As a symbolic object, it too, is subject to the meaning of time. Its spiritually then resides in a different context, for it becomes an object of historical value, in stable communities rather than a sacred collective representation effectively relating the dead to the living. (1959: 318-319).

Firstly, maintaining the IKBT Graveyard is contrary to the local authority's edict, and we also agree with Warner (1959) that the graveyard is contested because it is still in use. Secondly, the space is limited (about 3000m², from the 1.4 hectares of church land), as sociologist John Urry has argued that "space is necessarily limited and that there has to be competition and conflict over its organization and control" (1985: 30). Meanwhile, Chidester and Linenthal (1995: 18-19) reminds us that conflict in the production of sacred space is not only over spatially limitation but over surplus of symbols, "since sacred place could signify almost anything, its meaningful contours can become almost infinitely extended through the work of interpretation". They have argued that sacred spaces are not "mythological" categories, such as heaven, earth, and hell, but "hierarchical power relations of domination and subordination, inclusion and exclusion, appropriation and dispossession" (Chidester and Linenthal 1995: 17). Hence, the significance lies in questioning the 'entrepreneurial, social, political and other "profane" forces' that constitute the construction of sacred space.

Kong (1999) provides us several examples from studies of both geographers and anthropologists, showing the conflicts between different value systems as played out through graves and graveyards, namely, in land-scarce Hong Kong. Cemeteries and columbaria are contested space; on the one hand there is latent hostility between the individual and the state, the cultural/religious and the secular, wherein some Chinese have decided to switch from burial to cremation. This was made possible by the persuasion and control of the state, with their secular concerns of planning and efficient land use. On the other hand, as Teather notes (Kong 1999: 3), Chinese cemeteries remain as symbolic places for *fengshui* believers to have this practice integrated in burials. A second example derives from an anthropological study by Bollig in Namibia (Kong 1993: 3) that shows how ancestral Himba graves are contested places: the development of a hydroelectric dam was decreed by the state while local society emphasizes the symbolic and religious meanings of the graves as focal points of identity, expressions of relationships with the land, and as crucial to the practice of religious beliefs and rituals. These cases exemplify how spaces are a contested resource in social life.

Interfaith Marriages and Conversion

Defining “conversion” is complicated. In the rhetoric of religion, especially within evangelical Christianity, conversion, according to Arthur Darby Nock, refers to a radical, sudden, total change within a person’s life, drawing from biblical imagery notably that of Paul’s vision on the road to Damascus (Rambo 2003: 214). Nevertheless, conversion raises questions about the social processes within which religion is embedded; it highlights the interaction, and often the tension, between individual consciousness and the structural requirements of community life (Buckser and Glazier 2003: xi-xii). In the context of African conversion from traditional to world religion, Robin Horton (1975) theorized that pre-existing thoughts and values, and socio-economic models, are the crucial variables in conversion, not external influences such as Christianity or Islam. Robert Hefner, who worked on conversion in Javanese society, observes that conversion takes various forms corresponding to a larger interplay of identity, politics, and morality (1993: 4).

The various types of conversion described by the psychologist Lewis Rambo (1993) – i.e. apostasy, intensification, affiliation, institutional transition, and tradition transition – do not fully portray the kind of conversion that occurs in Tugu, where inter-religious marriage has been the major motivation.¹⁶⁰ I have not encountered conversion narratives that express individuals’ feelings of having been guided by supernatural forces. My key informant also affirms that as far as he knows, Tuguese converted to Islam due to interfaith marriages. Hence, it is more relevant to focus on the context which shapes the nature, structure, and process of conversion. To understand this context better, Rambo (1993) proposes the macro-context which refers to the total environment, such as political systems, religious organizations, economic systems etc.; and the micro-context, which refers to the local setting.

In terms of the legal system in Indonesia, before the 1970s, Christian *Orang Tugu* who married Muslim spouses could still maintain their religion, but under the 1974 Marriage Law, inter-religious marriage was prohibited.¹⁶¹ It should be noted that under this law, *kawin campur* (mixed marriage) in Article 57 refers to marriage contracts between Indonesian and non-Indonesian citizens. Likewise, Seo (2012) has argued that religious practices in Indonesia

¹⁶⁰ There is a Tuguese who informed me that he chose Muslim ritual because it costs him less money. The Coruas in Kampung Kurus are a particular case whereby conversion to Islam was related to family feud. Almost half of the family converted to Islam, but from our enumeration we found that one of the siblings reconverted back to Christianity.

¹⁶¹ The prohibition is a general understanding but the 1974 Marriage Law actually does not address inter-religious marriage directly (Cammack 2009; Connolly 2009). It has been argued that the difficulty in contracting interfaith marriage is less about the application of law; rather, the problem lies in the actions of conservative Muslim groups towards the issues of Muslims-non-Muslims marriages (Cammack 2009).

are more a matter of state administration and less of spirituality, particularly since the 1974 Marriage Law. To advance from here, we find the work of Connolly (2009) helpful due to the way she demonstrates that besides looking into the macro level of state policies, the complexity of the subject of conversion in the case of interfaith marriage concerning the Christian Dayak of East Kalimantan can only be captured by analyzing the median level and micro level, i.e. boundary making and transgression, as well as local stories about the causes and consequences of intermarriages that affect families and individuals. This is because “crossing boundaries sexually in the form of intermarriage challenges the communities, blurring their boundaries, eroding their cultural distinctiveness, and, in the case of minorities, jeopardizing their survival as well” (Connolly 2009: 504). But if too much attention is focused on this and the state level, we will miss an important point from the overlooked local level – the Dayaks’ main preoccupation with inter-religious marriage is about religious and familial obligations and not the maintenance of collective religious and ethnic identities.

Another perspective comes from Liana Chua, an anthropologist who has studied the Bidayus in Borneo. Chua suggests that rather than treating conversion primarily as a process, it can be analyzed and theorized as a positioning: “as a simultaneously temporal, relational, and shifting set of configurations that encompass both Christians and non-Christians in a shared world” (2012: 34). The questions she puts forth, e.g. “who converts, who does not, and when and how conversion’s various temporal and relational dimensions come into play or are suppressed” (34), are timely for the topic of conversion within the anthropology of Christianity and religion in general.

In many cases, conversion serves merely for the convenience of getting a marriage legalized¹⁶²; consequently, a Tuguese who wants to marry a Muslim has to either convert to Islam or the other party must become a Christian. A similar example derives from Andrew Buckser’s fieldwork among the Jewish community of Copenhagen, Denmark, where the majority of conversions are “social conversions” due to mixed marriages (2003: 70). But the nature of Jewish community, authority, and religiosity become points of conflict.

For the Tuguese, a problem arose when a deceased *Orang Tugu* who underwent a Muslim wedding but still professed to be a Christian (and was believed by his or her families to be a Christian) wanted to be buried in the Tugu Graveyard. An elderly *Tugu Asli* lady, whose sister converted to Islam due to marriage, asked: “*Kakak kan mama papa Orang Tugu, lahir di*

¹⁶² A news article reported that “A number of inter-faith couples have sought alternate ways to get around the law’s requirement. Some people have officially changed their religions immediately prior to their wedding ceremony and then returned to their original religion shortly afterwards” (Andhika 2014).

Tugu, gede di Tugu, gereja di Tugu, nikah di Tugu, kenapa gak boleh kubur di Tugu?” (My sister, her father, and mother were *Orang Tugu*. They were born in Tugu, grew up in Tugu, worshipped in *Gereja Tugu*, got married in Tugu, so why couldn’t she be buried in Tugu?)

According to my enumeration data, thirty-seven *Orang Tugu* who have Muslim spouses legalized their marriages the Islamic way at the *Kantor Urusan Agama* (Office of Religious Affairs, or KUA). Most of them professed that they are “Christians” when I asked them about their religion. If the person is seen attending Sunday service or any special events in church, the perception of the community and family is that the person still likes to follow Christian activities (*masih suka ikut*) or is still a Christian at heart. Sometimes they complement their fellow Tuguese “*Dia Islam tapi ma tidak fanatic*”¹⁶³ (He/She is Muslim but is not fanatical). They also evaluate the Muslim Tuguese by their contribution to Tugu and participation in Tugu events; for example, a Tugu lady complimented Yosef Corua, who although he is Muslim is willing to contribute food to the gravediggers whenever there is a burial at IKBT Graveyard. “His grandmother’s Tugu blood flows in him”, she added.

Changing one’s religion does not deny one’s affiliation with IKBT, neither does it mean that one loses his or her Tugu identity. However, the former community leader reasoned: “*Ketika dia kawin secara Islam, arti dia membuang dia punya komunitas, apa lagi dia tidak terdaftar (...)*” (“When he/she goes through an Islamic wedding, it means he/she forgoes his community, what more he/she is not registered (as an IKBT member)”. Generally, it is assumed that a non-Muslim Tuguese has embraced Islam by choosing an Islamic wedding at the KUA because it is a public ceremony that involves the recitation of the *syaadah* – the Islamic declaration of faith which says “There is no god but Allah; Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah”, which is seen as a renunciation of their faith in Jesus Christ. Ironically, when the case involves their own family, the family would claim that despite the Islamic rites, they still hold on to their Christian faith.

Concerning the right to be buried in the IKBT Graveyard, it is more straightforward with non-Christians who are married to Tuguese: they are not allowed to. For a deceased Christian Tuguese who wedded a Muslim spouse the Islamic way, it is a more complicated issue. In this case, the close family use genealogy as their right to the IKBT Graveyard; for example, they argue “He is the son-in-law of *Opa Jacobus* [*Opa Jacobus* was an important

¹⁶³ Chao (2014) argues that it is a phrase that indexes an endorsement of social practices that preserve “sociable piety”. According to Chao, the word *fanatik* is locally used to mock religious behaviours that disrupt social harmony, which range from the overly puritanical conduct of neighbours to militant attacks launched by radical groups.

figure of *Keroncong Tugu*]; how is it possible that he is not allowed to be buried in Tugu?” Besides, they justify that the deceased has never obeyed or practiced Islamic law, such as abstaining from alcohol, gambling, etc. Although these cases seem confusing, the persons who drafted the rules and regulations of IKBT were very clear in their explanation to me: Requests will be granted as long as there is a show of proof that the deceased was a Christian by way of a letter issued by a local church confirming their membership and participation. However, most often the rules seem to be neglected, if not ignored.

One controversial burial case involved a Tugu youth who wedded a Muslim wife via a Muslim ceremony. Although the mother was so disappointed that she did not attend his wedding, the son comforted her not to worry because he did not convert. The mother nurtured the hope that in time her daughter-in-law would become a Christian. Unfortunately, the son passed away suddenly due to drug intoxication.¹⁶⁴ The jurisdiction of IKBT was straightforward – the deceased embraced Islam at his wedding and there was no proof of his membership in Church, therefore he was not permitted to be buried in Tugu. This caused a commotion and the enmity between the family and the leader of IKBT only cooled down years later. After seven years, under the current leadership of IKBT, the mother was given green light to re-bury her son at the IKBT Graveyard at the same site as her daughter’s grave. This was comforting news for the mother: she made arrangements with her brother to find people to excavate his son’s grave, which was located near her father’s ancestral land. When the clothes and the bones of the deceased were discovered, the mother who sat at the corner lent her camera to a Tugu resident for taking photos while she turned her face away and cried silently. The bones were transferred into a small casket, we proceeded to the house of her sister-in-law for lunch and we were transported back to Tugu. A brief Christian burial service was conducted by the emeritus preacher of GPIB Tugu with the attendance of a small number of families and friends. A thankful meal was also prepared by the mother at her house.

The IKBT leadership expressed frustration in relation to this kind of case because they think that it is unfair to the deceased who was not a Christian. It also caused uneasiness for church leaders to conduct a Christian funeral, as expressed by one of the preachers:

¹⁶⁴ Drug abuse was once a serious problem in Tugu. My host-family claimed that “one generation was destroyed by drugs”. Yosuf Corua said that as a precaution for his son, he estimated that 18 Tugu youths passed away due to drug use. A local explanation points to the evolution of each generation, from farmers/landlords to seamen and civil servants, and in the late 1980s when land became valuable the next generation began to sell their land. Their children, who were born in the 1970s, reap profits from the sale of land and, hence, have the money to buy drugs. The breakdown in the socialization of Tugu people might have also been caused by the effect of this problem, as the families of those involved in drugs felt shameful or depressed and consequently stayed away from others.

If based on the reality, maybe they do not formally accept (conversion); however, when they are in that marriage, they clearly walked away from Christianity, it seems that they accept it without any problem. They have tried to make it a problem through the graveyard; they always say that only Christians can be buried there, but to me that is not the fact, it has happened several times, that is also my spiritual struggle, if I were being asked, “*Pak*, we want to bury him, but actually his wife is Muslim, so we perform what kind of ritual?” However, what we have done so far, if he/she is *Orang Tugu* and wanted to be buried here, even if he/she is Muslim, we buried. Actually, boundaries should be made, if we serve, we do not serve frivolously. They have tried to address this problem via IKBT, not the Church; they have argued before, that so-and-so could not be buried because converted to Islam; nevertheless, that person was still being buried, but they continued to argue. I also do not understand the attitude of IKBT; if they forbid, it seemed that they did not really forbid, if they allow, people protest, so they did it anyway, this became our problem. (13/10/2013)

This preacher raises another problem: inconsistencies. There were interrogations why certain persons were allowed to be buried whereas others were not; nepotism was the usual suspect. However, the previous leader explained that there was no partiality because once he had arguments with his mother and uncle (MB) when there was a case involving his own relative, who wedded three times with an Islamic ceremony. Hence, he had no choice but to reject with three reasons: this relative had changed his faith; he was not active in church, nor in IKBT. Another case involved his own clan: his aunt married a Chinese husband, who is a registered member of *Gereja Tugu*; he attended IKBT meetings, gave donations to IKBT activities, but when he died he could not be buried in Tugu because he is a non-Tuguese. Nevertheless, he confessed that in another case when he first became the community leader, there was intervention from his predecessor. Hence, as a junior member, he had to submit to his senior to bury a clan member who lived far away, but was brought back to be buried in Tugu because he was the brother-in-law of the previous IKBT leader. However, Andre clarifies that this happened before the 2006 bylaws, which we will look into in the next section.

IKBT Revamp

The organization went through a revamp when Andre Michiels, the third leader of IKBT, after his father Arend Michiels and uncle, Heine Michiels, assumed the office. Seeing the lack of financial and membership records from his predecessors, three major steps were taken. Firstly, Andre realized the need to establish a system and to computerize all data. Unfortunately, the computer records and some IKBT archives stored at the Tugu Bhakti School were destroyed when a fire broke out on 12 July 2006. Secondly, Andre and his executive board reviewed and

amended the organization's bylaws. The drafts were circulated to all members for any objections or changes, and were finally approved.

Based on the very first IKBT bylaws in 1976, it simply states that those who can be members are: 1. The descendants of *Orang Tugu*; 2. Those who inter-marry with *Orang Tugu*; 3. Those who have stayed in Tugu for 25 years and who abide by the rules and regulations of IKBT. Since then, there have been many arguments regarding whether or not a person is qualified to be buried in Tugu when they are faced with situations concerning: a Tugu woman who is married to a non-Tuguese and has not registered (both husband and wife) as members of IKBT; a Tuguese who has converted to Islam; a Tugu resident who has never been active in IKBT nor contributes to the community. Responding to these quandaries, membership rules were amended by the IKBT leadership in 2006. If we look at the new set of codes, (see Appendix P for original version), their criteria are more elaborate:

The persons who can be members are:

1. The descendants of Tuguese who have registered with IKBT.
2. Those who have inter-married with *Orang Tugu* and have registered themselves with IKBT.
3. Those who have lived in Tugu for 25 years, abide by the rules of IKBT, actively participate in the activities of IKBT and have registered themselves with IKBT.
4. Those who have contributed to Tugu and have stayed for 25 years in Tugu, with the agreement of the IKBT leadership.
5. Those who are not descendants of Tugu but are active in the activities of IKBT (a non-Christian has the right to vote, but not to be elected).
6. Every member of IKBT who is recently married MUST register as a new family. (Emphasis follows original)
7. In the case of an IKBT member who has changed his or her religion and underwent a non-Christian wedding ceremony, he or she remains as an IKBT member but must re-register as nonpartisan
8. An IKBT member who has contracted a non-Christian marriage has the same right as other members but cannot be chosen as a leader and committee member of IKBT, unless and only if the following documents are submitted to the leadership of IKBT:
 - a supporting letter from a church saying that the person is truly a Christian and is active in the church that provides this letter;
 - a written declaration from the husband/wife stating that he/she is willing to conduct a Christian funeral at the IKBT graveyard.

Obviously, the changing of religion became a concern. Formal registration of membership or re-registration is required when a person is married and forms his or her own new family. Non-Christians do not have the same rights as full members; they cannot be elected as board or committee members. The former leader also questioned: "The people who become members of Tugu (i.e. IKBT), their core reason is they want to be buried in Tugu. This is a Christian

graveyard; is it allowed for non-Christians? But when they pass away, they will insist on being buried in Tugu. How can you place a cross with Arabic words?” The other considerations are whether the person has made any contribution to Tugu, especially if he or she is not a direct descendant of the major Tugu clans and does not live in Tugu.

With these revised mandates, Andre embarked on a campaign for registration of new members and re-registration of old members, especially those who are married, because a married child is detached from the parents’ official household registration card¹⁶⁵ and shares a new card with the spouse and their children. Traditionally, IKBT’s membership was carried out informally via registration of a whole family, or a household registration. A membership card records the payment of membership fees, which is 6000 rupiah¹⁶⁶ (0.40 €) per household per month.¹⁶⁷ The initial concept of IKBT was maintained: worship, lunch, and chit-chat, which are the three core elements of an IKBT reunion.¹⁶⁸ Andre had the idea that all documents related to personal identity should be submitted together with their membership forms, e.g. birth certificate, baptism certificate, confirmation certificate, marriage certificate and household card. As this re-registration call lasted for six years, it is assumed that those who did not register did not want to have any part in IKBT. However, there were still people who questioned the need for membership as they thought that no one can deny that they are native Tuguese and that their contribution to Tugu can be seen by all. “That is an old-fashioned thinking. We have moved forward,” Andre lamented.

If everybody feels that ‘I am *Orang Tugu*’, the graveyard is not enough. It was closed down in 1970 before IKBT was formed. Actually *Orang Tugu* can no longer be buried there, but we still do it secretly. In terms of local administration, the Cemeteries Office has shut down the IKBT graveyard. Last time I was being chastised by the mayor. I told him that I had a target: those who can be buried in the graveyard are people 65 years old by the year 2010. Younger than that, they have to go out. That was why I made strict rules: anyone who is 65 years old when they die, can be buried, but no babies¹⁶⁹ are allowed because they are not registered (members of IKBT). The youths, if they are members, we will fight for them. If they are not members, live far away (from Tugu), and never attend IKBT, should we fight for them? No. (Andre Michiels 17/10/2013)

¹⁶⁵ This is the Indonesian system, called *Kartu Keluarga*, which I translated as household registration card.

¹⁶⁶ The exchange rate for 1 euro is 15390.36 rupiah based on the rate in year 2014.

¹⁶⁷ Andre recalled that when the fees were raised from 5000 in the 1990s to 6000 rupiah, there was protest. For new members, there is an extra 20,000 rupiah of registration fees.

¹⁶⁸ It was estimated that the family who hosts the monthly IKBT has to spend at least 500,000 rupiah on the food. It is expected that the host would at least prepare simple dishes like rice, *ikan asin* (salted fish), *sayur asem* (Betawi soup), and *lalap* (raw salad with *sambal*). If it is too burdensome for the host, they may request people to bring other dishes like fish, eggs, chicken, etc. In order not to trouble the host, Andre made it compulsory for all families who attend IKBT meetings to contribute something, preferably food. If food is the choice, three pieces of fish is the minimum requirement. In doing this, Andre believes it will safeguard the mutual harmony of the wider Tugu family. Moreover, sufficient food keeps people lingering around for chit-chat with one another.

¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, I attended the funeral of a new born named Rainonesia Osteen Andries, grandson of R.S. Andries and Elida Sura, who was buried in the IKBT Graveyard on 10 October 2013.

This quotation unearths the reciprocal relations between members and the organization: if members support the organization, it supports the members in return. In this sense, burial right does not come with birth right.

The membership card is a simple A4 size card (See Appendix N) with the list of Board members and Sections Coordinators on the back cover, but does not contain bylaws as in the old membership booklet. Candidates who are well-versed with the history of Kampung Tugu are preferred for the Human Resource Section as they may need to explain local matters to visitors. The *Diaconia* and Spiritual Section select Tuguese who are actively serving in GPIB Tugu. A new section called Research and Development included some well-educated Tuguese.¹⁷⁰ The Equipment Section takes care of the materials needed for each meeting and festival. Although there is a Youth and Cultural Section, the involvement of teenagers and unmarried youths is not very visible in the routine activities of IKBT.

Every year, IKBT expends a huge effort in preparing for the three main events of the year: *Natalan* IKBT, *Rabo-rabo*, and *Mandi-mandi*. A committee called *Panitia Natal* is set up to handle the funds and program for these three events. Usually a person offers himself or herself to be the chairman of the committee and then forms it. Funds come from *jalanin les* (asking for donation/contribution), from within and without, i.e. from local members, including Tugu people in Pejambon, and from outsiders, including politicians and the bosses of the containers car-parks in Kampung Tugu. This is a shared responsibility among the organizing committee: all those who are given the donation envelopes are expected to return them with money inside.¹⁷¹ The fund will be collected before *Natalan* IKBT and will go on until *Mandi-mandi*. A significant amount of the money will be given during *Natalan* IKBT to Tuguese widows and another portion is used to buy snacks and packed in little bags for the children.¹⁷² It should be emphasized that *Natalan* IKBT is a separate Christmas event of the Tugu community that is held in the Tugu Church, usually a few days before the 25th of December. Although it is not restricted to the Tugu community, it is nonetheless an event by the Tugu people and for the Tugu people.

¹⁷⁰ They are Yusof Corua, a school headmaster, and Tisye Yunus, a lawyer, and Alboyn Manurung, who retired from a Japanese company.

¹⁷¹ At the committee meetings, the major preoccupation was money, taking into consideration the significant amount reserved for contributions to widows and gift packets for children during *Natalan* IKBT. Once, everyone in the meeting waited for two hours for the person-in-charge of the envelopes to arrive and then dismissed the session; another meeting was called for counting the money collected.

¹⁷² According to the chairman of *Natalan* IKBT 2014 committee, 15 million rupiah (approximately 1000€) was the budget for the three major events. From there, 10% is used for *diaconia* purposes, i.e. offered to the widows, which is 150,000 rupiah (10€) per person; 4 million rupiah (approx. 260€) is allocated for the children whereas 500,000 rupiah (33€) is for the preacher.

In the committee list of IKBT, there are six names under the category of *seksi pemakaman* (Burial Section) who were appointed to take care of the graveyard. Besides, IKBT allots 150,000 rupiah to purchase wreaths, or alternatively, they give the money as support to the mourning family, or pay the people to clean the graveyard, etc. An extra amount (50,000 rupiah per person) is subsidized by IKBT for the six gravediggers. IKBT coordinates with the church and the mourning family in the funeral and burial service. Normally, the IKBT leader or his representative has to give a brief speech at the funeral or burial service.¹⁷³

The Michiels have been holding the top post of IKBT since its founding, and Andre Michiels has held office for three terms. It is not difficult to understand if there was an attempt from other clans to break the record in order to have their clan name represented at the forefront. It can be argued that the breakup of members within IKBT has aggravated since the most recent IKBT election in 2012. Many Tuguese have pointed to that incident as the cause of their dissatisfaction towards IKBT and why they stopped attending IKBT. They complained that the election procedure was unfair and should have had a second counting because the first count did not reach a majority of the fifty-plus-one rule. Secondly, they claimed that the people who came to vote were not registered members of IKBT, but merely family members of the candidate for IKBT leader. Thirdly, they saw that these unregistered members did not reside in Kampung Tugu. To them, the election did not follow the IKBT statutes, and hence was illegal. A former committee member further pointed out that it was wrong to elect Muslim Tuguese to the committee as they can only be nonpartisan.

After a year, these discontent Tuguese questioned the whereabouts of the supporters who were believed to be the relatives of the new leader, as they seemed to have disappeared from the scene after the election. It is also difficult for the Tugu residents to accept that the elected leader does not reside in Kampung Tugu and was found to be absent on occasions involving the community at large. They informed me that in previous terms IKBT meetings had about 100-150 persons, whereas now the numbers have dropped to about 50 because people do not feel like attending. The fact that the meetings were sometimes scheduled on the second Sunday of the month, due to various reasons, instead of the first Sunday as according to the principles of IKBT, caused dissatisfaction and is being criticized as deviating from the AD/ART¹⁷⁴. It is arguably within this context that the Tugu people turn inwards to their families,

¹⁷³ When the IKBT leader helped to dig the grave for the burial of his own uncle, he was seen with his muddy hands and trousers folded up to knee level; some Tuguese commented to me that the leader need not oblige himself to do the “dirty work”, but should instead dress smartly and address the people with a speech.

¹⁷⁴ Abbreviation for *Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga*, which I have translated as bylaws.

seeing that it is better and more important to foster closer relationships with their own family members.

Descent Groups and Associations

Earlier work on voluntary associations by anthropologists was undertaken in the context of modernization, industrialization, urbanization, and rural-urban migrations, where the organization of new social groups or the reorganization of existing ones were found to be no longer determined by kinship and territory. For example, anthropologists working in Africa became interested in the role of voluntary associations and saw them as providing adaptive mechanisms for rural migrants in towns and cities (e.g. Little 1957; Kerri et al. 1976). It is said that in general, voluntary associations or common-interest groups are not as rigid as kinship and territorial organizations; nonetheless, it has been pointed out by social scientists that the challenge remains in defining “voluntary association” (Kerri 1976). If we follow Kerri’s definition, where a voluntary association refers to “any private group voluntarily and more or less formally organized, joined and maintained by members pursuing a common interest, usually by means of part-time, unpaid activities” (1976: 24), we can observe that many of the social groups among the Tuguese have similar features to those found in voluntary associations, but they are mostly informal. Hence, we will simply refer to them as associations.

In my enumeration form, there is one part asking respondents if they or their family members participate in any social organizations or activities besides the IKBT. The results are presented in Table 4 by putting the Tugu and Pejambon residents in parallel for comparison. The hometown or regional associations are linked to Tuguese who have family members from outside Java Island, namely the Moluccas, Timor, or Sulawesi. There is a third category of Tuguese who live outside of these two localities. As discussed in chapter three, due to the socio-political condition in the 1940s-1970s, *Orang Tugu* were dispersed, mainly in Papua, Suriname, and the Netherlands. After this wave of exodus, marriages, migrations, urbanization, and the sale of ancestral lands also constituted the push and pull factors that led the Tuguese to different parts of Indonesia. I compiled a list of 81 families (about 300 individuals) for this category and note that some of them participate in clan associations or family *arisans* on a monthly basis or a few times each year. Their presence at these family meetings made it possible for me to collect their data, albeit incomplete, through genealogy interviews and enumeration, whichever was possible. There are no family associations in Pejambon, where the Djimuns and Abrahams are the majority among the Pejambon Tuguese, but all Tuguese households take part in the neighbourhood *arisans*.

Ikatan Keluarga Besar Quiko (IKBQ)

Emilia Pires (2013: 155-157) writes about a large family gathering at the Malacca Portuguese Settlement in Malaysia where she conducted her ethnographic fieldwork. The Sequeira Family Meeting, she was told by Gerry Sequeira, a local resident, would gather about ninety family members from near and far (including Singapore and Australia) on the 28th of December, for a family reunion in conjunction with the festive season. This “clan” is believed to have descended from Diogo Lopez de Sequeira – a Portuguese *fidalgo*. In Tugu, the Quikos could not trace their descent to a particular ancestor, but it is believed that Quiko is a more Portuguese-sounding name amongst the seven existing Tugu clans; hence, it is related to the Portuguese. Furthermore, the Quikos claim to be the oldest clan in Tugu because they have the largest number of family members.

On New Year’s Eve of 1975 at the Quikos reunion, a decision was made to form a family association called *Ikatan Keluarga Besar Quiko* (The Quiko Family Association, or IKBQ). Johan, the secretary, is aware that IKBQ might be seen as “a state within a state (IKBT)”, but he is convinced that the existence of IKBQ is important. According to him, there are about one hundred households under the IKBQ. Membership is automatic if one is a descendant of Quiko. Their objective resembles IKBT and other family groups in Tugu, but the difference is that there is a sense of pride in the history of Quiko’s family for being the pioneers of *Keroncong Tugu* music and speakers of Portuguese Creole. Many descendants of Quiko informed me that they learnt Portuguese from *opa* Jacob as he used to gather the children at his house to teach them Tugu Creole. As the birthday of IKBQ predates IKBT, members of IKBQ feel all the more that the existence of their association is justified.

The form of IKBQ meetings is almost indistinguishable from IKBT meetings (See Figure 23). Unlike the Sequeira Family Meeting in Malacca who meet perhaps once a year or over a longer period, the Quikos meet every month in the afternoon on the second Sunday. The numbers of attendees varies from twenty something to forty. Any members of the Quiko clan can request or offer to host the meeting, although the so-called *Rumah Tua* (Old House) is currently occupied by Eduardo Quiko and his family. In his house, old photos of the Quikos are hung on the walls. The board is selected every three years.¹⁷⁵

IKBQ also have the same spiritual concern as IKBT, with a few members in charge of the *diaconia* and spiritual aspects, through visitation, prayers, or financial contributions to the

¹⁷⁵ Currently, the following persons leading the association are Alberto Quiko (leader), Samuel Thalib (assistant leader), Johan Sopaheluwakan (Secretary), and Yulia Afifa Yunus (Treasurer)

needy. The collection of monthly fees is used mainly for paying the transport expenses of the person who delivers the sermon. The host family prepares food and an extra token of appreciation in the form of money for the preferred preacher whom they invite. The preacher can be an IKBQ member, a person serving in *Gereja Tugu*, or even someone from external churches. Besides, they have their own Christmas event (*Natalan Quiko*), offering financial assistance for widows in the family, and organize leisure activities such as IKBQ retreats.



Figure 23. Pastor Wangania preaching at an IKBQ reunion in the house of Albert Quiko.

Arisans

Rotating credit associations are a form of self-help group common in many countries. There has long been discussion in the anthropological literature of this type of association (e.g. Ardener 1964; Ardener and Burman 1995; Geertz 1962). By describing and analyzing similar forms of rotating credit associations found in underdeveloped or semi-developed countries, Geertz (1962) noticed that the principle upon which these institutions are founded is basically identical: a lump-sum fund composed of fixed contributions from each member of the association is distributed, at fixed intervals and as a whole, to each member of the association in turn. In Indonesia, *arisan* is the most widespread form of rotating credit association. A group of people – neighbours, an extended family, office colleagues, church members, and so on – pool a certain amount of money at every meeting, usually once every month. Then they draw

lots to decide who wins the pooled money. The meetings go on until each participants get their turn to take home the pot of money, then they may start again from the beginning.

Geertz (1962: 263) concludes that the rotating credit association is an intermediate institution for socializing purposes, emergent in societies swept by the currents of social and cultural change that also have impact upon the economic, political, religious, and familial systems. He also claims that "... the primary attraction of the *arisan* is not the money you receive, but the creation of *rukun* (communal harmony) which occurs, the example of *gotong royong* (mutual assistance) which is demonstrated" (Geertz 1962: 243). In this sense, it is akin to what I have observed in Tugu, where I was told that family *arisans* were created for family bonding and mutual support.

The *arisan* of Abrahams is a monthly reunion of family members descended from Johannes Jacob Abrahams and Dina Seymons.¹⁷⁶ According to the treasurer Sharly Abrahams, the *arisan* has been going on for as long as she can remember, when her father was still alive. She informed that the main reason for this *arisan* is to enhance social interaction among family members. The gathering takes place at the houses of group members once a month on a Sunday afternoon. Amongst the Abrahams group, only three families reside in Kampung Tugu and the rest have settled down in various locations of the metropolitan area but they made it a point to attend regardless of the distance.¹⁷⁷ When I asked the 80-year old member of the Abrahams family: "Which is more important, *arisan* Abrahams or IKBT?", she answered affirmatively:

Abrahams! In the past we have our mother, every Sunday we came to visit mum. We brought food, then we ate together. Now mum is no longer around. Secondly, we live far from one another. If there is no *arisan*, we do not meet, if we do not meet, later our children do not know 'whose child is this?' We organize *arisan* to introduce one another, we must have close relationship. When someone is sick, we help one another. (Yohana Abrahams 21/10/2013)

The first time I attended this *arisan* was at the home of Yohana Abrahams in Kebantenan.¹⁷⁸ There I saw a lady with a headscarf, whom I later found out to be the wife of Levius Abrahams, whose family is Muslim. I was informed that *arisan* Abrahams used to begin their gatherings

¹⁷⁶ The father of Johannes Jacob Abrahams was Philip Abrahams. He married a Sundanese from Gunung Puteri by the name of Tina. Dina Seymons is also a native Tuguese. Her mother is Salvina Braune, also a native of Tugu, who helped to take care of her children; one of them was Yohana. Yohana Abrahams recalls that she lived on the land of the Braunes at *Perapatan* with her maternal grandmother, whom she addressed as "*Encang*".

¹⁷⁷ Agus Abrahams, for example, live in Duri Kepa, about 27 kilometers from Tugu; Sharly Abrahams live in Bekasi, West Java.

¹⁷⁸ About 4 kilometers from *Gereja Tugu*, but the location is considered as outside of Kampung Tugu.

with worship and preaching, but when some members converted to Islam, Christian rituals were reduced to saying prayers before partaking meals together.

At the function, Augus Abrahams, the younger brother of Yohana, approached me in English, explaining to me how many siblings they have. He invited me to the next *arisan* at his house the following month, where we would get to see his relatives from the Netherlands. On that day, Sharly and her husband gave me a ride from Tugu to Augus' house. The family were hosting eleven relatives travelling to Indonesia from the Netherlands (See Figures R2 and R3 in Appendix R). Augus told me that they, the Loupattys, are related to his mother's side – the Seymons.¹⁷⁹ Dishes like *brenebon* soup, *sate*, *perkedel jagung*, and fish with sambal were served. Augus said a prayer before everyone helped themselves to the food. After that, Augus took out some old family photos to show us. The *arisan* treasurer, Sharly, placed her notebook on the table and started counting money and ticking the names of individuals who had paid. Then the highlight of the day was to see who gets the lots for the next *arisan*, which also means who will receive the lump sum. Their Dutch guests were invited to draw the lots. Before leaving, a series of group photos were taken.

Arisan Abrahams consists of 19 members who pay the fees of 125,000 rupiah every month.¹⁸⁰ Not everyone from the family take part in the “game”. While our focus has been on conversion from one religion to another, it should be mentioned that changing denomination within a religion such as Christianity may also affect socialization. In the case of *arisan* Abrahams, it was explained to me that one of the siblings did not join because she was married to a Muslim husband, whereas another is a Christian but chose to distance himself from the family gatherings due to his denominational difference.

Members of *Arisan* Abrahams appeared to attend IKBT less frequently than their own family gatherings, even during major events like *Mandi-mandi* and *Rabo-rabo*. This kind of distancing might have already happened decades before, when socio-economic differences were first felt by the family. Yohana's father was a carpenter, *keroncong* maker, and a volunteer *koster* (sexton) at *Gereja Tugu*. Her mother Dina Seymons was a housewife who had a hearing problem. Yohana recalls that during her childhood when her siblings followed her mother to the Home Fellowship, they overheard a certain Tuguese family commenting that their mother brought them along because there was no food at home. Her father was furious when he heard

¹⁷⁹ i.e. Sintje Seymons, also known as “Tinong”.

¹⁸⁰ Out of this amount, 25,000 rupiah is for food consumption during their meetings and the remaining 100,000 is an informal saving scheme in the form of lots. With 19 members participating, this makes a total of 475,000 rupiah for food and 1,900,000 rupiah for the one who gets the lot.

this comment. As a family that does not own land but work in other people's fields, the children grew up striving to excel in studies in order to change their fate.¹⁸¹ The family members often relate their past poverty and their transformation through education and hard work, despite not having land or property from their ancestors, unlike other clans in Tugu.

The *arisan* Yunus has 18 members bearing the Yunus surname. Meetings rotate between two places, i.e. Kampung Tugu and Gunung Puteri¹⁸² in Bogor, West Java. Juley Yunus informs me that the objective is to introduce and socialize the families in Tugu – her mother's birthplace – and Gunung Puteri, where her father came from. As mentioned in previous chapters, four out of seven of the Yunus siblings reside in Tugu on the land of their mother, Lentje Quiko. Sometimes the *arisans* will combine with the *arisan* of Susanto¹⁸³ due to overlapped membership, i.e. the Yunus siblings (Tisye, Philip, Conny, Glory, Hansye) who are the descendants of Luther Thio (Susanto), a Tugu Chinese and Rut Aimi, a Betawi woman, through their mother Itje Rozita Susanto. At the combined *arisan* Yunus-Susanto at the house of Tisye Yunus, in conjunction with the Christmas-cum-New Year celebration, family members prepared presents for gift exchange. Some members brought their Muslim spouses along, a Christian member led everyone in prayer before partaking the buffet lunch served on the car porch (See Figure R1 in Appendix R).

The *arisan* Andries gathers family members from the line of Yohanes Cornelis Andries and Sophie Djalimun (See Figure 24). Once in every three months, they have *arisan* during the weekend, starting with lunch, chit-chat, and the drawing of lots some time in between. The elder members described their group as being very “compact”, e.g. helping one another with the funds they have collected. Karel Adolf Andries, who has two sons who are seamen like himself and a daughter who is a banker, is the treasurer of the group. He described the Andries as not very involved in *keroncong* music; although they can play, they do so mostly in the private sector.

