

他鄉是故鄉：

跨越族群的印尼華人文化與藝術家

華人在印尼社會中的經濟表現，受學界注目已深，如印尼研究學者拉佛士(Raffles)道：「華人是印尼國家商業的主軸與靈魂。」而印尼華人對表演藝術文化的影響，同樣扮演舉足輕重的角色，然後者光環經常為其商貿成績所奪。對於印尼華人而言，表演藝術活動不僅為建構社群脈絡的基礎，更是發展文化認同的重要媒介。又如印尼民族音樂學者蘇瑪山(Sumarsam)所言：「爪哇(Jawa)藝術與文學藉華人出版商得以出版流傳，而支持與維護傳統音樂與戲劇，華人更是不遺餘力。」故本紀錄片除呈現華人在異鄉政治社會環境中如何傳承自身表演藝術，更論及其對當地文化發展的貢獻。事實上，華人遷徙至印尼並扎根日久，印尼斯土已從當年的「他鄉」轉為「故鄉」，透過凝視以表演藝術為載體的文化認同，本紀錄片試圖從中勾勒印尼在華人心中的「他鄉」與「故鄉」變化輪廓。

一、他鄉是故鄉還是異鄉：印尼華人移民史與文化認同

根據爪哇史料記載，西元十世紀初始有華人定居於爪哇，而阿拉伯人麻素提(Al-Masudi)所著《黃金牧地》(“The Prairies d’ Oryx”)亦提及，華人為避九世紀末黃巢兵火而卜居耕植蘇門達臘(Sumatra)的巨港(Palembang)。十五世紀初，明成祖派遣鄭和領艦出航時，已見許多華人居於爪哇與蘇門達臘。真正大量華人移民印尼主要有三梯次，分別為十五世紀明初艦隊、十九世紀清末鴉片戰爭與二十世紀上半葉的第二次世界大戰。故自李唐來，華人因遠離戰爭、窮困、飢荒與災難，顛沛流離地踏上印尼這片沃土，時間已有千年之久。

荷蘭殖民時期將居於印尼者分作三類：歐洲人、亞洲移民與印尼當地人(pribumi)，華人、印度人與阿拉伯人同屬亞洲移民，如此政策致使華人與印尼當

地人產生隔閡。由於華人刻苦耐勞與擅長經營管理的特性，部份印尼華人為荷蘭「聯合東印度公司(Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, V.O.C.)」所用，允許從事土地租借權操作、金融借貸與當舖等行業，進而控制農村經濟，成為聯合東印度公司與印尼農村之間的重要中介者。然華人數量漸多，影響荷蘭在印尼的利益，種下 1740 年屠戮華人的「紅溪慘案(Massacre Kali Angke)」遠因。華人居荷蘭人與印尼人之間作為中介者的尷尬地位，在十九世紀初荷蘭政府取代聯合東印度公司而直接統治印尼後仍是如此。1949 年，荷蘭將政權轉交印尼政府，雙方協議供印尼華人兩年時間重新宣示國籍，其中或回歸中國籍、或認雖具華人血脈然居此長久已是印尼之子而選擇印尼籍。

事實上，印尼華人不僅關心民族認同，更在乎文化認同。印尼華人身處如此艱困的社會環境中，嘗試延續自身文化，來自原鄉的表演藝術非光玩賞娛樂之用，乃是文化認同的象徵體系。建立華人社群文化體系同時，融入印尼當地的文化系統，並因個人喜好或社會環境而全力維護當地傳統藝術，呈現對「故鄉」印尼斯土斯民的文化乃至國族認同。

