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Abstract

Indonesian Chinese with no exception Chinese Muslim in Indonesia has stepped into a considerable freedom during the current Reformation era. As like as many other Chinese Indonesians who take a part in creating integration model without abandoning their ethnic identity, Chinese Muslim have also shown similar endeavor. However, within the context of post-Reformation democracy, it seems that Chinese Muslim solely fights against any other Indonesian Chinese group and other Muslim community in Indonesia at the same time. Study about Chinese Muslim in Indonesia after Reformation is briefly undertaken ranging from its political contexts, cultural, and economy alike. Some scholars who interest in its cultural realm have been dealt with the important role of Chinese in spreading Islam into Nusantara in 14th Century. Here, Admiral Cheng Ho was an influential figure to introduce Islam to local people in northern coastal area of Java Island. It sounds that it is unlike with many other scholars who convince that Islam came to Java in the hand of Gujarat traders. This paper tries to explore the existence of Chinese Muslim in Jakarta during the current Post Reformation era. To complete this paper, I try to combine data that taken from in-depth interview with literature review and personal observation on some people and signs of Chinese Muslim in Jakarta.

Keywords: Group Identity, Identity changing, PITI, Imlek Celebration, Ceng Ho Mosque.
Abstrak

Kata Kunci: Identitas Kelompok, Perubahan Identitas, PITI, Perayaan Imlek, Masjid Ceng Ho.

Introduction
Since the fall of New Order regime, there has been a drastically changing in Indonesian society including Chinese Indonesians and Indonesian Chinese Muslim (herein after referred as Chinese Muslim). Culturally, there are no longer restrictions and discriminations against them set by state policy. Thanks to their strong network, most of them can rebuild and reassert their new identity during the Reformation era. Even, they can keep improving their community without abandoning their Chinese identity.

It was widely known that during the New Order era the Chinese minority suffered the most exploited. They have become the target of marginalization. Forms of marginalization were varied like for example, there were very limited occupations they
could undertake specifically some jobs connected with the governmental institutions. Suryadinata reckons that they were marginalized by suspicious record they connected with Indonesia Communist Party (PKI) which was followed by government’s endorsement for citizen to become believer of non-Chinese religions (Suryadinata, 1997: 160). As a result, many of them decided to abandon their ancestral religions and decided to convert into non-Chinese religion such as Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Islam as well.

Indeed, many books and journals exploring Chinese Indonesian have been numerous since 1960s focusing on political participation of Indonesian Chinese, their economic domination and their cultural marginalization alike. For example, Slamet Mulyana (1968) reckons that Chinese Muslim had contributed in spreading Islam in Java Island, by arguing that the first king of Islamic state on Java, Raden Patah, had a Chinese Muslim mother. In his book, he assembled a written record from Javanese chronicles and inscriptions on stone and metal, from Chinese chronicles composed in China for the imperial court, and from Chinese chronicles composed in Java, in order to compare events narrated, to establish names of kings and dates, and to identify major figures of the age from his diverse materials. He concluded that the origins of political Islam in Java lie in Java’s Chinese Muslim history (Al Qurtuby, 2003: 40; Taylor, 2005: 149-150). In addition, Admiral Cheng Ho was an influential figure who brought Islam into Indonesia archipelago in the 14th Century, though Indonesia’s Ministry of Religion rejected the preposition that the Chinese contributed to the Islamization of Indonesia (Taylor, 2005).

However, linking the Chinese to Islam’s origins in the Malay-Indonesian world is a sensitive subject in Indonesia. And yet there is a persistent association between the Chinese and Islam, especially in traditions narrating Islam’s early beginnings in Java (Taylor 2005: 151). It seems that it will be difficult to connect the role of Chinese sailor in the past with the current feature of Chinese Indonesian since most of them are now following religion other than Islam. Nonetheless, we can find some Chinese
Muslim group in some part of Indonesia, although still remain a small group.

Dickson, who carried out research about Chinese Muslim in Surabaya post Reformation, has written about Chinese Muslim in Surabaya where the community could organize their own cultural and religious expression openly. According to Dickson, Chinese Muslim in Surabaya that are organized by *Persatuan Iman dan Tauhid* (PITI or Unity of Faith and Monotheism) wants to be accepted and valued by both the Chinese Indonesian community and the Indonesian Muslim society in general. PITI members do not act as if they are the victim of marginalization. They are active and take a serious role in bridging between two communities. PITI’s outreach activities are one way PITI asserts the place of Chinese Muslims in Indonesian society (Dickson, 2008: 4). It is not unlike with Dickson, Wang Wei describes the Chinese Muslim community in Surabaya where the mosque of Cheng Ho was established. Reportedly, it accommodates the Chinese Muslim to celebrate *Imlek* since the first day of its opening on 13 May 2003 (Muzakki, 2009: 194).

Not unlike its Surabaya fellow, Chinese Muslims in Jakarta have also been trying to articulate their effort to protect the continuity of their community. They are defining themselves as having a certain identity group amongst other Chinese Indonesians. However, within the contexts of fast growing economy and of political changing, they are still considered as a vulnerable group since they take a line of competition with other big Chinese groups. This threat was started when they decided to convert to Islam.

**Identity Changing on Indonesian Chinese**

Identity, as cited on Burke (2005: 3) is the set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person. In other perspective, identity shaping is mostly depending on the frame that one intends to do on the particular situation. In addition, identity changing is also could be examined by studying on
how a new or apparently new cultural feature may have been shaped by the underlying structural principles of the changing culture in response to changing economic, political, social, or even ecological conditions. This approach allows us to view culture in a dynamic way (Tan, 1988: 7).