¹⁸¹ August Abrahams, for example, held a high position in a pharmaceutical company. He married a Javanese dentist and their daughter is also a dentist now serving in the Ministry of Health. Julius Abrahams has worked with Nippon Paint in Singapore; Salvius Abrahams studied theology and is currently teaching at the Tugu Bhakti School; whereas the youngest, Frenky Abrahams, has a degree in education and was headmaster of the Tugu School for nine years.

¹⁸² Approximately 50 kilometers from Tugu.

¹⁸³ *Arisan Susanto* has been going on for more than ten years.



Figure 24. Gravestone of Johanes Cornelis Andries and the inscriptions of the names of close family members (Photo by author, 2013)

Mortuary rituals are a visible avenue where one can observe the way members of the same clan or *arisans* provide help among themselves. Relatives may offer financial assistance or help to serve the guests, participate in setting up canopy and seating for the wake service and, the next day, grave digging. At the Tugu graveyard after the funeral of Jan Kelelufna (a descendant of the Cornelis clan), the *Keroncong Muda-Mudi Cornelis* (or KMMC) members were seen helping with digging and filling the grave. When resting after the burial ended, the son of Jan Kelelufna suggested to re-start *arisan* Cornelis. At an earlier interview with Martinus Cornelis, he informed me that “*Arisan* Cornelis stopped three years ago. It was a request from my mother on a Christmas day when she was asking who was so-and-so...Hence, Sharly gave the idea of ‘*arisan*’, because my mother wanted to know her grandchildren. My mother is Chinese – Lim, from Bekasi” (1/8/2013). Sharly Abrahams, the treasurer of *arisan* Abrahams, was also the treasurer for this *arisan*. Her overlapped membership is due to her mother Melly Cornelis, who is descended from the line of Nicodemus Cornelis. As the members of the Cornelis clan are Christians, their gathering on the third week of every month would begin by worship and the preaching of a sermon. Money will be taken out of a bank when family members are sick or pass away, for buying wreaths, and for the photocopying of liturgy.

There are other forms of *arisans* which the Tuguese, especially housewives, are involved in, namely the *arisan RT* or *arisan lingkungan* at the neighbourhood levels. Unlike the family *arisans* where members linger for a longer time in socializing with one another, taking photos, making jokes, etc., the ladies who participate in the *arisan RT* meet up for about ten to fifteen minutes, merely to record their payments and collect the snack prepared for them. They are neighbours who have frequent contact with one another; thus, the *arisan RT* functions more as a saving scheme for the housewives whereas the family *arisans* are more geared to strengthening family solidarity and, therefore, members spend time with one another and sessions can last from a few hours to a whole day of feasting and doing activities together. Tugu residents told me that when they get the *arisan* money, they can pay for something which they wanted to do, such as offering a thankful service meal, renovate the graves, etc.

Participant observation is challenging when so many family activities take place at home.¹⁸⁴ Despite the various family meetings taking place, they hardly clash with IKBT reunions, as Tugu people would normally take IKBT meetings into consideration when choosing the day to meet. Hence, why do people still attend IKBT reunions? It is normal to hear “They say that if we do not attend, when we die, we are not allowed to be buried in Tugu”. This brings us back to the problem of the graveyard. Some families say, “I don’t attend but I send my wife and my kids to represent us”. It seems acceptable when people can see at least one member of a family is present; their face is automatically related to the family name or sometimes even clan.

¹⁸⁴ For example, when the leader of IKBT had his children baptized on the 26th of December, I was invited to adjourn for lunch at his mother’s house with the *arisan* Andries members. At the same time, I also had another invitation to the Christmas Celebration of *arisan* Abrahams at the house of Frenky Abrahams. On New Year’s Eve, I was with my host family (Michiels-Sepang) for the midnight prayer; at the same time, the *IKBQ* members had also telephoned me to join their prayer session at the house of Carolina Yunus. However, as I took a walk from Kampung Kurus to RT 11, different homes seemed to have different activities. The Thomas were singing karaoke; the Andries were at the Quiko’s house making barbeque. The Yunus-Quiko gathered at their old house before going to visit their grandaunt Oma Ana.

Table 4. Family Group and Associations involving the Tuguese in Kampung Tugu and Pejambon, 2013-14

Categories	Tugu	Amount (rupiah)	Pejambon	Amount (rupiah)
Tuguese	IKBT	6,000	IKBT	6,000
Family	<i>IKBQ</i> <i>IKB/ Arisan Andries</i> <i>Arisan Abrahams</i> <i>Arisan Yunus</i> <i>Arisan Susanto</i> <i>Arisan Michiels</i> <i>Arisan Corua</i> <i>Arisan Johanes Sarjito</i> ¹⁸⁵ <i>Arisan Tentua</i> <i>Arisan Bessouw Family</i> ¹⁸⁶ <i>IKB Souhuwat</i> ¹⁸⁷	5,000 100,000 100,000 100,000 120,000/ family 100,000 50,000 200,000/ person 75,000	<i>Arisan Abrahams</i> <i>Arisan Geuler</i>	100,000
Hometown/ Regional	<i>IKB Ombai, Alor (Timor)</i> <i>IKB Teun (TNS)</i> ¹⁸⁸ <i>LEMOLA</i> ¹⁸⁹ (Ambon) <i>Rihau Group (Timor)</i> <i>Arisan Keluarga Awan (Toraja)</i>	10,000 25,000 100,000		
Neighbourhood	<i>Arisan gang</i> ¹⁹⁰ <i>Arisan with neighbours</i> <i>Arisan RT 01/ RW 06</i> <i>Arisan RT 02/ RW 03</i> <i>Arisan RT 03/ RW 06</i> <i>Arisan RT 05/ RW 11</i> <i>Arisan RW 06/RW 01(ladies)</i> <i>Arisan RT 07/ RW 06</i> <i>Arisan RT 08/ RW 06</i> <i>Arisan RT 09/ RW 06</i> <i>Arisan RT 11/ RW 06</i> <i>Arisan RT 012/ RW 01</i> <i>Arisan RT 011/ RW 01</i> <i>Arisan RT 01/ RW 01</i> <i>Arisan RW 01</i> <i>PKK</i> ¹⁹¹ <i>Kelurahan</i> <i>SISKAMLING</i> ¹⁹²	100,000 500,000 100,000 300,000 50,000 120,000 21,000/household 500,000/ household 25,000 30,000 55,000/ person 500,000 100,000 25,000 25,000 50,000	<i>Arisan RT 02/ RW 01 (men)</i> <i>Arisan RT 02/ RW 01 (ladies)</i> <i>Arisan RT 03/ RW 01</i> <i>Arisan RT 04 / RW 01 (men)</i> <i>Arisan RT 04. RW 01 (ladies)</i> <i>Arisan RW 01</i> <i>PKK Kelurahan Gambir</i>	50,000 50,000 100,000 100,000 100,000
Religious			<i>PBNU</i> ¹⁹³	
Alumi	<i>Arisan of reunion with schoolmates from high school</i>	50,000		

¹⁸⁵ Johanes Sarjito, Javanese, is the father of Rosalina Liliek Darwanti, who is married to Andre Juan Michiels.

¹⁸⁶ Besouw is originally from Manado. Bertha Besouw was the paternal grandmother of Deertje Sepang, whose parents were Jan Abram Sepang and Erna Ermestina Braune.

¹⁸⁷ Souhuwat is a Timorese family name. Henni Souhuwat and Markus Banunaek are not Tuguese but their daughter Elizabeth Anastasia Banunaek is married to Alberto Quiko, who is also the security guard at *Gereja Tugu*.

¹⁸⁸ Abbreviation for Teun-Nila-Serua; they are located in the central and southeast of Maluku province.

¹⁸⁹ Abbreviation of Leti-Moa-Lakor; these are part of the Maluku Islands, in southwest Maluku province.

¹⁹⁰ *Arisan* with neighbours of families living in the same alley.

¹⁹¹ *PKK* stands for *Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (Family Welfare Movement).

¹⁹² *SISKAMLING* stands for *Sistem Pengamanan Lingkungan* (Neighbourhood Security System). It is a voluntary system where men who live in the neighbourhood take turns to patrol the streets at night.

¹⁹³ *PBNU* stands for *Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama Central Executive Board). It is an Islamic Organization in Indonesia.

Conclusion

The Tugu Church is not the only religious symbol that perpetuates religious identity, but also the graveyard. To merely focus on the church would overlook valuable narratives of social and cultural life, as well as of political and economic patterns, that deathscapes can present to us. Even though individuals do not self-confess to being regarded by others as religious, and even in some cases are converted to other religions, decisions of the bereaved pertaining to mortuary ritual, burial grounds, officiating officials, gravestones, and so forth, communicate not only who the deceased was but also who they are and where they belong. Dying in the religion in which they were born, or passed down to them by their ancestors, is central to the Tugu people whose forefathers were not only believed to be related to the Portuguese, but were worshipers and guardians of *Gereja Tugu* in a Christian village.

The Community Association draws a boundary to safeguard Tugu's Christian identity and the status of Tugu clans by their management of the graveyard and membership, not only demarcating Tuguese from non-Tuguese, Christians from non-Christians, but also those active or not active in the community. The latter shows that membership in a community association like the IKBT has gained material meaning as members' motivations are geared towards securing a burial plot.

Nevertheless, there are *Orang Tugu* who disagree with the bylaws of IKBT for reasons that non-membership in an association or non-involvement in community activities cannot deny their rights and identity as *Orang Tugu*. They justify their Tugu identity through genealogy, especially if they bear original Tugu surnames. In relation to this, they argue that *Orang Tugu* existed long before IKBT came into place. For Tuguese who have achieved success outside of Kampung Tugu, losing rights in the IKBT graveyard does not constitute a problem. A few like-minded Tuguese proposed the possibility of dissolving IKBT and forming a new association that is more relevant to them.

Often, within a community, the Tuguese are clan-conscious and within the clan units, they are family-conscious. We will see more of this in the next chapter in yet another type of social organization – *Keroncong Tugu* groups. With the trend of urbanization and dispersions of *Orang Tugu*, and the seemingly disintegrated Tugu community, kinship links are nonetheless intact by way of clan meetings and the popular rotating credit system in Indonesia, contrary to Wirth's thesis of urbanism in 1938, which has also been challenged by later anthropologists and sociologists (e.g. Garigue 1956; Little 1957; Bruner 1961; Aldous 1962).

Besides the Sequeira Family mentioned earlier, Pires has also encountered many other Eurasians whose periodical visits to Malacca are like returning to their homeland. In this sense,

Malacca and the Portuguese Settlement is “a crucial homeland, a point of reference, a welcoming and an important stopping point of their life as Eurasians” (2013: 155). For the Tuguese, no matter where they are now, in the Netherlands or any part of Indonesia, *Gereja Tugu* and the graveyard are where they stop by when they return to their bygone *Kampung Serani*.

CHAPTER SIX

Becoming Betawi, Performing Portuguese

“It seems that the Tugu can only survive
if they (also) become Betawi.”

(Jacqueline Knorr 2014: 120)

Introduction

In 1971, UNESCO made a recording entitled *Java: Krontjong de Tugu* as part of the World Music Series project. Since the 1980s, Tugu’s *keroncong*¹⁹⁴ ensembles have been invited to perform at the *Pasar Malam Besar* (now known as Tong Tong Fair) in the Netherlands. In 2011, the *Krontjong Toegoe* ensemble performed alongside a Portuguese fado singer and guitarist at the commemorative event “*Five Centuries of Political and Diplomatic Relations between Indonesia and Portugal*”. Three years later, Andre Michiels, the leader of the same ensemble, won the “*MNC TV Pahlawan Untuk Indonesia*” (“MNC TV Heroes of Indonesia”) award¹⁹⁵ under the arts and culture category for being the successor and promoter of *Keroncong Tugu*. What is known as the traditional music from Tugu Village has clearly travelled beyond its birthplace, and is being recognized as well as appreciated nationally and internationally.

Much has been written about *Keroncong Tugu*.¹⁹⁶ Music gives people a sense of identity, and promotes continuation of their existence as a social group. In *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, Stokes (1997) argues that music is socially meaningful not entirely but largely because it provides means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them. The “cultural contact” aspects

¹⁹⁴ In the official dictionary (*online* version) of the Indonesian language – the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia Pusat Bahasa (Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language of the Language Center*; abbreviated in English and Indonesian as KBBI), there are two entries on the lexicon “*keroncong*” (updated in 2008): The first defines it as: “like the jingling sound of little bells” or “like the noise of a stomach rumble”. In the second entry, “*keroncong*” means: 1. An ukelele-like musical instrument that has four or five strings; 2. Musical rhythm or style marked by musical instruments used in a *keroncong* performance, i.e. drum, cello, and guitar that is played in a sequence; 3. A kind of ensemble which consists of the violin, flute, guitar, ukulele, banjo, cello and bass; “*Keroncong Tugu*” is defined as “a uniquely Jakartan (Betawi) *keroncong* music” (my translation).

Another form of spelling, i.e. “*kroncong*”, albeit still in use, and used by scholars – e.g. Becker (1976), Heins (1976), Seabass (1997), Ganap (1999), and Bramantyo (2001) – is not found in the Dictionary.

A note on the terminology: I use *keroncong* for referring to a generic *keroncong* found across Indonesia. For the sake of clarity, I use *Keroncong Tugu* (instead of the old spelling *Krontjong Toegoe*) when referring to the kind of *keroncong* music originating in Tugu Village; *Krontjong Toegoe* is a patented name of one of the *keroncong* ensembles from Tugu.

¹⁹⁵ The program was organized by MNCTV, an Indonesian private television station, to select and honour ten candidates whose contributions in their respective fields have inspired people.

¹⁹⁶ See, for example, Heins (1975); Becker (1975); Kornhauser (1978); Ganap (2011, 2006, 1999); Abdurachman (2008).

of music have also been widely studied in ethnomusicology, especially the theme of musical changes in small-scale, isolated communities when they are absorbed into wider political entities and how they respond to external invasion. This chapter begins with the subject of *Keroncong Tugu* in order to explore the expressions of Tugu identity. It is not my intention to deal with the history and musicology of *Keroncong Tugu*; I will start with a brief historical background of *Keroncong Tugu* and continue with the profiles of the different ensembles in Tugu, and then focus more on discussing interrelated aspects such as Tugu festivals and their perceptions among Tugu residents. I thus try to understand what *Keroncong Tugu* means to them.

The second part of this chapter examines the relations between *Orang Tugu* and the Betawis – the indigenous population of Jakarta, who trace back to Dutch-colonized Batavia. Besides architecture and food, a significant part will take a closer look at the dress¹⁹⁷ used by the *Keroncong Tugu* musicians. Indonesian dress is a product of the changing relationship between indigenous, Muslim, and Western influences (Schulte Nordholt 1997). Historical studies or ethnographic accounts about the Tugu people often describe their outward appearance in relation to their Christian Mardijkers background (e.g. Abdurachman 2008; Daus 1989; Taylor 2009 [1983]), as already mentioned in chapter two. Although the Dutch colonialists implemented rules that prevented the locals from dressing like them, the native Christians and the Mardijkers were allowed to adopt Western dress to differentiate them from the natives.

Although *Keroncong Tugu* is essential in Tugu festivals, the contemporary *Keroncong Tugu* have a lot to do with stage performances marked by the setting such as raised stage, costumes, and occasions. Thus, there are cultural as well as musical performances. Mitchell (2006: 385) outlines two recent approaches in studying performance: Erving Goffman's seminal work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959), and the interdisciplinary Performance Studies focusing on theatrical events. She suggests that it is necessary to differentiate between everyday performance and extraordinary events, although there are performative aspects in everyday life. She then focuses on the transformation of bodies, things, and space, brought about through the interactions between everyday life and performative events. It can be argued that the apparel used by the *Keroncong Tugu* players, besides their discourse, are in themselves an act of performance. For Richard Bauman, all performances are

¹⁹⁷ I follow the definition of dress offered by Eicher and Sumberg (1995: 298-299) as “those items, ensembles and modifications of the body that capture the past of the members of a group, the items of tradition that are worn and displayed to signify cultural heritage”, which includes obvious items placed on the body, such as jewellery, accessories, changes in colour, texture, and smell, as well as overt changes in body shape.

like communication, which is “situated, enacted, and rendered meaningful within socially defined situational contexts” but “cultural performances tend to be the most prominent performance contexts within a community” (1992: 46). I draw from the concept of “cultural performance” outlined by the anthropologist Milton Singer (1972), e.g. which has a definite, limited time span with a beginning and an end, an organized program of activity set up or prepared for in advance, a set of performers, an audience and collective participants, and a place and occasion of performance. In addition, Singer also sees performances useful because they are “the elementary constituents of the culture and the ultimate units of observation” and can encapsulate culture in such a way that “they could exhibit to visitors and to themselves” (1972: 71).

Carlson (2004: 71) writes succinctly that “performance is always performance for someone”, though, occasionally, the audience is the self. Even though performance has been viewed as an “essentially contested concept”¹⁹⁸ in recognition of the different meanings, discourses, and traditions that accompany the term, discussions in this chapter will nonetheless consider the “performance” of identities. The final part will look at the recent development in Kampung Tugu with regard to Portugal-Indonesia relations and reconsider the identity discourse of Tugu.

Keroncong Tugu: A Short History

Scholars who have done research on *Keroncong Tugu* have encountered challenges in providing an unbroken historical trajectory of this musical genre.¹⁹⁹ The Tugu people point to the year 1661 as the birth date of *Krontjong Toegoe*, which is the same year as the genesis of a “Portuguese” Tugu. The Portuguese ambassador, after listening to the CD of *Keroncong Tugu* and watching *Keroncong Cafrinho Tugu* performed at Kampung Tugu in 2013, had the

¹⁹⁸ See “Performance Studies at the Intersection” (Madison and Hamera 2006: xi).

¹⁹⁹ Tilman Seebass (1996:231), the musicologist who examined, among other topics, the role of the *Mardijkers* and the musical instruments which were imported or influenced by Portuguese music, has lamented that “the last three generations of anthropologists and last two generations of musicologists do not provide us with the help we would wish”. Similarly, Victor Ganap (2011) has confessed that it remains a mystery. According to a recent doctoral thesis in ethnomusicology by Yampolsky (2013: 27-28) – who summarizes *keroncong*’s history and musical characteristics, drawing on what has already been established by other writers and amending and supplementing this from the “new old” sources, using evidence provided by the 78s and the gramophones before the II World War – stated that it is not known what happened to *keroncong* during the period of more than 200 years following the arrival of the Portuguese. The works of Seebass (1996), Ganap (2011) and Yampolsky (2013) are cited here primarily because studies published earlier by other scholars have been analyzed by them; hence, they contribute to more up-to-date findings. Seebass has also provided a long list of bibliography on Portuguese influences on Indonesian music that includes not only English, but also Portuguese, Dutch, and French sources.

impression that Tugu music sounded more like the *mornas*²⁰⁰ from Cape Verde,²⁰¹ even though Ganap (2013) traces *Keroncong Tugu* to the *fado* music of Portugal. Ganap tried to show that the Portuguese musical form of the sixteenth century came to influence *Krontjong Toegoe* as well as *keroncong* music in general in Indonesia. The four-string 50cm guitar called the *cavaquinho* travelled with the Portuguese to West Africa and Goa, and then arrived in Malacca and the Moluccas, and from the Moluccas passed to Kampung Tugu, when the name of the instrument became *keroncong*. The Tuguese explain that the musical instrument gained its name from the sound “*crong crong crong*” when it is being strummed.

As a genre of national music, *Keroncong Tugu* still has its own style compared to the general *keroncongs*. Ganap (2011: 7) has observed that, besides having Portuguese Creole songs, the behavior of *Orang Tugu* in associating *keroncong* with their ancestors and their commitment to preserve this heritage are what distinguishes them. In the past, *Orang Tugu* played the *prounga* (also known as *cak*), *macina*²⁰² (also known as *cuk*), *jitera* (similar to the guitar but smaller in size), violin, flute, and *rebana* (drum) as their pastime. Eventually they grouped together and became an ensemble, leading to the formation of *Orkes Krontjong Poesaka Moresco Toegoe* (also known as OKMT I) in the 1920s and continued with OKMT II until 1950. The contemporary *Keroncong Tugu* is performed with the following instruments: solo voices, one or two guitars, one ukulele, one *prounga*, one *macina*, one *rebana*, one bass, one cello, and one violin.

Referring to *keroncong*, Peter Keppy (2014: 141) has argued that a new, popular urban culture that is hybrid in nature surfaced in Batavia in the first half of the twentieth century through an “autonomous and ambiguous process” of a multi-ethnic urban society reinterpreting their cultural past. It is interesting to note that Yampolsky (2013a) emphasized the contributing factor of the Eurasians instead of the Tugu people on *keroncong*. This also implies that the Eurasians and the Tuguese were two distinct groups of people. How did *keroncong*, which is known to have originated in Batavia, or to be more precise, in Tugu Village, eventually become a national music? Ganap (1999) has provided us with the development of *keroncong* music;

²⁰⁰ The *morna* has been called “*Kriolu* music” par excellence (Palmberg 2002: 124), dating back to the early twentieth century. It consists of a poem that is sung in medium-tempo quadractic meter by a solo vocalist accompanied by stringed instruments such as the violin, the guitar-like *violão*, the 12-stringed *violão*, and the *cavaquinho*. Martins (1989) argues that the *morna* has European roots for its instrumentation.

²⁰¹ Interview with His Excellency Joaquim Moreira de Lemos at the Embassy of Portugal in Jakarta, Indonesia on 24/1/2014.

²⁰² Seabass (1997: 240) suggests that “*macina*” probably derived from “*machinos*” or “*machete*”, which is also known as *cavaquinho*, but in the island of Madeira it is known as “*braga*” or “*braguinha*”. *Cavaquinho* was also brought to Cape Verde, and Brazil, by the *minhotos*, and acquired the name “*ukelele*” when introduced in Hawaii by Madeiran emigrants (Morais 2010).

among the points he has raised are: the radio broadcasting of *keroncong* music and *keroncong concours* in the 1920s; the Indies communities also imitated the music in Batavia and they in turn developed many new kinds of *keroncong*. He also points to the Javanese acceptance, notably the influence of the Indonesian musician, Kusbini. Besides, the Japanese who occupied Indonesia in the 1940s used *keroncong* to disseminate propagandistic messages and the music gradually acquired trans-ethnic and national popularity. After that, *Keroncong Tugu* entered a hiatus for almost thirty years due to the socio-political unrest in Tugu Village, until Jacobus Quiko took the lead to reactivate *Keroncong Tugu* with Arend Michiels playing the cello, *Opa* Waas the violin and mandolin, Joseph Quiko and Marthen Sopaheluwakan the guitars, Piet Tentua the *macina* and violin, Hiskia Yunus the *prounga*, Fernando Quiko the *rebana*, and Elpido Quiko the triangle.

The Tuguese are not only musicians but they have fabricated their instruments such as *prounga*, *jitera*, and *keroncong* in the past.²⁰³ Various families in Tugu claimed that their ancestors could make instruments. Salvius and Frenky Abrahams told me that their father was a carpenter, who not only made furniture but also played *keroncong* and even sang to them at night.²⁰⁴ A Tugu resident who started playing in the OKMT ensemble in 1969 recalled:

We made our own *keroncong*, using chisel and wood...mine was sold by Prana Abrahams to a Japanese. In the past, many *Orang Tugu* made their own *keroncong*. Mr. Prana Abrahams also made (*keroncong*). We were able but the grips were done by the elderly, like *opa* Leo Salomons; Prana Abrahams and Pete Tentua made the strings, Herry Michiels too, almost every house made (*keroncong*).... We gathered together in our free time, our houses located far from one another, we met several times for practice, but we practiced not because we had to perform (...). If the church celebrated anniversary, bazaar, and also during Christmas, whenever necessary we played *keroncong*. In the past, no. In the 1970s, *keroncong* did not accompany church service. If there were visitors or tourists, only then we performed at the churchyard. (Hiskia Yunus 17/11/2013)

Another account from a key informant adds that:

In the 1960s, *keroncong* was on a hiatus and only re-emerged in the 1970s. We only used *keroncong* when celebrating *Rabo-rabo* and *Mandi-mandi*, not during Christmas. In the past there was *keroncong* but only practice sessions at different homes. The only wedding that had *keroncong* was Daniel Mega Tadoes' wedding. Maybe before the Tugu escaped to the Netherlands, there were weddings that had *keroncong*, but as far as I can remember, Daniel's wedding was the only one. Last time there was *keroncong* practice at my house,

²⁰³ Ganap (2011) and Espada (2012) have mentioned the name of Leo Salomons as a *keroncong* maker from Tugu, where his products were sold at Thio Teck Hong.

²⁰⁴ Personal communications on 20/10/2013 and 11/11/2013 at their respective homes. However, I was puzzled when I listened to the same account about the selling of self-made *keroncong* to a Japanese visitor from three different parties (individuals and families), who claimed that they (or their fathers) were the makers of *keroncong* and had offered it to a Japanese visitor who came to Tugu looking for a *keroncong* maker.

and at the houses of Cheng Bok, Aleta, Joseph.... then only Antonio (Pinto da França) came.... (Erni Michiels 18/1/2014)

These two accounts inform us that *Keroncong Tugu* had not always been associated with their church, but we gather that in the 1970s it was played during special events like Bazaar, Christmas, and the Church anniversary, and most of all, during *Mandi-mandi* and *Rabo-rabo*. From a leisure activity, *Keroncong Tugu* has also now become a performance for tourists who visit *Gereja Tugu* or Kampung Tugu.

Tugu Repertoires²⁰⁵ and Ensembles

The hallmark of *Keroncong Tugu* is their Portuguese Creole songs that are still sung today, notably *Jan Kaga Leti*, *Gatu du Matu*, *Cafrinho*, and *Nina Bobo*. In “*A Viagens das Palavras*”, Maria Isabel Tomas (2008) has cited several examples to show that the figure of the *Cafrinho* was present in the oral tradition of all communities of the Portuguese Creoles in Asia. In Sri Lanka, there are two forms of popular music and dance associated with the Portuguese – the *Kaffrinha* and *Baila* (Jayasuriya 2007, 2008). However, I have not found evidence to ascertain whether the Tugu “*Cafrinho*” is related to the *Kaffrinha*²⁰⁶ music in Sri Lanka.

According to Ganap (2011: 113) who relates the developments of Tugu repertoires with the local socio-political situation, Portuguese Creole songs can be categorized as the repertoires of the first generation of *Keroncong Tugu* before the birth of the second generation; the latter brought repertoires in Dutch or mixed Dutch with Malay repertoires, as represented by the Indisch culture of the Indos population in Batavia. The current generation, which is also the third, further incorporated regional songs on top of what they inherited from the first and second generations of musicians.

When I questioned whether *Keroncong* songs from Tugu had nuances of Christianity, my key informant claimed that they did; however, no proof was given. The only concrete example is *Tanah Toegoe*²⁰⁷ (literally “The Land of Tugu”) – a song written by this informant a few years ago as a dedication to a good friend of Ambonese background:

²⁰⁵ The musicology, notation, lyrics, and background of the Tugu repertoires have been analysed by Ganap in his monograph *Krontjong Toegoe* (2011).

²⁰⁶ On the etymology of *Kaffrinha*: According to de Jayasuriya (2006), the word was used by the Arabs to describe non-Muslims and it became an ethnonym for Africans as the Europeans adopted the Arabic term, whereas English travellers reported *cofferes* (a word they used for Africans) in India, but apparently, the majority of *cofferes* in Goa had come from Mozambique. Jayasuria (2006: 281-282) gives the examples that the variations for the same term, such as *Cafre*, *Caffre*, *Caffree*, *Kafara*, *Kafra*, *Kaphirs*, *Khafris*, *Kafirs*, *Kaffirs*, *Kapiris*, *Kapilis*, and *Hapris* have been used to describe Africans in Asia; in some parts of Asia these labels still apply.

²⁰⁷ See “Tanah Tugu., by Keroncong Tugu.” YouTube video, 5.00, posted by “Gus Haryanto,” October 7, 2010, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4sgQiJ5B5OE>

Tanah Toegoe

*Beta datang ke Tanah Tugu,
indah permai nan elok rupanya;
Candrabaga nama sungainya,
keroncong Tugu mengalir indah;
Rumah Tuhan berdiri megah,
di tenggara teluk Jakarta Raya;
Hidup rukun dan sejahtera,
bersaudara samunya*

Chorus:

*Tuhan jaga kitape tanah tugu,
yang penuh liku-liku
Walau banyak onak dan duri,
kan beta jaga sampai mati.
Tuhan jaga kitape tanah Tugu,
Yang penuh liku-liku,
Walau banyak hina dan nista,
Kan beta jaga selamanya.*

The Land of Toegoe

I come to the land of Tugu,
how beautiful and peaceful it is
Candrabaga is the name of its river,
Keroncong Tugu flows beautifully
The house of God stands tall,
in the southeast of Jakarta bay
Living in harmony and peace,
we are all family

Chorus:

God, take care of us in the land of Tugu;
This land that is full of twists and turns
Even though there are thistles and thorns,
I will take care of her till I die
God, take care of us in Tugu,
This land that is full of difficulties
Although there are humiliation and insults,
I will take care of her forever.

This song is written in Ambonese slang and hails the beauty of Tugu, making reference to the Candrabaga river,²⁰⁸ the beautiful sound of *keroncong*, and the house of God, which is *Gereja Tugu*, juxtaposed against the complicated circumstances and conflicts in Tugu. Other Tugu songs written in Malay/Indonesian allude to the natural environment and situation in Tugu Village, e.g. *Bunga Teratai*²⁰⁹ (*Lotus Flower*, author and year unknown), *Kampung Serani* (*Christian Village*, author and year unknown), *Kampung Tugu* (*Tugu Village*, written and composed by Milton Augustino Michiels in 2013); whereas a love song like *Oh Kekasihku* (*Oh, My Lover*) was sung since the 1970s but the composer is unknown.

Currently, there are a total of four ensembles in Tugu. Most of the players do not earn their living by merely playing *keroncong* but have other full-time jobs and treat *keroncong* as a part-time income earning activity. This is understandable as the frequency of their performances is also based upon demand, and usually, there are fewer events during the fasting month. They play at Tugu events but do not necessarily appear all together on the same occasion. They are invited and paid to perform not only at state events, but also for private enterprises, churches,

²⁰⁸ The river mentioned on the Tugu stone inscription, discovered within the Tugu area.

²⁰⁹ See “Bunga Teratai - Saartje Michiels dan Krontjong Toegoe.” YouTube video, 5.51, posted by “krontjongtoegoe ITPP”, July 25, 2012. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KOArfPqejPM>

weddings, welcoming guests, etc.²¹⁰ In a one-hour performance, *Keroncong Tugu* ensembles may start with an instrumental song and end with the well-known Betawi song, *Jali-jali*; in between, the most frequently presented repertoires include *Pasar Gambir*, *Nonton Bioskop*, *Oud Batavia*, *Gang Kelinci*, *Stambul Betawi*, *Alusiau*, etc.²¹¹

The *keroncong* ensembles in Tugu are inclusive in their recruitments of group members. Non-Tugu musicians have often been engaged due to the lack of players for certain instruments, especially the violin. The OKTM I had an outsider named Eddy Waas who played the violin and an Indo vocalist fondly known as *oma* Christine by the Tugu residents. All current groups have non-Tugu vocalist or musicians. Religion, gender, age, experience, and musical knowledge also do not prevent anyone from being enlisted. Musicians, regardless of gender, wear the same costume; only the female lead singers who perform by standing in front of the ensemble tend to stand out in their fashionable *kebaya* dress and hairstyling. In the following sections, we can identify two distinct notions of performance offered by Carlson (2004: 72): on the one hand the display of skill; on the other hand, less exhibition of particular skills but more display of a recognized culturally coded pattern of behaviour.

Krontjong Cafrinho Tugu (KCT)

KCT was formed by the late Samuel Quiko in 1991 and is currently led by his son Guido Quiko. Born in 27 May 1969 in Kampung Tugu, Guido is the youngest of seven children (Alfredo, now in Bengkulu), Bernardo (now in Bali), Carolina (now in Cipandang), Diana (now in Bekasi), Eugeniana (living next door to Guido), and Filipina (died at birth) from Tuguese Samuel Quiko and Ratini Tawang who is from Cirebon. Guido relates that his elder brother Bernardo also has musical talent, having played in KCT before he moved to Bali. His sister, Carolina was a singer. Guido has two younger siblings via his father's remarriage. One of them, Rosmario, is a talented musician according to Guido and currently playing in his band. When Guido was seven, he was taught how to hold a musical instrument called the *macina* (also known as *keroncong*). His father's teaching and the availability of various musical instruments

²¹⁰ When Ganap was doing his research on *Krontjong Toegoe*, there were only two groups, namely the *Krontjong Cafrinho Tugu* (KCT) and the *Krontjong Toegoe* (KT). Both of these groups have participated in the *Tong Tong* Fair in Den Hague. KCT for example, was first invited to perform in 1989 and after that, they have returned to play in 1994, 1996, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004 (Ganap 2011: 223).

²¹¹ This is observed when I followed performances of the KT band at the Batavia Arts Festival in Kota Tua, Jakarta (21/6/2013), at the House of Representatives in conjunction with the birthday of Jakarta Festival (22/6/2013), *Jajanan Betawi* at Pondok Indah Mall, Jakarta (28/6/2013), Jakarta Street Food Festival at Artha Gading Mall, Jakarta (14/12/2013). I also followed the KCT band to their performances at Jaksa Street Festival (24/8/2013) and Senayan City Mall (16/8/2013).

at home also motivated him to pick up different instruments, some of which as an autodidact. He managed to play *macina*, *prounga*, guitar, cello and contra-bass, except the violin. Amongst these instruments, some were purchased but others were handmade, especially the *macina*, *prounga*, and *jitera*, as wooden materials from big trees like *nangka*, *sawo*, *kembang*, and *kenanga* are available in Kampung Tugu. The strings were made from the skin of *waru* trees after soaking and followed by twisting. If the *jitera* is too big, the wood will break; therefore, they replaced the instrument with the guitar.

After attending high school in Bali for three years, Guido returned to Kampung Tugu in 1990 and that marks the beginning of his career in the entertainment industry. He started to conduct a music workshop, form a band, do recording jobs and work as an arranger, composer, and sound engineer. He has travelled to the Netherlands four times to perform *Keroncong Tugu* at the *Pasar Malam Besar* (also known as the *Tong Tong* Fair). He spent most of his time outside of Kampung Tugu when he was still a bachelor. After his father passed away in 2006, once again he returned to Kampung Tugu in 2009, resided in the family house, and took over KCT with the assistance of his sister Eugeniana, who lives next door. He explains that his mandate is to preserve the *Keroncong Tugu* heritage and he emphasizes “*Keroncong Tugu asli*” (original Tugu *keroncong*), which means:

Original means follow the existing rules. Our *keroncong* history is not a speech, there is history in *keroncong*. There is history in the musical instrument that we use, in the songs that we play, in their attributes. If one of these disappears... We are not to change the music... (but) our children may change (the music). From 1925 until now, we have preserved (the music) like this, and that is what the Indonesian government wants, so that Tugu is identifiable with the way it was, not to become something popular... We were already great from before, only nobody knew about that (Guido Quiko 8/9/2013).

The idea of authenticity that pervades folklore studies (Bendix 1997) is encountered in this group. Guido’s notion of “*Keroncong Tugu asli*” refers to abiding by old rules, i.e. the way *keroncong* was played during his father’s time. He often emphasizes that it is more difficult to maintain the tradition than to create something new. He gave an example: his younger band members play pop music very well, but if he does not insist on them playing the “*asli*” (original), he fears that the next generation might change the style, and ultimately, the future outcome will deviate from the original. It is by holding on to the original *Keroncong Tugu* that this group preserves its trademark, which is also endowed with market value, as Bendix has already observed: “once a cultural good has been declared authentic, the demand for it rises, and it

acquires a market value...folklore can be endlessly replicated and imitated – any member of the ‘folk’ should be equipped with the skill and spirit to produce some lore” (Bendix 1997: 8).

Guido plays multiple roles on stage – as a leader, lead vocalist, as well as guitarist. He also has a Batak and a Betawi female vocalists who take turns singing and interacting with the audience. Guido married a Muslim wife, converted to Islam, and adopted a new name – Edo Yahya. When I curiously asked which name he prefers to use, he replied: “Depending on the context”. Besides *keroncong*, he is also involved in *dangdut*. Different from other *Keroncong Tugu* bands, KCT has a mixed membership of Muslims and Christians.

Krontjong Toegoe (KT)

While Guido Quiko was taught to play *keroncong* at a young age and was free to pick up any musical instruments that were found at home, the current leader of KT, Andre Michiels, who was born in 25 May 1967 to Arend Julinse Michiels and Deertje Sepang, had a different upbringing. To Arend J. Michiels who formed KT in 1986, *keroncong* is sacred; children were not only prohibited to touch the musical instruments, but could only watch from a distance whenever there was a routine practice at home. The children perceived that the musical instruments were costly, hence the adults kept them away. As a consequence, when Andre was 21 years old, he was still unable to play music but then his father asked him to join KT. Thinking it was too late, he was reluctant in the beginning. He then worked in a variety of fields including the automobile sector, which opened up the door to the business of handling container trucks.

In July 1988, Arend J. Michiels called upon the Tugu youth to play *keroncong*, and at the same time, a modest band called *Krontjong Toegoe* was set up with the objective of encouraging and including young Tuguese as a form of preserving and passing on the tradition. It has been described that the interaction between *Krontjong Toegoe* and local society is like “thirst-quenching water” as *Orang Tugu* requested to have the music practice at their home and take turns, until they also began to get involved in a wider circle, playing at wedding parties and during Christian services.²¹² Following the decease of Arend Michiels in 1992, Andre felt the duty to carry on his father’s effort in KT. His business dealing with container trucks was profitable and could help to support expenses involving KT.