二、千絲萬縷：新秩序時期前的華人文化互動與表演藝術

撇除政治經濟層面的扞格，華人藝術文化在印尼並無產生太多齟齬。雙向交流的結果促使族裔關係融洽，印尼華人與當地人彼此珍賞、展演乃至維護對方的藝術文化，其例多矣。在梭羅宮廷(Keraton Surakarta)，曾有一位受封高級親王爵位(Kanjeng Panembahan Hargjonagara)的華人，名為吳德軒(Go Tik Swan)，其對爪哇蠟染(batik)、宮廷文化與表演藝術的貢獻功不可沒，因此當年在位的梭羅蘇南王(Sri Susuhunan)帕古布沃諾十二世(Pakubuwono XII)，將吳德軒提升到與自己幾乎相同等級的地位，以表彰此崇高成就，至今仍為人津津樂道。此外，根據梭羅宮廷檔案記載，華人的表演藝術如戲曲、布袋戲、舞獅與鞭炮煙火，十九世紀時曾於宮廷表演，是為彼時一大盛事。民間方面，廣受觀眾喜愛的「人戲(wayang

wong)」跨越族裔藩籬，作為爪哇自身的表演藝術，伴奏樂隊仍是傳統甘美朗(gamelan)，劇團擁有者為荷蘭人，而行銷管理的則由華人負責，如此劇團形式在當年非常普遍，甚至曾有全由華人組成的人戲劇團，例如梭羅全民公會(Perkumpulan Masyarakat Surakarta, P.M.S.)下設的劇團，極高實力而成為該地表演藝術文化中堅力量。

中爪哇另一文化古都日惹(Yogyakarta)亦是如此，1920 年代在位的日惹蘇丹王(Sri Sultan)哈芒古布沃諾八世(Hamengkubuwono VIII)以雅好藝術聞名，出身自宮廷皮影戲藝術培訓中心(Hanganakake Biwara Rancangan Dalang)的華人操偶師江段新(Gan Twan Sing)在此氛圍下，創造出結合爪哇皮影戲(wayang kulit)表演模式、雜糅華人布袋戲與爪哇皮影戲形制之戲偶以及華人傳奇故事的「爪哇華人皮影戲(wayang cina jawa，簡稱 wacinwa)」，一時廣為流傳，吸引印尼華人與爪哇人的目光。此外，著名的華人表演藝術家、企業家 Hamzah Sulaiman(華名 Tan Jin Ham，譯為陳仁漢，藝名 Raminten)，與日惹蘇丹王哈芒古布沃諾十世(Hamengkubuwono X)為孩提玩伴，因此自幼即獲准進入日惹宮廷(Keraton Yogyakarta)學習表演藝術，舞蹈(joged)、人戲與爪哇舞台劇(ketoprak)無一不精，學成後除登台展演，亦將爪哇傳統表演藝術傳習推廣視為畢生志業，成立教學中心培育新血。

學者蘇瑪山描述，爪哇甘美朗、戲劇、舞蹈與文學化為印尼華人生活中不可或缺組成。華人喜愛爪哇皮影戲、杖頭傀儡戲(wayang golek)與面具舞劇(wayang topeng)，亦好收藏爪哇甘美朗樂器與皮影戲偶，並提供予當地因經濟窘困故未有能力購買者排練與演出之用，甚至直接出資組織甘美朗樂隊、學習甘美朗，或維護宮廷祭儀舞蹈貝多優(bedhaya)。華人廟宇(kelenteng)每逢節日舉行慶典，廟埕的酬神戲並不侷限於布袋戲，爪哇皮影戲與甘美朗也是其中常見的表演藝術型態。相對地，華人的布袋戲與舞獅頗受當地人青睞，除欣賞外，因愛好而投入展演者有之，形成傳習華人表演藝術的風尚。印尼華人與爪哇人互相學習，