Thus, identity formation is always changing from time to time and following the social changing in society. It depends on the situation and the current context respectively. By referring to this account, being Chinese Muslim means that it is the final process resulting from long dialogue with particular condition and context dealing with their Chineseness. On this basis, Chinese Muslims is viewed as a new identity rather than an old identity so long as it is regarded as a part of tradition that generating from the past.

In line with this, it might be troubled to accept a conviction that Chinese predecessor was took part in spreading Islam into this country. It will also be contrary with regard to the history of Chinese migration outlined by some historians. Wang Gungwu for instance, examines the migration of Chinese people to the Southeast Asia region in 18 century onward by distinguishing it into four different patterns, i.e. trader pattern (huashang), coolie pattern (huagong), sojourn pattern (huaqiao), and decent or remigrant pattern (huayi). Definitely, these patterns overlapped in time as well as in many other ways but are quite easily identifiable (2003: 5-10).

If we observe those Wang’ notions, it seems that we will reject the notion that Islamization in Java was promulgated by Chinese immigrants. Perhaps, it was a merely coincidence event at that time where Chinese voyage group had anchored their ship to the northern coast of Java Island for certain purpose, like for example trading (referred as huashang) and sojourning (referred as huaqiao) alike. Moreover, there were not significant evidences corroborating that Chinese immigrant followed Islam as their religion. Rather, they maintained their ancestral belief by building many Chinese temples across the country. For that reason, Chinese community perceived Islam as religion for inferior
group of people. Also, some Islamic teachings in fact contradict to Chinese culture (Coppel, 1983).

Probably for the matter of strengthening its power, the colonial government never issued a policy to make an encountering between Chinese immigrant and local Muslim possible. Instead the colonial government issued a policy to classify citizen based on race and religion. The policy divided citizen into three different classes, i.e. Europeans, Asian (Vreemde Oosterlingen) or foreign oriental (such as Indians, Arabs, and Chinese), and indigenous (Inlanders). A Staatsblad 1855-2 jo.1 stated a basic division of Dutch East Indies inhabitants into various groups like above mentioned, although foreign oriental (which included most Chinese) were originally equated with natives (Lindsey: 42).

Tong (2010: 133) also notes that in early Dutch colonial era, the distinction between Europeans, Chinese, and the local citizen was openly manifested on clearly defined lines. They were either European, native, or Chinese. One’ legal racial status determined where one could live, the taxes one paid and the laws which one was subjected. In everyday life, it also determined what a person could wear. A native could not wear European clothes; neither could a Chinese male cut off his queue. These racial distinctions were constructed openly in Dutch colonial society.

As a result, during Indonesia’ post Independent Chinese merchants have sustained their position as intermediary in distributing daily basis over indigenous people (prihumi). Henceforth, their position was deemed as a stranger group and never fully accepted by the local or prihumi, although they can still maintain good network with elite of government body. Here, marginalization and discrimination occurs when one group felt as they have low position or inferior upon another group. As a matter of identity, the group that accused as dominant group has a vulnerable entity since the lower one always struggle to defeat the dominant one.

In this political environment, Indonesian Chinese had tried to change their identity, especially when they responded to the question of national identity, whether they chose Chinese main-
land nationality or Indonesian nationality. To some extents, this factor contributed to the fact that they were became the target of hatred from *pribumi*. To overcome such condition, some young Chinese activists, such as Abdul Karim Oei Tjeng Hien and Junus Jahja encouraged their fellow Chinese to abandon their religious identity and converting into Islam (Suryadinata, 1997; Coppel, 1983). This is an example of how identity of Chinese that combined with Islam was defined when Chinese want to decrease the tension between them and local (*Pribumi*). Also, it is a type of responding the particular situation when individuals want to take a particular role in society, a member of particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person.

Even Junus Jahja, one of the Indonesian student activists in Netherland in 1950s, was very active in sounding such the idea of such assimilation approach. He believed that the discrimination against Chinese ethnic in Indonesia will be abandoned if the Chinese itself could change their traditional belief and convert into Islam. Thus, it will be an advantage for Chinese if they can diminish the hatred from the indigenous population or *pribumi* (Jahja, 2009). Latterly, Jahja himself converted to Islam in 1979 after the years of struggle and in the following years, the other Indonesian Chinese like Budi Satyagraha (a local legislative member in Yogyakarta, 1999-2004) and Jos Sutomo (a successful plywood conglomerate in East Borneo) decided to convert to Islam too.

**Surviving New Identity: Chinese Muslim in Jakarta**

Under repression of authoritarian regime, some individuals of Chinese tried to absorb a new identity. At the time, there were a number of Indonesian Chinese searching a new identity. They tried to suit themselves with Islam identity and began as a Muslim novice (*mu'allaf*). Unfortunately, there was no exact number of Chinese Muslim at the time, except some their elite members were frequently seen building their close connection with the state apparatus. Networking with the state’ apparatus allowed them to establish the Association of Indonesian Chinese Muslim
(Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia or PITI) as the first and foremost Chinese Muslim organization in Indonesia. In the following years, Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia was changed into Pembina Iman dan Tauhid Islam (or Cultivators of the Islamic Faith and Theology), which is still an abbreviation of PITI. It is due to comply the state obligation to abandon Chinese of Indonesian Chinese in the 1970s (Suryadinata, 1997; Dickson, 2008). The first PITI’ General Secretary was an elite army member. Obviously, during the New Order regime the Chinese Muslim was under supervised by state apparatus in which put them under surveillance of state as like as other Indonesian Chinese groups.