A standard KT performance lasts for two hours with two sessions of 45 minutes and a thirty-minute interval in between. Besides performing *keroncong* repertoires, KT tried to include popular songs from bands like the Beatles and *Koes Plus*. “Regeneration” is the approach taken

²¹² According to Arthur Michiels (12/12/2014)

by Andre, who is committed to raising the standard of KT by developing professional musicians and including the younger generations to play in his group. With this vision, he made sure that his own sons obtained formal music training. Arend Stevanus, his elder son, is mastering the violin in a music school, whereas Adrian Justinus, the second son who is schooling in Solo, Central Java, plays *prounga* and percussion instruments. KT consists of Saartje Michiels as the main vocalist and the players are her siblings (Andre, Arthur, Tino), Arend (Andre's son), Bella (Andre's cousin), and three non-Tuguese professional musicians who play the guitar and *rebana*.

Instead of speaking about authenticity, its singer Saartje describes her style of singing as “*com coração*” (singing from the heart); her brother Tino affirms that the most important criterion is to play with their hearts. In recent years, Saartje has learnt several European Portuguese songs from the Portuguese teacher in Tugu, e.g. *Rosa Branca* (by the famous Portuguese fadista, Amália), Vitorino's *Menina Está à Janela, O Pastor* (by Madredeus) etc. Her daughter, Angel, had learnt *Tres Pombinhas* – a song which she often sang in front of visitors. The group emphasizes the importance of having a concept, not just performing, getting paid, and going home. The kind of event that they are invited to play at, the theme, the stage, who the spectators and VIPs are: all of these will be taken into consideration in building a concept. The concept is a result of collective discussions, which will lead to the decision of choosing the appropriate costume and the placement of musical instruments.

Some musical instruments, especially the double-bass, were redesigned and custom-made, especially when they realized that the size of the conventional double-bass caused inconvenience when they travel for performances. Other instruments such as the *macina* and *prounga* were also custom-made to produce better sounds, besides having the symbol of the Mardijkers carved on the instruments. The group placed importance on the sound produced by their instruments as well as the sound system at the place where they perform. Hence, they emphasize conducting a sound-check by arriving hours before the performance, sometimes even a day before the event. Nevertheless, the modification of musical instruments is another point of debate that distinguishes KT from KCT. While KCT disagrees with changing the rules of traditional style and questioned the use of wired instruments, KT welcomes the use of technology as it enhances not only the sound but also the appearance of the instruments as well as the group.

D' Mardijkers Junior Toegoe (DMJT)

In his commitment to encourage and train the younger generation to play *keroncong*, Andre Juan Michiels founded the *D' Mardijkers Junior Toegoe* band on 5 October 2008. Initially it was not easy to bring the youths to practice music. Now they usually practice every Saturday evening around 4pm to 6pm at the studio behind *Rumah Tua*. DMJT first began performing at the Festival Kampoeng Toegoe 2008, which was attended by the ambassador of Portugal. Since then their popularity has increased and now they often perform at various events and have even appeared on television. DMJT is also expected to popularize *keroncong* among the younger generation. Tino, who taught these youths to be proud of their progress, commented that “they have developed their own style”. Andre Michiels is regarded as a father-figure (“*papi Andre*”, as they address him) among band members aged between eight to twenty-five, and who are mostly from the Michiels clan, e.g. Nabilla and her brother Rafaella Formes; the sisters Augusta and Juliette Michiels; brothers Arend and Adrian Michiels; and their cousin Jeffrey Michiels.

Krontjong Muda-Mudi Cornelis (KMMC)

KMMC was founded by a Tugu housewife, Melly Cornelis, for serving the church. Melly's daughter, Sharly Abrahams, and her Javanese daughter-in-law, Kristanto, manage the group. The band players consist of members from the Cornelis clan, namely Santana Manurung, a full-time music teacher who is an all-rounder, the brothers Diego Caezar Kailuhu and Yunus Kailuhu, who started learning when he was 15 years old, Timotius Widhi Sasmita who plays the cajon, and violinist Lupita Gloria Quiko-Cornelis. Sharly's younger brother, Oskar Agmel Abrahams, plays the *prounga* whereas his wife Sisca sings occasionally for the group. Eko, a non-Tugu full-time musician who plays for KT, is also part of this band.

The group has their routine practice every week at the studio of *Gereja Tugu*; occasionally, the Men's Fellowship Vocal Group joins them for practice when they have to prepare for song presentations. The songs are mainly Christian music themes. Besides playing in GPIB Tugu about once a month in a Sunday Church service, they are also invited to play in other churches around Jakarta as well as at events not related to the Church. In this case, they usually present songs that are fixed by the organizer. For events not related to church ministry, songs are normally selected by the vocalists and then the musicians do the arrangements. As the band is set up for ministerial purposes particularly in churches, they normally are not paid but offered some contributions. 10% of any payment received belongs to the group fund, for the purchase or maintenance of musical instruments, while the rest is shared equally amongst members.

The core members of KMMC are also musicians in KCT. If there is a clash, priority is to be given to the latter because KMMC is a non-profit organization. When I asked one of the players by the name of Yunus why he is involved in two groups, he said that since most of the people who play in KCT are Cornelis, why does Cornelis not set up their own group? Although the name is *keroncong muda-mudi* (youth *keroncong*), there is no age limit and it is not restricted to Tugu members, so anyone can come and join and learn for free.

The profiles of these ensembles do not only show us the kin relations between the members, but also reveal their band identity, which in two cases are related to their family identities. KCT, an ensemble linked to the Quiko clan, see their ancestors as the forerunners of *Keroncong Tugu* ensembles, and holds onto the notion of tradition that is linear and chronological – a tradition passed down from Jacobus Quiko to Samuel Quiko and Fernando Quiko, then to Guido Quiko. The KT ensemble led by the Michiels portrays a strong Mardijkers identity that is not only reflected in the naming of the junior group, but more so in their discourse that associates leadership and a fighting spirit with historical reference to the Mardijkers who were freed slaves, soldiers, and captains like Major Jantje. When speaking to the senior group or junior group, their expressions are fused with a belief in sacrifice for the community. Their concept of tradition sees the past as an avenue, but they also learn from people and groups that exist now, particularly in terms of professionalism and formal education. In other words, the KT and DMJT bands are more concerned with what Bourdieu calls symbolic capital, founded on a dialectic of knowledge via formal musical education, as well as recognition or honour. The interests and resources at stake in the cultural field of *keroncong*, hence, are not always material, but constitute recognition, consecration, and prestige. Having said that, what has been observed by the author appears to be the opposite of Ganap's earlier observation in his 1999 report: the Quiko *keroncong* group led by Samuel Quiko is more forward looking, embracing outsiders, and has a consideration for commercialization, while the IKBT *keroncong*, led by the Michiels, is holding on to a more traditional style.

Finally, the KMMC ensemble, connected to the Cornelis clan, does not demonstrate a clan identity, as the members of the Cornelis clan itself are not clear about the history of their origin; rather, they stick to their objective of serving the Church.

Tugu Festivals and *Keroncongs*

The two main festivals specific to Tugu are *Mandi-mandi* and *Rabo-rabo*. Ganap (1999: 17) sees that *keroncong* at *Rabo-rabo* functions as an entertainment and a vehicle for community integration, but above all, as an identity for the Tugu village community. I approach these

festivals as rituals as well as celebrations. Ritual, among other definitions²¹³, are “performances that are repeated, patterned, and frequently include ceremonial actions that incorporate symbols, action, repetition; and perhaps most significant to our being able to recognize rituals, they have a frame that indicates when the ritual begins and ends” (Myerhoff 1977: 200). In order for ritual to happen, there must be a set of beliefs and values that members of a group accept and want to have reinforced. The *Mandi-mandi* festival discussed in the previous chapter consists of two parts: the first is a formal one, a religious session similar to a church service. The interval is a communal lunch followed by the second part, which is a festive mode when *keroncong* music, dancing, and the drinking of alcohol are involved together with the ritual of forgiveness performed by putting powder on the faces of participants. This begins with the elderly, the VIPs, the community leaders, and any person who the emcee has invited to come forward for the opening ceremony of *Mandi-mandi*. These people will start performing the powder ritual before going around, and it is only when they break out from their circle that we can say that what Turner calls *communitas* has emerged.

The opening song was “*mande-mande*”, an Ambonese folk song which I was told has nothing to do with the Tugu’s *Mandi-mandi*. *Poco-poco*, a kind of line dance from Eastern Indonesia, tends to emerge when participants flow with the music and spontaneously dance in a line with *poco-poco* steps. On this occasion, *keroncong* is not dominated by a single band, although there can be one band that is available or responsible for the music. Participants or audiences are free to step up to the stage, take the microphone to sing solo, with the band, or with the crowd.²¹⁴ Before I go on to analyze the *Rabo-rabo*, I use the following account from my field diary to illustrate what happens during this festival:

Rabo-rabo (1 January 2014)

Outside Guido’s house, Erni led us into a prayer before starting the event with everyone bowing their heads and closing their eyes. The first house we went to was Erna Loen’s, opposite Guido’s house. Elsa and her mum came out to greet us and the group started to sing “*Hura-hura Cincin*”, a song from the Moluccas. Andreia took photographs, and we moved on to cross the main road to *Om Nyo Nyo* (R. S. Andries). Andreia said that she had to leave. Lodi offered to send her back to Lisa’s house with her motorbike so that Lisa could drive her outside to take a taxi. “*Curang!*” (Cheating!), they called those who used motorbikes instead of walking. Elsa then followed us to visit the next house.

²¹³ See for example “Ritual and Current Studies of Ritual: Overview” by Bobby C. Alexander. A general definition of ritual is: “a performance, planned or improvised, that effects a transition from everyday life to an alternative context within which the everyday is transformed” (Alexander 1997: 139).

²¹⁴ In the 2014 *Mandi-mandi*, there were some policemen present; one of them stepped up to sing a Batak folk song “*Alusiau*”; he announced that he had never experienced this festival, which he enjoyed very much, and he was pleased to donate 100,000 rupiah to the organizer.

Outside *Om Nyo Nyo*'s house, Erni said "Don't just stand outside, go and greet the *Tuan Rumah* (owner of the house)". She seemed to notice something and said that on purpose. After shaking hands and kissing the hosts *Om Nyo Nyo* and his wife *Tante Elida*, we moved on to the next house. Somebody asked Erni, "How about *Om Alex* (pseudonym)?" (whose house is across the street); Erni replied that there is no need to go, "*dia tak pernah bergaul*" ("He never socialized"), she added. There was no objection or discussion. Arriving at the house of my host family, Luki was already standing outside to greet us, in his every-day white coloured t-shirt and Bermuda jeans. One line of people took turns to greet Luki and another line greeted Saartje, who was wearing a black t-shirt and a mini-skirt. A lady beside me commented that she looked different without makeup. The group played "*Sirih Kuning*", and Saartje sang and danced. She joked with the visitors, including Ena. The group remained almost the same people, as the residents from these two houses did not "tail" behind. I noticed some unfamiliar faces and learnt that one of them was the young widow of a Michiels who does not live in Tugu; another is a friend of Ena and the girlfriend of a Formes joining for fun.

The next was Frenky Abraham but they said his house was empty, so we went straight to the *pastori*. Pastor Herlina and her husband, Manuel Raintung, came out to receive us. We spent a longer time here compared to the previous houses, singing three to four songs. The pastors clapped their hands but did not dance with the Tuguese. On the way to the next house, someone asked me "Saartje's daughter is getting married, ya? People said that we (*Orang Tugu*) are not invited"; perhaps they thought I know more info since I stayed with Saartje. We walked to Erni's house at the end of the main road, bypassing Carel's house. At Erni's house, bottles of beer were served. Nobody and nothing seemed to distract Julius when he danced. The house is filled with Christmas decorations, e.g. Christmas tree, red ribbons on the main door, golden paper bells dropping from the ceiling, purple ribbons surrounding the pillars at the verandah.

Next we crossed the highway to visit the Cornelis. First to Arnold Cornelis then Merry. With the help of Joise, we approached Merry to take her household census. By the time I finished with Merry, the *Rabo-rabo* group had headed back to Tugu. When Joise and I walked back to Tugu Indah, we saw the group leaving Oma Denni's house. I still paid her a visit and she let me try her *schotel*; the taste was somehow different from the one made by Uta at home. I also tried Lodi's *nastar*. Since the siblings came back for the gathering, I requested to take some photos with the Tentua family. The rest has moved on to Ina's house. When I reached Ina's house, the crowd was again leaving for another house, probably Juley Yunus, Sri Abrahams, or Robby Sopaheluwakan? Ina's famous *gado-gado* almost finished, so I only had a taste of it. Roy (The Ambonese neighbour) also joined the crowd. I tried to catch up but they had already returned from Om Robby. Then, I followed them to *rumah tua* Quiko. I entered the house to greet Fatma, and the Quiko siblings (Meiga, Foni, and Elly). When the group played "Alusiau" and "Situmorang", Elly began to move with *tortor*. Her Muslim husband Mr. Rambe stood there watching.

We still had more to go. A brief stop at the Thomas house and then to Waty Michiels. I did not see her brother, *Om Kres*; he had told me that he is not into celebrations, only funerals. Soon, we were at the house of Estrelita Quiko. As usual, she sang a few songs, maintaining her countenance like a *keroncong* singer of the good old days. Flowing with the songs, Erni held her husband's hand and danced; their eyes did not meet. Just a few steps away are where the Rame-Bungas and the Formes live. Yuni Formes served us cold drinks and we rested for a while. I went back to Lisa's house to recharge my camera battery. Lisa, Ebron, and their family friends from the Netherlands, Audrey and Bram, were ready to receive guests at the patio, well-dressed, with drinks and chairs arranged. Since this is the next stop I decided to wait here for the group to arrive. Then, the *Rabo-rabo* gang

come with a Batak song because Lisa's husband is a Batak. Very soon they moved on to the Mega-Tadoes. *Om Minggu*, who was suffering from a stroke, sat in the middle of his car porch to welcome the guests; he shed tears and choked when we greeted him. By then, I realized the songs are repeated in a few houses, especially *Overal*, *Jali-jali*, *Sirih Kuning*, *Sio Mama*, *Bate-bate Porta*, *Alusiao/Situmorang*, etc. Enos Formes was almost always the one who raised his hands and sang in a loud voice "*pulang, marilah pulang, marilah pulang, bersama-sama*", as a signal to leave and go to the next house.

When we reached the Coruas house, Oma Tina was already sitting outside the gate, by the road, as she usually does with her daughters and daughters-in-law. After greeting and singing, we turned into the small alley "Gang Benyamin" to Gerard Corua's house. The crowd stood outside to sing, but it seemed like not everyone went inside to greet the family. Gerard, who was in a critical condition, was emotional, complaining that he could not walk; when Julius Sopaheluwakan saw his condition, sitting on a mat with his swollen feet, he too became emotional and went forward to hug him and cry with him. Joise, who was observing, shed tears and asked me to take a photo of her with Gerard.

I began to feel tired of walking – it has been nonstop from 1.30pm and by then it was already 5 or something. I was tempted to take the trishaw instead. When reaching the house of the late Bernes Michiels, there were probably 50 persons; everyone found a place to sit, outside and inside the house, until being invited to help ourselves with the dinner prepared. I was so thirsty I only wanted to drink and not eat. After eating and resting, Erni stood up to thank everyone; she mentioned my name, and thanked me for studying Tugu. After that I had some conversations with Alfonso, Enos, and Julius. Until almost 9pm, I ask Enos if he could send me home. By then, almost everyone had left; only the family members were still around.

It is surprising to me that some of the Tugu people whom I have never seen, like Enos and the Sopaheluwakan brothers, are so active when it comes to *Rabo-rabo*. Joise was right; she said "Ateng" (Marthen) will surely be there in *Rabo-rabo*. The most surprising thing for me was that there were no *keroncong* bands taking part. Erni was disappointed, but she said that she saved the day by asking the Formes to play *keroncong*. It turned out that Bella (from DMJT band) had to play guitar and violin, while Rosmarino (from KCT band) played the cello and ukulele; other Tugunese, like Marthen Sopaheluwakan, took turns to play the ukelele, whereas Alfonso Andries and Waty Michiel's nephews, played *rebana*.

The *Rabo-rabo*, like *Mandi-mandi*, have the four traits of celebration outlined by Manning (1983: 4). It is a performance as well as entertainment; is done in public, and is participatory. Although *Mandi-mandi* usually takes place at a Tugunese's house, it is open to the public. Sometimes a stage platform is prepared but if this is not available, the *keroncong* players still take the center stage to perform and to entertain the participants; anyone who can play musical instruments may take turns to play. Similarly, at *Rabo-rabo*, *keroncong* are not bounded by the bands they belong to, but consist of anyone who can play the *rebana*, cello, guitar, ukulele, and violin, as these are easier to carry along. It is crucial to have people playing *keroncong* music; if not, it will turn out to be a normal house-to-house greeting and not a uniquely Tugu tradition.

Usually, a leader will determine the meeting point and the sequence of houses to be visited; ideally, as many as possible. Due to the distance, traffic, and sometimes flooded area like Beting, the route for *Rabo-rabo* does not cover the whole area as shown on the map of Tugu in chapter three, and it may be slightly different every year.²¹⁵ When approaching a house, the song sung is usually “*Overal*” (a Dutch Indies song) or “*Cafrinho*” (also known as “*Bate-bate Porta*”), a Tugu Creole song. The chorus parts are repeated, perhaps because many of the participants do not know the lyrics. While everyone takes turns to greet the host, songs were sung based on the ethnic background of the hosts; if the host is *Batak*, they will sing a traditional *Batak* song like *Alusiau* or *Situmorang*; if it is a native Tugu family, it is common to sing Betawi songs like *Jali-Jali* and *Sirih Kuning*, whereas Ambonese-Tugu or Timorese-Tugu families will be greeted with songs like *Sio Mama* or *Hura-hura Cincin*. The duration of the stay at each stop depends on how many songs are sung and whether food is served by the host. When it is time to proceed to the next house, they use the last verse of a traditional Malay/Indonesian folksong *Geylang Si Paku Geylang* – “*Pulang, marilah pulang, marilah pulang, bersama-sama*” (Come, let’s go home, together) as a call to leave. In the 2014 *Rabo-rabo*, we visited at least twenty-five houses in five hours from the start to the end.

At this juncture, I want to link to another celebration or ritual important to the Tugu people – the *malam Natal* (Christmas Eve) discussed in chapter five, because the first series of house-to-house greetings actually begins on Christmas night (25th December). It is common for the younger ones to start by visiting the oldest or the older Tugu people first. Similarly, during *Rabo-rabo*, the route for visitation also takes the senior members of the Tugu community into consideration. The families being visited have no obligation to offer food but some will serve drinks and cakes. The visitors also do not have to inform about their coming, and gifts are not needed. Christmas Eve and New Year’s Eve are special times of the year when family members will come together for prayer at midnight. The grandparents, parents, uncles, or aunts open their houses to welcome their grandchildren, children, nieces, and nephews even until 2am to 3am.²¹⁶ A key informant described it this way:

²¹⁵ In 2013, the first *Rabo-rabo* that I participated in still proceeded to the Beting area despite the flood.

²¹⁶ When I followed the Yunus family after the midnight prayer to visit their aunt (MZ) *Oma* Anna Quiko, she was asleep when we arrived as she was not feeling well, but the house was still filled with guests sitting inside and outside. Around 3am before we left, *Oma* Ana woke up; we, the ladies (which included the Yunus sisters, their nieces, and myself) gathered in her room. She then took photos with us and said prayers for her nieces and grand-nieces.

We, the children, must go to my uncle's house...(and) aunts; if I go in the next morning it is already too late, it has to finish on that night, the next morning I would not be accepted, not getting their handshake....it means I have no manners. My father has three brothers, I went to the house of Markus Michiels; I did not have to greet his children; his children should come to my house, because my family's genealogy is older, even though many people gathered at his place. Oma Marta, she came to (greet) my mother, because my mother was the oldest. That was the culture that we were being taught. That was the New Year's Eve. (...) I wait until morning for my nieces and nephews to come; after prayer I wait until I feel sleepy, the next day they greet me I don't receive (I say) "Next year then". If we see each other on the road, there's no need to greet me. They are my real nieces and nephews. Until 3am I will wait. The next morning, I do not want, what more on the road. They will become my guests when they come for *Rabo-rabo*, not as my nieces and nephews. (Because) the night before they do not come (to my house) for prayer, the next day they come (they) will be my guests. We were being taught that as nieces and nephews we should visit at night. Now it has changed. In the past, no; whoever is older should be appreciated (Erni Michiels 18/1/2014).

The same informant telephoned her niece (also living in Kampung Tugu) who did not pay her a visit on Christmas Eve day and asked "*Tau nggak silsilah?*" ("Do you know genealogy?") Ritual is thus the outward expression of inwardly experienced values, beliefs, and attitudes. The *Rabo-rabo* lasted about five hours by way of walking from house to house; at times it may be complicated by unfavourable conditions like floods, heavy traffic, or heat. Going against all odds, it is arguable that the performers of this ritual act out the value of respecting the elders by visiting their homes and re-enacting the value of *keroncong* music as their identity. Again, related to the reverence for elders, when a couple is getting married, they should personally visit the elders rather than sending invitation cards. When a younger person walks past the house of another Tuguese, it is considered as a polite thing to do to stop and greet the elders of that house first, before continuing on with his/her journey. This is rare nowadays, but it is emphasized by the older generation.

Perceptions of *Krontjong Toegoe/Keroncong Tugu*

In my interactions with Tugu youth, several of them stressed that "*Orang Tugu harus tau main keroncong*" ("*Orang Tugu* should know how to play *keroncong*"), but there is a general perception that, more importantly, *Orang Tugu* should be involved in *Keroncong Tugu*, because not everyone is talented in music but they can offer their support by their involvement. A section of my enumeration surveys the names and motivation of those who are or have been involved in *Keroncong Tugu* (See Appendix T). The list of people collected from this survey shows that apart from the DMJT members who started their musical journey earlier than the age of ten, a majority of the current and former band members began to get involved when they were

teenagers.²¹⁷ Among the players, a small number of them said that they were asked by their fathers to join a *keroncong* band but most of them explained that their involvement was based on a desire to preserve the Tugu heritage.

Increased exposure in the media, performing opportunities, government incentives, tourism promotion, and the development of the *Festival Kampung Tugu* led to an increase in commercialization, which in turn induced conflicts of interest and rivalry among groups, such as the accusations of stealing players and contracts, cheating, jealousy, etc. The ethnomusicologist Margaret Sarkissian (2000: 71) has observed a similar phenomenon among the Portuguese dance troupes in Malacca. The term “*Krontjong Toegoe*” is polemical in Tugu and is not to be taken lightly with reference to the social organization of the Tugu community. Misunderstanding and arguments have occurred due to the use of this term, particularly when it is used to introduce the bands. The question asked is: which *Krontjong Toegoe* does the term refer to? Does it refer to the particular group whose leader is Andre Michiels, or any groups playing the kind of *keroncong* from Tugu? This interrogation is more pertinent to the persons involved as it concerns conflict of interest; however, even the non-involved residents of Tugu also ask this question “*Krontjong Toegoe yang mana?*” (“which *Krontjong Toegoe?*”) – a question that underlies the frictions between groups in Tugu. Indifferent residents argued that outsiders only know about *Krontong Toegoe*, in the sense of “*Keroncong* from Tugu”; they may not know who the D’Mardijkers, Cafrinho, Cornelis etc. are, but probably do not know how to differentiate between these bands. Hence, why the fuss over a Tugu heritage that belongs to all Tugu people?

Families who have leaders or players in *Keroncong Tugu* ensembles like the Michiels, Quiko, and Cornelis also use *keroncong* for life-cycle events such as birthdays, thanking services, or weddings within families or clans. During such occasions, guests or family members are free to sing along, the more the merrier. For example, at the birthday party of Deetje Michiels-Sepang (22/6/2013) held at the *Rumah Tua* of the Michiels family, the members of DMJT and KT, and any guests or family members who can play musical instruments, took turns playing music while everyone was welcome to sing or dedicate songs to the person celebrating the birthday, but there was a higher expectation among family members. This is another example that the *keroncong* music is featured only after a religious service, as the birthday celebration begins with a thankful service similar to a regular weekly home worship, and the interval is a buffet-style dinner.

²¹⁷ The lists are, nonetheless, complete, as they are based on information given by respondents.

While all the ensembles in Tugu claim that they are open to all who are interested, some of those who are non-family or non-clan members felt that they did not have equal opportunities to perform, especially in significant events, as they felt that the proliferation of their own family or clan members in a group also meant that they favour their own kin. Perceptions are generally divided between those who are involved directly in *Keroncong Tugu* and those who are not. Tugu residents also point fingers at the commodification of *Keroncong Tugu*. They are dismayed that even the community had to pay the *Keroncong Tugu* ensemble for playing music at Tugu festivals like *Mandi-mandi*. The explanation given is that some of the players are non-Tuguese professional players; hence, should receive their due payment. Another opinion is that the bands are more active with their business outside of their village. This is being interpreted as their wanting to make a name for themselves by using the name of Tugu. Nonetheless, the Tugu musicians think otherwise: they claim that the non-involved Tuguese do not sacrifice or take part in preserving the musical tradition but only watch and complain about others. Still others aspire to see the realization of a *Keroncong Tugu* ensemble that represents the IKBT, i.e. the community. Another suggestion is to have a performance available daily with different bands taking turns, so that when visitors come they will be entertained by *Keroncong Tugu* music, more so when *Gereja Tugu* is listed as one of the twelve touristic destinations of North Jakarta by the local government, whereas *Keroncong Tugu* is included as one of the Betawi traditions that also represent Jakarta. Why is this so? We shall now turn our attention to the background of the Betawis.

Becoming Betawi

Batavia, Jakarta, and Betawi identity

When we were slaves, this area was forest but there were already residents in the surrounding areas. Were they orang Betawi? In the past, no. Only recently they are called Betawi. Due to the condition of *Orang Tugu*, and lately they intermarried with the societies around them, in the end they become Betawi, and automatically some of the *Orang Tugu* are Betawi. Moreover, because *Orang Tugu* are the native residents of Jakarta, therefore, the local authority decided that *Orang Tugu* are included in the Betawi ethnic group... that's it... Hence, during the *Lebaran*²¹⁸ of the Betawi, several times *Krontjong Toegoe* were invited to participate. (...) During the time of Fauzi Bowo²¹⁹, *Krontjong Toegoe* was engaged to perform twice a month. (Arthur Michiels 17/1/2014).

²¹⁸ *Lebaran* (a localized term for the Arabic *Eid-al-Fitr*), is a national holiday that marks the end of the Muslim holy fasting month of Ramadan.

²¹⁹ Governor of Jakarta between 2007 and 2012.

This emic perspective touches on three points: 1. the processes whereby Betawi is a recently emerged category, a point which will be elaborated on later; 2. the Tugu become Betawi not only due to interactions and intermarriage, but also because they are natives of Jakarta; 3. consequently, they participated in Betawi events. While writing her thesis on the Betawi, Shahab has found it intriguing that the *Keroncong Tugu* ensembles whose songs and costumes have always portrayed Portuguese identity tended to perform on Betawi official occasions (1994: 140). There are basically two categories of Betawi within the Tugu concept: the first category is a Betawi by birth who is also a Muslim. The second category is often not so readily professed by the Tugu, but is what Knorr (2014) calls “ethnic and trans-ethnic references” whereby the Mardijkers can fit in too.

To talk about the Betawis or Betawiness, one has to start with the context of Batavia during the Dutch colonization. It was a long process, tracing back to the early colonial period, before the Betawi formally constituted themselves as an ethnic group in 1923. Hence, I speak about the Tugu people less as Jakartans but more in relation to Betawi; the main reason is that Jakarta is based on the idea of a nation – Indonesia – while Betawi culture, derived from “Batavia”, is founded on the specific geo-political condition of Batavia with its mixed population. Research on the Betawi is scarce and I rely mainly on the studies by Shahab (1994, 2001a, 2001b) as my main source, while I also refer to Castles (1967), Nas and Grijns (2000), and Knorr (2014). There are a few important points that I will highlight from these studies:

1. Batavia’s population is diverse

In Dutch-conquered Batavia, human resources were acquired from people outside of Batavia, especially from Bali and Southern Sulawesi. Besides people from the Archipelago itself, there were merchants from China, South Asia, Arabia; soldiers from the Philippines; prisoners of war from the Portuguese settlements of India; and slaves from the South Asian mainland, the Coromandel Coast, Malabar, Bengal and Arakan in Burma. All these added to the diversity of the population in Batavia. The Sundanese from the interior of Western Java and the Javanese also constituted the labour force of Batavia as the Dutch gradually took control over Java. Nonetheless, they were not allowed to live in the city as the Dutch feared that they might revolt.

2. The “Batavian” category only emerged in the 1930 Census

In the 1893 census, there were only four categories of population in Batavia: Europeans, Arabs, Chinese, and the indigenous people. The 1930 shows a category of people

identified as Batavians, who might have been the same group as those who were registered as indigenous in the 1893 registration, another group of people who were classified under the label “Tugu and Depok people” (Shahab 1994: 138). Castles (1967) believes that the “Batavian” category became the Betawi people. Based on the population registrations, it has been argued that the final formation of the Betawi occurred in the late nineteenth century. The slaves who lived in Batavia and environs were far away from their original ethnic origins and cultural background. Ethnic identities of slaves and settlers were not emphasized. Ethnic groups that were officially segregated by the VOC did not have much effect on identity based on ethnic lines. Using Islam, a new cultural and collective identity emerged among the slaves and free inhabitants of Batavia and its hinterland, which became Betawi, who eventually consolidated and organized themselves politically and culturally as a *suku bangsa* (ethnic group) (Knorr 2014: 56-57).

3. The emergence of the Betawi tradition is recent (1970s)

The recent awakening of the Betawi identity as an ethnic group is part of a larger process of social engineering, where Ali Sadikin, the Governor of Jakarta in the 1960s–1970s, played a crucial role. Various projects were carried out during his terms, among others, an important seminar in 1976 to rediscover the historical and cultural roots of the city; then, to promote Betawi culture and research as the potential of Betawi culture, history and identity began to surge. Shahab (1994) has traced the turning point for Betawi identity to the 1970s, when in 1976 the government established *Dinas Kebudayaan* (the Jakarta Tourism and Culture Office) to investigate local culture and encourage new creation based on traditional elements. From 1976 onward, nearly all Betawi activities were run by Betawi people and used the term Betawi; but before 1976, nearly all of their activities used the term Jakarta (1994: 213). Shahab has also discussed contemporary Betawi traditions in terms of three categories: revived, recreated, and invented.

4. “Betawi” as a broad category

Shahab (1994) has categorized the Betawi into: *Betawi Kota* (City Betawi), *Betawi Pinggir* (Marginal Betawi) and *Betawi Udik* (Village Betawi), Aristocratic Betawi, and Christian Betawi, as well as Cina Betawi, Arab Betawi, and New Betawi. Knorr (2013: 98) calls the first three categories the “inner circle” of the Betawi, whereas the “outer circle” are the Christians or non-Muslims from certain localities and origins not

traditionally or marginally associated with the Betawi. They consider themselves as being Betawi in varying degrees, but to the Betawis, religion and origin are assigned meanings that operate as socially and culturally differentiating factors.²²⁰ However, in the following section we can see that one can adopt a Betawi identity without necessarily having to convert to Islam. Although the large majority of Betawi are Muslims, it is increasingly recognized that there are some Christian minorities among them.

Tugu and Betawiness

In her PhD thesis, Yasmine Zaki Shahab wrote that:

The Tugu in general spoke Indonesian. Some old people spoke Dutch. They do not speak Betawi. I asked people from *Dinas Kebudayaan* why *Keroncong Tugu* was introduced as Betawi music since the people do not speak Betawi. They said that it was not their creation. *Keroncong Tugu* was already labelled as Betawi music when they joined *Dinas Kebudayaan*. They never questioned it either. They laughed when they answered my question, realising that the categorisation of Tugu as Betawi music contradicted their definition of Betawi people and Betawi arts mentioned in the earlier discussion of this chapter. (1994: 160)

It seemed that there is an assumption that Betawi music is only associated with people who speak Betawi. The Tugu people, during my fieldwork, often describe their language or way of speaking as similar to Betawi. Maurer's research shows that the Tugu Creole actually has more Malay influence if compared with the Batavia Creole²²¹: this is the reason why Maurer (2011) treated them as two varieties. The Betawi dialect has evolved and extended to popular literature and media all over Indonesia. Not only used by the young people, the dialect has become the colloquial *lingua franca* as compared with the formal, standardized Indonesian language (Alkatiri et. al. 2011)

In the past, basically all the houses of the Tugu residents were similar to Betawi houses, especially the *kebaya*²²² style which has an extended side-gable roof. It has a tripartite division

²²⁰ I quote from Shahab (1994: 159): "Religion, however, has prevented many Betawi in general from accepting this rather broad definition of Betawi. One Betawi Tengah told me of his experience in the 1950s when he passed Tugu with his father. His father said that if there were *Belanda Depok* (Dutch Depok) in west Jawa, then there were Portuguese Jakartans in Jakarta. He said that the Betawi never thought that the Tugu were Betawi, but Christian mestizos" (my emphasis).

²²¹ Batavia Creole is "a variety of Portuguese-based Creole spoken in Batavia by groups of slaveholders and their children when interacting with the slaves and indigenous Christians; people coming from Siam, Malacca, Bengal, Coromandel coast, Ceylon, Malabar coast, Surat and Persia; slaves coming from the Indonesian Archipelago; other people who acquired it from the contact with the above groups" (2011: 3). It declined in the second half of the 18th century and became extinct at the end of 19th century.

²²² *Kebaya* style, in this sense, is one of the three house forms classified by the Jakarta municipality today as Betawi style. The other two are *gudang* style and *joglo* style.

where the front part of the house is an open verandah with low balustrade, and is used for receiving guests and relaxing. The entrance to the interior part of the house is normally located in the center of the intervening wall. The residence of the *Krontjong Toegoe* family was built in this style and has captured the attention of local authorities as well as the media due to its Betawi architecture.²²³ It is interesting to note that the upper section of the front has a carved symbol that looks like a six-point star. No one knows the origin nor the meaning of it, but the symbol has been used by the family as their emblem and also for branding *Krontjong Toegoe* and *D'Mardjikers Junior Toegoe*. The attention that this old house has gained is understandable, as Tjahono (2002) has observed that none of these Betawi house styles dominate either in the urban center or on the fringes of Jakarta. Hence, architecture has been framed as a means to achieve a Betawi cultural revival, like the case of the Setu Babakan Cultural Village²²⁴ in South Jakarta.

According to Shahab (1994: 234, 268), some Betawi clothing is a consequence of revived tradition, whereas some has been invented. For example, the *kebayas*²²⁵ were introduced as Betawi clothing via an official forum organized by the regional government in 1983 whereas the *pakaian abang* and *pakaian demang* were invented costumes that have now become the costumes for ceremonial Betawi occasions or official occasions in Jakarta. Milone (1967: 415) writes that Indische women tended to put on a white blouse over a sarong-like skirt, different from Indonesian women who wore colored *kebayas*. Indische men, when resting at home, wore European style *batik* pyjama bottoms and a white *shantung* tunic. This is very similar to what Tugu people used to wear. According to an elderly Tuguese, Yohana, her mother and grandmother wore the Chinese-style *kebaya*²²⁶, i.e. *kebaya encim*. They bought the material for a Chinese tailor to sew. Female dresses were normally tailor-made whereas male clothing was bought. Another Tugu resident, Erni, informs that *kebaya encim* were worn by elderly ladies in Tugu and that they have a preference for white.

²²³ During my stay, I witnessed two occasions on which TV stations came to interview local residents and took photos of the house. Another structure that has kept some elements of old Tugu house is that of Petrus Mega Tadoe; my key informant suggested me to go and take photos of its *bilik* (woven bamboo) wall.

²²⁴ In a meeting at the North Jakarta District Office, when discussing Kampung Tugu, I was suggested by the cultural officers to visit the Betawi village of Setu Babakan, which they considered a successful project.

²²⁵ e.g. *keranjang*, or *encim* type for middle-aged and young unmarried women; *none* type for young ladies.

²²⁶ Regarding the history of *sarong* and *kebaya* as Indonesian ladies' fashion, Schulte Nordholt (1997: 22) suggests that they were the outcome of a specific series of colonial and postcolonial developments whereby Javanese court culture mixed with mestizo adaptations. White *kebayas* were usually worn by European women to differentiate them from the slaves or servants; by the turn of the century it became a fashion restricted to the indigenous people of Indonesia, while European fashion became synonymous with white colonial power. Under the influence of President Sukarno, *sarong* and *kebaya* returned to the public scene, adopted by the elite group, and conversely became the national women's dress (22-23).

Regarding entertainment, a 60-year old Tuguese recalled that in the past Tugu people had *topeng*²²⁷ and *lenong*²²⁸ at the wedding party to entertain the guests, including the *orang kampung* (literally, village people, usually referring to the Muslim neighbors):

If tomorrow is our wedding, tonight we invite the *orang kampung*. In the 1960s, we ate *kue basah*²²⁹, *pepe*, *wajik*, *kue pisang*... Some people hired the *lenong*. Our entertainment was *lenong* and *topeng*. Nobody played *keroncong*. There was *gambang kromong*, *lenong* “*Topi Si Bokep*”, “*Layang-Layang Putus*”, those were popular. For *lenong*, we used stage...that was rich people getting married. There were people selling *kue putu*, *lepet*, *kue lopis*,²³⁰ those were the food we ate, *singkong*²³¹, *sambal*...we ate while watching (the shows), below (the stage show of) *lenong* there was *topeng* that did not need a stage. In the past we were *orang awam*²³², there were also *wayang kulit* (shadow theatres) in the 1960s. Then the wedding solemnization will be held in the church either in the morning or evening, but at night there will be party again. (Erni Michiels 18/1/2014)

From this informative quotation, we know that the Tuguese had similar entertainment and food in relation to the people who lived around them, and again it is curious to note that *keroncong* is not an essential part of life-cycle events; secondly, we learn that they socialized with their Muslim neighbors. *Lenong*, according to Shahab (1994: 189) is a revived Betawi tradition which was introduced in 1968 when it was almost at the verge of extinction in Jakarta but still available in the rural areas. This was a kind of folk theatre performed in villages in the environs of Jakarta, usually on the ground or a make-shift stage, especially during life-cycles events for entertaining the guests. *Topeng* is similar to *lenong* but starts with an erotic dance. *Gambang Kromong* is another genre of live musical performance found at the edges of Jakarta and in the towns and semi-rural areas. It combines Indonesian, Chinese, and sometimes European-derived instruments in music that at times is reminiscent of *gamelan* music and at other times recalls small-group jazz of the 1920s and 1930s (Yampolsky 1991).