交織出族群間因表演藝術而不分你我的璀璨景象。

三、政治烈焰中的禁錮與消融：

新秩序反共排華政策下的華人處境與藝術文化

印尼建國後，印尼共產黨(Partai Komunis Indonesia，PKI)勢力日益壯大，總統蘇卡諾(Sukarno)的左傾親共立場更是招致軍方的猜忌。總統親信翁東(Untung Syamsuri)中校連同共產陣營於 1965 年九月三十日調兵欲先發制人，捕殺親美的高階將領，史稱「九三零事件(Gerakan 30 September)」。其中親美軍事強人蘇哈托(Suharto)趁弭平亂事之際拉抬個人威望，擊敗翁東軍隊並開始血腥肅共，期間約有二十萬人被冠上共產黨員之名而慘被殺害。1966 年三月十一日，蘇哈托對蘇卡諾發動兵諫後，蘇卡諾總統之銜名存實亡，大權落入蘇哈托手中，後者於 1967 年三月擔任代理總統，蘇卡諾下野並馬上被軟禁，印尼進入「新秩序時代(一說從 1965 年九三零事件開始)」，1968 年經臨時人民議會選舉，蘇哈托正式擔任總統。印尼華人亦在此時遭羅織指控支持印尼共產黨而受池魚之殃，屠戮凌虐等事層出不窮，其悲劇直到 1998 年蘇哈托辭職才落幕。

彼時中共為世界第二大共產陣營，蘇哈托甫掌大權即凍結與中華人民共和國的外交關係，並打壓印尼華人的生存空間：1966 年頒布命令根除華語、關閉華校與解散華社等，1967 年第十四號總統令更進一步全面禁止印尼華人公開慶祝華人節慶活動與舉行宗教祭儀，唇齒相依的華人表演藝術文化迅速沒落。

新秩序時代，佛教列入印度文化系統而非華人文化，故不在掃蕩行列，儘管華人廟宇在佛教信仰的庇蔭下能夠保留與發展，然其它華人藝術文化如布袋戲、戲曲與舞獅等，無可避免地遭受打壓，印尼警察經常干擾或取締華人傳統戲劇表演。如此環境中，布袋戲在戲偶形制、音樂伴奏與故事內容不動的前提下，語言由華語轉為印尼語、偶師與樂師由華人轉為爪哇人，且表演場域僅限於華人廟

宇，不得公開演出。印尼華人布袋戲操偶師僅有張忠義(Thio Thiong Gie)，在新秩序時代仍堅持演出與推廣，故被捕下獄數次。就以前述提及的布袋戲、戲曲與舞獅為例，布袋戲因華人廟宇的保護傘及印尼當地人的參與才得以倖存，戲曲與舞獅則不若布袋戲幸運，此二者在新秩序時代幾乎完全銷聲匿跡。

印尼華人與當地人在政治經濟層面的恩怨，自荷蘭殖民時期萌芽，在新秩序時代因政府煽動而燃為烈焰，族裔對立益發嚴重，使華人陷入更艱難的處境，甚至成為蘇哈托用以轉移政治焦點或貪汙指控的代罪羔羊。在這塊因已居住長久而從「他鄉」轉化為「故鄉」的印尼土地上，印尼華人卻因政治因素儼然成為失根的蘭花。1997、1998 年金融風暴席捲亞洲，印尼未可倖免，國內民生凋零加上蘇哈托家族金錢腐化，大批學生上街頭要求蘇哈托負責，軍隊朝抗議群眾開槍使事件越演越烈，此時華人再次成為轉移焦點的代罪羔羊，從抗議政府失能演變為由蘇哈托策動的排華事件，印尼華人死傷與遭受強暴之人數眾說紛紜，十萬到五十萬不等，財產損失更是難以估計，該悲劇史稱「1998 黑色五月排華暴亂(Kerusuhan Mei 1998)」。其後，蘇哈托被迫辭職下台，結束長達三十二年的印尼華人黑暗史，經由繼任者的努力，華人文化於焉重見天日。

四、百花再次盛開：革新重建至今的華人文化與表演藝術發展

1998 年，印尼副總統哈比比(Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie)接替蘇哈托行使總統職權，印尼進入革新重建時期，籠罩在印尼華人身上的政治陰影亦逐漸褪去，華人文化撥雲見日，得以再次發展。首先，哈比比於 1999 年頒布第四號總統令，廢止限制華語補習班的政策，而具有華人血統的瓦希德(Abdurrahman Wahid)於同年當選總統，全面開放華語，更在 2000 年簽署第六號總統令，撤銷 1967 年嚴禁印尼華人公開慶祝華人節慶活動與舉行宗教祭儀的第十四號總統令，因其對族群和諧的貢獻，印尼華人敬稱其為「華人之父」。梅嘉瓦蒂(Megawati Sukarnoputri)於 2001 年繼任印尼總統，隔年頒布第十九號總統令，將華人新年(Imlek，陰曆年)