There are several reasons on why they convert to Islam. One of the main arguments is related with economical and political hardship they experienced as the effect of marginalization. Another argument is to abolish negative sentiment over Chinese which then followed by changing Chinese name into more Indonesian names. Like for example Junus Jahja has had a Chinese name Lauw Chuan Tho, latterly he changed his Chinese name into Indonesian-Arabic name. Jahja himself says that he was a one of the campaigners of Indonesian nationalism among Indonesian Chinese student in Netherland. To his Chinese fellow, he argued that race is what people anthropologically really are, but nationality is what people politically think they are. He states that nationality is built by the feeling of a fellow sufferer and not by the race. For that reason, it is no longer appropriate when nationality constructed merely by ethnically based (Jahja, 2009).

Jahja’ vision on national identity seems to be similar to those who have assimilation approaches and views. Jahja once experienced intensely debate and got criticism from his Chinese fellow when he was studying in Rotterdam for pursuing his master degree majoring in Economic. His view on assimilation became sharpening since he had spent his time with many Javanese students and many other Indonesian from various part of Indonesia. At that time, he was appointed as the leader of Chung Hua Hui (CHH), a student movement with its Dutch-oriented movement (Suryadinata, 1981) and finally he urged to dissolve this organi-
zation and suggested his colleague to move to *Persatuan Pelajar Indonesia* (PPI or United for Indonesian Students). Jahja (1997) admitted that CHH had inclined to Chinese mainland nationalism. To deal with his vision, he decided to convert to Islam in 1979 (Interview by the author, 8 April 2011).

From 1960s to 1980s, some Chinese Muslim leaders such as Junus Jahja, Budiyatna and their fellows often visited many academic figures in some universities as well as Ulema in the *Majlis Ulama Indonesia* (MUI-Council of Ulama in Indonesia). They felt that meeting with the academician must be done in order to show the existence of PITI, generally the existence of Chinese Muslim. It should be noted that in early May 1986, the Muhammadiyah University in Yogyakarta in conjunction with *Ukhuwah Islamiyah* foundation (Jahja group) and two other organizations had jointly organized a seminar in Yogyakarta addressing the issue of Islam and its national integration. Reportedly, many scholars attended and presented their paper at the seminar. About hundred participants also joined the seminar (Suryadinata, 1997).

Chinese Muslims in Jakarta have been trying to show a perpetual effort in shaping their new identity as real Muslim that differ from other Chinese group as well as majority Indonesian Muslim. They wish to build their own mosque as like as Chinese Muslim in Surabaya do. Surabaya PITI chapter successfully completed building their own mosque in 2002. Probably, this mosque is regarded as the first mosque with its Chinese architecture in Indonesia. The mosque has named after Cheng Ho (Zheng He), a Chinese admiral who assumed to spread Islam in the archipelago. To show Chinese character, Chinese architecture is drawn in the mosque. Inside the mosque, there is a relief depicting Cheng Ho and a model of one of his ships put outside the mosque. Another Ceng Ho mosque was also built in Jember, East Java, about 197 km southward of Surabaya (http://www.nu.or.id/page.php, accessed April 10, 2011).

It seems that the main reason behind the plan to build a certain Chinese mosque in Jakarta is to get a wider attention from Chinese Muslims. Chinese Muslim in Jakarta urge to have
their own mosque by outlining the following reasons. Firstly is to attract many more Chinese to become Muslim novice (*mu’allaf*). Secondly is to help them to build networking with other Chinese organizations that are predominantly non-Muslim. In so far, they feel less confident to engage with any Chinese group since they have not yet a representative mosque comparing to any other Chinese religious of worship. This plan once proposed to the Jakarta provincial government. According to Syarif Tanudjaja, a leader of Chinese Muslim in Jakarta, the Governor Fauzi Bowo promised to support this plan by providing land in the area of former Jakarta International Airport of Kemayoran in Central Jakarta (Interview by the author, 13 March 2011).

In reality, there is another Chinese Muslim group in Jakarta, namely Yayasan Karim Oei with its main mosque is located at Lautze Street, Jakarta. Similar to the PITI’ goals, this organization aim to help Chinese Muslim to be a pious Muslim. Although both organizations offer a similar goals i.e to cultivate *mu’allaf* conviction on Islam from Indonesian Chinese family, they never worked together in serving *mu’allaf* or other religious activities. Rather, they run their own activity separately regarding with their own objective.

**The Problem after Changing Identity to be Muslim**

Presumably, Chinese community around the world has similar characteristic in respecting family. The existence of family is not solely intending to support the individual, but rather the individual who existed in order to continue the family (Baker, 1979). As Baker pointed out there are at least two important concepts among Chinese community; filial piety and continuum of descent (see also Yao, 2000).

With regard of new Chinese Muslim conversion, it is truly hard to defend their choice. It can be an object of criticism since they decided to leave their parent’ religion or belief. Some Chinese Muslims whose I interviewed with had explained that they realize respectively about these concepts and it consequences if they ignore. According to them, their parent and their sibling took care of them as like as occurred in many other
Chinese families. The conversion to be Muslim itself, however, is merely an individual choice that it cannot be explained with exact words. In return, the decision then got objection from other family members. Generally, when they decided to convert into Islam, soon they felt being excluded from their big family. It is the first problem they face from their family after deciding to be Muslim.