²²⁷ A kind of Betawi theatre performed on the outskirts of Jakarta, usually involving the wearing of masks and comprising a different mix of dialogue, song, comedy, drama, dance, and music.

²²⁸ See Shahab (2001b) and Grijs (1976) for more detailed descriptions of the *lenong*. For different types of *lenong*, see Shahab (1994: 176).

²²⁹ Literally, wet cakes.

²³⁰ Names of Betawi snacks and cakes.

²³¹ Cassava.

²³² Commoners.



Figure 25. A portrait of Tugu people, December 1949(?) / January 1950 (?) at Pejambon. (Courtesy of Andre Michiels [originally from the archive of the Yunus family in Depok]).



Figure 26. The Betawi-style old house of the Michiels family in Kampung Tugu (Photo by author, 2013.)

Tugu residents are close to their Muslim neighbors, particularly the residents of RT 8, albeit the oldest resident of Kampung Kurus recounted that there was more harmony in the past, whereby Muslims like him could enter the Tugu Church without any apprehension.²³³ Amicable relations were also enhanced by the marriage between Martini, the daughter of the *Pak* RT 8, and Luki Michiels, son of Arend J. Michiels, founder of the KT ensemble. Martini converted to Christianity and conducted the wedding in *Gereja Tugu*. Both families often participate in the festivities or life-cycle rites of each other. Martini's father, uncle, and brother, for example, come to her house on a regular basis. During the *Lebaran* or *Hari Raya Haji*, some Tuguese visit their Muslim neighbors and are treated with festive food like *opor ayam* and *ketan*.²³⁴ *Dangdut*, the popular music, is also included in some social events.

Performing Portuguese

Links with Portuguese

When interviewed by a TV reporter at the *Festival Kampung Tugu* in the year 2008, the former ambassador of Portugal to Indonesia, José M. Santos Braga, made the following statement: "The tradition in Tugu is very important for Indonesia, for Portugal, but also for the world, because this is very rich tradition. And so, we think this is good to help protect the tradition but also to help have a better quality of life for the people living here."²³⁵ The Dutch ambassador, and three ambassadors from Portuguese-speaking countries, i.e. Brazil, East Timor, and Mozambique, had also made their visits to Kampung Tugu on the same occasion. This has been the recent highlight for the Tugu community after the memorable visit of the late António Pinto da França in the 1970s. Subsequently, the Gulbenkian Foundation sponsored bookshelves, chairs, and tables for the use of the Tugu community at the IKBT Secretariat. The Portuguese Embassy in Indonesia provided teachers to conduct Portuguese language classes in Kampung Tugu.²³⁶ Nevertheless, the numbers of learners dropped from forty in the beginning to five at the end, as they found it difficult to pick up the language. On the last page of my enumeration form, respondents were asked to name family members who are or have been involved in these

²³³ Personal communication with Haji Mali in Kampung Kurus on 15/10/2013.

²³⁴ During the *Lebaran* of 2013, I followed my host to visit Martini's parents and the Javanese family of her sister-in-law in Kampung Kurus. We also visited Atikah and her family, who live near Kampung Tugu. Atikah, who is of Chinese Muslim descent, is the administrative assistant of Andre Michiels at his office. On the way home, my hosts were given three tiffins of food by their Muslim neighbours, which I helped to bring home.

²³⁵ The *Periskop* Program on MetroTV on 18th November 2008.

²³⁶ Due to the East Timor problem, Indonesia-Portugal relations severed in 1975 and were reconciled twenty-four years later in December 1999. Nevertheless, both countries have had a dynamic relationship since Indonesia's Independence; Portugal had opened a representative office in Jakarta in 1950, although the diplomatic tie was cut off by Indonesia in 1965 as support for non-aligned countries that distanced themselves from colonialist countries.

activities. In terms of Portuguese language, descendants of Quiko referred to the informal teaching by “*opa Jacob*” (Jacobus Quiko), while others named the Portuguese class sponsored by Portugal. A census taken in Pejambon shows that no *Orang Tugu* have participated in Portuguese-related activities organized in Kampung Tugu, and only one respondent who was a seaman told me that he learned Portuguese from a Brazilian friend.



Figure 27. Visit of the late António Pinto da França to Kampung Tugu, 1970 (Courtesy of Andre Michiels)



Figure 28. Ambassador of Portugal to Indonesia, Joaquim Moreira de Lemos visiting Kampung Tugu (Photography by Daniel Corua, 2013)

Formed in 2008 by Portuguese lecturer Maria Emilia Imler and assisted by an Indonesian, Pipita, *Romeiros de Tugu* – which means “from the houses in Tugu”²³⁷ – consists of Tugu residents who are interested in learning the folk dances of Portugal. Practice was conducted every Saturday following their Portuguese Language class. They have performed in both local and international events. Initially they borrowed the dance costumes from *Cantar Caravelas* but after that they produced tailor-made apparel by themselves. *Cantar Caravelas* is a musical group formed with the objective to express Portuguese culture, to interpret and sing popular and traditional Portuguese songs. The group started in the University of Indonesia as one of the activities under the Portuguese lectureship (Budiman 2010: 32). Andre Michiels informed me that when the Tugu community was invited by the Portuguese Embassy to perform at their events, *Krontjong Toegoe* and the dance troupe *Romeiros de Tugu* represented the Portuguese Embassy.²³⁸

Hence, on one hand, *Keroncong Tugu* represents the Betawis, but on the other hand they also represent Portugal, depending on who makes the invitation, or who the organizer is.

Sameness in Difference/Difference in Sameness

Clothing provides signals that are transmitted visually and remain present throughout an interaction (Enninger 1992: 221). For stage performance, the *Keroncong Tugu* ensembles normally wear a black beret or flat cap, a white *baju koko* or *sadariah* (a traditional Betawi shirt that is said to have Chinese influence), a shawl, and *batik* trousers (usually brown) (See Figure 29). I call this the “*Keroncong Tugu* costume”²³⁹ because such combinations are not random; *keroncong* players explained that the beret and shawl are European (Portuguese) influenced, the shirt is Betawi, whereas *batik*-motif trousers represent Indonesia.

Another type of musical ensemble that has been discussed by scholars in parallel with *keroncong* is the *tanjidor*,²⁴⁰ also classified as Betawi music, which is performed by male players wearing the *baju koko*, black trousers, a folded *sarong* (also known as *kain pelekot*) on their shoulders, and black headgear called *peci* or *kopiah* (See Figure 30). The band consists of saxophone, trombone, clarinet, French horn, bass, cymbal, and kettle drum. Also known as *Orkes Kompeni* (Heins 1975), *tanjidor* derived from the Portuguese word *tangedor* (player of

²³⁷ According to Arthur Michiels (3/1/2015).

²³⁸ Personal communication from Andre Michiels, 17/10/2013.

²³⁹ In the survey conducted by Espada (2009: 102), she was informed by the majority of her informants that there is a typical Tugu dress for men and women respectively: Women wear *kebaya* and shawl whereas the men wear *sadaria*, *batik* trousers, and *pet* (a bonnet or hat) during festivals, ceremonies, spectacles (like *keroncong*), and other important events.

²⁴⁰ See for example, Ernst Heins (1975) and Paramita Abdurachman (2008).

a musical instrument), and dates back to the time when Portuguese was spoken in Batavia (Yampolsky 1994), probably to that of Augustine Michiels, the ancestor of the Michiels clan. Being a wealthy landowner, he had slaves who played in marching bands, *gamelan*, as well as European and Chinese ensembles to entertain his guests. Hence, *tanjidor* is also associated with the slaves of the Europeans and wealthy landowners in eighteenth and nineteenth century Batavia, and probably developed out of this context. Originally, their repertoire consisted of European tunes such as marches and waltzes, but was gradually extended to incorporate the local traditional folk music. Nevertheless, Abdurachman (2008: 37) notes that the history and function of the *tanjidor* of Tugu is not known. My informants from the Michiels family clarified that *tanjidor* was the music of the military corps and was played in Citereup where Augustine Michiels lived, and hence is not found in Kampung Tugu. *Tanjidor* had no new leader after the latter's passing away; the players went to the surrounding villages inhabited by the Betawi so it eventually turned into a type of Betawi music, associated with Betawi culture and using Betawi clothing.²⁴¹ Yampolsky (1994) writes that in the 1950s *tanjidor* became an entertainment choice for occasions such as weddings and circumcisions of the native people as well as agricultural festivals in villages, but the Chinese also had it played during temple festivals. In short, this musical genre that was initially associated with the Europeans as well as the prominent Michiels; it then evolved into a Betawi genre without a connection with Tugu, but was continued in Depok Lama instead. There, the Laurens – one of the twelve families that received inheritance from the Dutch merchant Cornelis Chastelein – still owned several *tanjidor* groups, and especially in 1934 they were known to be playing at various events in Depok as well as in the village areas (Jonathans 2011: 122).

The use of the *baju koko* or *sadariah* and *batik* trousers as the uniform of *Keroncong Tugu* had a political intention tracing back to 20 January 1840, when the Tuguese were acknowledged by the Church in Batavia as *inheemse Christenen* (native Christians), which meant that the *Orang Tugu* were not Dutch.²⁴² From then on, the *Orang Tugu* chose to identify with the local native people; i.e. they dressed like the Betawi but still maintained some differences in terms of accessories, using berets and shawls. In that era, *Keroncong* was a type of music for people at the margins, and uniform was not required for folk music. However, that costume eventually became the uniqueness of Tugu music.²⁴³

²⁴¹ Interview with Milton Augustino Michiels and Arthur Michiels in Kampung Tugu, 7 July 2013.

²⁴² Interview with Arthur Michiels in Kampung Tugu, 17 January 2014.

²⁴³ According to Arthur Michiels, nowadays there are also some non-Tugu and Javanese *keroncong* bands that he knows use dress and accessories similar to the *Keroncong Tugu* musicians.

Sumberg (1995), who studied the Nembe and the Kalabari sub-groups of the Ijo ethnic group in the delta of the Niger River in Nigeria, argues that dress, like other secondary symbols of ethnicity, e.g. language and physical features, are important group identifications beyond what are known as the common boundary markers of ethnicity, i.e. kinship, substance, and religious cults identified by Nash (1989). These groups intermarry with one another, share similar characteristics and history, but differentiate among themselves through dress and the use of cloth. Sumberg compared the dresses used by the Nembe and Kalabari in everyday lives as well as ceremonial events, and found that the Kalabari tend to be more concerned with their appearances than other groups, and their use of Kalabari-specific cut-thread cloth (called *pelete bite*) distinguishes them from other people around them.²⁴⁴ Hence, dress is used for ethnic differentiation where the distinctions between neighbouring groups are subtle but persistent. Back to the Tugu people and the Betawi: head accessories such as *peci* and berets stand in a paradigmatic relationship. In the context of Indonesia and Malaysia, the *peci* is often associated with Muslim men. In Jakarta, the government has recently decided that it is the official costume for men. The beret and shawl used by the Tugu people, particularly the musicians, are symbols that are linked to the Europeans (Portuguese) and that differentiate themselves from the Betawis who use *peci* instead of berets, which are associated with Muslim men, and a folded *sarong* on the shoulder instead of a shawl. This difference in sameness is thus symbolized by head and shoulder items.

Occasionally, the *Krontjong Toegoe* ensemble appear in a “Portuguese-style” by choice but there are other times when the organizers explicitly request a “Portuguese-style”. On such occasions, they put on a beret (or a flat cap; hat) matched with a long-sleeve white-collar shirt, added with a black vest, combined with a pair of black trousers and boots. Emma Tarlo’s *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India* (1996) is helpful in terms of offering a theory of dress not based on aesthetic or moral approaches, but focused on what is actually worn rather than on the description of what is worn; in other words, on why people make certain choices of dress and what these choices mean to them. Understanding the development of their clothing tradition or choices helps us understand the processes of differentiation and identification, regardless of whether they are intended or unavoidable.

The KCT band almost always performs in the *Keroncong Tugu* costume (Figure 29). This choice or constraint is linked to their notion of tradition. However, the Tugu community hardly dress like this in their everyday life. The musicians bring this costume with them and

²⁴⁴ Also see Eicher and Erekosima (1995).

only change prior to their performance. We can say that it is only worn for staged performances. Even during community events and traditional festivals which I have observed, like *Mandi-mandi*, *Rabo-rabo* and *Natalan IKBT*, the musicians only wear casual clothes such as t-shirts and jeans.²⁴⁵



Figure 29. *Keroncong Tugu* costume worn by the KCT players during their performance at Senayan City Plaza, Jakarta (Photo by author, 2013).



Figure 30. *Tanjidor* players at the Betawi Art Festival in Jakarta (Photo by author, 2013).

²⁴⁵ At the 2014 *Mandi-mandi*, only very few Tugu women wore *kebayas* (with only one or two in white *kebayas*). In a conversation with the IKBT secretary who wore a bonnet, a shawl, a *baju koko*, and batik trousers on the same occasion, he lamented that more Tugu residents should wear the traditional costume and the ladies should wear *kebayas* as they also would look more elegant.

The KMMC members wear *batik* shirts as a standardized uniform for their band whenever they perform at any events. For KT, the question of style and fashion come into the picture. *Batik* shirts and trousers have always been used as uniform but the group felt that these are not up-to-date, although it is good to be neat and tidy. Nowadays, their stress is not so much on uniformity of costume, but suitability with regards to the event. According to Tino, the budget for outfits can reach as much as 30%, whereas 10% applies to maintenance of instruments, 40% for the purchase of new instruments, and the rest being accommodated for music practice and other miscellaneous expenses. The group has further modified their costume by changing the *batik* trousers to *kain ikat* to look more fashionable. For events at the theme park or related to the beach, they wear colourful Hawaii-pattern shirts.

Hence, performance is more than reflective; it is reflexive, also in a social-psychological sense (Bauman 1992:48). Performances display the performing self (e.g. the *keroncong* player, the *Rabo-rabo* participant, the *Mandi-mandi* emcee) as an object for themselves and others, and hence it allows them to take the role of the other looking back at oneself from the other's perspective.

Tugu: Dutch, Portuguese, or Betawi?

It seems that before we make our concluding remarks, we should also mention the Dutch component of Tugu, as Ganap concludes that: "(...) (the) Tugu village community have nothing to do with the Portuguese, though they inherited the art of *kroncong* music, which is believed as of Portuguese origin." (1999: 54). Although what Ganap has observed is relevant given that the Dutch took a longer hold of the country and the Tuguese practice Protestantism, I am not convinced that Dutch culture permeates their lives, although I have come across *Orang Tugu* who were Dutch-educated or speak Dutch better than Portuguese Creole. In general, the Tuguese spoke well of the Portuguese and are proud of their Portuguese heritage. My host family, for example, believed that the Dutch wanted to destroy the Tugu people's "Portuguese identity" but the Tuguese resisted because:

(...) The Dutch were bad. There were differences between the Portuguese and the Dutch. The Portuguese expansion was through peace. They came, they intermarried with local people. If Portuguese, they came in peace but the Dutch, no; they came with weapons and armies. That was the difference; that was why *Orang Tugu* for the longest time did not want to become Dutch, because the Dutch were evil, filled with tricks and were crafty (Arthur Michiels 7/7/2013).

There is a firm belief that the Portuguese-ness of Tugu was annihilated by the Dutch, but the resistance against the Dutch continued on-going. My informant also expressed that they have better relations with the Embassy of Portugal than the Dutch. However, we can also note a certain ambivalence concerning Tugu identity. The same informants who valorize the Portuguese heritage of Tugu, when being asked about their relations with Portugal, often did not show affinity, as a key informant clarified:

If in Tugu itself, when our Portuguese identity was replaced by Dutch, many tended to identify themselves as Dutch, like in the past the native called us *Orang Tugu* with ‘*sinyor*’ just as the term was only used to address the Dutch. In the end, Portuguese identity disappeared. The propaganda of the Dutch to destroy Portuguese identity was effective. Until this moment I do not feel myself as part of Portuguese, because for decades, even centuries, we have been here without having any appreciation from the Portuguese, only recently the Portuguese ambassador came here to visit, offered help such as books etc.; provided a teacher to teach us here, however, after that nothing else was given anymore” (Milton Augustino Michiels 7/72013).

In another interview (8/9/2013), the leader of KCT, Guido, expressed the difficulty of relating with the Portuguese.

Raan-Hann Tan : Do you have any contact with the Portuguese?

Guido Quiko : Now that the world is increasingly developed, I open my social network in the internet and meet with them; sometimes we are not able to communicate because my English is not good, they also do not understand Indonesian. There is one Antonio Martin in Lisbon, he created a group in Facebook – *La Luso*, I do not know very well, then he added me (...) He has sent us flag and books, I requested for the flag of Portugal when my cousin Prof. Edo Quiko visited Portugal. I sent him CD...I sent the song *Gatu du Matu* to Antonio Martin (...)

RHT : Do you see any changes, benefits or impact after Kampung Tugu established contact with Portugal?

GQ : Recently when the Portuguese Ambassador came (to Kampung Tugu), I sang three Creole songs; he did not understand all three, maybe (the songs) are too ancient, or maybe they are not to be found nowadays, or perhaps we simply made them up. However, it is a fact that those (songs) were inherited. If concerning the Portuguese people, I consider them as foreigners to us, because we did not have contacts, we do not have the (Portuguese) soul, we merely carry names descended from the Portuguese. However, if they (the Portuguese) want to assist us, by improving our social life and teaching us Portuguese Language, giving us the knowledge of Portuguese dance ... isn't that Indonesia-Portugal relations? Perhaps through this community in Indonesia, in Jakarta, in Tugu. If we are lifted up by that kind of support, isn't that a motivation (for us)? It can also improve the political relationship that was hitherto not good (...)

In this sense, there are higher expectations for their Portuguese counterparts to support them in terms of living conditions, the maintenance and preservation of their cultural property, and the promotion of *Keroncong Tugu*. The community also wishes for the Portuguese Language class to resume; however, for the time being it will only be conducted at the Embassy of Portugal.

Let us now consider the UNESCO discography, as Ganap (2011: 120) has emphasized that it provides important data; as a project, it not only revived *Keroncong Tugu* but became a monumental event in forming its identity. In terms of the songs recorded, he has observed that they represent the third generation of *Keroncong Tugu* as Indonesian and Betawi songs were included on top of Dutch Hindi repertoires. Ganap viewed this as a political act to display nationalism, as the Tugu were accused of being pro-Dutch upon Indonesia's independence. The inclusion of Betawi songs was also political in the sense of placing Kampung Tugu within Betawi areas. One question left unanswered is: why was there no Portuguese Creole song in the UNESCO recording? (2011: 121)

A Matter of Creolization

The Tuguese do not use the term “Creole” to classify themselves, but they are aware that their language was Portuguese *Cristão* and that they are very “mixed”. Still, what are the connections between the Tugu and the Betawi? Knorr (2010: 736) maintains that Creole groups emerged in the process of interaction and integration of different ethnic groups, they often – yet by no means always – continue to have a high integrative potential as far as accepting people of different ethnic backgrounds into their group is concerned. Depending on the socio-political context, it is possible that Creole groups and institutions embrace or integrate people across ethnic boundaries. One of the mechanisms is by placing importance on the heterogeneous background of Creole identity. Looking at the historical background of the Betawi in relation to Batavia, Knorr (2010: 740) asserts that the Betawi came into being through processes of creolization during the time of Dutch colonialism, and she shows that indigenization and ethnicization are the criteria for creolization. The ancestors of the Betawi may have been: 1) South or Southeast Asians who ended up in Batavia when the Dutch conquered the regions formerly controlled by the Portuguese; 2) Indonesians from Bali and other islands who were brought to Batavia to work as slaves or soldiers. Creolization began to take place in this context within Batavia and the hinterland area. The Dutch who had made an attempt to administer and settle the population of Batavia based on their ethnic groups had to abandon this project in 1828, which they found inefficient, as interethnic interaction and mixture increased. This enhanced creolization of the earlier phase and the population of diverse backgrounds came to identify

itself as Betawi. More significantly, in the last three decades, State institutions in Indonesia came to discover that the Creole concept of Betawi group identity and culture is useful for the promotion of threefold identities: trans-ethnic, local, and national (Knorr 2010: 741-742).

Conclusion

In “The Processes and Results of Musical Culture Contact: A Discussion of Terminology and Concepts”, ethnomusicologist Margaret Kartomi (1981) invites us to take a closer look at frequently used terms such as “cross-fertilized, hybrid, creole, mestizo and mulatto” on the premise that the union of the parent music is a necessary but not sufficient condition for musical synthesis and transformation to take place. Therefore, terms highlighting the procreation of the parents are incomplete and can be misleading. Moreover, it is common to find that members of the identifying culture only have a vague idea of the identity of the parental cultures whose union provided the initial generation of the music. Using the Malaccan *dondang sayang* music as an example – which has its own unique stylistic qualities as well as Indian, Arabic, Portuguese, Malay, and other traits – she argued that we need not use the label “hybrid” music but should simply employ proper names, i.e. *dondang sayang* (Kartomi 1981: 229), and I would now include – *Keroncong Tugu*.

Keroncong Tugu incorporates both European and Indonesian influences, but it is particular to Tugu, reflecting a range of historical, ecological, as well as socio-cultural factors peculiar to the village and community. Music gives people a sense of identity, and promotes continuation of that social group. Songs of *Keroncong Tugu* are said to reflect the life and environment in Tugu village. Despite having a Christian religious identity, one does not find the prevalence of religion in the lyrics or music itself.

Political and economic developments also change the way particular cities and regions are represented and marketed, in our case, Kampung Tugu in Jakarta; this in turn has an impact on cultural production and consumption within these areas. The label “*Keroncong Tugu*” may have been used by the local authority to promote tourism, yet this label itself is at times contested within Tugu. Re-created Betawi traditions in the public sphere have been observed more as commodities than as traditions, whereby consumption by mainly non-Betawi people generates economic values which in turn diminish the religious flavor of the Betawi traditions.

The re-establishment of diplomatic and cultural relations in recent years between Portugal and Indonesia has seen a surge of Portuguese dance and songs in Kampung Tugu. Nonetheless, what is more obvious is the increasing insertion of the *Orang Tugu*, their music, and their culture within a wider Jakartan Betawi identity and a national identity, without losing

the unique Tugu identity. These shifts have been represented by the adoption of the Betawi costume, as well as Betawi songs and language. The ethnographic details of Tugu festivals clearly show that the songs they sing correspond to the heterogeneity of the Tugu people. At the same time, they have come to relate to the indigenous Tugu with Betawi-ness, as seen in their communicative system, e.g. singing Betawi songs when greeting Tugu families at the *Rabo-rabo* festival. We can say that the connection to Portugal is limited to the performing sphere where the frame is marked. “*Orang Tugu*” is the most frequently used self-definitional term, or at times “Portuguese” in contexts related to genealogy and *keroncong*, but it is becoming consistently more common for the Tuguese to refer to themselves as Betawi.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has interrogated how and why the Tugu Protestant community has maintained its integrity as “Portuguese” and has persisted collectively for more almost five centuries. Sanjay Subrahmanyam (2012) writes that the Portuguese presence in Asia is a matter of myth and history, as Portuguese expansion was intimately tied to Portuguese nationalism and collective identity. Historical studies show us that the *Mardijkers* were a potpourri constituted by an array of people in different parts of Asia. As a very mixed group, it is difficult to pinpoint the “ethnicity” or nationality of the *Mardijkers*, who have constituted the main inhabitants of Kampung Tugu since the year 1661. The native Tuguese bear Dutch surnames, yet they call themselves Portuguese and believe that they are related to the Portuguese. It is not an issue for them to ascertain whether they were *Mestizos* or *Mardijkers*, or whether their ancestors come from Malacca or India. We can trace two similarities between the cases of Tugu and the Eurasian community in Sri Lanka studied by McGilvray (2007: 326): 1) the irony that although the *Burghers* have Dutch ancestry, the cultural traditions that have been preserved up to the present day are Portuguese; 2) it is impossible to mark the distinctions between the Dutch and Portuguese *Burghers*, as their identities are totally mixed and entangled.

During fieldwork, I encouraged respondents to talk about their family histories; even though many of the latter are not regarded as official local storytellers or my key informants, they are part and parcel of the community. In this sense, my position is akin to that of Marisa Gaspar in her research on the Macanese (2014: 29). Nevertheless, I have come across Tuguese, especially those not bearing clan names of Tugu, who shyly suggested me to talk to Andre Michiels, Arthur Michiels, Frenky Abrahams, or Erni Michiels, because “they know better”. Hence, despite the attempt to be more inclusive, key informants from the traditional families, notably my hosts, still stand out. Having said that, interviews with different families revealed that at least three particular families saw themselves as the poorest among the Tuguese due to not having land, thus dispelling the Tugu myth that “*Orang Tugu* are landlords”.

Espada (2009) and even most Tuguese tend to think of themselves as endogamous, but just as Castile has pointed out, “isolation is only one of degree and is never absolute over any prolonged period of enclavement” (1981: xvi). Our examples of genealogies and family histories show that the Tuguese consisted of both Europeans and Asians, both Muslims, Christians, and other religious backgrounds and beliefs. Hence, the endogamy of Tugu might be selective and voluntary. Tugu spouses become Tuguese not in identity but culture. Becoming Tuguese by virtue of residence in Kampung Tugu is a longer-term and more subtle process.

Following the narratives of the Tugu people, it appears that despite the isolation of Tugu Village, it in many aspects resembles other (Portuguese) Eurasian communities as well as local Christian communities in Jakarta. Kampung Tugu prior to the 1970s seemed to replicate the little closed societies of Portuguese neighbourhoods in Bangkok a hundred years ago, which have sought to maintain their group integrity through language, place of origin, folklore, kinship, religion, cuisine and so forth, as clearly delineated communal boundaries, besides endogamous marriage and strict adherence to Roman Catholic traditions (Van Roy 2008: 261). Dressing is a visible way to distinguish themselves from other Thais: the Siam Portuguese women and girls kept long hair and wore Western dress that fully covered the upper torso. Jorge Flores' historical study adds an interesting point to this argument: "Most of the Asian societies thought the Portuguese were well dressed, and people were generally fascinated by their bell-shaped trousers, their lace-trimmed collars, the capes and especially their hats. In Asia, the Portuguese – like the other Europeans who followed them – were the 'hat-wearers', and hats truly dominate the Asian iconography of the Franks" (2014: 39). Edward Bruner (2004: 275) has made the comment that "Indonesians are skilled in distinguishing ethnic identity by such criteria as hair style, skin colour, facial contour, body mannerisms, names and speech pattern". The Tuguese men distinguish themselves from others, particularly the Betawis of Jakarta, by wearing bonnets. The *keroncong Tugu* uniform has illustrated this point.

The factors that led to the demise of Tugu's Portuguese identity are not altogether unfamiliar if we consider the case of the Thai Portuguese, whose "Portuguese-ness" eroded due to the evolving authority of the Church, the expansion of Bangkok as a cosmopolitan commercial hub, the influence of Portuguese diplomatic contacts, and the rise of Thai nationalism, as well as conversion to Buddhism due to intermarriage with neighboring communities (Van Roy 2008: 262-263). The demise of "Portuguese" Tugu in former Batavia was due to the religion imposed by the Dutch, with Calvinism replacing Catholicism. The expansion of Batavia's hinterland area and the development of metropolitan Jakarta contributed to the admixture of populations; hence, the diversity of the Tugu people and the use of Malay in place of Portuguese Creole. The profound impact of the Japanese occupation on the Indo and Christian populations, and subsequent nationalistic sentiment, led to the persecutions and dispersion of these peoples, resulting in a decline of their enclave populations. The sense of Portuguese identity was reignited with the visit of António Pinto da França to Tugu in 1970, at the 223rd Anniversary Celebration of Gereja Tugu. However, due to the East Timor problem, relations between Indonesia and Portugal were severed in 1975 and were only reconciled in 1999. Since then, several Portuguese ambassadors to Indonesia have visited Kampung Tugu

and the *Keroncong Tugu* musicians have been invited to perform for or on behalf of the Embassy of Portugal.

Portuguese Language is one of the main criteria that define the separate identity of persistent peoples, but there are no more speakers of the Tugu Creole. We agree with Castile (1981: xviii) that language, like race and homeland, does not give us a very satisfactory answer to the question of why people persist. Being able or not able to speak Creole no longer defines a Tuguese, but the symbolic incorporation of Portuguese Creole songs in performances and festivities is highly significant. In addition, it can be argued that the music of *Keroncong Tugu* itself, as well as the group's Portuguese Creole songs, do not underlie any religious ideas, and hence do not enter into contradiction with "Portuguese-ness". Music is arguably the key instrument of this identity retention process, and probably leads to the longevity of the community's Portuguese identity, not only for its association with the ludic but also because the very nature of music allows people to cross geographical, temporal, generational, religious, and social boundaries.

When the Dutch ruled Malacca, the Catholic Portuguese community continued to hold secret masses in the jungle, and in Larantuka, Catholic communities still kept their faith through confraternities. In Sri Lanka, McGilvray (2007: 337) suggests that Dutch Burghers turned from Protestantism towards Catholicism in large numbers by the end of the 19th century. In Tugu we did not find any affinity with the Catholic Church but a strong tradition of the Dutch Reformed Church. Protestants in Tugu, whether at home or when gathering with fellow Christians in meetings organized by the church or community associations, focus on word-centred worship. This worship is not expressed through visual icons, but rather in verbal forms such as prayers, testimonies, and especially sermons and songs, ranging from classical hymns to modern Christian worship songs translated from English.

The enduring Protestant identity of the Tugu people amidst their association with "Portuguese-ness" was made possible through the construction of Portuguese churches by the Dutch for the Portuguese-speaking Mardijkers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, first in 1678, followed by *Gereja Tugu* in 1747. *Gereja Tugu* continues to be a powerful symbol for the Tugu people. In spite of the tension between the Tugu Community and the GPIB organization, as well as Pentecostalism's recent popularity, most Tuguese are still affiliated with *Gereja Tugu* and define themselves as not only Christians, but Protestants.

King and Wilder (2003: 199) assert that religious conversion and intermarriage are two important mechanisms involved in changes of ethnic identity, but the case of Tugu demonstrates that the notion of conversion is problematic and has less to do with spirituality but more with

State administration. In Muslim-Christian intermarriages the family usually settles on one religion, normally the wives and children following that of their husbands. Public declarations of religion, especially from Christianity to other religions, have implications in the local setting, as the discourse surrounding the Tugu graveyard shows.

At the Christmas celebrations of *Gereja Tugu* in 2014, a military truck transported more than a dozen army and police officials to be on duty to ensure the safety of worshippers as well as the church building, which has been inscribed as a cultural monument of Jakarta. This security measure is taken also in other old churches in Jakarta, such as the GPIB Immanuel in Pejambon. Rumours were spreading that there might be terrorist bombing.²⁴⁶ I was told by the Tugu people that they can have their home fellowship meeting in their neighbourhoods and in the lanes because they are a Christian majority; this might not be possible in Bekasi, for example. Although violent conflicts have seen a decrease from year 2000 onwards, the pressure exerted on Christians by Islamic fundamentalists still continues undiminished in the Muslim-majority regions. The project of a pluralist society is still on-going and the future of Christians in Indonesia remains uncertain. In this respect, the situation of Christians in Indonesia is related to the formation of the nation-state and not merely a minority issue (Schröter 2011).

One limitation of this study is that it does not involve archival work, as its main focus has been on the everyday life of the Tugu people. Another difficulty arose with regard to fieldwork and residential locations, as well as a language barrier when dealing with Dutch materials. One may notice a lack of elaboration on economic aspects of the Tuguese, as job descriptions given by the people were often vague. Although residents tend to comment on properties and land issues concerning their fellow Tuguese, it has been a challenge to be collect substantial information when dealing with this topic.

For further research, the archives of the PKNI (the *Protestantse Kerk van Nederlandsch Indie*; the Protestant Church of the Netherlands Indies) may reveal more about the Tugu Christian Community. This may also be extended to the case of the Depok and Kampung Sawah Christian communities. A more systematic look at these groups, when further research on the Kampung Sawah community is available, may produce an even more interesting comparative study. The topic of tourism and heritage can be further developed in light of the inclusion of

²⁴⁶ See news reports, e.g. "Police operation launched to secure Christmas, New Year's Eve" *The Jakarta Post*, 22 December 2014. <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2014/12/22/police-operation-launched-secure-christmas-new-year-s-eve.html>

"Police to Secure Christmas and New Year Celebration" (Sandiputra 2014) http://beritajakarta.com/en/read/4488/Police_to_Secure_Christmas_and_New_Year_Celebration#.ViUwMX6rTIU

Kampung Tugu as one of the twelve tourism destinations of Northern Jakarta, in comparison with the recent UNESCO World Heritage Status conferred to the historical city of Malacca in 2008, where Portuguese heritage became even more valuable for Malaysia's tourism promotion.

Siam's Portuguese, according to Van Roy (2008: 263), have fully become "Thai of Portuguese descent" and finally "Thai Christians", or simply secular "Thai". The *Orang Tugu* are not sure of their origins, and depend on what their ancestors have told them and what scholars have written about them, as the brother of my host puts it:

According to me, if anyone labels the *Orang Tugu* as Portuguese, it is also legitimate, because maybe they read the history or know from existing sources, because we ourselves do not know for sure if we really are the direct descendants of the Portuguese or mixed blood with the Portuguese? We do not know, because to discover the history it takes time, human resource and much cost. Therefore, at this moment, I can only agree with what people say about who we really are, because I also merely read from books. If for myself, at this moment I am Indonesian." (Milton Augustino Michiels 8/7/2013)

Hence, more often than not, they choose simply to call themselves "Indonesian".

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Appendix A

List of Persons Interviewed

Interviews in Tugu

Adriana Rame Bunga (15/11/2013)
Alfondo Andries (3/11/2013)
Andre Michiels (17/10/2013)
Anna Quiko (3/9/2013, 9/9/2013, 8/10/2013)
Arthur Michiels (7/7/2013, 8/7/2013, 17/1/2014)
Carolina Molle (18/12/2013)
Erna Loen (9/11/2013)
Erni Michiels (18/1/2014)
Eugeniana Quiko (9/11/2013)
Freddy Thomas (19/12/2013)
Frenky Abrahams (20/10/2013, 11/1/2014, 17/1/2014, 19/1/2014)
Guido Quiko (8/9/2013)
Hendrik Braune (11/11/2013)
Hiskia Yunus (17/11/2013)
Jhonny Susanto (11/11/2013)
Johan Sopaheluwakan (17/8/2013)
Luther Tandibua (3/1/2014)
Martinus Cornelis (1/8/2013)
Meynard Burkens (11/8/2013)
Milton Augustino Michiels (7/7/2013, 8/7/2013)
Oey Bo Hin (15/1/2014)
Paulus Mega Tadoe (27/12/2013)
Robby Sopaheluwakan (22/11/2013)
Ronny Banunaek (16/11/2013)
Salvius Abrahams and Henny Mambo (11/11/2013)
Samuel Thalib (13/8/2013)
Sriyari (5/11/2013)
Wardi Thomas (13/11/2013)
Yohana Abrahams (21/10/2013)
A. Z. Wangania (13/10/2013)

Interview in Pejambon

Olga Cornelia Hukum (22/1/2014)

Kiki Abrahams (23/11/2013)

Lily Thio (23/11/2013)

Interview in Depok

Erick Yeremias Junus and Yetsi Herlita Yunus (17/12/2013)

Interview in Central Jakarta

Ambassador Joaquim Moreira de Lemos (24/1/2014)

Anggota keluarga yang sudah meninggal

No.	Nama Lengkap	Nama Panggilan	L/ P	Status hubungan dalam keluarga	Tempat Lahir	Tanggal/ Tahun Lahir	Agama	Tanggal/ Tahun Meninggal	Tempat Pemakaman	Sebab Meninggal

Keterlibatan dalam gereja

No.	Nama Singkat	Jabatan	Jemaat di	Tahun dan tempat baptisan	Tahun dan tempat sidi	Tahun dan tempat perkawinan	Jenis kegiatan yang diikuti di gereja

Keterlibatan dalam pelestarian music keroncong (Jika ada anggota keluarga yang pernah atau sedang main keroncong)

No.	Nama Singkat	Instrumen	Usia mula bermain	Tahun bermain	Nama Orkes	Motivasi keterlibatan

Keterlibatan dalam IKBT

No.	Nama	Jabatan yang pernah atau sedang dipegang dalam pengurusan	Tahun jabatan	Seberapa sering mengikuti aktivitas	Alasan menjadi / Tidak menjadi anggota IKBT

Keterlibatan dalam kegiatan organisasi selain IKBT (Contoh: Arisan apa? Kumpulan Keluarga apa? Pensiunan? Kegiatan amal dan lain-lain jika ada.)