定為國定假日，在印尼文化多元的環境中是為創舉，此後，華人文化與節日受到重視，每逢新年與元宵節(Cap Go Meh，十五暝)皆有跨越族群的盛大慶祝活動。

新秩序時代結束後，印尼華人宗教節日與表演藝術文化的盛況，於焉回復當年榮景。在華人節日元宵節裡，大街上的舞龍舞獅表演與鑼鼓鑊鈸聲在群眾的歡呼中火熱進行，其中表演者大多為印尼當地人，軍方亦派出藝術隊伍共襄盛舉，一派歡樂和諧。布袋戲亦走出廟宇，爪哇偶師與樂師以印尼語念白與華人音樂伴奏，為台下的觀眾搬演一齣齣精彩的華人傳奇故事，布袋戲終於再次呈現在公開場合，也因戲劇語言的轉換，使印尼人更能接受並喜愛布袋戲此一劇種。1920年代出現的爪哇華人皮影戲在新秩序時代沒落後，從印尼藝文界與觀眾的記憶中被完全抹去，如今在印尼華人以及當地的博物館、學者與操偶師的努力下重見天日，除了華人富商邀請演出外，當地觀眾亦為其吸引。其它如泉州南管、八音或華樂，終於再現於印尼斯土，喜好者有之、傳習者有之，成為印尼音樂文化中的養分。

而華人對於印尼傳統表演藝術文化的貢獻，與華人自身的表演藝術開成互相交根的雙葩。廟宇前的中秋盛會，人們熙來攘往彼此寒暄，爪哇語皮影戲唱誦與甘美朗樂聲悠揚在廟埕中，華人廟宇邀請知名爪哇皮影戲團隊臨廟演出。不光節日，平時華人對爪哇傳統藝術即多有關注與贊助，諸如爪哇皮影戲、甘美朗、杖頭傀儡戲、面具舞劇、人戲、宮廷舞蹈與爪哇舞台劇，或文學出版、蠟染工藝、繪畫藝術與古劍(keris)鑄造，皆能看到華人參與在其中的影子，更甚者不僅金錢支持，而是親身學習或組織團隊以推廣，成為印尼傳統藝術傳習發展的重要力量，非僅敦親睦鄰來拉近族裔彼此間的關係，華人亦以此表顯個人藝術愛好與文化認同，「印尼已是我們的『故鄉』，愛護、傳承『故鄉』的藝術是我們的使命。」

五、結語

革新重建二十餘年來，印尼華人表演藝術掙開束縛，重新立足於此「故鄉」，

布袋戲、舞獅、戲曲與華人音樂再次被展演，並受印尼觀眾喜愛，甚至展現學習欲望。在欣賞與傳習的過程中，文化藝術的影響力跨越、打破族裔之間的隔閡，進而化解衝突，促成彼此珍視、互相守護的社會氛圍。正如日惹國立印尼藝術大學(Institut Seni Indonesia Yogyakarta)副教授 Hanggar Budi Prasetya 所言：「對我來說，我並不會特別去區分，此乃華人文化、彼為爪哇文化，尤其是藝術，藝術是使族裔之間能夠共同生活、互相理解，進而交融合一的媒介，所以所謂爪哇族裔也可以學習華語、學習華人表演藝術比方說布袋戲，而華裔也可以藉著這樣的過程與他們更加貼近、和睦相處，因為我們與印尼的華人族群已經不能切割的共同體。當權者對於族裔的劃分與差別待遇，都是出自於政治的盤算與考量，就平民的日常生活的角度看來，我們完全無法苟同這樣的作法，因為大家都是有權生活在這個國度裡的人，不論宗教也好、族裔也好，都已在印尼的國度裡長久存在，我們有權捍衛我們的朋友，一起在這塊土地上安居樂業。」印尼華人表演藝術大師 Didik Nini Thowok(華名 Kwee Tjoen An，譯為郭俊安)也如此精闢論道：「喜愛印尼文化理當無關政治或是否為華裔，重點是身為一位爪哇人，你能夠為爪哇文化發展作些什麼。我想不應只是由華裔爪哇人出錢資助，然後由爪哇人來表演。應該是以發自內心的想認識了解印尼傳統文化，並且真誠地與印尼爪哇人建立起友誼的橋樑為出發點，如此心態行事才有意義。」藉表演藝術展現地文化認同因族群和諧而綻放美麗花朵，深深扎根於印尼斯土，千年來幾經風霜寒雪，最終攜手走進春天，「他鄉」，實實在在地成為華人安身立命的「故鄉」。