As it has outlined above, there are definitely several reasons about why they converted to Islam. Nevertheless, one of the main reasons is that it is an individual choice to seek a solution for securing his life in the future. The causes are many such for example, when they married to Indonesian Muslim women. For them, converting to Islam is a strategy and a mean to secure themselves and the future of their new family. Indeed, it can be said that it is almost impossible for Chinese who converted to Islam without any particular causes behind the conversion.

However, after changing their faith does not mean that the whole problem is over. Some problems still remain unresolved and need to be solved. Culturally, Chinese Muslim will meet any difficulties regarding with performing filial piety (hao or xiao) to their parent and the rest family member. A number of Chinese Muslims had told me this issue when I met them in a small Chinese mosque in Jakarta. When they declared their new religion, it suddenly shocked their family. Even, one informant told me that his mother shouted him angrily by asked him a notorious question. “(by convert to Islam) will you be looking for poor-ness? Will you eat jengkol (a kind of poor taste vegetable)?” Thus, Chinese Muslims are inevitably facing any kind of objections from their family member, because most of them think Islam is a religion for foolish people. Obviously, there is a theological contradiction since Muslim must have to pay homage to their parent, but latterly their faith in is no longer the same.

Another potential cultural clash coming to Chinese Muslim is when they celebrate Chinese New Year (or Imlek, Bahasa). After becoming Muslim, some Islamic clerics had told them that celebrating any other Chinese traditional rituals such as worship-
ping to statues, images and other symbols are no longer suited to Islamic teaching. This kind of hurdle makes Chinese Muslim a bit shocked to realize after conversion into Islam (interview by author with Budi Satyagraha, July 2008).

Festival of Chinese New Year has become a tremendous event in post-Sohearto era. Indonesian Chinese community has been celebrating Imlek elsewhere in many cities of Indonesia, specifically in city where Indonesian Chinese community exists. This festival appears to have been emerged a new problem for Chinese Muslim, because it sparks a serious discussion about the justification of Imlek in Islam. For many assimilationists and also Chinese mu’allafs, Chinese New Year should be abandoned at all. It is irrelevant with Islamic teaching because there is no obligation for Muslim to celebrate that event. In contrast, celebrating Imlek means it will disturb the process of assimilation with local citizen. Shockingly, one Chinese Muslim informant told the following statement, “(By celebrating Imlek) Why Indonesian government seems to Chinesized Indonesian people. We have been so long leaving this ritual and my family shunned me because I had not celebrated it anymore. I don’t understand why it happened” (Interview by the author, 8 April 2011).

However, a recent development of some Jakarta PITI member shows to have a moderate perception in undertaking Imlek celebration. Unlike with the previous one, they argue that it has not a religious festival anymore, but rather a Chinese ethnic festival reflecting the coming of the changeover of the year. According to them, there is no link between Imlek and any particular religion. Henceforth, PITI Jakarta chapter has finally held Imlek ceremony by hosting communal gathering and inviting state’ apparatus such as the Minister of Religious affair and some Middle East country’ Ambassadors in their Imlek celebration festival in 2011. PITI leader acclaim that they have continuously been holding this ceremony though there is still a disputable debate over the appropriation of this ceremony in Islam.

Perhaps, one of the most extraordinary moments in celebrating Imlek that ever held was happening in Yogyakarta when
Chinese Muslim had celebrated Imlek in Suhada mosque in 2003. According to Satyagraha, one of the Chinese Muslim leaders of Yogyakarta, this event was massively exposed by both local and international mass media. At the time, his group initiated of what so-called “Sholat Imlek” or Imlek Praying in the Suhada mosque at morning day of the Imlek day. Unfortunately, in a following year, local Islamic radical group leader who got objection on Imlek praying protested it by arguing bluntly that Imlek was not connected with Islam. Therefore, it was inappropriate manner to celebrate Imlek in mosque. In response to this protest, Imlek Praying then no longer conducted anymore in Syuhada Mosque (Interview by the author, 8 December 2008 in Yogyakarta).

Currently, some Chinese Muslims who are member of PITI stating fearlessly that they proud to have a “three in one identity”. According to Tanudjaya, his group is trying to blend three different identities i.e. Chineseness, Muslim, and Indonesian into singular identity (Interview with the author, 13 March 2011).

Hurdles from Local Muslim Fellow

Another problem that Chinese Muslim faces is with regard of the response of other Muslim fellow from indigenous population. Although they had changed their religion and converted into Islam, the majority Muslim does not totally acknowledge them. They feel that their fellow Muslim as the majority population still perceiving them as like as many other Chinese. Such prejudice perception is still alive although now they become Muslim.

However, Chinese Muslim and the local Muslim could go hand in hand in a certain case like for example to manage the operation of a mosque. Perhaps, this is a sign of networking between Chinese Muslim and local Muslim. This can be seen at Al-Amin mosque, a PITI’ mosque in Glodok of Jakarta for instance, where a local Muslim serving as muazzin (a person who shouted the name of Allah to invite Muslim to do salat together in mosques), and as imam (leader) in salat (communal praying),

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and as a cleaning service staff of the mosque alike. Exactly, this mosque used to be as shop house, but now it changed into mosque. Friday sermon is also provided here. Likewise, Sunday gathering for learning Al-Qur’an and Hadīṣ is also scheduled regularly.