No.	Nama	Kegiatan	luran	Seberapa sering	Penjelasan

Keterlibatan dalam aktivitas yang berkenaan dengan budaya Portugis

No.	Nama	Jenis Aktivitas	Jangka waktu	Sebab Penglibatan

Jika ada anggota keluarga (orang Tugu) di Belanda atau Papua, sila nyatakan:

Nama:

Negara:

Kontak:

Appendix C Tugu Harvest Festival



Figure C1. Painting with caption by Alboyn Manurung, exhibited at the Yeruel Hall of Tugu Church (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure C2. Offering of agricultural income to *Gereja Tugu* (Source: Michiels family)

Appendix D
Orang Tugu Households according to Map of Tugu in Appendix Z

Location : Koja District, Tugu Utara Subdistrict			
House No.	Address	Household Members	Household No.
1	Jalan Kurnia, Kampung Bulak No. 5	Francisca Abrahams Budiarto Yulianus Suprianto Tifany Dianing Trias	1
2	Jalan Kurnia, Kampung Bulak No. 4	Evelyn Abrahams Stefani Devita Cindy Natalia Stefanus Mudjihartono	2 3
3	Jalan Mutiara 3, Blok T, No. 3	Hetty Corua-Andries	4
4	Jalan Toar	Siane Sopaheluwakan Jimmy Angel	5
5	Jalan Raya Tugu No. 42A	Christopher Braune Ita Ivan Braune Stefan Braune Elsiana Braune Kristin Braune	6
6	Jalan Raya Tugu, No. 42B	Rudolf Hendrik Braune Yulianti Ricardo Alberto Braune Novianti Broune	7
7	Kompleks Deperla Blok B, No. 17	Syulce Novi Poli Bambang Dwi Pudji Haryono Dayu Gilang Pramata Etha Natalie Chrystine Lukas Kevin Natanael	8
8	Jalan Raya Tugu No.	Hendrik Thomas Christine N. Wales Jeverson Aprilio Thomas Yohanes Thomas	9
9	Jalan Raya Tugu no. 38	Yunita Thomas	10
10	Jalan Raya Tugu No. 40	Wardi Thomas Magdalena Alvina Alvira Carel	11

11	Jalan Raya Tugu No. 44	Togarma Thomas Asnah Yohanes Thomas Yohana Thomas Yusuf Thomas	12
12	Jalan Raya Tugu No. 42	Selviana Diana Vivian Thomas Stefanus Thomas Stella Margaretha	13
13	Jalan Raya <i>Gereja Tugu</i>	Jhonny Susanto (Thio) Yeni Siswanti (Boon) Meske Susanto Albert Joshua	14
14	Kampung Tugu No. 45	Redhead Samuel Andries Elida Misael	15
15	Jalan Raya <i>Gereja Tugu</i> , Gang Bhineka No. 28	Eugeniana Quiko Ponirun Yuanando Pratama Ananda Yulianto Yulianda Evi Carella Quiko	16
		Guido Quiko Ida Yanti Ratna Putri Sesya Damiyati	17
Location: Cilincing District, Semper Barat Subdistrict			
House No.	Address	Household Members	Household No.
16	Jalan Raya <i>Gereja Tugu</i> , Gang Bhineka No. 34	Erna Lucas Mega Tadoe Elsa Emillya Mega Tadoe Early Wednesday Mega Tadoe Irenne Reffirina Mega Tadoe Friday Erwinna Mega Tadoe	18
17	Jalan Raya <i>Gereja Tugu</i> , Gang Bhineka No. 34	Priskila Xaverianus Mega Tadoe Wismawati Charles Pieteron Yonathan Xaverius Yehezkiel Mozes	19
18	Jalan Raya <i>Gereja Tugu</i> No. 7	Saartje Margaretha Michiels Juliette Angela Ernestina Citra Augusta Margariette	20
		Arthur James Michiels	21
		Lukas Alandave Michiels Martini	22
19	Jalan Raya <i>Gereja Tugu</i> No. 9B	Salvius Abrahams Henny Margareta Mambo	23
20	Jalan Raya <i>Gereja Tugu</i> No. 9	Frenky Erns Abrahams Pujiarti	24

		Erna Ermestina Abrahams Johan Aditania Abrahams Bagus Yudi Prasetiawan Abrahams Rubiyandito Nugroho Abrahams	
21	Jalan Raya <i>Gereja Tugu</i> No. 18	Carel Yunus	25
22	Jalan Raya <i>Gereja Tugu</i> No. 3	Erni Lisye Michiels Josias Balelang Mesak Balelang Yanna Lydia Balelang Michel Balelang Ivan Balelang Tegar Nanda Balelang Charlota Balelang	26 27 28
23		Ivonita Quiko	29
24	Jalan Raya Tugu No. 5	Aprelo Formes Sri Wahyuni Rizkylla Junindha Formes Revilla Akbar Formes Nabilla Fitrianinda Formes Rafaella Losiard Wijaya Formes Rehuella Imanuel Formes Naylla Meinindha Formes	30
25	Kampung Kurus Gang Masjid No. 29	Maykel Christopher Yunus Nonon Marlina Rame Bunga Gidion Carlos Yunus Allesandro Arthur Yunus Franqois Fernandez Yunus Micha Estherlyn Yunus Michelle Andriyani Rame Bunga Shane Brooklyn Valentino Juanda	31 32
26	Kampung Kurus Gang Masjid No. 29	Martha Magdalena Rame Bunga Cornelis Awiyara Johhny Heru Setiawan Aprilia Nina Gaby Tabitha	33 34
27	Kampung Kurus Gang Masjid No. 29	Rintje Jantje Bunga Chaerudin M. Iqbal Maulana Asy Shaghovi	35
28	Jalan Raya Tugu No. 20	Erenst Leonard Andries Estrelita Quiko Alfindo Andries	36 37

		Alona Andries Daniel Stefan Lim	38
		Aldonaldo Andries Nurul Vanqueen Andries	39
29	Jalan Haji Suit No. 6	Yerico Essiyanawati Michiels Anyeng Lauw Ardelline Loveritt Esmichta Lauw Alberthine Vebialce Lauw Alfrullce Lauw Alberth Alviando Lauw Aldero Yohanes Fransiskus Lauw	40
30	Jalan Haji Suit No. 6	Almich Emilthon Lauw Nur Fitria Louis Stefino	41
31	Jalan Haji Suit Gang Masjid	Tristian Michiels Trieko Susilowati Tedy Ferdaus Michiels Tino Franciscos Michiels Tisha Filipus Michiels Toni Ferdian Michiels Salvanus Adrian Michiels Christine Natalia Michies	42
32	Kampung Kurus Gang Masjid No. 35	Ellyana Michiels Stefanus Suyono Purwoko Ermawan Bagus Ertanto Ario Septiaji	43
33	Jalan Haji Suit No. 20	Juliana Lim	44
		Yunita Ruth Thomas Gideon Suharto Yosia Christaldy Cindy Ivana Caroline	45
34	Jalan Haji Suit No. 20	Sarah Thomas Supardi Sella Estefania Selly Estefania	46
35	Jalan Haji Suit No. 16	Christiane Louise Julia Michiels Tigor Eson Fernandes Hutahaeen Daniel Rheinhart William A. Hutahaeen Franz Rudolf Christopher Hutahaeen Elsandrea Agraphine D.C. Hutahaeen Deetje Michiels-Sepang	47
36	Kampung Kurus No. 17	Immanuel Michiels Siti Ngatikah Maryati Michiels Septianne Gracia Michiels Flgo Marcelino Michiels	48

		Jhene Manuella Michiels Vicky Valentino Michiels	
37	Jalan Haji Suit No. 15	Marcelina Dima Raja Mega Tadoe Lomi Yesaya Mega Tadoe	49
38	Jalan Haji Suit No. 15B	Paulus Mega Tadoe Merry Augustin Mega Tadoe Pieter Yermia Mega Tadoe Asih bt. Arnap Novia Amanda Mega Tadoe	50 51
39	Jalan Haji Suit 15	Daniel Mega Tadoe Ida Liem Andrew Theodore Meta Tadoe William Lazarus Mega Tadoe Josua Dimas Aditya Mega Tadoe Raymond Prastia Mega Tadoe Gabriel Juliano Mega Tadoe Aldinda Anastasia Mega Tadoe	52
40	Jalan Haji Suit No. 15	Petrus Mega Tadoe Asmarlina Marintje Paulina Mega Tadoe Elsye Sonia Mega Tadoe	53
41	Jalan Haji Suit	Emanuel Mega Tadoe	54
42	Jalan Haji Suit No. 14	Marla Eda Leiwakabessy Jenny Marlia Leiwakabessy Dani Tangdilingting Darnell Jordan Tandilingting	55 56
43	Jalan Haji Suit No. 13	Dominggus Mega Tadoe Suminarsi Johnny Kristanto Zanuar Hafiz Saputra	57
44	Jalan Haji Suit No. 12	Nansy Banunaek Bonie Bong Hannah Brigitta Steven Timothy Jelina Banunaek Adolf Finus Banunaek	58 59
45	Jalan Haji Suit No. 4B	Vike Adelede Corua Dovi Yana Susan Pontoh Beatrics Rike Pontoh Alfin Augustin Pohtoh	60 61
46	Jalan Haji Suit No. 4A	Fredo Corua Deny Corua	62
47	Jalan Haji Suit No. 3A	Susiana Salomi Corua Ronny Hernald Karepauwan Hendrik Agusta Karepauwan Yosua Karepauwan	63

		Yosia Karepauwan	
48	Jalan Haji Suit No. 3B	Yusof Corua Fenny Susana Siregar Octivan Fedrian Corua Yatina	64
49	Jalan Haji Suit No. 3C	Mohamad Ristiano Corua Tuti Handayani Risca Novian Risky Yulian	65
50	Jalan Haji Suit No. 3	Julius Antonius Andries Nur Imani Farel Simon Andries Firel Yusup Andries	66
51	Jalan Haji Suit No. 3	Charley Evert Corua Yuliandri Clarissa Anggraeni Christopher Corua	67
52	Jalan Haji Suit No. 2	Gerard Corua Ruth Dede Sulastri Edwig Fernando Corua Indriani Corua Lia Amelia Corua Masduki Mutiara Lusi Satria Yuana Corua Andi Akhbar Putra Andirian Eldino Jafru	68 69 70
53	Jalan Haji Suit No. 35	Elisabeth Abrahams Felix Ferdinand Abrahams Yusmiati Femi Alfa Elina Abrahams	71 72
54	Jalan Sungai Barito No. 25-26	Renardi Atama Rusyard Michiels Endang Riyanti Reyhan Hafiz Michiels Naufal Haris Michiels	73

55	Jalan Sungai Barito No. 25-26	Sriyari	74
		Rentana Ataru Rusyard Michiels Yuyun Wahyuningsih Reyno Alvaro Rusyard Michiels Rigel Valen Rusyard Michiels Rangga Artair Rusyard Michiels	75
		Rentani A. Rusyard Michiels Ester Peranginangin Ernest Rafael Michiels	76
		Aprila Charlota Michiels	77
56	Jalan Sungai Barito No. 16	Rensya Erai Rusyard Michiels Hardian Pranata Revanita Vidya Augustina	78
57	Kavling	Ade Pertiwi	79
58	Jalan Indragiri 3, No. 567	Seni Awati Lovianty Burkens Meivi Livianty Burkens Okty Lavianty Burkens	80
59	Jalan Indragiri 1/9	Andre Juan Michiels R.Lilik Darwanti Arend Stevanus Michiels Adrian Justinus Michiels John's Antonio Michiels	81
60	Jalan Sungai Memberamo I/26	Karel Adolf Andries Sintje Abrahams Elvan Agusta Andries Stella Flodia Andries Gustaf Cornelis Andries	82
61	Jalan Sungai Memberamo Raya No. 9	Otong Effendi	83
		Lisa Margareta Susanto Nuraisah Andri Setiadi Muhammad Alfiansyah Syema Aulia Salsabila Kevin Febriyant	84
62	Kavling	Adriana Rame-Bunga	85
Location: Beting Area Cilincing District, Semper Barat Subdistrict			
House No.	Address	Households	Household No.
63	Kampung Beting	Dicky Deady Michiels Kosiah George Febryan Adolf Michiels Jeffry James Michiels Neil Stewart Michiels Stella Zefanya Michiels	86

64	Kampung Beting	Gerard S. Sepang Ari Pingsan Meindy Sepang Manno Ronald Sepang	87
65	Kampung Beting Sawah No. 68	Novan Henri Sepang Nurhalimah Harahap Marlon Rayadibla Sepang Yesa Keyla Sepang Mikha Clara	88
66	Kampung Beting Sawah 3, No. 8	Freddy Thomas Ratna Wati Thomas Ervina Thomas Ronald Yahanes Thomas Ardianus Thomas	89
67	Kampung Beting Sawah I, No. 4	Marta Maria Kailuhu Santana Immanuel Manurung Rosdiana Braune	90
68	Kampung Beting, No. 49	Welmintje Matuankota Widi Sanda Sastima Timotius Deky Sasmita Timotius Ariyanti Sasmita Timotheus Agustino Timotius	91
69	Jalan Kampung Beting Asem	Lexy Harry Wulur	92
70	Kampung Beting Sawah I, No. 48	Naomi Kailuhu Suroso Yunus Yulianto Diego Caezar Kristianto Yuliana Pricilia Sri Sulastris	93 94 95
71	Kampung Beting Indah No. 24	Marthen Sopaheluwakan Dede Sulastris Janna Sopaheluwakan	96
72	Kampung Beting Indah No. 37	Limi Sopaheluwakan Eduard Iwan	97
Location: Cilincing District, Semper Timur Subdistrict			
House No.	Address	Households	Household No.
73	Jalan Madya Kebantenan No. 10	Arnold Cornelis Rustiati Cindy Pratiwi Cornelis Oktavianus Cornelis Mishella Cornelis	98
74	Jalan Madya Kebantenan No. 11	Merry Thenu-Cornelis Margaretha Thenu Esther Thenu Jonas Thenu Albert Thenu	99

		Maysiana Thenu	
75	Jalan Madya Kebantenan No. 12	Yohanis Thomas Cornelis Ermelita Carlita Quiko Rico Ignatiut Cornelis Lupita Gloria Cornelis Elita Yohana Cornelis Stefanus Cristal Ryu Kenzi Altar Stefeli	100 101
76	Jalan Madya Kebantenan No. 15	Martinus Cornelis Mulia Hati Cornelis-Ziliwu Lius March Cornelis	102
77	Jalan Madya Kebantenan No. 13	Melly Abrahams-Cornelis	103
78	Jalan Madya Kebantenan No. 13A	Oskar Agmel Abrahams Sisca Lasha	104
Special Zone: Tugu Indah Cilincing District, Semper Barat Subdistrict			
House No.	Address	Households	Household No.
79	Jalan Tugu Indah	Rudolf Yacobus Sopaheluwakan Enggelina Patinasrani Debby Sopaheluwakan Enggelita Wednes Sopaheluwakan	105
80	Jalan Tugu Indah No. 15B	Deffi Donald Yusta Yunus Tiur Melda Tampubolon Yessi Caroline Ribka Yunus	106
81	Jalan Tugu Indah IV B, No. 30	Johan Sopaheluwakan Udur Rosmawati Saragi-Ruma Horbo Zhargio Augusto Quiko Sopaheluwakan Viola Avrilya Quiko Sopaheluwakan	107
82	Jalan Tugu Indah No. 7	Selvia Abrahams Rajaguguk Linda Sitinjak Mastiur Uliarta Sitinjak Yafet Asmit Nema Alexandra Marcel Aditya	108
83	Jalan Tugu Indah No. 5	David Johanes Thomas Yunarlin Helen Priskila Thomas Terra Monika Thomas	109
84	Jalan Tugu Indah No. 4	Joise Aneke Yunus Jumali Siregar Friska Olivia Siregar	110
85	Jaln Tugu Indah	Duma Yanti Sitinjak Iwan Ridwan	111

86	Jl. Tugu Indah IV	Netty Isabella Sopaheluwakan Artur Tangyong Vito Stefanus	112
87	Jalan Tugu Indah II, No. 14	Ronny Banunaek Umi Sudaryati Calvin Baggery Banunaek Sasena Kishi Banunaek	113
88	Jalan Tugu Indah II, No. 13	Yulia Afifa Yunus Agus Supriyadi Byan Christian Fabiola Dani Ramadhan	114
89	Jalan Tugu Indah II, No. 16	Magdalena Abrahams Bobby Sumakul	115
90	Jalan Tugu Indah II, No. 16	Sri Abrahams Dakusman Trisyi Visella	116
91	Jalan Tugu Indah II, No. 17	Hiskia Yunus Ni Komang Sumartini Teguh Alfa Yunus Tegar Pamugi Gusti Yunus Tobey Oktadianus Yunus Verina Sola Gratia Yunus	117
92	Jalan Tugu Indah No. 2	Carolina Yunus Samuel A. Thalib Axcel Oktavianus	118
93	Jalan Tugu Indah No. 2	Marinus Demianus Kelelufna Sri Susilowati Kevin Gibanuel Kelelufna Jason Emmanuel Kelelufna	119
94	Jalan Tugu Indah No. 12	Amelia Yutika Yosef Elon Florenzia Frenata Imanuella Fiona Olivia	120
95	Jalan Tugu Indah No. 21	Adriana Theresia Tentua-Pieters Claudia Oktaviana Tentua	121
		Magdalena Josephine Tentua Rafael Hukom	122
		Mince Hendriks	
96	Jalan Tugu Indah	Alberto Quiko Elisabeth Anastasia Banunaek Javier Alexander Quiko Shaloom Agnesia Quiko Maureen Chelsea Quiko	123
97	Jalan Tugu Indah No. 24	Yusup Yunus Ade Sri Steve VIndy Malvinaz Shally Cecilia	124

98	Jalan Tugu Indah No. 26	Deice Matialu-Benjamin Gery Yehezkiel Benyamin Margoichi Clara Benyamin Dennis Aldey Rusyard Benyamin	125
99	Jalan Tugu Indah	Sekto C. Benyamin Wati Kaifas Theo Benyamin Marcel Benyamin Mishael Benyamin	126
100	Jalan Tugu Indah III, No. 2	Eduardo Quiko Fatimah Sariyando Quiko Erma Novita Quiko Sari Oktavia Quiko	127
101	Jalan Tugu Indah II	Megalita Quiko Yenny Melita Agnes Nanuru Xenna Abigael Nanuru	128

Appendix E
List of *Orang Tugu* in Pejambon according to Map of Pejambon in Chapter Three

Location : Gambir District, Gambir Subdistrict			
House No.	Address	Household Members	Household No.
1	Jl. Pejambon V/ 300	Olga Cornelia Hukum	1
2	Jl. Pejambon V/ 298	(Family of the late Yetty Abrahams) A.A. Gede Sayang Yulindha P. Agung	2
		Dorry Galatia Agung Henny Wulan Mario R. Agung Morono Dimas Orlando Agung	3
		(Family of the late Karel Abrahams) Henny Setiawati Yanetta	4
		Mevia Abrahams Nyoman Putu Zefania Osi	5
		Yudrinof Abrahams Dini Cindy Abrahams Rosa Abrahams Bosya Abrahams	6
		Syella Abrahams John Siahaan Sanuel Sara	7
		(Family of the late Fritz Abrahams) Adri Selvanus Abrahams Ira Loupatty Echa	8
		Arnold Yoel Abrahams Vida Mustamu Vino Abrahams Santa Abrahams Ari Eduardo Abrahams Maya	9
			10
		Lily Herawaty Abrahams Benny W. Piris Audrine Annasthasia Piris Yosua Adrian Elzeus Piris	11

		Narullita C. Abrahams Jeffrey R.A. Klokke Peggy D.M. Klokke Christie Alexi Klokke Jordy A.P. Klokke Jessica Sabrina Klokke	12
3	Jl. Pejambon II/ 12	Florence Manusama John Corputty Riva Corputty Alta Corputty Deyna Corputty	13
4	Jl. Pejambon I/ 2	Henky Hendrik Abrahams Ellis Nurhayati Novia Dewi Syafitri	14
5	Jl. Pejambon IV/ 12A	Veronica Lataruin Enrico Apollo Marenco Pratama	15
6	Jl. Pejambon III/ 9A	Martinus Palit Siti Syaraeni Andi Fahli Eko Putra	16
		Lily Andri Hendra Andi Linda Andi Shahril Andi Lidiana Bella Andi Lila	17
7	Jl. Pejambon III/ 10	Zakaria Djimun Elisabeth Elias Robot Steve Ziener Djimun Anemaria Yuliana Djimun	20
		Hanis Djimun Lily Srimurti Ningsi Andika Ivantri	21
		Sisca Hendi Listiana Djimun Tommy Michael Passick Rafael Cezar Michael Passick Grecia Imanuella Passick Gilbert Billy Joe Passick	22
		Hendriks Djimun Yosida Kusuma	23
8	Jl. Pejambon II/ 7B	Novita Djimun Ivan Soni Takaria Angel	24
		Esther Djimun Hendrik Wijaya Caroline Resa Catherine Risky	25

		Reno Dimas Septia	
9	Jl. Pejambon V/ 291	Petrosina Dolfina Soumokil Paulus Duma Yehezkiel Robby Magayun Perez Ronald Etha Handayani Nengsi (niece)	26
10	Jl. Pejambon III/ 10	David Djimun Fatma Maria Safira Djimun	27
		Frida David Djimun Jimmy Paul Elbracht Jiff Kelly Elbracht Cliff Steven Elbracht Philycia Asyer Elbracht	28
		Melina Djimun Rahmat Hidayat Rafli Rafili	29
11	Jl. Pejambon I/ 2	Steven Abrahams	30

Appendix F
Maps of Tugu drawn by Arthur Michiels (2013)

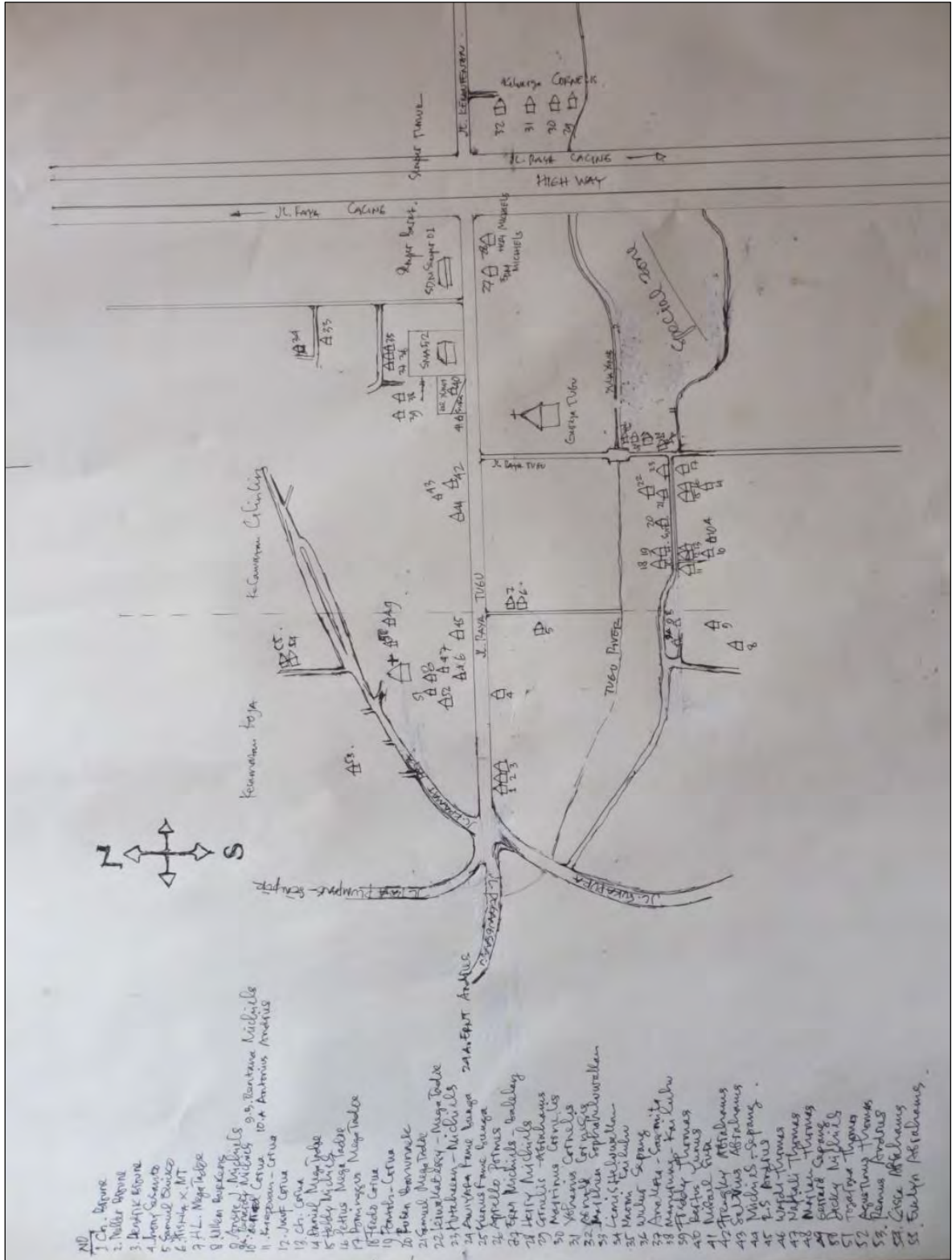


Figure F1. Large map of *Orang Tugu* families

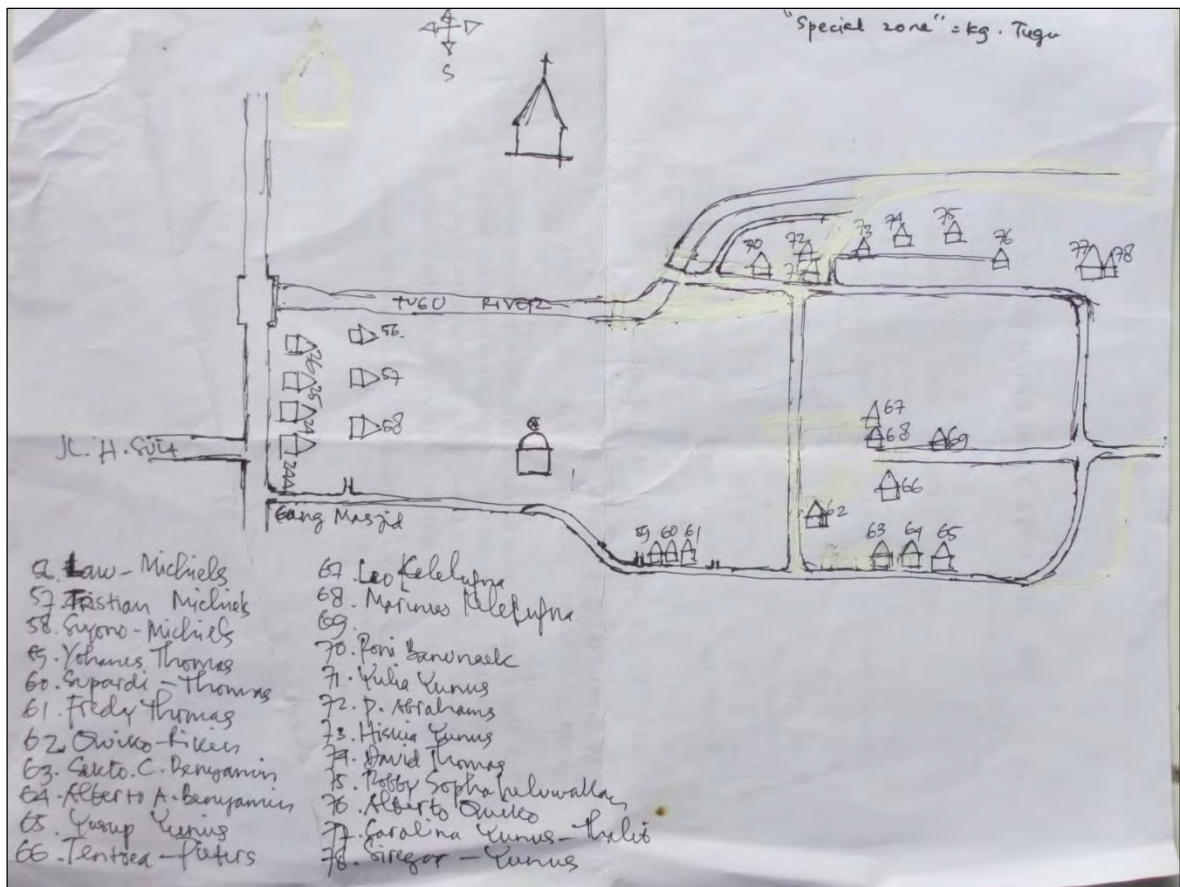


Figure F2. Enlarged map of "Special Zone" (i.e. RT 11) in Figure F1

Appendix G

Documentation and Photographs of *Orang Tugu* in Suriname, New Guinea, and the Netherlands

Source: Kantil, Fony Toegoe (1950-1967); De Toegoe Jongerencommissie, 1997

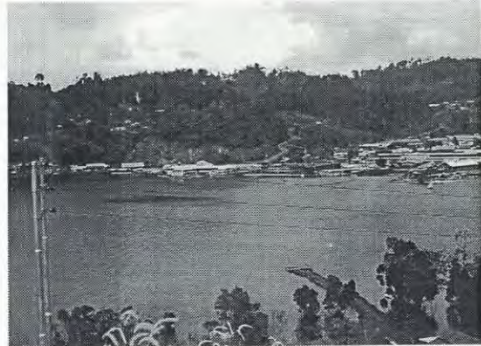


Nieuw Guinea

1950 1962



1950-1962 Hollandia
O.a. familie Abrahams, familie Kantil, familie Quiko, familie Latumanuwij



1950-1962 Hollandia
A.P.O. Kamp

Appendix H
The Two Abrahams Families in Pejambon



Figure H1. Descendants of Adrian Rudolf Abrahams and Itje bin Sanen (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure H2. Descendants of Frederick Abrahams and Ade Madalena Supit (Photo by author, 2013)

Appendix I Liturgies

II. Weekly Liturgy of GPIB Tugu

**GEREJA PROTESTAN di INDONESIA bagian BARAT
(GPIB)**



Jemaat "TUGU"

Jln. Raya Tugu No. 20 Jakarta 14130
Telp : 021 – 4403767
Pastori : 021 – 4407223
No.Rek.GPIB Tugu BNI Koja:0008079369
No.Rek.GPIB Tugu BNI Koja:0303050628
Email : gpib_tugu@yahoo.com

WARTA JEMAAT

Minggu IV Advent, 22 Desember 2013
Edisi Triwulan III



**Sarana Informasi Dan Komunikasi Jemaat
Kalangan Sendiri
Harap Dibawa Pulang**

BIDANG TEOLOGI				
♦ Bacaan Alkitab Sepekan (23 – 29 DESEMBER 2013)				
HARI	NAS ALKITAB	T E M A		
Senin	Yesaya 7 : 10 – 17 Yesaya 9 : 1 – 6	IMANUEL DIALAH TERANG KITA		
	Yesaya 11 : 1 – 5 Matius 1 : 1 – 17	RAJA DAMAI RUTE RAJA DAMAI		
Selasa	Matius 1 : 18 – 25 Matius 2 : 1 – 12	YESUS ADALAH IMANUEL BAYI NATAL MINTA SIKAP HATI		
	Kisah Rasul 16 : 1 – 15 Kisah Rasul 16 : 16 – 18	NATAL BERSIFAT MISSIONER NATAL ADALAH ANUGERAH		
Rabu	Roma 3 : 1 – 8 Roma 3 : 9 – 20	TUHAN SETIA KAWAN SEKERJA ALLAH		
	Roma 3 : 21 – 26 Roma 3 : 27 – 31	SOLA GRATIA SOLA FIDE		
Kamis	Roma 4 : 1 – 8 Roma 4 : 9 – 12	IMAN YANG MENYELAMATKAN KESELAMATAN UNTUK SEMUA		
♦ Tata Ibadah Hari Minggu Bulan Desember 2013				
LITURGI	22 – 12 – 2013	24 – 12 – 2013	25 – 12 – 2013	29 – 12 – 2013
Nas Khotbah	Matius 1 : 8 – 19			Roma 4 : 1 – 8
Nas Pembimbing	Mazmur 100 : 2-3			Matius 26 : 28
Nas Berita Anugerah	Kisah Rasul 10 : 43			Kj 138 : 1, 4
Nas Petunjuk Hidup Baru	Efes 2 : 1 – 10			Kj 97 : 1, 5
Ny. Pembukaan	Kj 85 : 1 – 5			GB 28
Ny. Salam	GB 197 : 1 – 3			GB 40 : 1, 2
Ny. Pengakuan Dosa	GB 286A (GB 11)			GB 388
Ny. Berita Anugerah	Kj 35 : 1 – 3			Kj 282 : 1, 6
Ny. Petunjuk Hidup Baru	GB 52 : 1, 2			Kj 115 : 1, 2, 8
Ny. Sujud Khotbah	Kj 287 : 1 – 3			GB 214 : 1 – 3
Ny. Persembahan	Kj 287 : 1 – 3			
Ny. Pengutusan	GB 121 : 1, 2			
♦ Sakramen Perjamuan Kudus Akhir Tahun, Minggu, 22 Desember 2013				
♦ Bacaan & Nyanyian Ibadah Sepekan				
LITURGI	KELUARGA	Pelkat. PKP	DIAKONIA	Khusus
Ny. Pembukaan				
Naskah Mazmur	Maz	Maz	Maz	Maz
Ny. Sambutan				
Naskah Khotbah	Maz	Maz	Maz	Maz
Ny. Khotbah				
Ny. Persembahan				
Ny. Pengutusan				

IBADAH MINGGU 22 DESEMBER 2013				PERJAMUAN KUDUS		
Kelompok	06.30 WIB	09.00 WIB	18.00 WIB			
	C + F	A + D	B + E			
Pelayanan Firman	Pdt. Ny. H.H.J Raintung S.Th	Pdt. Ny. H.H.J Raintung S.Th	Pdt. M.E Raintung S.Si MM			
P1.Cad/Doa Konsistori	Pnt. Rustam E. Manuel	Pnt. Widi Sanda Sasmita	Pnt. Arturus A. Alfons			
P2.Liturgi/Doa Pengakuan	Pnt. Ny. Elisabeth Taopan	Pnt. Ny. Yunita R. Suharto	Pnt. Ny. Sri M. Waluyo			
P3.Pembaca Alkitab	Pnt. Yohanis C. Neolaka	Dkn. Johan Sopaheluwakan	Pnt. Ny. Soviana Surbakti			
P4.Persembahan	Dkn. Ny. Sri Warsini	Dkn. Ny. Win A. Saemena	Dkn. Nn. Arleinda L. Parera			
P5.Pelayanan Meja/Kolekte	Dkn. Ny. Tiodora Prasetyo	Dkn. Ny. S. Melmambesby	Dkn. Ny. Ratna Lupulatan			
	Dkn. Ny. Hollah Tuka Lay	Pnt. Ny. Lusi Y. Prayitno	Dkn. Ny. Mulla Hati Cornelis			
	Dkn. Albert Southwat	Pnt. Ny. Ade Pattiwaelagia	Dkn. Nn. Susana D.W.S			
	Dkn. Benjamin A. Paat	Pnt. Ny. Yessy V. Boeky	Dkn. Ny. Evi Saragi			
	Pnt. Ny. Ade Pattiwaelagia	Pnt. Ny. Lien Tooy – G	Dkn. Ny. Susanne Wanah			
	Pnt. Ny. Jeanne Lengkoan		Pnt. Nn. Elsa Emilia M.T			
			Pnt. Ny. S.U Soebagjo			
P6.Warta Jemaat	Pnt. Paulus S. Andries	Pnt. Ny. Deltje Beryanin	Pnt. Aprelio Formes			
P7. Penyambut Jemaat	Dkn. Ny. Ratna Manaku	Dkn. Hendrik Thomas	Dkn. Nn. Lily H. Napitupulu			
	Dkn. Ny. Wisnawati M.T	Dkn. Agus D. Sahatapy	Dkn. Freddy Thomas			
	Dkn. Nn. Maria Titik H	Dkn. Marck Abrahams	Pnt. Wardi Thomas			
	Dkn. Franky Abrahams	Pnt. Parliuhutan Gultom	Pnt. Damsi H. Pandelaku			
	Pnt. Supardi		Pnt. H.S.Freddy T. Sihotang			
P8. Pengedar Kolekte	Majelis Bertugas	Majelis Bertugas	Majelis Bertugas			
Prokantor	Bpk. Ruben Saemena	Bpk. J.W.A Hermanus	Pnt. Ny. Lien Tooy – G			
Kantorita	PS. Pelkat. PKP	Sek. 7	Sek. 8, 5			
Organis	Sdr. Fidela Y. Dach	Sdr. Fidela Y. Dach	Sdr. Shinta Ari K			
IBADAH SELASA 24 DESEMBER 2013				MALAM NATAL		
Kelompok	18.00 WIB	21.00 WIB				
	C + F	A + D				
Pelayanan Firman	Pdt. Manuel Essau Raintung S.Si MM	Pdt. Ny. Herlina Hirtap L. Raintung S.Th				
P1.Cad/Doa Konsistori	Pnt. Paulus Stevanus Andries	Pnt. Ny. Deltje Beryanin – Matiahu				
P2.Liturgi/Doa Pengakuan	Pnt. Rustam Effendy Manuel	Pnt. Ny. Ade Pattiwaelagia				
P3.Pembaca Alkitab	Dkn. Ny. Sri Warsini	Dkn. Nn. Lily Harliana Napitupulu				
P4.Persembahan	Dkn. Ny. Hollah Tuka Lay	Pnt. David Harjono				
P5.Pelayanan Meja/Kolekte	Dkn. Ny. Rame Lumban Toruan	Dkn. Adrianus Wenas				
P6.Warta Jemaat	Dkn. Albert Southwat	Pnt. Ny. Yunita Ruth Suharto – Thomas				
P7. Penyambut Jemaat	Pnt. Ny. Elisabeth Taopan – Nenogasu	Pnt. Widi Sanda Sasmita				
	Pnt. Ny. Jeanne Lengkoan – Langi	Dkn. Ny. Susana Melmambesby				
	Pnt. Yohanis Christosomus Neolaka	Dkn. Nn. Arleinda Lidya Parera				
	Pnt. Parliuhutan Gultom	Pnt. Win Aryanji Saemena				
P8. Pengedar Kolekte	Dkn. Ny. Wisnawati Mega Tadce	Dkn. Ny. Evi Saragi – Shombing				
	Dkn. Ny. Tiodora Marsaulina Prasetyo	Dkn. Hendrik Thomas				
	Dkn. Benjamin Alexander Paat	Dkn. Agus Demianus Sahatapy				
	Pnt. Ny. Margaretha Ticoalu – Manuel	Pnt. Ny. Lusi Yunitary Prayitno				
	Pnt. Ny. Lien Tooy – Gimom	Pnt. Ny. Soviana Surbakti				
	Pnt. Wardi Thomas	Pnt. Supardi				

2. Wajib mengikuti Kelas Katakrisi Pratikah, Penggantian Nikah Persiapan Liturgi yang harus dihadiri orang tua/wali masing-masing. Hari pernikahan akan diumumkan 2 minggu dalam Ibadah Minggu. Bila ada keberatan, semua pihak lebih dulu dipanggil untuk bersama memecahkan penyelesaian.

3. Formulir Nikah diserahkan ke kantor Majelis dengan melampirkan: Copy Surat Baptis/Sid, Akta Lahir, KTP (yang masih berlaku), Foto genggam (4x6-6x8), Surat Pernyataan Status Single diatas materai, dari RT/RW/Kelurahan setempat, Surat Pernyataan masuk Kristen di kelas katekisasi (dari non-kristen, sudah di Sid), berkas Catatan Sipil, Surat keterangan kelahiran (N1,N2,N4), copy Kartu Keluarga (Komputer), surat pernyataan orang tua/wali diatas materai 5.000, (di kantor Gereja), diserahkan 3 bulan sebelum tanggal pernikahan. Majelis Jemaat tidak melayani permohonan nikah bagi yang tidak memenuhi persyaratan di atas.

> POKOK DOA JEMAAT SEPEKAN

- Penderitaan sesama, upaya penajagan keadilan, kedamaian dan kesejahteraan masyarakat
- Pemerintah RI dan para Pemimpin Daerah, khususnya Pemkot, Jakarta Utara
- Pelayanan dan Keselamatan Gereja di seluruh dunia, yang dihambat, dirusak dan dianalisa
- GPIB, khususnya GPIB Jemaat "Tugu" di Jakarta Utara:

- Warga yang sakit, berduka, miskin, cacat, pergumulan keluarga, PHK, cari kerja/jodoh, dll
- Warga yang dalam Studi, dinas keluar daerah/bnegeri, Melamar/Tei Kerja
- Warga yang Lanjut Usia, janda, duda, Yatim-Piatu, jaud dari suami/isteri/orang tua
- Warga yang berhadapan karna HUT Usia, pernikahan, berhasil dalam Study/Usaha/Kerja
- Pelayanan Kesaksian GPIB, Jemaat Tugu, para Presbiter dan keluarga
- Yapendik cabang "Tugu", Pel. Kat. PA/PT/GPIB/PKB/PKLU/Komis-komis

BIDANG PELAYANAN dan KESAKSIAN		
> WARGA YANG SAKIT		
N a m a	Sektor	Tempat Perawatan
Ibu Uli Basa P. Simatupang	II	RS. Islam Sukapura
Bpk. Domingus Mega Tadce	II	Rumah
Bpk. Azer C. Moloku	II	Rumah
Bpk. Gerard Conus	II	Rumah
Adik Raymond Mega Tadce	II	Rumah
Ibu Kimoy	IV	RS. Koja
Ibu Martha Manurung – Kalluhu	IV	Rumah
Ibu Josephina Elisabeth Huwae	IV	Rumah
Bpk. E. S. Poli	IV	RS. BPP
Ibu Rusminati Poli	IV	RSPAD. Galot Subroto
Bpk. H.H. Tanggalong	VI	Rumah
Ibu Hukubun	VII	Rumah
Sdr. Hosi M. Saragi	VII	RS. Jakarta
Bpk. Jimmy Pongkorung	VII	Rumah
Bpk. Asaf Budi Dach	VII	RS. Pertamina Jaya
Ibu Sahertian C. Suripatny	VII	RS. Koja
Bpk. Danosochi Hanafa	OK	Rumah

Majelis dan Jemaat GPIB Tugu menyampaikan salam bagi warga jemaat yang telah sembuh dari sakit, atau dalam proses pemulihan, Tuhan Yesus memberkati.

BIDANG GEREJA, MASYARAKAT dan AGAMA – AGAMA (GERMASA)

BIDANG PEMBINAAN dan PENGEMBANGAN SUMBER DAYA INSANI serta PENINGKATAN PERAN KELUARGA (PPSDI&PPK)

> Pel. Kat PELAYANAN ANAK (PA)

• TEMPAT PERIBADAHAN PELKAT. PA

SEK.	TEMPAT	SEK.	TEMPAT
I – IIA	Kelas Yapendik (Pkl. 07.30)	V	Kel. De fretes (Pkl. 07.30)
IIIB	Kel. Eddy Thomas Pathwaellapisa (Pkl. 08.00)	VI	Kel. Des E. Taopan (Pkl. 08.00)
IV	Kel. Widi Sanda Sasmita (Pkl. 07.30)	VII, VIII, IX	Kelas Yapendik (Pkl. 09.00)

> Pel. Kat PERSEKUTUAN TARUNA (PT)

• TEMPAT PERIBADAHAN PELKAT. PT

SEK.	TEMPAT	SEK.	TEMPAT
I – IX	Gd. Studio (Pkl. 09.30)	VI	Kel. Des E. Taopan (Pkl. 10.00)

> Pel. Kat GERAKAN PEMUDA (GP)

> Pel. Kat PERSEKUTUAN KAUM PEREMPUAN (PKP)

• LATHAN PADUAN SUARA
Lathan Paduan Suara Pel. Kat. PKP Sektor I s/d IX dan Kantorita, diadakan setiap hari Senin Pkl. 17.30 wib di Gd. "Studio". Mohon perhatian dan kehadiran anggota Pelkat. PKP yang berminat.

> Pel. Kat PERSEKUTUAN KAUM BAPAK (PKB)

• LATHAN VOKAL GRUP & PADUAN SUARA PELKAT. PKB
Lathan VGS setiap Kamis, Pkl. 18.00 wib di Gd. Yeruel, bagi yang berminat dapat ikut latihan ini.

> Pel. Kat PERSEKUTUAN KAUM LANJUT USIA (PKLU)

• LATHAN PADUAN SUARA PELKAT. PKLU
Akan dilaksanakan pada Minggu, 29 Desember 2013 di Gd. Gereja sesudah ibadah ke – 2 , mohon perhatian dan kehadiran anggota Paduan Suara Pelkat. PKLU.

BIDANG PEMBANGUNAN EKONOMI GEREJA

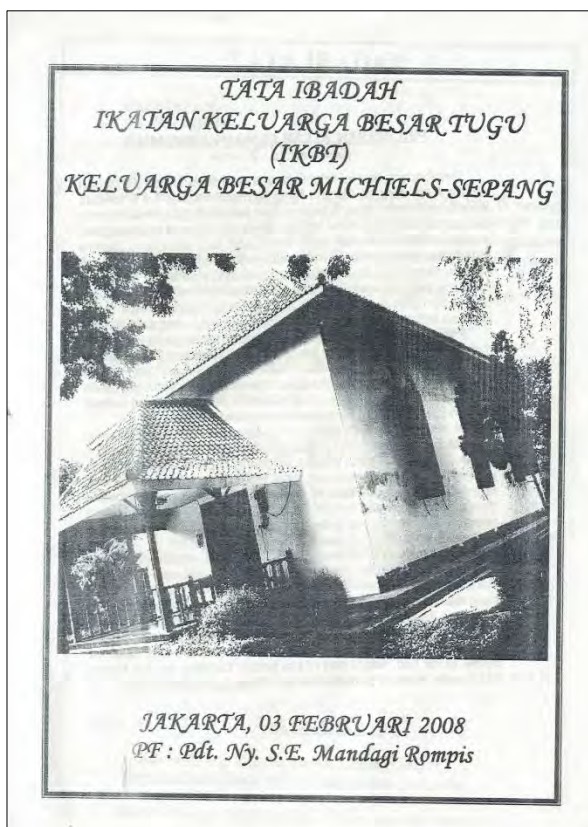
> Kegiatan Usaha Dana Komisi Daya & Dana

WAKTU	BENTUK USAHA DANA	TEMPAT	YANG BERTUGAS
1. Minggu, 22 – 12 – 2013	Parkir, Stand Makanan	Halaman Gereja	Security, Kom. Daya Dana
2. Minggu (Setiap Terbit)	Jelaw Page / Ikan Baris	Warta Jemaat	Sekretariat Kantor
3. Minggu, 29 – 12 – 2013	Parkir, Stand Makanan, Ngamen	Halaman Gereja	Security, Kom. Daya Dana

> Keterangan Tarif Usaha Daya Dana :

- Jelaw Page di Warta Jemaat: memuat Info Bshis / Ucapan Pesan, dengan biaya pemuaian :
- 1 Cover belakang : - Bisnis, Rp.150.000,- - Umum, Rp.100.000,- ½ halaman Bisnis Rp. 75.000,-
- 1 Halaman dalam : - Bisnis, Rp.100.000,- - Umum, Rp. 75.000,- ½ halaman Umum Rp. 50.000,-

12. Liturgy of an IKBT Meeting



TATA IBADAH	
<p style="text-align: center;">PERJANJIAN ALLAH DENGAN ABRAHAM Kejadian 15 : 7 – 19</p> <p>Pembacaan hari ini adalah bagian kedua dari kisah perjanjian antara Allah dengan Abram. Bila kita membaca ay. 1 – 6 tampak kesetiaan Abram menanti pemenuhan janji Allah dalam waktu yang sangat panjang. Penantian itu membawa Abram pada satu keadaan yang membuat seolah-olah tidak ada lagi harapan. Dalam keterbatasannya sebagai manusia, Abram berkata, "Engkau tidak memberikan kepadaku keturunan, sehingga seorang hambaku nanti menjadi ahli warisku." Keraguan Abram akhirnya dapat diatasi dan ia pun percaya pada janji Allah tentang keturunannya nanti. Bahkan setelah itu, ia pun menerima perjanjian yang kedua.</p> <p>Perjanjian yang kedua adalah perjanjian tentang apa yang akan dialami keturunan Abram di kemudian hari. Rencana Tuhan begitu jauh untuk masa depan. Hal itu telah diberitahukan-Nya kepada Abram. Ia kemudian menghaturkan persembahan sebagai tanda bahwa Allah akan memenuhi janji-Nya – yaitu pada saat semua korban persembahan itu dimakan api sampai habis.</p> <p>Di sini kita menyaksikan cara yang unik dalam komunikasi para leluhur bangsa Israel dengan Allah. Manusia pada masa yang lalu itu, dapat berbicara secara langsung kepada Allah dan Allah juga menjawabnya secara langsung. Hal itu kemudian makin jarang terjadi bahkan sampai saat ini, hanya malaikat saja yang berbicara dengan manusia dan bukan Tuhan Allah sendiri. Bila ada orang yang mengklaim bahwa ia mendengar suara Allah pun (pada masa kini) akan sulit diterima apalagi dipercaya.</p> <p>Yang menjadi penekanan di sini adalah soal rencana Allah yang begitu jauh, melebihi rencana-rencana kita sebagai manusia. Rencana Allah itu memiliki dasar yaitu Perjanjian. Perjanjian itulah yang akan tetap dipegang teguh sampai kapan pun. Berbeda dengan rencana kita yang tidak matang. Malahan sering meleset dan tidak sedikit yang gagal. Kalau sudah gagal, orang akan sulit untuk bangkit kembali, apalagi menyusun rencana-rencana baru lagi, rasanya sudah tawar hati. Tetapi hari ini kita belajar bersikap seperti Abram untuk setia menanti pemenuhan janji Allah dalam hidup kita.</p>	<p>> PERSIAPAN > SAAT TEDUH > PANGGILAN BERIBADAH</p> <p>Liturgos : Saudara-saudara yang dikasihi Tuhan Yesus, patutlah kita mengucapkan syukur atas anugerah Tuhan yang senantiasa menopang kehidupan kita sepanjang hari bahkan satu bulan yang kita lewati dalam persekutuan Ikatan Keluarga Besar Tugu (IKBT) tepatnya hari ini, bertempat di Keluarga Besar Deitje Michiels – Sepang Sabda Tuhan "Hendaklah kamu dipenuhi dengan Roh bernyanyi dan bersoraklah bagi Tuhan dengan segenap hati" Marilah kita berdiri dan memuji Tuhan dengan Menyanyi :</p> <p>♫ KJ. 4 : 1,2,4 HAI MARI SEMBAH</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Hai mari sembah Yanh Maha besar, Nyanikan syukur dengan bergemar. Perisai umatNya, Yang Maha esa, Mulia namaNya, takhtaNya megah ! 2 Hai masyhurkanlah keagunganNya ; Cahaya terang itu jubahNya. Gemuruh suaraNya di awan kelam ; Berjalanlah Dia di badai kencang. 4. PengasuhanMu betapa megah : Udara dan t'rang menyatakannya, Embun bertetas dan hujan sejuk, Lembah maupun bukit cermin kasihMu ! <p style="text-align: right;">(duduk)</p> <p>> DOA PEMBUKAAN</p> <p>♫ KJ. 18 : 1,2,3 ALLAH HADIR</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Allah hadir bagi kita dan hendak memb'ri berkat, Melimpahkan Kuasa RohNya bagai hujan yang lebat <p>Reff : Dengan Roh Kudus ya, Tuhan, umatMu berkatilah ! Berkahilah kami...</p>

2. Allah hadir, sungguh hadir di jemaatNya yang Kudus ;
Biar kasih karuniaNya menyegarkan kita t'rus. (Reff)
3. Allah hadir ! O, percaya dan berdoa padaNya
Agar kita dikobarkan oleh nyala kasihNya. (Reff)

MARI BERMAZMUR (MZM 119 : 1 – 4)

Wanita **Berbahagiaalah orang-orang yang hidupnya tidak bercela, yang hidup menurut Taurat Tuhan.**
 Pria **Berbahagiaalah orang-orang yang memegang peringatan-peringatanNya, yang mencari Dia dengan segenap hati, Yang juga tidak melakukan kejahatan, tetapi yang hidup menurut jalan-jalan yang ditunjukkanNya.**
 Wanita **Engkau sendiri telah menyampaikan titah-titahMu, supaya dipegang dengan sungguh-sungguh.**

KJ. 17 : 1, 2 TUHAN ALLAH HADIR

1. Tuhan Allah hadir pada saat ini.
Hai sembah sujud disini.
Diam dengan hormat,
Tubuh serta jiwa,
Tunduklah menghadap Dia.
Marilah, umatNya,
Hatimu serahkan dalam kerendahan.
2. Tuhan Allah hadir, Yang dimulihkan dalam sorga siang – malam.
"Suci, suci, suci"
untuk selamanya
dinyanyikan malak sorga
Ya Allah, t'rimalah
Pujian jemaat beserta malaikat.

➤ **PELAYANAN FIRMAN**

- Doa
- Pembacaan Alkitab
- Khotbah

➤ **MENYAMBUK FIRMAN TUHAN**

2

➤ **KJ.369:1,2 YA YESUS 'KU BERJANJI**

1. Ya Yesus kuberjanji setia padaMu;
Kupinta Kau selalu dekat, ya Tuhanku.
Dikalahkan pergumulan jalanku tak sesat,
Kar'na Engkau Temanku, Pemimpin terdekat.
2. Dekaplah aku, Tuhan di ribut dunia
Penuh kilauan hampa dan suara godanya.
Di dalam dan di luar si jahat mendesak.
Perisai lawan dosa, ya Tuhan, Kau tetap.

➤ **DOA SYAFAAT**

➤ **PENGUCAPAN SYUKUR :**

Saudara-saudara di dalam Tuhan Yesus , beginilah perkataan Tuhan Yesus " Adalah lebih berbahagia memberi daripada menerima " Marilah kita memberikan persembahan syukur dengan menuji :

➤ **PKJ. 146 BAWA PERSEMBAHANMU**

Bawa persembahanmu dalam rumah Tuhan
Dengan rela hatimu janganlah jemu
Bawa persembahanmu bawa dengan suka

Reff : Bawa persembahanmu, tanda sukacitamu
Bawa persembahanmu ucaplah syukur

Rahmat Tuhan padamu tidak tertandingi
Oleh apa saja pun dalam dunia
Kasih dan sejahtera sudah kau terima (Reff)

Persembahkan dirimu untuk Tuhan pakai
Agar KerajaanNya makin nyata lah
Damai dan sejahtera diberikan Tuhan (Reff)

➤ **DOA PERSEMBAHAN**

➤ **PENGUTUSAN**

3

➤ **KJ.370:1,3 'KU MAU BERJALAN DENGAN JURUS'LAMATKU**

1. 'Ku mau berjalan dengan Juruslamatku
Di lembah berbunga dan berair sejuk.
Ya, kemana juga aku mau mengikutNya
Sampai aku tiba di neg'ri baka.

Reff : Ikut, ikut , ikut Tuhan Yesus; 'ku tetap
Mendengar dan mengikutNya
Ikut, ikut, ikut Tuhan Yesus; ya, kemana
Juga 'ku mengikutNya

3. Bersama Juruslamat hatiku teguh
Di lembah dan bukit yang perlu kutempuh
Tuhanku membimbing aku pada jalanNya
Yang menuju rumah Allah yang baka. (Reff)

➤ **BERKAT**

❧ **SELAMAT BERIBADAH** ❧

**JADWAL PELAYANAN PERSEKUTUAN
IKATAN KELUARGA BESAR TUGU (IKBT)
Januari S/D Desember 2008**

NO	TANGGAL	TEMPAT	WAKTU	LITURGOS
1	06-01-2008	Kel. Alm. Bernes Michiels	Jam 13.00	James Corua
2	03-02-2008	Kel. Deeje Sepang Michiels	Jam 13.00	Taufik Daniel
3	02-03-2008	Kel. Roni Banunak	Jam 13.00	Roni Banunak
4	06-04-2008	Kel. Eje Rosita Yunus	Jam 13.00	Lisa Michiels
5	04-05-2008	H U T IKBT	Jam 13.00	Artur Michiels
6	01-06-2008	Kel. Yulia Afifa Yunus	Jam 13.00	Ely Ependi
7	06-07-2008	Kel. Yunita Thomas	Jam 13.00	Esyane Wati Michiels
8	03-08-2008	Kel. Joni Susanto	Jam 13.00	Wardi Thomas
9	07-09-2008	Kel. Dominggus Megetadoe	Jam 13.00	Eison Hutahayan
10	05-10-2008	Kel. Carel Andries	Jam 13.00	Hiskie Yunus
11	02-11-2008	Kel. Frangky Abrahams	Jam 13.00	Taufik Daniel
12	07-12-2008	Kel. Berto Benyamin	Jam 13.00	Artur Michiels

Atas kerjasama yang baik kami ucapkan terimakasih
Jika ada hal – hal yang sangat penting sesuai dengan jadwal ini
Bisa menghubungi Badan Pengurus IKBT Seksi Kerohanian

1. Hiskia Yunus Telp (021) 4418724 Hp. 08161188783
2. Taufik Daniel Hp. 08881774463

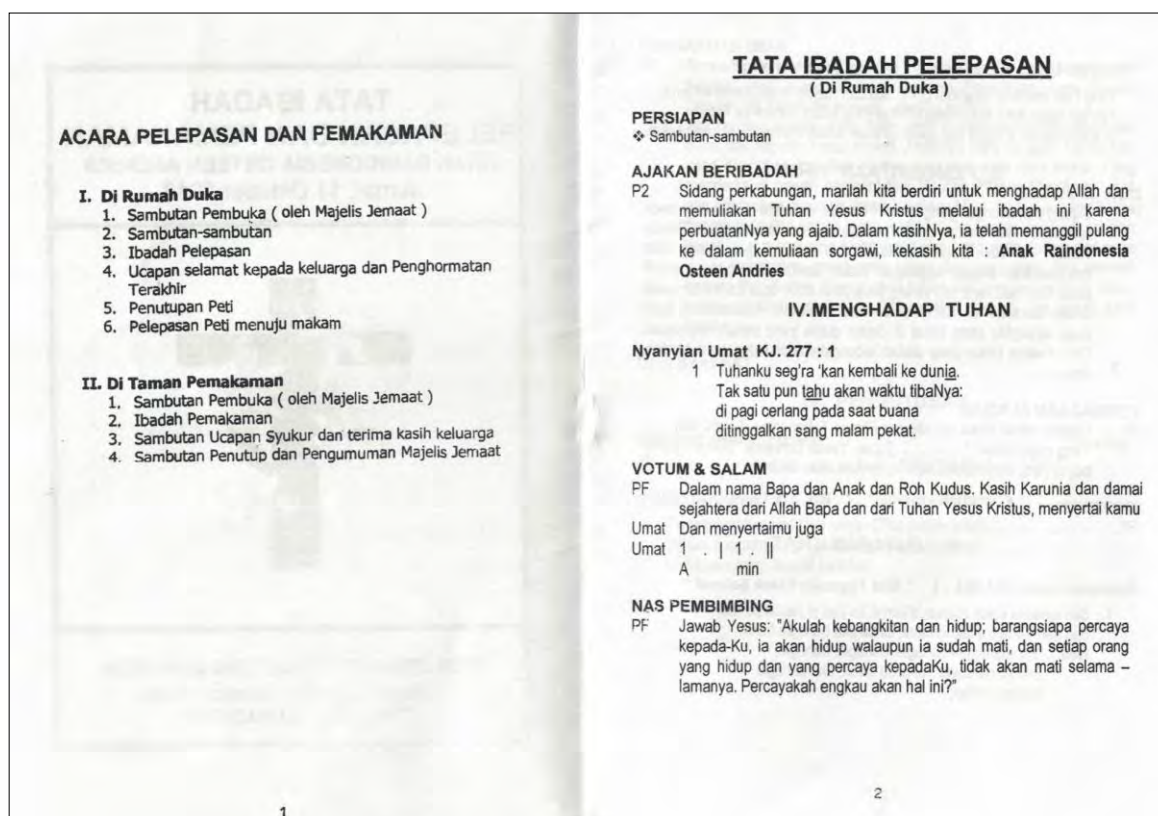
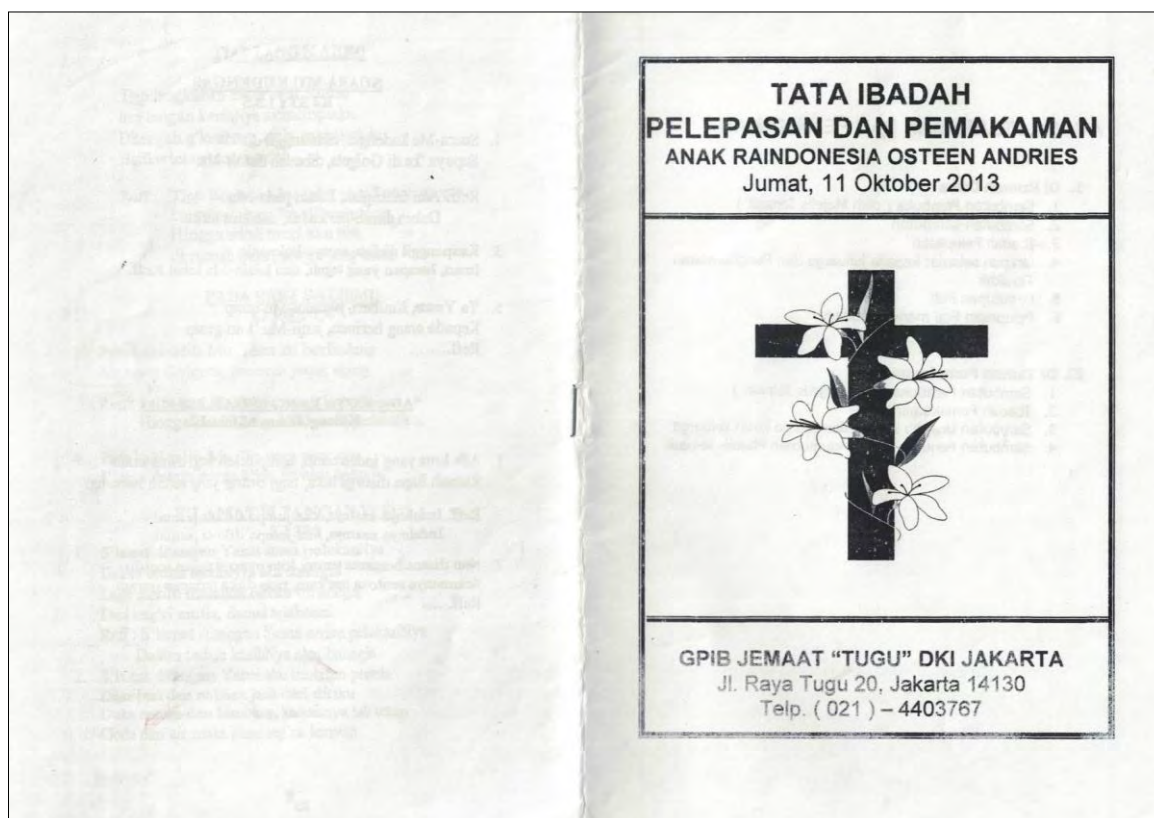
Mengetahui

Jakarta, 6 Januari 2008

Andre Juan Michiels
Ketua IKBT

Hiskia Yunus
Seksi kerohanian

13. Liturgy of a Funeral and Burial Service



Nyanyian Umat KJ. 263 : 1 "Yang T'lah Menang"

1. Yang t'lah menang disambut di Firdaus dan makan buah pohon Alhayat, Tak lagi ingat duka atau maut: Kristus yang hidup Tuhannya Tetap. Ia alami nikmat sorgawi dan merasai kasih kekal, dan merasai kasih kekal.

II. PEMBERITAAN FIRMAN

DOA EPIKLESE

PF Sidang perkabungan yang dikasihi Kristus, mari kita berdoa memohon bimbingan Roh Kudus dalam pembacaan dan pemberitaan Firman Tuhan: Ya Allah yang Mahakuasa dan kekal, Engkau yang telah mengalahkan segala kegelapan maut. Berilah FirmanMu menjadi pelita bagi kaki kami dan terang pada jalan kami, agar kami tidak sesal dalam dukacita ini. Curahkanlah Roh KudusMu membimbing kami pada terangMu yang kekal di dalam dunia yang penuh kegelapan. Dalam nama Yesus yang adalah kebangkitan dan hidup, kami berdoa. Amin.....

PEMBACAAN ALKITAB

PF Marilah berdiri untuk mendengar Firman Tuhan yang diambil dari Yang menyatakan "..... Tuhan Yesus Bersabda "Berbahagialah orang yang berdukacita, karena mereka akan dihibur"

KHOTBAH

PF

III. JAWABAN UMAT

Nyanyian Umat : KJ 265 : 1 " Bila Tugasku Kelak Selesai "

1. Bila tugasku kelak selesai, s'lamat' ku tiba di pantai permai dan dari Tuhanku tak tercerai, itu bagiku bahagia baka.

Reff: 'Ku s'lamanya bahagia, bahagia, bahagia;
bila ku pandang Tuhanku kelak, aku bahagia
bahagia tetap,

3

PENGAKUAN IMAN

PF Bersama semua orang percaya disegala waktu dan tempat, mari **berdiri** untuk mengaku iman menurut Pengakuan Iman Rasuli. Dengan hati dan mulut masing – masing berkata :
Aku percaya kepada Allah, Bapa yang Mahakuasa, Khalik langit dan bumi; dan kepada Yesus Kristus, AnakNya yang tunggal, Tuhan kita, yang dikandung dari Roh Kudus, lahir dari anak dara Maria. Yang menderita di bawah pemerintahan Pontius Pilatus. Disalibkan, mati dan dikuburkan, turun ke dalam Kerajaan Maut, pada hari yang ketiga bangkit pula dari antara orang mati, naik ke Sorga, duduk di sebelah kanan Allah Bapa yang Mahakuasa, dan yang akan datang dari sana untuk menghakimi orang yang hidup dan yang mati; Aku percaya kepada Roh Kudus, Gereja yang kudus dan am, persekutuan orang kudus, pengampunan dosa, kebangkitan daging, dan hidup yang kekal.

DOA SYAFAAT

IV. PENGUTUSAN

AMANAT PENGUTUSAN

PF (berdiri) (I Tesalonika 4 : 13-14)

NYANYIAN UMAT KJ. 329 : 1 " Tinggal Sertaku "

1. Tinggal sertaku; hari t'lah senja. G'lap makin turun, Tuhan, tinggallah! Lain pertolongan tiada kutemu: Maha penolong, tinggal sertaku!

4

BERKAT

PF Damai sejahtera Allah yang melampaui segala akal akan memelihara hati dan pikiranmu dalam Kristus Yesus, serta melimpahkan Roh Kudus yang akan menghibur, serta menguatkan iman dan kesetiaanmu.

NYANYIAN UMAT

5 6 / 5 6 / 5 4 / 3 . ||
A - min, a - min, a -----min.

----- Penghormatan terakhir -----

-----Penutupan peti jenazah -----

----- Menuju ke tempat pemakaman -----

5

TATA IBADAH PEMAKAMAN

(di Tempat Makam)

PERSIAPAN

- Peti jenazah diletakkan dan diturunkan ke dalam liang lahat
- Keluarga berduka mengambil tempat di dekat sekitar liang lahat

AJAKAN BERIBADAH

P2 Sidang perkabungan, marilah kita memulai ibadah ini untuk memakamkan, kekasih kita **Anak Rainonesia Osteen Andries**.

SALAM

PF Tuhan menyertai saudara-saudara !
Umat Dan menyertaimu juga

NYANYIAN JEMAAT KJ. 372 : 1 " Inginkah Kau Ikut Tuhan "

1. Inginkah kau ikut Tuhan? Pikul salib! Jangan Bimbang, jangan sungkan: Ikut Tabib!

Reff: *Pikulah salibmu saja, ikut terus;
lihatlah mahkota Raja agung kudus!*

PRAKATA

PF Saudara – saudara, kita datang berkumpul di tempat ini untuk memakamkan jenazah saudara kita, yang dengan hormat kami sebut namanya **Anak Rainonesia Osteen Andries**. meskipun kita berduka cita karena kepahitan maut menjadi bagian hidup kita, namun hidup yang kekal telah dijanjikan Kristus, menghibur kita. "FirmanNya, "Di rumah Bapaku banyak tempat tinggal. Jika tidak demikian, tentu Aku mengatakan kepadamu. Sebab Aku pergi ke situ untuk menyediakan tempat bagimu. Dan apabila Aku telah pergi kesitu dan telah menyediakan tempat bagimu, Aku akan datang kembali dan membawa kamu ketempatKu, supaya di tempat dimana Aku berada, kamu pun berada. "FirmanNya lagi,.....Maut telah ditelan dalam kemenangan.

6

Hai maut dimanakah kemenanganmu? Hai maut dimanakah sengatmu? Maka bersyukurlah kepada Allah yang telah memberikan kepada kita kemenangan oleh Yesus Kristus, Tuhan kita.

DOA BAPA KAMI

PF Marilah kita berdoa menurut Doa yang Tuhan Yesus ajarkan. Kita berdoa :

Bapa kami yang di Sorga. Dikuduskanlah namaMu. Datanglah KerajaanMu, jadilah kehendakMu di bumi seperti di Sorga. Berikanlah kami pada hari ini makanan kami yang secukupnya. Dan ampunilah kami akan kesalahan kami, seperti kami juga mengampuni orang yang bersalah kepada kami, dan janganlah membawa kami ke dalam pencobaan, tetapi lepaskanlah kami dari pada yang jahat. Karena Engkaulah yang empunya Kerajaan dan kuasa dan kemuliaan sampai selama – lamanya. Amin....

NYANYIAN UMAT, KJ. 453 : 1 , 3 “ Yesus Kawan Yang Sejati ”

1. Yesus Kawan yang sejati bagi kita yang lemah. Tiap hal boleh dibawa dalam doa padaNya. Oh, betapa kita susah dan percuma berlelah, bila kurang pasrah diri dalam doa padaNya.

UCAPAN PENYERAHAN

PF Allah Mahakuasa, dalam kasih karuniaNya yang besar, telah berkenan memanggil kepadaNya, **Anak Rainonesia Osteen Andries**. sekarang kita akan memakamkan jenasanya.

(mengambil tanah)

PF Tanah adalah asal tubuh manusia; yang dari tanah akan kembali menjadi tanah

(menaburkan ke atas peti 3x)

PF Namun, kita memakamkannya dalam pengharapan yang teguh akan kebangkitan bagi hidup yang kekal, oleh Yesus Kristus Tuhan kita. Ia akan mengubah tubuh yang hina ini menjadi serupa dengan tubuhNya yang mulia, menurut kuat kuasaNya yang dapat menaklukkan segala sesuatu kepada diriNya.

7

NYANYIAN UMAT, KJ. 408 : 1 , 3 “Di Jalanku ‘Ku Diiring”

1. Dijalanku ‘ku diiring oleh Yesus Tuhanku. Apakah yang kurang lagi, jika Dia Panduku ? Diberi damai sorgawi, asal imanku teguh. Suka –duka dipakainya untuk kebajikan; Suka-duka dipakainya untuk kebajikan,

BERKAT

PF Arahkanlah hati dan pikiranmu kepada Tuhan , pulnglah dalam damai sejahtera dan terimalah berkatNya; Allah, sumber pengharapan, memenuhi kamu dengan segala sukacita dan damai sejahtera dalam iman kamu, supaya oleh kekuatan Roh Kudus kamu berlimpah-limpah dalam pengharapan”

Umat : 5 . 6 . / 5 . 6 . / 5 . 4 . 3 . //
A – MIN, A – MIN, A – - MIN.

----- penabur bunga ----- penutup liang lahat -----
Pengumuman – pengumuman

8

TIAP LANGKAHKU

Tiap langkahku diatur oleh Tuhan
dan tangan kasihNya memimpinku.
Ditengah g'ombang dunia menakutkan
Hatiku tetap tenang teduh.

Reff : Tiap langkahku 'ku tahu yang Tuhan pimpin
ketempat tinggi 'ku dihantarNya,
Hingga sekali nanti aku tiba,
di rumah Bapa , sorga yang baka.

PADA KAKI SALIBMU KJ 368 : 1,4

1. Pada kaki salib-Mu, Yesus ku berlingung
Air hayat Golgota, pancarah yang agung
Reff. Salib-Mu, Salib-Mu, yang kumulikan
Hingga dalam sorga k'lak, ada perhatian.
4. Pada kaki salib-Mu, 'ku tetap percaya
Hingga dalam sorga k'lak, jiwaku bahagia

S'LAMAT DI TANGAN YESUS KJ 388

1. S'lamat ditangan Yesus aman pelukanNya
Dalam teduh kasihNya aku bahagia
Lagu merdu malaikat olehku terdengar
Dari neg'ri mulia, damai sejahtera
Reff: S'lamat ditangan Yesus aman pelukanNya
Dalam teduh kasihNya aku bahagia
2. S'lamat ditangan Yesus aku tenang penuh
Dosa pun dan cobaan jauh dari diriku
Duka cemas dan bimbang, kuasanya 'ak tetap
Goda dan air mata akani seg'ra lenyap

9

SUARA-MU KUDENGAR KJ 33 : 1,3,5

1. Suara-Mu kudengar, memanggil diriku
Supaya 'ku di Golgota, dibasuh darah-Mu
Reff. Aku datanglah, Tuhan pada-Mu
Dalam darah-Mu kudus, sucikan diriku.
3. Kaupanggil diriku, supaya kukenal
Iman, harapan yang teguh, dan kasih-Mu kekal Reff.
5. Ya Yesus, Kauberi, jaminan-Mu tetap
Kepada orang beriman, janji-Mu 'kan genap
Reff.

“ADA KOTA YANG INDAH PERMAI “ Kidung Jemaat 266 : 1,2

1. Ada kota yang indah cerah, nampaklah bagi mata iman
Rumah Bapa disorga baka, bagi orang yang sudah menang.
Reff. Indahnya saatnya, kita jumpa dikota permai
Indahnya saatnya, kita jumpa dikota permai
2. Nun disana bersama teman, kita nyanyi pujian merdu
Selamanya sentosa tent'ram, rasa duka terhapus perub
Reff.