Here we can assume that there is still a problem such an exclusion from local Muslim to Chinese Muslim and vice versa. It seems that local Muslim has more knowledge about Islamic teaching than Chinese Muslim. The late Junus Jahja told the author that it is extremely difficult for *mu’allaf* of Chinese Muslim to be well Arabic spoken and al Quran chanting as good as many Indonesian Muslim do. It is mainly because they have never learned al Quran and other Islamic teachings thoroughly before. Once he regretted to see the phenomenon that a local Muslim figure he had already knew disbelieving the real motivation of Chinese to be Muslim. Then, Jahja remember an event where the conversation between a new Muslim from Chinese and a Muslim leader occurred. Initially, the former had intended to declare *syahādat* (acknowledgment of Oneness God and Muhammad as His Message for official signing as a Muslim), but it went through unhappy response from the Muslim leader as he asked the following question, “Do you really want to be a Muslim?” The Chinese answered angrily: “Sir, I have just insulted by my family member at my house before I came here because of my decision to be a Muslim, and now you are also humiliating me like this.”

Jahja understand that it is not easy for Chinese to become a good Muslim since there is still a huge resistance from their family member. Henceforth, he requests to the majority Muslim to be able to give respect to the Chinese converting to Islam. The majority Muslim must understand it, because it is extremely hard for Chinese to leave their own family culture and belief, and to some extent, being a solely Muslim in their family (Interview by the author, 8 April 2011).

Absolutely, this feature gives us a new understanding about Chinese Muslim beyond the fact that their fellow majority Mus-
Chinese Muslims are still regarded as just simply a small Muslim group who had been tried to construct a new identity that unlike with the Chinese majority. For that reason, Chinese Muslims have to build a strong relation and to strengthen internal capacity for their future like for example upholding services at al-Amin mosque and Lautze Mosque in Jakarta, and also Cheng Hoo mosque in Surabaya. Besides, they could also maintain a good relationship with outside Muslim group.

**Networking with Other Chinese Group**

Being experienced an exclusion from their Chinese fellow, Chinese Muslim institution such for example PITI has been run independently. As long as they admitted, there have never been doing networks between Chinese Muslims and other Chinese organizations. Although some elite Chinese Muslims have already acquaintance with some other elite Chinese groups, they never tried to do a collaborative working to a certain purposes. Instead, they believe that they are currently no longer the similar group.

When they stepped into a new world, namely “world of Islam”, Chinese Muslim are encouraged by some Muslim clerics to leave Chinese practices and cultural expressions. It is because there are some contradictions between Islam and Chinese religion in terms of viewing god and prophet for instance. While the former is worshipping the Oneness Allah, the latter is worshipping the goddess Kwan Iem and any other god or goddess. Also, the former is framed as the monotheist religion, while the latter is constructed as the polytheist religion (Interview by the author with Syarif Tanudjaja, 13 March 2011).

Tanudjaya also told the author a story of group of Chinese businessmen (famously known as *guanxi*) in Jakarta which consists of approximately ten businessmen. Initially, they could work together and help each other to operate a retail business. Soon after, the cooperation became shaky when one of them was known to be a Muslim. Most of them denied the decision taken by one of their fellows to be a Muslim. Consequently, they
threatened him to left his new religion and back again to their
previous religion in order to save his position in their business
group. Tanudjaya and his colleague in PITI have tried to advoca-
cy this case. They wanted his friend to strengthen his ties with
other businessmen and to keep his new faith.

Nonetheless, there is still a prejudice from Chinese about
Chinese Muslim. A Chinese business woman who lives in Sura-
karta, Central Java which whom I have interviewed with, said
that the Chinese Muslim that had decided to be Muslim was only
to gain some advantages for their business. Her statement based
on her understanding that religion for Chinese is a form of ma-
terial thing that will help them to pursuit happiness in this
worldly life. According to her, happiness and material possession
are more important than any other things. She knew well a few
name of Chinese businessman who converted into Islam in Sura-
karta. She also noticed their background to convert to Islam
(interview by the aouthor with the anonymous informant in Sura-
karta, October 2010).

It is indeed a kind of dilemma for Chinese Muslim as like
what Jacobsen has outlined (in Dickson, 2008). He explores this
kind of dilemma, that according to him, Chinese Muslims are
now in a predicament. He argues that Chinese Muslims were and
are shunned by fellow Chinese, who regard them as betraying
‘Chinese culture and identity as well as threatening their societal
position’ by adopting the religion of the inferior indigenous
people.

Furthermore, this thing will help us to understand why
Chinese Muslim cannot build a strong and positive network with
their Chinese fellow. And addition, they do not think they are
acceptable to their local Muslim fellow. Consequently, it will
exacerbate the position of Chinese Muslim in the field of Islamic
discourse in Indonesia. It is also blurred the future of Chinese
Muslim in Indonesia.

In other words, this feature can help us to understand why the
number of Chinese Muslim has been remaining static, although it
has already passed through several decades. Even, I was sur-
prised to know that according to an elite Chinese Muslim in Jakarta once said that the real number of Chinese Muslim family which is very active in the PITI’ Jakarta chapter are no more than 20 families in total. However, they sustain to continue to make a progress so far through some religious activities. Although the number of Chinese Muslim in Jakarta is only less than hundreds or thousands follower, we can still see that some of them are now become preachers, syariah economic experts, and herbal medical doctors as well. To name of few are Koko Liem, Syafii Antonio, Hembing Wijayakusuma, etc.

Conclusion

Some arguments underpinning religious conversion to Islam by Chinese in Indonesia post independent are mostly related with the effects of marginalization led by the New Order policy on Chinese minority group. It was an idea to abolish a negative sentiment over Chinese Indonesian by changing religious identity. This effort was coincident with the idea to change Chinese name and replace it by Indonesian or Javanese name. During the New Order period, some assimilationist defenders were willing to change their religion and converting into Islam.

Although they have become Muslim, like as many as other populations in Indonesia, some Chinese Muslim in Jakarta still feels uncomfortable enough. It seems that they tend to be fully Muslim and a fully Chinese at the same time. Hence, they desire to construct their own mosque just like Surabaya’ PITI did. They want to justify their own identity to constitute a three in one identity into single identity; being Chineseness, being Muslim, and being Indonesian. Perhaps, it can be understood when they intended to have a certain mosque, an oriental mosque that will be accomplished their new identity. With regard to identity theory, this conversion forms new identity for Chinese since identity formation is always changing from time to time. It will always be following the social changing in society and depending on the particular situation. By referring to this account, being Chinese Muslim means that it is the final process resulting from
long dialogue with particular condition and context dealing with their Chineseness.

To constitute their new identity, Chinese Muslim in Jakarta upholding a three in one identity and planning to build Cheng Ho mosque in Jakarta. As Chinese Muslim has already entered into “world of Islam,” they are encouraged to leave their Chinese practices and cultural expressions requested by some local Muslim clerics. It is because there are some contradictions between Islam and Chinese religion in many aspects including the concept of god. While the former is constituted as monotheist religion, the latter is constructed as polytheist religion.

It is also noted that Chinese Muslim became vulnerable since they are regarded betraying the Chinese custom. In this regards, they find themselves in confusion to deal with the outreach (dakwah) movement and to develop their community. This feature can help us to understand why the number of Chinese Muslim has been remaining static, although it has already passed through several decades since they started to make identity changing.

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Author Guidelines

Heritage of Nusantara is a specific journal for the studies of Nusantara heritage. Nusantara meant in this journal is the areas covering Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunai, Southern Part of Thailand, Southern Part of the Philippines and also Timor Leste.

Heritage of Nusantara is a peer reviewed journal using bilingual (English and Arabic). The aims of the journal is to introduce the richness of the cultural legacies or heritage of Nusantara in particular and to show its relations as well as contributions to the world heritage in general by publishing the research papers, articles and literary criticism or book reviews concerned. It is hopefully intended to give a better and wider outlook and understanding to the readers concerning the heritage of Nusantara, and above all offers a wide variety of analysis on how to preserve and develop the heritage of Nusantara.

Therefore, the journal welcomes the papers from the scholars and experts from all disciplines of humanity, social sciences, and religious studies related to the mission of the journal.
The journal requires the article submitted to be original based on academic works (academic writing and research). In addition to that, the article submitted is never published before in any journal or is being reviewed for possible publication in certain time in other journal. All the articles submitted will be reviewed by certain editors, editorial board as well as blind reviewers appointed by the journal. Any article does not meet the requirement of the guidelines will not be considered and will be declined.

The number of the words of the article is between 10000 to 15,000 words at length. References, tables, figures, appendices and notes are included in those words. As for the abstract, it must not exceed from 150 words with 5 key words. The articles with quotations and passages from local or foreign language should be translated into English. Electronic submissions are welcome and should be sent to mail journal.

Referencing Guidelines
Referencing is the very important system in the academic writing to show that the work has a high quality of academic writing. Therefore referencing is required for the article submitted to this journal. The journal uses the Harvard referencing system as follow:

A. Citation in the Text (Author-date method)

All statements, opinions, conclusions etc. taken from another writer’s work should be cited, whether the work is directly quoted, paraphrased or summarised. In the Harvard System, cited publications are referred to in the text by giving the author's surname and the year of publication in one of the forms shown below. If details of particular parts of a document are required, e.g. page numbers, they should be given after the year within the parentheses.

1. If the author’s name occurs naturally in the sentence the year is given in the parentheses:- e.g. In a popular study, Harvey (1992, P.556) argued that….

2. If however, the name does not occur naturally in the sentence, both name and year are given in the parentheses:- e.g. More recent studies (Bartlett 1996; James 1998) show that…. 
3. When an author has published more than one cited document in the same year, these are distinguished by adding lower case letters (a, b, c, etc) after the year and within the parentheses: e.g. Johnson (1994a) discussed the subject.

4. If there are two authors, the surnames of both should be given: e.g. Matthews and Jones (1993) have proposed that.

5. If there are more than two authors the surname of the first author only should be given, followed by et al: e.g. Wilson et al. (1997) conclude that.

6. If there is no originator then "Anon" should be used: e.g. A recent article (Anon 1993) stated that.

7. If you refer to a source quoted in another work you cite both in the text: e.g. A study by Smith (1960 cited Jones 1994 p. 24) showed that. (You need to list the work you have used, i.e. Jones, in the main bibliography)

8. Page Number: If you are referring to the overall argument of a book or article, do not use page numbers, e.g. “Nunan (1986) presents many different varieties of syllabus.” If, however, you are referring to a specific point within a book or article, mention the page number(s), e.g. “Allwright (1982 p. 56) provides an example of intervention in a lesson.”

9. Quotations: A short quotation of less than a line may be included in the body of the text in quotation marks. e.g. “so ‘good practices must be taught’ (Smith 1996, P. 15) and we should… But if it is longer, start a new line and indent it. You must include the page number. Theory rises out of practice, and once validated, returns to direct or explain the practice (Stevens 1997, p. 92).

10. Diagrams: Diagrams should be referenced as though they were a quotation, with the author and date given alongside and full details in the list of references.

B. Additional Notes about Citations


These do not provide recoverable data and so are not included in the reference list. Cite personal communications in the text only.
Give initials as well as the surname of the communicator and provide as exact a date as possible. e.g. Many designers do not understand the needs of disabled people, according to J.O. Reiss (personal communication, April 18, 1997).