10

Appendix J Tugu Bhakti School



Figure J1. Tugu Bhakti School Principal Office (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure J2. Tugu Bhakti School pupils attending Independence Day Worship Service in *Gereja Tugu* (Photo by author, 2013)

Appendix K
Kampung Kurus Residents



Figure K1. Martini (“Nining”) at Kampung Kurus celebrating *Idul Fitri* with her family (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure K2. The author with Martini’s family and relatives at their *musholah*

Appendix L
Life at RT 11



Figure L1. A Home Fellowship meetig at RT 11 (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure L2. Christmas Celebration at RT 11 (Photo by author, 2013)

Appendix M Tugu Life-cycle Rituals



Figure M1. A baptism service at *Gereja Tugu* (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure M2. A toddler's birthday party in *Kampung Tugu* (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure M3. At the *Rabo-rabo* festival in Kampung Tugu (Photo by author, 2014)



Figure M4. At the *Mandi-mandi* festival in Kampung Tugu (Photo by author, 2014)



Figure M5. At the wake service of Alberto Benyamin (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure M6. At the burial service of Alboyn Manurung (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure M7. The Thomas singing *karaoke* on Near Year's Eve (Photo by author, 2014)



Figure M8. IKBT Christmas Celebration at *Gereja Tugu* (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure M9. At the wedding of Citra Augusta Michiels and Rido Tomasouw (Photo by author, 2014)




Figure M10. Batak ritual of seventh-month pregnancy at the house of the late Bernes Michiels (Photo by author, 2013)

Appendix N

IKBT Membership Card for the Years 2012-2015

SUSUNAN BADAN PENGURUS IKATAN KELUARGA BESAR TUGU (IKBT) MASA BHAKTI : 2012 - 2015	
DEWAN PERTIMBANGAN :	
1. PROF. DR. EDO QUIKO	
2. HEINE MICHIELS (0821 2598 0529)	
3. RUDY ANDRIES	
4. DRS. FRENKY ABRAHAMS (0878 8683 2111)	
5. ANDRE JUAN MICHIELS (0811 199 699)	
6. DENI TENTUA	
7. MARTINUS CORNELIS (0818 0800 4045)	
8. DOMINGGUS MEGA TADOE	
PENGURUS	
Ketua	: ALFONDO ANDRIES, S.T. (0815 7438 0730)
Sekretaris 1	: JOHAN SOPAHELLWAKAN, S.Pd. (0812 1096 6070)
Sekretaris 2	: MAX JEREMIA ABRAHAMS, S.Kom (021-918 359 925)
Bendahara 1	: ALBERTO BENYAMIN (021-989 20 710)
Bendahara 2	: CAROLINA YUNUS (021-9106 70 26) 08788 25 866 YY
Wakil Ketua 1	: APRELO FORVIES (0813 8402 1362)
Membidangi Seksi Humas, Seksi Kerohanian & Diaconia	
a. Seksi Humas	
1. THOMAS QUIKO, M.Sc.	(Luar Tugu) (0818 730 325)
2. DANIEL CORUA	(Luar Tugu) (0813 1610 2406)
3. KIKI ABRAHAMS	(Luar Tugu) (021-782 84 491)
4. VICTOR ANDRIES	(Dalam Tugu)
b. Seksi Kerohanian & Diaconia	
1. HISKIA YUNUS	(0852 8627 8172)
2. ESSYANAWATI LAUW - MICHIELS	(0838 7366 1676)
3. WARDI THOMAS	
4. ADE PERTWI	
c. Seksi Litbang (Penelitian & Pengembangan):	
1. Drs. YUSUF CORUA	(0819 0801 5315)
2. TISYE ERLINA YUNUS, S.H., M.M.	
3. ALBION MANURUNG	
Wakil Ketua 2	: RONI BANUNAEK (0898 9930 006)
Membidangi Seksi Pemakaman, Seksi Perlengkapan, Seksi Kepemudaan & Kebudayaan	
a. Seksi Pemakaman	
1. GERARD CORUA	(0818 0835 9339)
2. DANIEL MEGA TADOE	(0813 1610 2406)
3. CARL ANDRIES	
4. BENYAMIN ABRAHAMS	
5. TRISTIAN MICHIELS	
6. PETRUS MEGA TADOE	
b. Seksi Perlengkapan	
1. PRISKILA XAVERIANUS MEGA TADOE	
2. ALBERTO QUIKO	(021-9425 9238)
3. JULIUS ANTONIUS ANDRIES	
4. EDUARDO QUIKO	
c. Seksi Kepemudaan & Kebudayaan	
1. CARL MAYNARD YUNUS	(0878 8803 0476)
2. WILLIAM L. MEGA TADOE	(0896 5426 3504)
3. VANS ROTTE BRAUNE	(0896 3743 3427)
4. RIZKYLLA JUNINDHA FORMES	(0899 9056 724)
5. MESAK BALELANG	



**IKATAN KELUARGA BESAR TUGU
(IKBT)**

Jl. Raya Tugu Rt. 010/06 No. 20 Semper Barat
Cilincing - Jakarta Utara

KARTU IURAN ANGGOTA

No. Anggota : _____

Nama KK : _____

Anggota Keluarga : _____

Appendix O
List of *Orang Tugu* beyond the Tugu and Pejambon Areas ²⁴⁷

Family	Name	Age	Religion ²⁴⁸	Church	Residence	Associations
	Abrahams					
1	Yohana Abrahams	80	Protestant	GPIB Tugu	Kebantenan , North Jakarta	Arisan Abrahams
	Hendrik Pinantoan	?				
2	Diana Pinantoan	50	Protestant	GKI Cikarang	Cikarang	Arisan Abrahams
	Reinhard Pakasi	15				
3	Julius Abrahams	75	Protestant	GPIB Pengharapan Cibinong	Cibinong	Arisan Abrahams
	Greson Abrahams	38				
4	Aldi Abrahams	45	Protestant	Gereja Pentekosta		Arisan Abrahams
	Lani	?				
	Abel Abrahams	?				
5	Lefius Abrahams	42	Islam	-		Arisan Abrahams
	Sri	?				
	Sandra Abrahams	?				
	Erika Abrahams	?				
6	Onny Abrahams	71	Protestant		Pulo Gading	-
7	Augus Abrahams	68	Protestant	GKI Kepa Duri	Kebon Jeruk	Arisan Abrahams
	Sri Nartiani	67				
8	Arisando Abrahams	40	Protestant	GPIB Kepa Duri	Cikendeu	Arisan Abrahams
	Grace S Wattie	39				
	Garth M. Abrahams	8				
9	Tince Jofina Abrahams	35	Protestant	GKI Kepa Duri		Arisan Abrahams

²⁴⁷ The table is arranged according to clan and family names in alphabetical order. Data of religion, church, residence, and associations of the household members follow that of the first name that appears in the household, unless stated otherwise.

²⁴⁸ Religions of household members follow that of the first name, unless stated otherwise.

	Dolpihn	?				
10	Rinaldo Abrahams	26	Protestant	GKI Kepa Duri		Arisan Abrahams
	Ratu Hutabarat	?				
11	Sharly Abrahams	44	Protestant	GPIB Tugu	Bekasi	Arisan Abrahams
	Antonius Kristanto	45				
	Hollyvia Kristine	23				
	Anastasia Kristina	14				
12	Julisje Abrahams	41	Protestant	GPIB Damai Sejahtera, Cilengsi	Jonggol	Arisan Abrahams, RT, School
	Henrique Da Cruz Mery	44				
	Riquelo Alberto Mery	7				
	Ernesto Camilo Mery	4				
13	Noldy Alexander Abrahams	38	Protestant		Jayapura, Papua New Guinea	
	Rinata Melani	?				
	Rehul Joana Abrahams	5				
	(descendants of Evelyn Abrahams and Eddy Mudjadi)					
14	Ellyawati	43	Protestant	GPIB Tugu	Bekasi	
	Hendrik Khoe	48				
	Jeremy Khoe	17				
	Theodora Larissa	13				
15	Desiana	?	Protestant			
	Dicky Bermon Koloba	?				
	Vanessa Putri Koloba	?				
16	Otty Francisco Abrahams	?	Protestant		East Java	
	Yunus Hermanto	?				
	Timothy Hermanto	?				
	Maria	?				
	Ricky	?				
	(family of Efraim Abraham)					
17	Kade	?	Protestant		Bali	
	Feldy Abraham	?				

	Habel Abraham	?				
18	Benjamin Abraham	?	Protestant		East Jakarta	
	Ria	?				
	Haykel Abraham	?				
19	Yunus Corua	?	Islam		Bekasi	
	Endang	?				
	Andi Julius	?				
	Ferry Augustaf Corua	?				
	Selviana Corua	?				
	Cynthia Corua	?				
20	Robert Corua	?	Islam		Mahon	
	Nani					
	Vivi Corua					
	Lusiana Corua					
	Eryan Corua					
	Andries					
21	Alfondo Andries	40	Protestant	GPIB Tugu		Arisan Andries, IKBQ
	Verliyanti	36				
	Alfrina Andries	11				
	Alvero Andries	5				
	Alfaro Andries	1				
22	Victor Andries	68	Protestant	GPIB Tugu	Cilincing	Arisan Andries
	Ganevi Runigivena	51				
	Tuta Nick Andries	28				
23	Kalen M. Andries	31	Protestant	GPIB Tugu	Bekasi Timur	Arisan Andries
	Evi H.	30				
	Rachel Salsa Andries	10				
	Raffi Alfarel Andries	5				
24	Kaydren Andries	32	Protestant	GPIB Tugu	Bekasi Timur	Arisan Andries
	Uus Sania	30	Islam			
	Joan Cory Andries	9				
	Cyerennia Stevani Andries	2				

25	Elkar Dolfia Andries	35	Protestant	GPIB Tugu	Jakarta Barat	Arisan Andries
	Utami Ayuning Tias	?				
	Relka Elias Dimoseno Andries	?				
26	Ameliana Cornelia Andries	79	Protestant	GPIB Tugu	Jonggol	Arisan Andries
	Struman Salman	?				
27	Devi Susiana Andries	?	Protestant	?	Jakarta Timur	Arisan Andries
	Yosef Goru Indra	?				
	Martinus BenHur	?				
	Marathana Abinawa	?				
28	Nina Novita Andries	?	Protestant	GPIB Tugu		Arisan Andries
29	Rodinan Andries	35	Protestant	GPIB Tugu		Arisan Andries
	Adelin Paulina Lumapa	?				
30	Retina Andries	42	Protestant	?	Cibubur	Arisan Andries
	Henry Mustafa Sebastian (Padang)					
	Maximus					
	Gabriela					
	Samudera					
31	Refrina Cornelia Andries	40	Protestant	?	Depok	Arisan Andries
	Darma Putera Agung (Balinese)	?				
	Natasya Koana	?				
	Nerio	?				
32	Thelma Sandra Thenu	50	Protestant	?	Menteng	
	Michael Rudy Taniowas	53				
	Claudia Erentina Felicia Taniowas	28				
	Abednego Rolly Marbin Taniowas	24				
33	Yuliette Susiana Thenu	?	Protestant	?	Sawah Besar	
	Arma Wijaya	?				
	Sophia Martika Genoveva	?				

	Kartika Geovany Roberta	?				
34	(Family of Herbert Junus)					
	Widijarti Lestari	?	Protestant			
	Angelliena Margaretha Junus	18				
	Audry Otniel Filemon Junus	?				
	Asa Satrio Benaya Junus	?				
35	Elizabeth Henrita Junus	52	Protestant	GPIB Imanuel Depok	Jati Mulya	
	Nazaretha Kristiyanthi Junus	50				
	Theo Nafthai Junus	51				
	Randy Stephanos Junus	46				
	Irene Debora Junus	42				
36	Ferdias Maresa Junus	55	Protestant	GPIB Imanuel Depok	Depok	
	Mareike Steviana Pangkey	43				
	Yasero Lasarus Junus	16				
	Ramosta Talitakum Junus	9				
	Jetsy H. Junus	67				
37	(family of Uriah Junus)					
	Anita Junus	?	Protestant		Depok	
	Sandra Junus	?				
	Sisca Junus	?				
	Rika Junus	?				
	Nina Junus	?				
	Santje Junus	?				
38	Slyva Junus	73	Protestant		Jakarta	
	Albert Simatupang	?				
	Alexander Simatupang	?				
	Agnes Simatupang	?				
	Agatha Simatupang	?				
	Alfons Simatupang	?				
	Aldrin Simatupang	?				
	Mutiara Simatupang	?				
	Ane Simatupang	?				

39	Zafnat Junus	71	Protestant		Irian	
	Suriawati Daud	?				
	Susi Junus	?				
	Sintje Junus	?				
	Theresia Junus	?				
	Merari Junus	?				
40	Herling Junus	66	Protestant		Singkawang	
	Sunarsi	?				
	Therisa Junus	?				
41	Erick Junus	64	Protestant	GPIB Imanuel Depok	Depok	
	Rosniati Harefa	?				
	Mahalei Junus	?				
	Eufrata Junus	?				
	Yemima Yunus	?				
42	Hertian Junus	61	Protestant		Bandung	
	Suciyati	?				
	Efrata Deni Saputra Junus	?				
	Tisya Junus	?				
43	Yishar Junus	58	Protestant		Depok	
	Audrey van Sorensen da Coste	?				
	Rachel Junus	?				
	Michelin Junus	?				
	Braune					
44	Meller Braune	?	Protestant		Ciputat	
	Iga	?	Islam	-		
	Dian	?	Islam	-		
	Deui	?	Islam	-		
	Cynthia	?	Islam	-		
	Yuai	?	Islam	-		
	Putra	?	Islam	-		
	Cornelis					
45	Alfius Marthyn Manurung	34	Protestant		Cikarang	
	Santi Meri Asih Tobij	31				
	Alfonias Nathariel Putra M M	8				

	Jeremia Habel Novaro M	9				
	Geral	1				
	Jeral	1				
46	Richie Richard Ricardo	?	Protestant		Permai	
	Ani					
47	Robert Kelelufna	39	Protestant			
	Esther Sri Wahyuni					
	Nicodemus Prasetyo Kelelufna	12				
	Kazer Vanetta Kelelufna	10				
	Gladys Venetta Kelelufna	8				
48	Oktaviana Kailuhu	?	Protestant		Kebantenan	
	Yusuf Kalangi	?				
	Veronika Kalangi	?				
	Rai Kalangi	?				
	Michiels					
49	Milton Augustino Mitchiels	37	Protestant	GPIB Tugu	Solo	
	Indriani	32	Catholic	Gereja Katholik		
	Asani Abchayolla Julinse Michiels	2	?	Gereja Katholik		
50	Rensyi Jane Rusyard Michiels	37	Catholic	Gereja Katholik Yacobus	Kelapa Gading	
	Frangky Poluan					
	Ferine					
	Avrila					
51	Enos Oksy Pormes Michiels	67	Protestant	GPIB Tugu	Bekasi	TNS (Teun Nila Serua)
	Ida	40	Islam			
	Algez Lazuardi Erziel	?				
	Alfred Setio Gallttiz	?				
	Erene Riqsa Veristiz	?				
52	Maretha Formes	42	Protestant	GPIB Tugu	Bekasi	TNS
53	Darius Leiwakabessy	?	Protestant		Bekasi	
	Yulita Darmayanti Zebua	?				

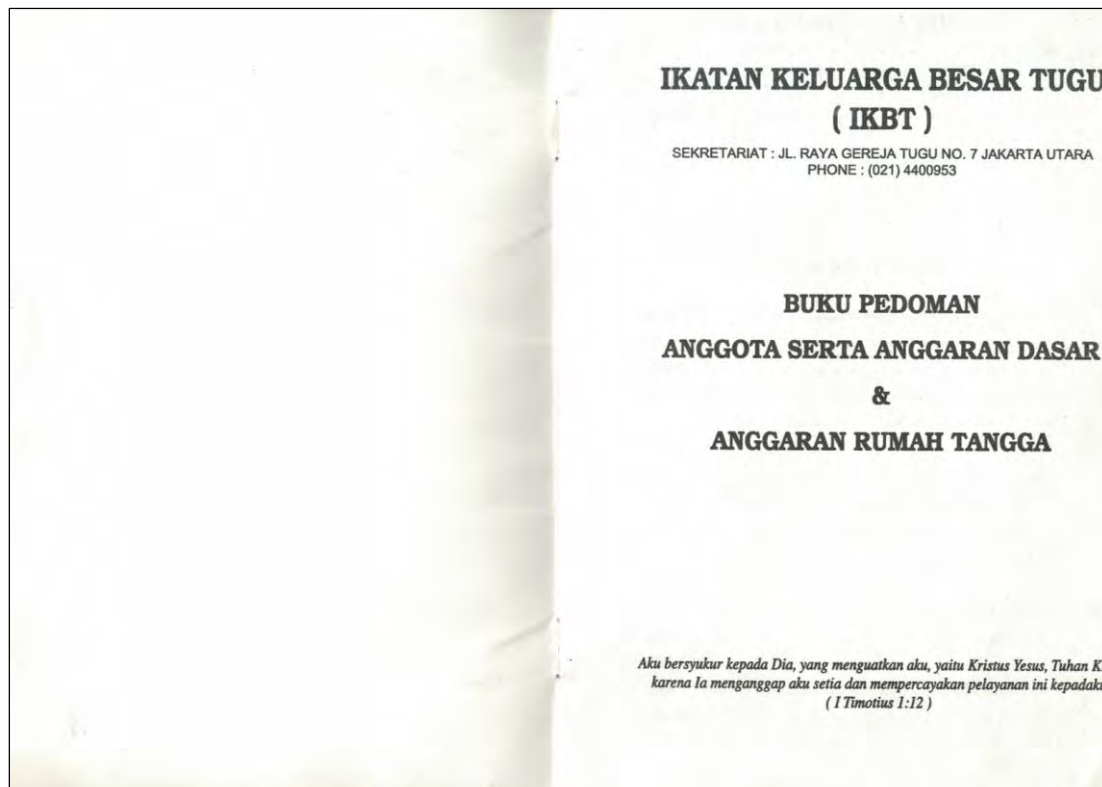
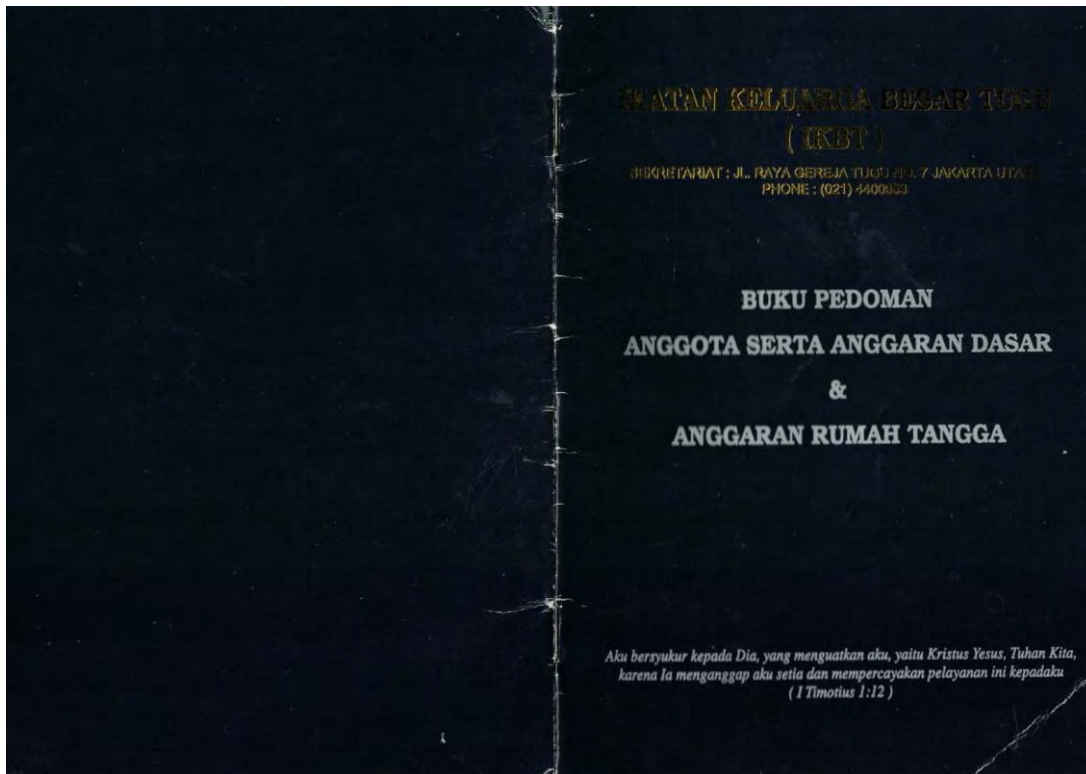
	Exelcia Pandora Leiwakabessy	?				
54	Berce Leiwakabessy	?	Protestant		Rawa Badak	
	Melani Lumentak	?				
	Audrey Leiwakabessy	?				
55	Jody Leiwakabessy	?	Islam		Belitung	
	Siti	?				
	Gracefa Alia	?				
56	Yosep Bunga	?	Protestant		Cikarang	
	Ronny	?				
	Juel Bunga	?				
	Jeffrey Bunga	?				
	Saartje Bunga	?				
	Quiko					
57	Anna Carolina Quilco	87	Protestant	GPIB Eirene	Tanjung Priok	IKB Quiko
	Daniel Alexander Corua	?				
58	Levina Corua-Sundah	?	Protestant	GPIB Eirene	Tanjung Priok	
	Agnes Corua	?				
59	Florita Quiko	55	Protestant	GPIB Tugu	Cikini	IKB Quiko
	Tangkilisan					
	Jeane Tangkilisan	27	Islam	-		
	Reflina Tangkilisan	26				
	Alfled Tangkilisan	23				
	Isabela Tangkilisan	18		GBI Cilincing		
	Alfredo Tangkilisan	15				
60	Elly Erlita Quiko	59	Islam	-	Tapos, Depok	IKB Quiko
	Asrul Effendy Rambe	?				
	Rulita Intan P. Rambe	31		-		
61	Susan Quiko	?			Bandung	
	Ehnrique Buana	?				
	Alfin Buana	?				
	Michelle Buana	?				
	Albert Buana	?				
	Andre Buana	?				

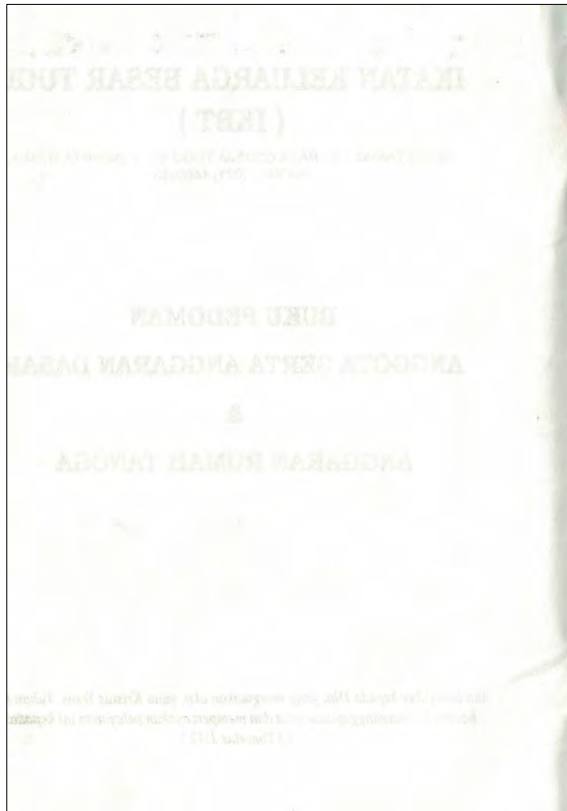
62	Thomas Quiko	?	Protestant	GPIB Jatipon	Bekasi	IKB Quiko
	Linda Dondokambey	?				
	Jessica Ninta Quiko	?				
	Jason Jeremy Quiko	?				
	Jessilyn Emmanuel Quiko	?				
63	Julia Quiko	?	Protestant		Bandung	
	Bagus	?				
64	Tonny Quiko	?	Protestant		Tangerang	
	Nancy	?				
	Tommy Fernandes Quiko	?				
65	Amelia Quiko	?	Protestant		Cianjur	
	John	?				
	Freddy	?				
66	Rozita Quiko	?	Islam	-	Kalibatak	IKB Quiko
67	Meynard Marinus Burkens	60	Protestant	GPIB Tugu	Bekasi Selatan	IKB Quiko
	Aggie Aquistra Abrahams					Arisan RT
	Meqi Euqelion Novalia	34	Islam	-		
	Martina Klesia	29		Gereja Pasunda		
	Marina Priskila	25		GPIB Belitar Madian	Surabaya	
	Melki Martinus B.	19		GPIB Tugu		
68	Syane Cornelis Burkens	?	Protestant		Bekasi	
	Welly Wenur	?				
	Debbi Wenur	?			Manado	
	Fonny Wenur	?			Malang	
	Krestian Wenur	?			East Kalimantan	
	Neny Wenur	?			East Kalimantan	
69	(family of Julius Cornelis Burkens)					
	Ellys Rosita	?	Islam			
	Ronny Syarufudin Burkens	?				
	Eggi Burkens	?				

	Neneng Burkens	?				
	Ifan Burkens	?				
70	(family of Frans Hendrik Burkens)					
	Nur	?	Islam		Tambun	
	Tirana Burkens	?				
	Mariana Burkens	?				
	Yohana Burkens	?				
	Noviana Burkens	?				
	Steven Burkens	?				
71	Jonhy Yunus	52	Protestant	GKP Gunung Puteri		Arisan Yunus, Arisan RT
	Siti Hasdiana	42				
	Setia Gentrana Valentia Yunus	13				
	Nandika Ferliana Yunus	12				
72	Tisye Erlina Yunus	42	Protestant	GPIB Tugu		Arisan Yunus and Susanto
	Filipe Fernandes Yunus	36				
	Hansye Agustaf Yunus	32				
73	Glory Natalia Yunus	35	Protestant	Gereja Toraja		Arisan Yunus and Susanto
	Johan Tandirapak	?				
	Cartenz	?				
74	Conny Marlina Yunus	39	Protestant	GPIB Zebaouth		Arisan Yunus and Susanto
	Max Arthur Lombone	47				
	Marco B T Lombone	11				
	David M.M Lombone	10				
	Jason F. N. Lombone	8				
	Sura					
75	Yunu Sura (Bo Hin)	49	Protestant	GPIB Tugu	Kerawang	
	Susanto					
76	Shianna Susanto (Thio Shian Nio)	50	Catholic	GPDI	Cilincing	Arisan Susanto
	Ramchen Agus Pranoto	51				

	Francisca Utami Devi	28				
	Marcellina Setyorini Ramcheni	23				
	Prisila Marta Brigitta	18				
	(decendants of Lilie Susanto and Otong Effendi)					
77	Mohd. Yohan @ Yohanes Lutjia	?	Islam		Central Jakarta	
78	Desiana Susanto	?	Protestant		Kupang	
	Winston Rondo	?				
	Gracialia Imanuela Rondo	?				
79	Maria Magdalena	?	Protestant		Pondok Gede	
	Robert Sigalingging	?				
80	Elizabeth Effendi	?	Protestant		Bali	
	Andrias Waso	?				
	Protestant Vanderbert Waso	?				
81	Antoni Stefanus	?	Protestant		Walang	
	Tetti Mariana Sitanggang	?				
	Gracialia Sitanggang	?				

Appendix P
IKBT Membership Booklet with IKBT Bylaws (2006)





BUKU ANGGOTA IKBT

Nomor : **SUMILAT 002**

Keluarga : **KATIE SUMILAT**

Alamat :

.....

.....

Telepon :

DAFTAR KELUARGA

Suami :

Isteri :

Anak 1 :

2 :

3 :

4 :

5 :

6 :

7 :

8 :

9 :

10 :

Ayah Suami :

Ibu Suami :

Ayah Isteri :

Ibu Isteri :



IKATAN KELUARGA BESAR TUGU (IKBT)

Sekretariat : Jl. Raya Gereja Tugu No. 7 Jakarta Utara
Phone : 4400953

Nomer : 008 / XI / IKBT / 06
Perihal : Surat Penetapan AD & ART IKBT

SURAT PENETAPAN AD & ART IKATAN KELUARGA BESAR TUGU

Syalom....

Dengan penuh rasa syukur dan terima kasih kepada Tuhan Yesus Kristus, sehingga kami Ikatan Keluarga Besar Tugu telah menetapkan Anggaran Dasar & Anggaran Rumah Tangga pada tanggal 22 November 2006 di Gedung Pertemuan Yeruel pada pukul 22.55 WIB.

Kiranya hal ini dapat kita jadikan pedoman untuk menentukan langkah IKBT dalam persekutuan yang lebih erat sesama anggota IKBT. Terima kasih Tuhan Yesus memberkati kita semua. Amin

Jakarta, 22 November 2006
Badan Pengurus Ikatan Keluarga Besar Tugu

Andre Juan Michiels
Andre Juan Michiels
Ketua

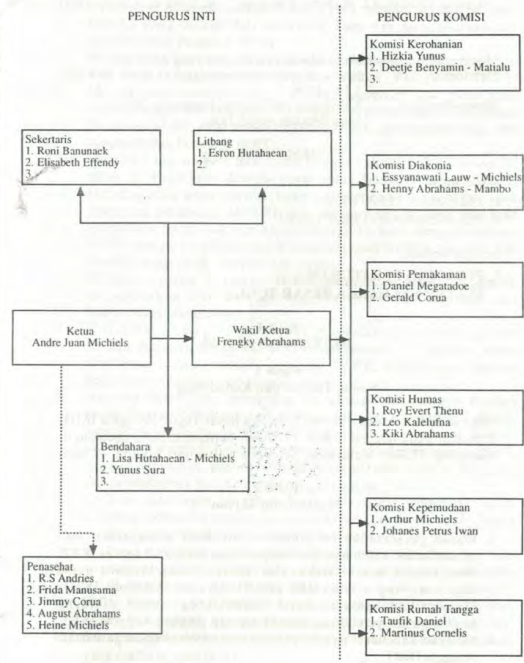


Roni Banunaek
Roni Banunaek
Sekretaris

*Kami yang hadir dalam rapat untuk menetapkan AD & ART IKBT

- R.S Andries
- Andre Juan Michiels
- Frengky Abrahams
- Roni Banunaek
- Elisabeth Effendy
- Yunus Sura
- Arthur Michiels
- Eson Hutahaean
- Hizkia Yunus
- Daniel Megatadoe
- Henny Abrahams Mambo
- Essyanawaty Lauw. M

STRUKTUR BADAN PENGURUS IKATAN KELUARGA BESAR TUGU PERIODE 2007 - 2009



IKATAN KELUARGA BESAR TUGU

Pertemuan Keluarga Besar Tugu yang diadakan pada hari Minggu, 2 Mei 1976, bertempat di rumah A.J. Michiels, Kampung Tugu Kelurahan Semper Cilincing

Mengingat : Perlu adanya persekutuan yang lebih erat;
Mendengar : Pendapat pertemuan tertanggal 18 April 1976 dan 2 Mei 1976;
Memperhatikan : Kebutuhan peningkatan kerukunan dan kesejahteraan warga Tugu

MEMUTUSKAN :

Menetapkan :

1. PEDOMAN PERATURAN
- II. PELAKSANAAN PERATURAN

Sebagai berikut :

- I. PEDOMAN PERATURAN
- IKATAN KELUARGA BESAR TUGU

BAB I KETENTUAN UMUM

Pasal 1

Nama, Tempat dan Kedudukan

Persatuan ini bernama "Ikatan Keluarga Besar Tugu" disingkat IKBT, didirikan pada tanggal 2 Mei 1976 dan bertempat/berkedudukan di Kampung TUGU, Kelurahan Semper - Cilincing, Jakarta - Utara.

Pasal 2

Maksud dan Tujuan

1. Wadah persekutuan ini dimaksudkan untuk mempererat rasa persaudaraan, kerukunan dan kesejahteraan diantara Anggota IKBT;
2. Memikirkan, membicarakan dan melaksanakan bersama usaha kegiatan yang efisien sosial, material dan moral dibidang pembangunan, pendidikan dan kebudayaan diantara Anggota IKBT;
3. Memberikan bantuan sosial, material dan moral dibidang pembangunan, pendidikan dan kebudayaan diantara Anggota IKBT;
4. Melayani kebutuhan seperlunya demi kesejahteraan keluarga diantara Anggota IKBT;
5. Melestarian, mempertahankan asset, tradisi dan budaya Tugu.

3

BAB II PEMBINAAN

Pasal 3

Keanggotaan

Untuk mencapai maksud dan tujuan, maka yang menjadi anggota adalah :

1. Mereka yang berasal dari keturunan Tugu dan mendaftarkan diri kepada Badan Pengurus IKBT;
2. Mereka yang berhubungan kekeluargaan, disebabkan oleh perkawinan dan mendaftarkan diri kepada Badan Pengurus IKBT;
3. Mereka yang bertempat tinggal di Tugu selama 25 (dua puluh lima) tahun. Setuju dan taat pada Pedoman Peraturan dan Pelaksanaan Peraturan IKBT, aktif dalam kegiatan IKBT dan mendaftarkan diri kepada Badan Pengurus IKBT;
4. Mereka yang berjasa dan telah tinggal selama lebih kurang 25 tahun di Tugu serta dengan persetujuan Badan Pengurus IKBT;
5. Mereka atau orang-orang bukan keturunan Tugu atau sejak ditetapkan perubahan AD/ART, aktif dalam kegiatan IKBT dianggap simpatisan tetapi hak dan kewajibannya berbeda dengan anggota IKBT. Sebagai simpatisan, boleh beragama tidak Kristen, memiliki hak memilih tetapi tidak memiliki hak dipilih;
6. Setiap anggota keluarga IKBT yang baru menikah wajib mendaftarkan diri menjadi anggota IKBT dan terpisah dari keanggotaan orangtuanya;
7. Dalam hal seorang anggota IKBT berpindah agama menjadi non Kristen dan atau melakukan pernikahan (secara) non Kristen, maka ybs tetap dapat menjadi anggota IKBT, dengan melakukan pendaftaran ulang sebagai simpatisan;
8. Anggota IKBT yang melakukan pernikahan (secara) non Kristen sebagai mana dimaksud Ayat 8 Pasal ini, dapat memiliki hak dan kewajiban sebagaimana anggota lainnya (bukan simpatisan), kecuali hak dipilih menjadi Ketua dan atau Anggota Badan Pengurus IKBT, jika dan hanya jika, telah menyerahkan kepada sekretariat IKBT (pada saat pendaftaran), dokumen-dokumen berikut ini :
 - i. Surat keterangan dari Gereja, yang menyatakan bahwa ybs adalah benar beragama kristen dan terdaftar sebagai Jemaat aktif Gereja yang mengeluarkan surat keterangan tersebut;
 - ii. Surat pernyataan dari suami/istri yang menyatakan kerelaan bila mana suami/istrinya meninggal, maka suami/istrinya dimakamkan di Pemakaman IKBT dan dilakukan secara agama Kristen;
9. Badan Pengurus IKBT berhak melakukan klarifikasi atas kebenaran Surat Keterangan Gereja dimaksud Ayat 9 butir i Pasal ini;
10. Setiap anggota IKBT harus aktif dalam berbagai bentuk kegiatan yang diadakan oleh IKBT.

4

Pasal 4 Susunan Pengurus

Badan Pengurus IKBT terdiri dari :
Penasihat-penasihat, Ketua, Ketua I, Sekretaris, Sekretaris I, Bendahara, Bendahara I dan Komisi-komisi.

Pasal 5

Tata Cara & Syarat-syarat Pembentukan Pengurus

1. Untuk jabatan ketua, harus orang yang memiliki lam asli Tugu, beragama Kristen dan berdomisili di Tugu, berusia sekurang-kurangnya 25 tahun dan setinggi-tingginya 65 tahun serta sudah menikah/berkeluarga;
2. Ketua IKBT dipilih secara langsung dan berhak memilih dan dipilih;
3. Ketua terpilih dinyatakan sah apabila mendapatkan suara sebanyak 50% + 1 dari jumlah anggota yang hadir atau terpilih secara aklamasi dengan persetujuan anggota;
4. Susunan Badan Pengurus IKBT dipilih oleh Ketua terpilih;
5. Syarat-syarat bagi keanggotaan Badan Pengurus, ialah mereka yang memenuhi syarat yang ditetapkan untuk keanggotaan IKBT, BAB II Pasal 3 dan berumur 20 (duapuluh) tahun keatas.

Pasal 6

Masa Kerja Badan Pengurus

1. Masa kerja anggota-anggota Badan Pengurus IKBT adalah 3 (tiga) tahun;
2. Badan Pengurus IKBT dapat diganti sewaktu-waktu jika dianggap perlu dalam hal tidak cakap/lalai dalam menjalankan tugas kepengurusan IKBT, terlibat kasus tindak pidana/kriminal, berhalangan tetap secara berturut-turut atau mengundurkan diri atas permintaan sendiri dan disetujui oleh pengurus IKBT melalui rapat pengurus;
3. Merujuk butir 2 tersebut diatas, seluruh Badan Pengurus IKBT harus berjiwa besar untuk melepaskan haknya sebagai anggota Badan Pengurus IKBT, tanpa harus diturunkan dalam rapat pengurus, walaupun masa tugasnya belum berakhir.

Pasal 7

Masa Berakhirnya Keanggotaan

- Seorang anggota IKBT berakhir keanggotaannya oleh karena :
1. Meninggal dunia;
 2. Atas permintaan sendiri;
 3. Berpindah agama dari Kristen ke agama lain, baik secara langsung maupun tidak (misalnya : menikah), kecuali melakukan ketentuan dimaksud Pasal 3 Ayat 8 ;

5

BAB III ORGANISASI DAN PERALATAN

Pasal 8

Keuangan

Harta-milik/keuangan IKBT terdiri/diperoleh dari :

1. Untuk pendaftaran tahun 2006, besarnya adalah Rp. 20.000 (dua puluh ribu Rupiah). Setiap tahunnya, besarnya uang pendaftaran anggota baru naik Rp. 10.000 (sepuluh ribu Rupiah), kecuali ditetapkan lain dalam Rapat Badan Pengurus dan akan disosialisasikan kepada anggota IKBT dalam Pertemuan IKBT, sekurang-kurangnya 3 (tiga) bulan sebelum waktu pelaksanaan.
2. Uang iuran bulanan setiap keluarga untuk tahun 2006 adalah Rp. 5.000 (lima ribu rupiah); Besarnya uang iuran bulanan setiap keluarga adalah tetap untuk tahun-tahun selanjutnya, kecuali ditentukan untuk diubah dalam Rapat Badan Pengurus dan akan disosialisasikan kepada anggota IKBT dalam Pertemuan IKBT, sekurang-kurangnya 3 (tiga) bulan sebelum waktu pelaksanaan.
3. Usaha dana/hasil dan pendapatan dari usaha-usaha IKBT;
4. Sumbangan-sumbangan yang tidak mengikat;
5. Wakaf dari orang/badan hukum;
6. Hibah dari orang/badan hukum;
7. Hibah wasiat yang diserahkan ke dalam perkumpulan IKBT;
8. Dalam hal Badan Pengurus IKBT mengadakan transaksi dengan pihak lain yang menimbulkan hak dan kewajiban bagi perkumpulan IKBT, transaksi tersebut wajib dicantumkan dalam laporan tahunan/laporan pertanggungjawaban sebagai cerminan dari asas keterbukaan dan akuntabilitas kepada anggota IKBT yang harus dilaksanakan pengurus IKBT sebaik-baiknya.