C. The Bibliography at the End of a Piece of Work

The term bibliography describes references to cited documents given in a list at the end of the text. These are usually described as bibliographic references.

(In some departments the bibliography is called a references list and there is a separate bibliography of works that have been read but not cited.)

In the Harvard System, the references are listed in alphabetical order of authors’ surnames.

If you have cited more than one item by a specific author they should be listed chronologically (earliest first), and by letter (1993a, 1993b) if more than one item has been published during a specific year.

Whenever possible, elements of a bibliographical reference should be taken from the title page of the publication.

Each reference should use the elements and punctuation given in the following examples for the different types of published work you may have cited.

Reference to a book

Elements to cite:
Author's Surname, Initials.,
Year of publication.
Title.
Edition. (if not the first).
Place of publication:
Publisher.
Reference to a contribution in a book

Elements to cite:
Contributing author's Surname, Initials.,
Year of publication.
Title of contribution. Followed by *In*.
Initials. Surname, of author or editor of publication by ed. or eds if relevant
Title of book.
Place of publication:
Publisher,
Page number(s) of contribution.

Reference to an article in a journal

Elements to cite:
Author's Surname, Initials.,
Year of publication.
Title of journal
Volume number and (part number),
Page numbers of contribution.
e.g. Evans, W.A., 1994, Approaches to intelligent information retrieval. *Information processing and management*, 7 (2), 147-168.

Reference to a conference paper

*Elements to cite:*
Contributing author’s Surname, Initials.,
Year of publication.
Title of contribution. Followed by *In*:
Initials. Surname, of editor of conference proceedings (if applicable) followed by ed. or eds.
Title_of _conference_proceedings_ including date and place of conference.
Place of publication:
Publisher.
Page numbers of contribution.
Reference to a publication from a corporate body (e.g. a government department or other organisation).

Elements to cite:
Name Of Issuing Body,
Year of publication.
Title of publication.
Place of publication:
Publisher,
Report Number (where relevant).


Reference to a thesis

Elements to cite:
Author's Surname, Initials.,
Year of publication.
Title of thesis.
Designation, (any type).
Name of institution to which submitted.


Electronic material - following the Harvard System

No standard method for citing electronic sources of information has yet been agreed upon. The recommendations in this document follow the practices most likely to be adopted and are intended as guidance for those needing to cite electronic sources of information now. Those intending to use such citations in papers submitted to scholarly journals should check whether an alternative method is used by that journal.

This section taken from:
Available from: http://www.bournemouth.ac.uk/service-depts/newslis/LIS
Gen.citation/harvardsystint.html [15 Apr 1996].

Elements to include in the list of references at the end of a work

1. Reference to individual works


2. Reference to E-Journals
   Author. (Year). Title. Journal Title [online], volume (issue), location within host. Available from : URL [Accessed Date].

3. Reference to mailbase/listserve e-mail lists
   Author. (Day Month Year). Subject of message. Discussion List [online] Available from: list e-mail address [Accessed Date].
   e.g. Brack, E.V. (2 May 1995). Re: Computing short courses. Lis-link [online]. Available from: mailbase@mailbase.ac.uk [Accessed 17 Apr 1996].

It should be noted that items may only be kept on discussion group servers for a short time and hence may not be suitable for referencing. A local copy could be kept by the author who is giving the citation, with a note to this effect.

4. **Reference to personal electronic communications (E-mail)**

Sender (Sender's E-mail address). (Day Month Year). *Subject of Message*. E-mail to Recipient (Recipient's E-mail address).

Lowman, D. *(deboration-lowman@pbsinc.com)*. (4 Apr 1996). RE>>-*ProCite and Internet Refere*. E-mail to P. Cross (pcross@bournemouth.ac.uk)

5. **Reference to CD-ROMs**

This section refers to CD-ROMS which are works in their own right and non bibliographic databases.


Detail of the requirement of the writing system in this journal is as follow:

1. Articles should be written in the format of 1.5 space
2. Articles should be written in standard Letter (8.5x11) margin: top 1.2 cm, below: 0.6, left: 0.8 and right: 0.6.
3. The capital letter and bold must be used for the title with 12 Times New Roman
4. The name of the author should be written in Capital and bold with 10 times New Roman
5. The affiliation of the institute should be written with the capital letter with 10 Times New Roman
6. If the article has Sub title, 10 point (Times New Roman) with capital letter should be used
7. The distance between title and the author as well as the affiliation of the author is 1.5 space
8. The space of the paragraph is 1.5
9. The writing should be begun with the abstract and key words
10. Title of the article, the author, affiliation abstract and key word has the format of 1 space.
11. If the author is more than one, they should be written as follow: The first author, the second and so on. Each has the foot note explain the name of the university, institution/organization, region, state as well as the email address.
12. The author should not more than 5 persons.
13. Sub title should be numbered and separated with 1 space if another sub title appears.
14. The structure of the article should consist of the following:
    a. Title, author, email and the affiliation of the author
       Abstract and key words
    b. Introduction
    c. Method of the writing
    d. Theoritical Framework (the theory used by the author in the writing.) In this case, the author is able to demonstrate the accuracy of the theory used to analyze the problem with accurate arguments.
    e. Discussion (including the analysis from the author on the problem)
    f. Conclusion
    g. Acknowledgement if any
    h. List of References

Authors Obligation

1. Author should be able to show the accuracy of the data in the research done. It should be done honestly to avoid deception and plagiarism.
2. The corresponding author must have the permission from other authors for every publication.
3. Ghost authorships and gift authorships are forbidden, i.e., the author mentions all people without explaining their roles and contributions in helping the research.
4. Originality of the article submitted is the most important thing. Thus, the paper submitted must be original from the author’s work. The author wants to submit the previous article that has not been published yet for some reasons, the materials used needs to be renewed to have different perspective and result. Therefore it will be different from the previous version.