6

**Pasal 9
Pemakaman**

Maksud dan tujuan pemakaman :

1. IKBT memiliki pemakaman keluarga di lingkungan Gereja Tugu yang khusus digunakan bagi anggota IKBT yang beragama Kristen, sesuai pasal 3 ayat 1,2,3,4 dan 10 serta telah menjadi anggota aktif sekurang-kurangnya 5 (lima) tahun, kecuali bagi mereka yang belum terdaftar secara administratif tetapi telah aktif dalam berbagai kegiatan IKBT dan atau anggota baru yang merupakan pecahan karena adanya perkawinan;
2. Mereka yang berpindah agama atau yang bukan beragama Kristen sebagaimana dimaksud Pasal 7 ayat 3, tidak dapat dimakamkan dipemakaman keluarga IKBT;
3. Pemakaman diatur oleh Badan Pengurus IKBT yang ditunjuk;
4. Lokasi liang lahat ditentukan oleh Badan Pengurus IKBT;
5. Keluarga atau ahli waris wajib menyerahkan uang penggalan makam, yang besarnya ditentukan sesuai Keputusan Rapat Badan Pengurus IKBT;
6. Perawatan pemakaman dilakukan oleh Badan Pengurus dan anggota IKBT atau orang yang ditunjuk secara khusus oleh Badan Pengurus IKBT;
7. Pembangunan dan atau pemugaran makam dan atau apapun bentuknya, harus mendapatkan persetujuan tertulis Badan Pengurus IKBT;
8. Biaya yang timbul sebagai akibat pelaksanaan ayat 7 tersebut di atas, menjadi tanggung jawab keluarga atau ahli waris;
9. Keluarga atau ahli waris dari anggota IKBT yang meninggal, wajib menyerahkan dokumen/surat-surat yang diperlukan untuk pemakaman.
10. Pemakaman anggota IKBT yang beragama Kristen tetapi menikah secara non Kristen sebagai mana dimaksud Ayat 9 Pasal 3, wajib menyerahkan Surat Keterangan dari Gereja, yang menyatakan bahwa ybs adalah benar beragama Kristen dan terdaftar sebagai Jemaat aktif Gereja tersebut;

**Pasal 10
Rapat-rapat dan Pertemuan-pertemuan**

1. Rapat Kerja Badan Pengurus IKBT diadakan sebulan sekali;
2. Rapat Badan Pengurus IKBT dapat diadakan sewaktu-waktu bilamana dirasa perlu;
3. Semua keputusan diambil berdasarkan musyawarah untuk mufakat. Dalam hal tidak tercapai mufakat, maka keputusan diambil dengan pemungutan suara berdasarkan suara setuju paling sedikit diambil berdasarkan suara terbanyak dari seluruh jumlah suara yang sah dalam rapat, kecuali apabila di dalam AD/ART ini ditentukan lain.

7

Apabila jumlah suara yang setuju dan tidak setuju sama banyaknya, maka usul di tolak;

4. Pertemuan-pertemuan anggota IKBT diadakan sebulan sekali pada setiap minggu 1 bulan berjalan dan harus diadakan di Tugu;
5. Pertemuan anggota IKBT dapat diadakan atas permintaan anggota dan pada hari-hari raya Nasional dan hari-hari raya Kristen, termasuk pernikahan, ulang tahun dan lain sebagainya, kecuali acara Mandi-mandi dan Natal;
6. Untuk mempererat tali persaudaraan dan meningkatkan kerukunan serta kesejahteraan anggota IKBT, wajib membawa seluruh anggota keluarga yang terdaftar dalam keanggotaan IKBT dalam setiap ibadah/pertemuan-pertemuan IKBT.

**Pasal 11
Badan-badan Pembantu**

Untuk membantu Badan Pengurus IKBT, dalam melaksanakan tugasnya dapat dibentuk : Yayasan, Komisi, Panitia sesuai kebutuhan.

**BAV IV
KETENTUAN-KETENTUAN UMUM**

**Pasal 11
Berlakunya Pedoman Peraturan**

Pedoman Peraturan IKBT ini mulai berlaku sejak tanggal penetapannya.

**Pasal 12
Ketentuan-ketentuan lain**

Hal-hal lain sehubungan dengan Pedoman Peraturan diatur lebih lanjut dalam Pelaksanaan Peraturan.

8

II. ANGGARAN RUMAH TANGGA/PELAKSANAAN PERATURAN IKATAN KELUARGA BESAR TUGU

**BAB I
PEMBINAAN DAN PENDIDIKAN**

**Pasal 1
Pembinaan**

Pembinaan dimaksudkan untuk melengkapi anggota-anggota IKBT, dengan pengetahuan, ketrampilan dan memupuk rasa persaudaraan.

**Pasal 2
Pendidikan**

Pendidikan diberikan untuk melengkapi anggota-anggota IKBT, menjurus kepada kemajuan, pengembangan dibidang pembangunan negara dan masyarakat.

**Pasal 3
Tugas dan Wewenang**

Tugas

1. Anggota-anggota Badan Pengurus IKBT bertugas :
 - a. Mengatur dan melaksanakan pembinaan IKBT;
 - b. Merencanakan dan melaksanakan program IKBT;
 - c. Mengawasi pelaksanaan program IKBT;
 - d. Mengelola Anggaran Pendapatan dan Pengeluaran IKBT;
 - e. Melaksanakan tugas-tugas yang dipercayakan dalam pertemuan-pertemuan IKBT;
 - f. Menyusun laporan rutin setiap bulan dan laporan tahunan IKBT;
 - g. Membuat Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga ini menjadi sebuah Yayasan.
2. Anggota-anggota IKBT bertugas :
 - a. Melakukan dan menjaga ketertiban IKBT;
 - b. Melaksanakan segala keputusan-keputusan rapat IKBT.
3. Kepada para Penasehat dipercayakan pengawasan terhadap disiplin dan ketertiban IKBT.

Wewenang

Badan Pengurus IKBT dalam keadaan mendesak dapat memutuskan, menetapkan, mengarisikan dan menyelesaikan hal-hal yang penting dengan persetujuan 2/3 suara dapat rapat Badan Pengurus IKBT.

9

**BAB II
PERALATAN**

**Pasal 4
Harta - Milik**

1. Semua milik bergerak dan tidak bergerak yang diperoleh IKBT terdaftar dalam Buku Inventaris, Buku Bank dan Buku Kas IKBT;
2. Penggunaan dan Pengurusan segala milik tersebut pada BAB II Pasal 4, dipercayakan kepada Badan Pengurus IKBT.

**Pasal 5
Badan-badan Pembantu**

1. Badan-badan Pembantu yang dibentuk oleh Badan Pengurus IKBT sesuai Pedoman Peraturan IKBT BAB III, Pasal 10, turut melaksanakan perkembangan, pembinaan dan pendidikan IKBT dan bertanggung jawab kepada Badan Pengurus IKBT;
2. Badan Pengurus IKBT dapat mengangkat dan memberhentikan Badan-badan Pembantu, bilamana dianggap perlu dengan persetujuan 2/3 suara dalam rapat Badan Pengurus IKBT.

**BAB III
KETENTUAN-KETENTUAN PENUTUP**

**Pasal 6
Ketentuan-ketentuan Penutup**

1. Perubahan-perubahan Pedoman Peraturan dan Pelaksanaan Peraturan Ikatan Keluarga Besar Tugu (IKBT) hanya dapat diadakan dan ditetapkan dalam suatu Pertemuan Khusus Ikatan Keluarga Besar Tugu;
2. Jika terdapat kekhilafan dalam Surat Keputusan ini, maka akan ditinjau kembali dan dirubah;
3. Pedoman Peraturan dan Pelaksanaan Peraturan ini mulai berlaku sejak tanggal penetapannya.

Apabila terjadi permasalahan dikemudian hari (dispute), maka akan diadakan musyawarah untuk mufakat. Namun apabila tidak tercapai kata sepakat termaktub di atas, maka untuk menyelesaikan sengketa para pihak, dipilih Pengadilan Negeri Jakarta Utara, sesuai domisili hukum IKBT.

Dikeluarkan dan ditetapkan pada
Pertemuan IKBT di Gedung Pertemuan Yeruel
Jakarta 22 November 2006

10

Kartu Tanda Pembayaran Iuran IKBT Tahun 2007
@ Rp. 5.000,- / Bulan

NO.	BULAN	TGL. BAYAR	BESARNYA	KETERANGAN	TANDA TANGAN
1	Januari				
2	Februari				
3	Maret				
4	April				
5	Mei				
6	Juni				
7	Juli	02/03/08	60.000		
8	Agustus				
9	September				
10	Oktober				
11	November				
12	Desember				

Kartu Tanda Pembayaran Iuran IKBT Tahun 2008
@ Rp. 5.000,- / Bulan

NO.	BULAN	TGL. BAYAR	BESARNYA	KETERANGAN	TANDA TANGAN
1	Januari				
2	Februari				
3	Maret				
4	April				
5	Mei				
6	Juni				
7	Juli	02/03/08	60.000		
8	Agustus				
9	September				
10	Oktober				
11	November				
12	Desember				

11

Kartu Tanda Pembayaran Iuran IKBT Tahun 2009
@ Rp. 5.000,- / Bulan

NO.	BULAN	TGL. BAYAR	BESARNYA	KETERANGAN	TANDA TANGAN
1	Januari				
2	Februari				
3	Maret				
4	April				
5	Mei				
6	Juni				
7	Juli				
8	Agustus				
9	September				
10	Oktober				
11	November				
12	Desember				

Kartu Tanda Pembayaran Iuran IKBT Tahun 2010
@ Rp. / Bulan

NO.	BULAN	TGL. BAYAR	BESARNYA	KETERANGAN	TANDA TANGAN
1	Januari				
2	Februari				
3	Maret				
4	April				
5	Mei				
6	Juni				
7	Juli				
8	Agustus				
9	September				
10	Oktober				
11	November				
12	Desember				

11

Appendix Q
Old IKBT Membership Booklet with IKBT Bylaws (1976)

KEUANGAN		
UANG PANGKAL	: Rp. 100,##	
UANG IURAN	: Rp. 50,##	
Bulan	1976	1977
Januari	Rp. 100	Rp. 100
Pebruari	Rp. 100	Rp. 100
Maret	Rp. 100	Rp. 100
April	Rp. 100	Rp. 100
Mei	Rp. 100	Rp. 100
Juni	Rp. 100	Rp. 100
Juli	Rp. 100	Rp. 100
Agustus	Rp. 100	Rp. 100
September	Rp. 100	Rp. 100
Oktober	Rp. 100	Rp. 100
Nopember	Rp. 100	Rp. 100
Desember	Rp. 100	Rp. 100

No. : *Sydney*

Keluarga : *Ali S. Sali*

Alamat : *Komplek "P" Kas. t.*

DAFTAR KELUARGA.		IKATAN KELUARGA BESAR TUGU.	
Suami	:	Mengingat	: perlu adanya persekutuan yang lebih erat
Isteri	:	Mendengar	: pendapat pertemuan tanggal 18 April 1976 dan 2 Mei 1976
Anak 1	:	Memperhatikan	: kebutuhan peningkatan kerukunan dan kesejahteraan warga Tugu,
2	:	M E N U T U S K A N :	
3	:	Menetapkan	:
4	:	I. PEDOMAN PERATURAN	
5	:	d a n	
6	:	II. PELAKSANAAN PERATURAN	
7	:	sebagai berikut :	
8	:		
9	:		
10	:		
Ayah suami	:		
Ibu suami	:		
Ayah isteri	:		
Ibu isteri	:		

- 1 -

- 2 -

I. PEDOMAN PERATURAN.
IKATAN KELUARGA BESAR TUGU

BAB. I

KETENTUAN U M U M

Pasal 1 Nama, tempat, kedudukan.

Persatuan ini bernama Ikatan Keluarga Besar Tugu disingkat IKBT, didirikan pada tanggal 2 Mei 1976 dan berkedudukan di Kk. TUGU - Kelurahan Semper/Celincing.

Pasal 2 Maksud dan Tujuan.

1. Wadah persekutuan ini dimaksudkan untuk mempererat rasa persaudaraan, kerukunan dan kesejahteraan diantara warga Tugu.
2. Menikirkan, membicarakan dan melaksanakan bersama usaha kegiatan yang efisien dan efektif diantara warga Tugu.
3. Memberi bantuan sosial, material dan noreel dibidang pembangunan, pendidikan dan kebudayaan diantara warga Tugu.
4. Melayani kebutuhan seperlunya demi kesejahteraan keluarga diantara warga Tugu.

- 3 -

BAB. II

P E M B I N A A N

Pasal 3 Keanggotaan.

Untuk mencapai maksud dan tujuan, maka yang menjadi anggota ialah :

1. Mereka yang berasal dari keturunan Tugu
2. Mereka yang berhubungan kekeluargaan, disebabkan oleh perkawinan
3. Mereka yang bertempat tinggal di Tugu selama 25 (duapuluhlima) tahun. Setuju dan taat pada Pedoman Peraturan dan Pelaksanaan Peraturan IKBT.
4. Mereka yang berjasa dan dengan persetujuan Badan Pengurus IKBT.

Pasal 4 Susunan Pengurus.

Badan Pengurus IKBT terdiri dari : Penasehat², Ketua¹, Ketua I, Sekretaris¹, Sekretaris I, Bendahara¹, Bendahara I dan Anggota-anggota.

Pasal 5 Pengadaan Pengurus.

1. Anggota-anggota Badan Pengurus IKBT dipilih secara langsung.

2. Syarat-syarat.....

- 4 -

2. Syarat-syarat bagi keanggotaan Badan Pengurus, ialah mereka yang memenuhi syarat yang ditetapkan untuk keanggotaan IKBT; BAB. II, Ps. 3 dan berumur 20 (duapuluh) tahun keatas.

3. Susunan anggota-anggota Badan Pengurus IKBT, ditetapkan oleh anggota-anggota IKBT yang berumur 20 (duapuluh) tahun keatas pada suatu pertemuan.

Pasal 6 Masakerja Badan Pengurus.

1. Masakerja anggota-anggota Badan Pengurus IKBT adalah 1 (satu) tahun.
2. Badan Pengurus IKBT dapat mengisi lowongan yang terjadi dengan memberitahukannya pada pertemuan anggota-anggota IKBT.

Pasal 7 Masa berakhirnya keanggotaan.

Seorang anggota IKBT berakhir keanggotaannya oleh karena :

1. Meninggal dunia
2. Atas permintaan sendiri

BAB. III ORGANISASI....

- 5 -

BAB. III

ORGANISASI DAN PERALATAN

Pasal 8 Keuangan.

Harta-Milik/Keuangan Ikatan Keluarga Besar Tugu terdiri/diperoleh dari :

1. Uang pangkal setiap keluarga
2. Uang iuran setiap keluarga
3. Usaha Dana
4. Sumbangan-sumbangan

Pasal 9 Rapat dan Pertemuan.

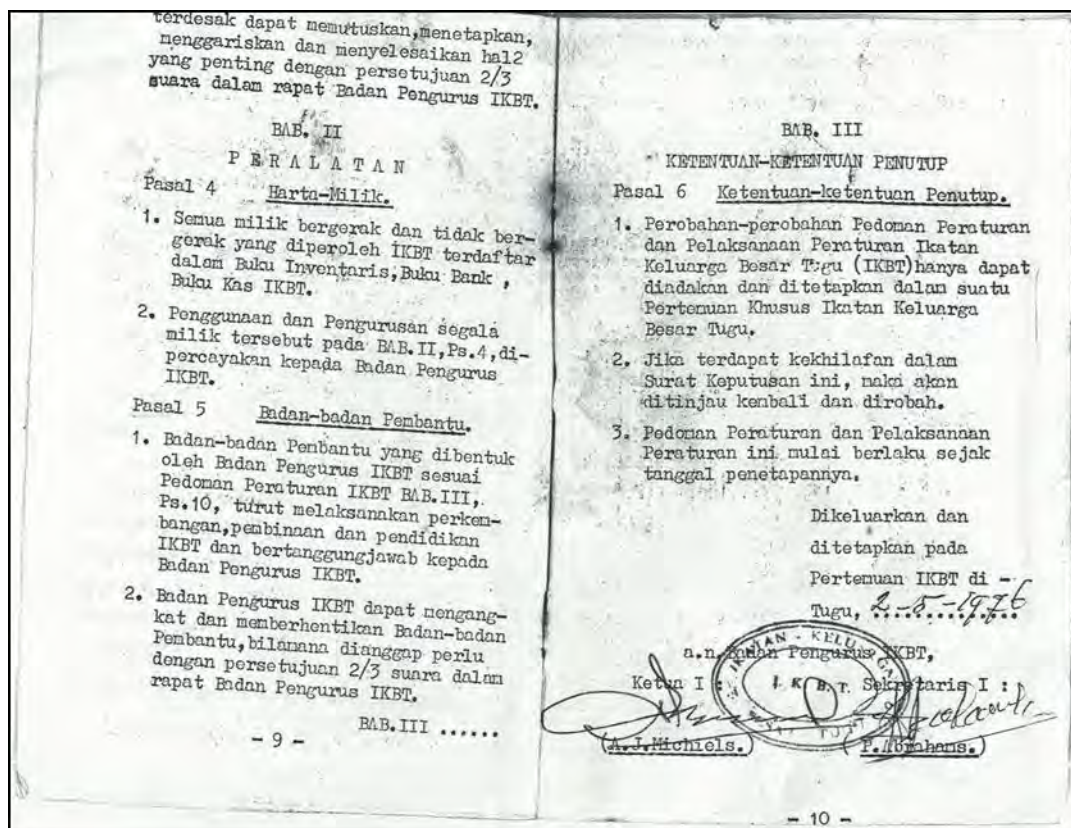
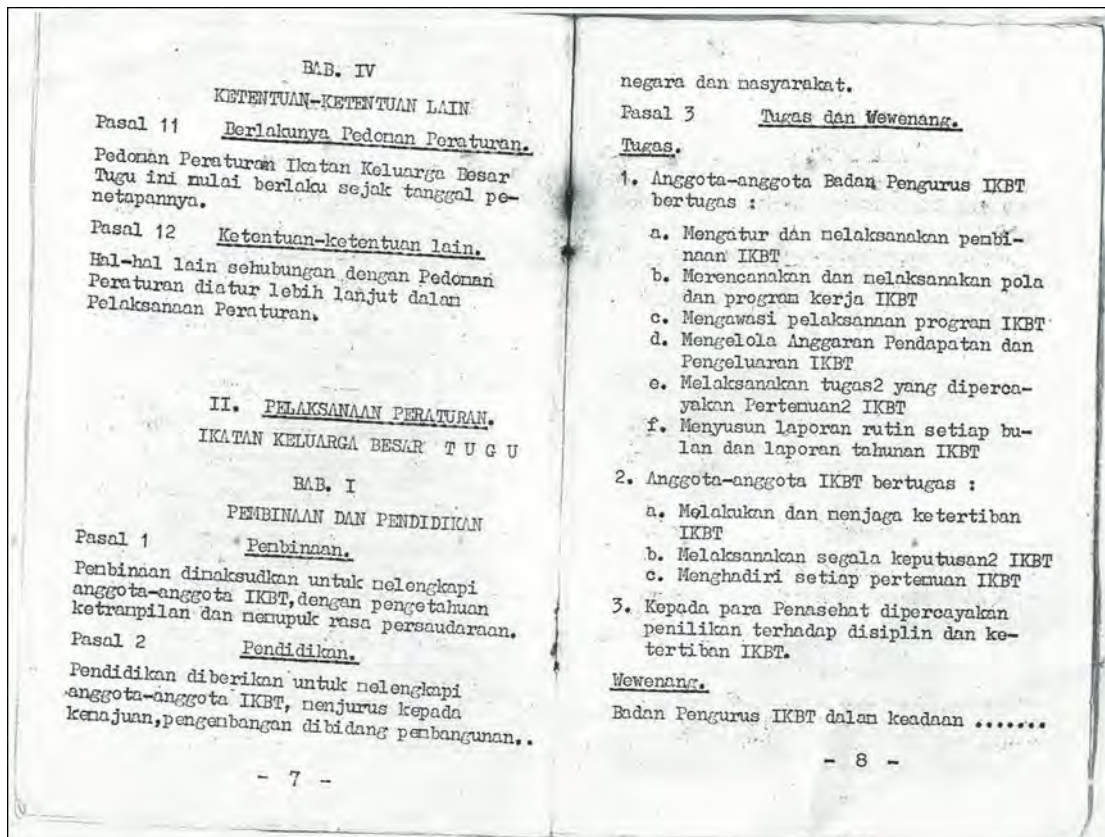
1. Rapat Kerja Badan Pengurus IKBT diadakan sebulan sekali
2. Rapat Badan Pengurus IKBT dapat diadakan bila mana dirasa perlu
3. Pertemuan-pertemuan anggota IKBT diadakan sebulan sekali
4. Pertemuan anggota IKBT dapat diadakan atas permintaan anggota dan pada hari-hari Raya Nasional, hari-hari Raya Kristen.

Pasal 10 Badan-Badan Pembantu.

Untuk membantu Badan Pengurus IKBT, dalam melaksanakan tugasnya dapat dibentuk ; Yayasan, Komisi, Panitia sesuai kebutuhan.

BAB. IV KETENTUAN²

- 6 -



Appendix R
Photos of *Arisans*



Figure R1. At the *Arisan* Yunus-Susanto (Photo by author, 2014)



Figure R2. Relatives from the Netherlands were given the honour of drawing lots for *Arisan* Abrahams (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure R3. Group photo at the end of an *Arisan* Abrahams (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure R4. *Arisan* of housewives at RT 8 (Photo by author, 2013)

Appendix S North Jakarta Coastal Tourism Brochure

11 Kampong Tugu



Sejarah
Kawasan ini merupakan kawasan bersejarah yang terletak di Kecamatan Murni Anggrek, Kabupaten Bekasi. Kawasan ini memiliki nilai historis yang tinggi karena merupakan salah satu kampung tua di Kabupaten Bekasi yang didirikan pada tahun 1675 - 1678, bersamaan dengan berdirinya kota Batavia di Hindia Belanda oleh Belanda.

Keistimewaan
Kawasan ini memiliki nilai historis yang tinggi karena merupakan salah satu kampung tua di Kabupaten Bekasi yang didirikan pada tahun 1675 - 1678, bersamaan dengan berdirinya kota Batavia di Hindia Belanda oleh Belanda.

Keistimewaan
Kawasan ini memiliki nilai historis yang tinggi karena merupakan salah satu kampung tua di Kabupaten Bekasi yang didirikan pada tahun 1675 - 1678, bersamaan dengan berdirinya kota Batavia di Hindia Belanda oleh Belanda.

12 Kawasan Kelapa Kelapa



Keistimewaan
Kawasan ini memiliki nilai historis yang tinggi karena merupakan salah satu kampung tua di Kabupaten Bekasi yang didirikan pada tahun 1675 - 1678, bersamaan dengan berdirinya kota Batavia di Hindia Belanda oleh Belanda.

Keistimewaan
Kawasan ini memiliki nilai historis yang tinggi karena merupakan salah satu kampung tua di Kabupaten Bekasi yang didirikan pada tahun 1675 - 1678, bersamaan dengan berdirinya kota Batavia di Hindia Belanda oleh Belanda.

Keistimewaan
Kawasan ini memiliki nilai historis yang tinggi karena merupakan salah satu kampung tua di Kabupaten Bekasi yang didirikan pada tahun 1675 - 1678, bersamaan dengan berdirinya kota Batavia di Hindia Belanda oleh Belanda.



12 Jalur Destinasi
Wisata Pesisir Jakarta Utara

North Jakarta Coastal Tourism

Wisata Pesisir Jakarta Utara

North Jakarta, one of the tourism objects in Jakarta Capital District, with its Marine attraction, as well as historic heritage has an enchantment that attracts tourists.

The only area in Jakarta Capital District bordering the Java Sea, Northern Jakarta is a unique tourism spot. Tourism is one of the main factors contributing to the current economic growth. North Jakarta City Administration has been continuously developing the potential of its tourism, specifically border tourism in a broad sense, marine, cultural, history, spiritual, culinary, and sports.

At this time, the North Jakarta City Administration is developing the potential of its tourism, specifically border tourism in a broad sense, marine, cultural, history, spiritual, culinary, and sports.

The North Jakarta City Administration is developing the potential of its tourism, specifically border tourism in a broad sense, marine, cultural, history, spiritual, culinary, and sports.

11 Kampong Tugu

Kawasan ini memiliki nilai historis yang tinggi karena merupakan salah satu kampung tua di Kabupaten Bekasi yang didirikan pada tahun 1675 - 1678, bersamaan dengan berdirinya kota Batavia di Hindia Belanda oleh Belanda.

12 Kawasan Kelapa Kelapa

Kawasan ini memiliki nilai historis yang tinggi karena merupakan salah satu kampung tua di Kabupaten Bekasi yang didirikan pada tahun 1675 - 1678, bersamaan dengan berdirinya kota Batavia di Hindia Belanda oleh Belanda.



De Murdijkers atau Portugis Hitam adalah sebutan untuk para pelaut Portugis yang berlayar ke Indonesia pada tahun 1583 yang ditentang oleh penduduk setempat. Mereka kebanyakan berasal dari Kampong Tugu, Kecamatan Cikarang, Bekasi Utara.

or Black Portuguese in the form for the Portuguese. Arrive in 1583. They're in Kampong Tugu, Cikarang, North Jakarta.



12 Jalur Destinasi
Wisata Pesisir Jakarta Utara



North Jakarta Coastal Tourism
Journey to the Beginning of Jakarta

11 Kampong Tugu

Kawasan ini memiliki nilai historis yang tinggi karena merupakan salah satu kampung tua di Kabupaten Bekasi yang didirikan pada tahun 1675 - 1678, bersamaan dengan berdirinya kota Batavia di Hindia Belanda oleh Belanda.

12 Kawasan Kelapa Kelapa

Kawasan ini memiliki nilai historis yang tinggi karena merupakan salah satu kampung tua di Kabupaten Bekasi yang didirikan pada tahun 1675 - 1678, bersamaan dengan berdirinya kota Batavia di Hindia Belanda oleh Belanda.



Mall Artha Gading
Mall of Indonesia Boulevard
Mall Kelapa Gading 1:3 at Plaza (Pusat Mall)

Appendix T
List of *Orang Tugu* in *Keroncong Tugu* Ensembles

Table 20A. *Orang Tugu* who are currently involved in *Keroncong Tugu* ensembles:

No	Name	Instrument/ Role	Age or Year started	Name of Ensemble(s)
1.	Rosmario Quiko	<i>prounga</i> , bass	15 years old	<i>KCT</i> <i>KMMC</i>
2	Guido Quiko	vocal, guitar	12 years old	<i>KCT</i> <i>Moresco (previously)</i>
3	Saartje M. Michiels	vocal	18 years old	<i>KT</i>
4	Arthur Michiels	bass	19 years old	<i>KT</i>
5	Milton A. Michiels	<i>macina</i>	12 years old	<i>KT</i>
6	Andre Michiels	<i>keroncong</i>		<i>KT</i>
7	Arend Michiels	violin	12 years old	<i>KT</i> <i>DMJT</i>
8	Adrian Michiels	cello	9 years old	<i>KT</i> <i>DMJT</i>
9	Citra A. Michiels	vocal, bass	16 years old	<i>DMJT</i>
10	Juliette A. Michiels	vocal	9 years old	<i>DMJT</i>
11	Jeffery J. Michiels	ukelele	9 years old	<i>DMJT</i>
12	Sharly Abrahams	leader	40 years old	<i>KMMC</i>
13	Oskar Abrahams	<i>prounga</i>	28 years old	<i>KMMC</i>
14	Sisca Lasha-Abrahams	vocal	22 years old	<i>KMMC</i>
15	Yunus Kailuhu	<i>macina</i>	15 years old	<i>KCT</i> <i>KMMC</i>
16	Diego Kailuhu	cello	15 years old	<i>KCT</i> <i>KMMC</i>
17	Nabilla F. Formes	cello	15 years old	<i>KT</i> <i>DMJT</i>
18	Rafaella L.W. Formes	<i>rebana</i>	10 years old	<i>DMJ</i>
19	Rosdiana Braune	violin	teenage	<i>KCT</i> <i>KMMC</i>
20	Lupita G. Cornelis	violin	16 years old	<i>KCT</i> <i>KMMC</i>
21	Agostino Timotius	cajon, vocal	2010	<i>KMMC</i>

Table 20B. *Orang Tugu* previously involved in *Keroncong* Tugu ensembles:

No	Name	Instrument/ Role	Age or Year started	Name of Ensemble(s)
1.	Samuel Quiko	violin	Teenage	Moresco III
2	Bernardo Quiko	guitar	Teenage	Moresco (?)
3	Carolina Quiko	singer	Teenage	Moresco and <i>KCT</i>
4	Elita Quiko	singer	14 years old	Moresco I
5	Ronaldo Quiko	<i>cuk</i>	11 years old	<i>DMJT</i>
6	Estrelita Quiko	singer	16 years old	Moresco I
7	Albert Quiko	guitar	17 years old	Moresco
8	Fernando Quiko	bass, guitar	25 years old	Moresco
9	Eduardo Quiko	<i>rebana</i>	18 years old	Moresco I
10	Sariyando Quiko	bass	18 years old	<i>DMJT</i>
11	Joseph Quiko	<i>prounga</i>	?	Moresco
12	Ephraim Abrahams	bass, <i>keroncong</i>	30+ years old	Moresco II
13	Benjamin Abrahams	<i>keroncong</i> , guitar	30+ years old	Moresco II
14	Frans Abrahams	ukelele	1968	Moresco II
15	Salvius Abrahams	<i>cuk</i>	15 years old	Moresco I
16	Theo Abrahams	violin	1959	Moresco I
17	*Jacob Abrahams	singer/ <i>keroncong</i> maker	?	Moresco I
18	Herman Abrahams	<i>cuk</i>	?	Moresco I
19	Philip Abrahams	<i>keroncong</i>	?	Moresco I
20	Frenky Abrahams	leader	57 years old	<i>KT</i>
21	Erna Abrahams	singer	?	<i>KT</i>
22	Vita Abrahams	violin	?	<i>KT</i>
23	Frederick Abrahams	?	?	Moresco
24	Heine Michiels	guitar	20+ years old	Moresco III
25	Arend Michiels	cello		Moresco <i>KT</i>
26	Decky Dedy Michiels	guitar	?	<i>KT</i>
27	Alfondo Andries	<i>rebana</i>	16 years old	<i>KT</i>
28	Antonius Andries	gendang	18 years old	<i>KT</i>
29	Rico Cornelis	guitar	20 years old	<i>KCT</i> <i>KMMC</i>
30	Simon A. Mega Tadoe	gendang	15/ 16 years old	<i>DMJT</i>
31	Paulus Mega Tadoe	<i>keroncong</i>	20 years old	Moresco
32	Willy Mega Tadoe	<i>rebana</i>	20 years old	<i>KT</i>
33	Daniel Mega Tadoe	guitar	17 years old	Non-aligned
34	Gerard Corua	<i>rebana</i>	16 years old	Moresco
35	Daniel Corua	ukelele	22 years old	<i>KT</i>

No	Name	Instrument/ Role	Age or Year started	Name of Ensemble(s)
36	Arsan Yunus	violin	?	<i>KT</i>
37	Hansye Yunus	bass	?	?
38	Hiskia Yunus	<i>keroncong</i> , guitar	15 years old	Moresco
39	Wawan Yunus	ukelele	teenage	Moresco I
40	Gidion Carlos Yunus	<i>macina</i>	8 years old	<i>DMJT</i>
41	Johnny Awiyara	guitar	13 years old	<i>DMJT</i>
42	Marthen Sopaheluwakan	guitar, ukelele	20 years old	Moresco
43	Robby Sopaheluwakan	ukelele	1956	Moresco II
44	Marinus Kalelufna	<i>cuk</i>	19 years old	<i>KCT</i>
45	Linda Sitinjak	singer	14 years old	<i>KCT</i>
46	Johanes Susanto	guitar	14 years old	<i>KT</i>
47	Revi Formes	bass	17 years old	<i>DMJT</i>
48	Pete Tentua	violin	?	Moresco I

Appendix U
Keroncong Practice Sessions in Tugu



Figure U1. *D'Mardijkers Jr.* practicing at their studio (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure U2. *Keroncong Muda-Muda Cornelis (KMMC)* practicing at Tugu Church's Studio with the Men's Fellowship members (Photo by author, 2013)

Appendix V

Materials for Portuguese Classes and Portuguese Dance



Figure V1. The Portuguese Phrasebook used in the Tugu Portuguese Class. The Star symbol is the one found carved on the house of the Michiels family and was used by the family to represent the Mardijkers (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure V2. Andre Michiels showed me the book offered to him by a Portuguese visitor and how his wife depended on the pictures in the book to design and sew Portuguese dance costumes for *Romeiros de Tugu* (Photo by author, 2013)

Appendix W
Keroncong Tugu Performances



Figure W1. *Oma Cristine* singing with *Eddy Waas* on the violin, led by *Jacobus Quiko*, at the 228th Anniversary Celebration of *Gereja Tugu*, 1975 (Courtesy of *Andre Michiels*)



Figure W2. *Kronjong Toegoe Cafrinho* performing at the *Tugu Expo 2013* (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure W3. The *Krontjong Toegoe* ensemble performing at the House of Representatives during the 286th Anniversary of Jakarta City (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure W4. The *Krontjong Toegoe* ensemble performing in Portuguese-style at the Batavia Arts Festival 2013 (Photo by author, 2013)

Appendix X
Tugu Specialty Food



Fig. 25A. *Gado-gado Tugu* (mixed salad with peanut sauce)



Fig. 25B. *Pindang Serani*



Fig. 25C. *Ketan Unti*, a specialty at funerals or wake services



Fig. 25D. *Pisang Udang*

Appendix Y Portraits



Figure Y1. Kres Michels and his fishing equipment (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure Y2. Carolina Yunus preparing *gado-gado* Tugu (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure Y3. Olga Cornelia Hukum at her house in Pejambon (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure Y4. Ana Carolina Quiko at her house in Tanjung Priok (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure Y5. Erni Michiels at the *Mandi-mandi* Festival 2013 (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure Y6. Franky Erns Abrahams at his house in Kampung Tugu (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure Y7. Paulus Mega-Tadoe in front of his house in Kampung Kurus (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure Y8. Rudolf Sopaheluwakan holding *sagu lempeng*, a typical Ambonese food (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure Y9. Hendrik Braune at his house in Plumpang, Tugu (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure Y10. Meynard Burkens at the grave of his father, Yohan Cornelis Burkens (Photo by author, 2013)

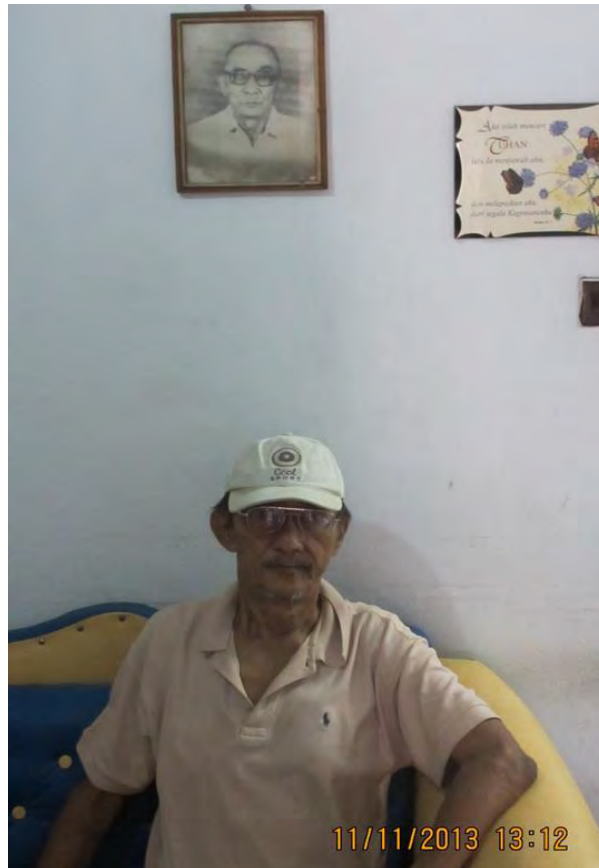


Figure Y11. Jhonny Susanto (Son of Luther Thio) at his house in Kampung Tugu (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure Y12. David Thomas, Freddy Thomas (brothers) and Wardi Thomas at their ancestors' grave (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure Y13. Erna Loen at her house in Kampung Tugu (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure Y14. Magdalena Agustina Bacas (left) came from Suraya to visit Adriana Teresia Pieterz at RT 11 (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure Y15. Elly Quiko and Sriyari, wife of the late Bernes Michiels (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure Y16. Descendants of Arsan Yusun – Mintje Andries in Betawi costumes (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure Y17. Luther Tandibua, Chairman of RT 11 (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure Y18. Haji Mali, oldest resident of Kampung Kurus (Photo by author, 2013)



Figure Y19. Family of Hein Corua and Ana Carolina Quiko (Courtesy Anna Quiko)



Figure Y20. Group Photo of the Andries Clan Retreat (Courtesy Alfonso Andries)

Appendix Z

Map of Kampung Tugu drawn by Belinda Cheong, based on the sketches of Arthur Michiel and the author (2014)