5. All material which is based on prior work, including from the same authors, must be properly attributed to the prior publication by proper citation.

6. The Authors must fairly and honestly mentions the sources of the data used/cited in the article including the theoretical foundation or references as the basis of the analysis.

7. The author is permitted to make academic criticism based on accurate academic arguments and on the contrary is strictly forbidden to make personal criticism.

8. The research itself, as reported in the manuscript, should have been conducted in accordance with commonly accepted ethical standards.

9. The authors have the obligation to notify the editor immediately should any of the statements in this list cease to be true.

Publication Ethic and Malpractice Statement

Heritage of Nusantara is a peer-reviewed international journal. The Journal is available in print and online and is published twice in a year. This statement is based on COPE’s Best Practice Guidelines for Journal.

The Board of Research of the Ministry of Religious affairs of the Republic of Indonesia as the publisher of this journal, will takes all the responsibilities for all the process of the publication of the journal. The committee appointed by the Board of Research will be independent in making editorial process of the article. Any financial policies from the Board of Research will have not any impact at all on editorial decisions.
Publication decisions

The editor of the Heritage of Nusantara has the authority to select the article to be published in the Heritage of Nusantara. However, it is worth noting that the authority is based on academic responsibility to present high academic standard of International Journal. It is for that reasons, the heritage of Nusantra has some criteria in making the academic rules.

Fair play

The board of the editors will treat all the articles submitted fairly by disregarding the race, gender, sexual orientation, religious belief, and ethnic origin, citizenship, or political philosophy, gender, religious belief of the authors. Further, the board of the editors will stick to the agreed rules to give equal treatment to all those who want to submit the paper.

Confidentiality

The editor and any editorial staff must keep all the data and any relevant information concerning the data, author and reviewers confidential to avoid bias in the process of judging the article.

Disclosure and conflicts of interest

To keep the intellectual property rights of the author, the editor will not use the unpublished material without the permission from the author formally in written letter.

Duties of Reviewers

The reviewers are supposed to help the editors to give valuable comment on the article to make it easy for the editor to select the appropriate paper to be published in the journal. As for the Peer reviewer, help the editor by building communication with the author for the betterment of the article.

Time

All the reviewers are hoped to pay a great attention to the time decided for the collection of the paper after being reviewed. Under special circumstances, for example the reviewers need more time or
cannot perform the duty to review the article, and have an objection or excuse concerning the time, should notify the editors.

**Confidentiality**

Any manuscripts received for review must be treated as confidential documents. They must not be shown to or discussed with others except as authorized by the editor.

**Objectivity**

Reviews must give an objective comments and critics on the quality of the article and not on the author’s personality. It is worth noting that the comments and critics given should be based on academic arguments.
نوسانتارا
مجلة دولية لبحث المؤلفات والتراث dvd
السنة الثالثة، العدد 1، 2014

المجرور:

لقد أظهرت هذه المقالة (The illuminated frontispiece - folios 1 verso-2 recto) الصورة (The Idea of an Old Qur’an Manuscript: On the Commercialization of the Indonesian Islamic Heritage) في بحثه الفيماي الذي أعدته المهندسة عبد الرحمن عزة عبد الرؤف (وزارة الشؤون الدينية الإندونيسية) في جائزة الرائدية في النشر والاتصال بحثاً حول تطور التحرير في البلدان الإسلامية، وخصوصاً في إندونيسيا، حيث تم اقتراح تخصيص مساحات خاصة في المجلات والمواد الإعلامية لتعزيز الوعي بهذه الخصائص.

وتذكر النُهج الذي اتخذه النُهج، نستنير، للمجلات الحالية في الماضي، حيث كانت تبث في النشرات والكتب، وهي تثير الاهتمام بالمناهج والرسائل الدينية، وتُدرّب على التفكير والمحاضرة في جامعات الدول الإسلامية.

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www.heritage.lektur.kemenag.go.id
نوسامنتارا
مجلة دولية لبحث المؤلفات والتراث الديني
السنة الثالثة، العدد 1 ، 2014
The Idea of an Old Qur'an Manuscript: On the Commercialization of the Indonesian Islamic Heritage
Edwin Wieringa

The Role of Wali, Ancient Mosques and Sacred Tombs in the Dynamics of Islamisation in Lombok
Erni Budiwanti

The Role of Indonesian National Library in Preserving and Disseminating Manuscripts
Alfida

Chinese Muslim Predicament in Indonesia's Post Reformation
Zainal Abidin Eko Putro

The History of Muslims and Christians in Papua: Tracing Cultural and Religious Heritage
Cahyo Pamungkas

Three Writers of Arabic Texts in Yogyakarta
Muhammad Murtadho

Misinterpretation of Qur'anic Verses on the “Islamic” Jihad
Choirul Fuad Yusuf

عامة المبقات
ف. الحضارة العربية والإسلامية ودوره في المجتمع الإسلامي
‘Ilmul Miqāt fil Ḥādāratil ‘Arabiyyah wal Islamiyyah wa Dauruhu fil Mujtama‘il Islāmi
Arwin Juli Rakhmadi Butar-Butar