(撰述：蔡宗德、陳聖元。)

As Foreign Land Becomes Home Land :

The Chinese Indonesian Culture and Artists that Break Through the Ethnic Barriers

To the growing economics of the society, the role of those Chinese people who live in Indonesia is important and crucial from the view of the local scholars. “The Chinese people are the backbone as well as the soul of Indonesia’s business industry.” as the scholar of Indonesian studies, Raffles commented. However, the influence of the Chinese Indonesian on the country’s performance art is inevitably underestimated or left outshined by the spotlight on the business field. According to the words from the Indonesian ethnomusicologist Sumarsam: “On one hand, the art and literature of Java is passed down with the Chinese publishers. On the other and, the Chinese also do their best effort to support and save the traditional music and theatre arts.”

This documentary film is not only going to show how the “Chinese Indonesians” devote themselves to the local cultural development, but also to see how they keep on with their own traditions of performance art in a foreign society. Focusing on the cultural identity through the media of performance art, this documentary expects to capture the progressive image of Indonesia through the experiences of the Chinese who have migrated and lived there since several centuries ago: it’s about the history, and it is about the present; it is their foreign land, and it is their home land.

I. The Foreigner, The Homeland, and The Native-Alieanated Nostalgia: The Immigration History and Cultural Identity of Chinese Indonesian

According to the research data of Java history, the Chinese had inhabited there ever since the beginning of 10th century. Similar description can be found in the book “The Prairies d’Or” written by the Arabic author, Abu-l-Hasan Ali El-Masudi, who explains that some Chinese community settled down at Palembang in Sumatra for staying away from the war that broke out at the end of the 9th century. By the time when Zheng-He’s voyage sailed abroad under the order of the 3rd King of Ming Dynasty at the beginning of the 15th century, there had been a number of Chinese people living in Java and Sumatra. The population of Chinese Indonesian increased mainly in the following three periods along with Zheng-He’s fleet of Ming-dynasty ships in early 15th century, the Opium War of Chin-Dynasty in 19th century, and World War II in the first half of the 20th century. In short, the Chinese had been immigrating to the “heavenly” Indonesia for surviving from the war, poverty, hunger, and disaster ever since thousands of years before.

During the Dutch Colonial Period, the authority identified the Indonesian inhabitants with three different categories: the European, the Asian immigrants (including Indian, Arabian, and Chinese), and the *pribumi* (Indonesian natives). This identification mode gradually cracks down a social gap between the Chinese Indonesians and the Indonesian natives because of its political differentiation. In order to make use of the hardworking character and the management capability of Chinese Indonesians, the “Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, V.O.C.”, which is known as the Dutch colonial authority, permitted the privilege of the Chinese to take care of the business on sale and lease of farming lands, the loan service of banks, as well as running pawnshops.

The practical achievements turned the role of the Chinese Indonesian into the mediator between the Indonesian rural areas and the V.O.C., while this political

approach served the authority adequately to bring the rural economic under control. However, the growing influence of the Chinese Indonesian population gradually became a threat to the benefit of the V.O.C., and this captivating concern finally got infiltrated into the critical cause of the “Massacre Kali Angke” tragedy, the massacre of Chinese Indonesians in 1740. No enhancement was granted to the suspended social status of the Chinese Indonesians even after the ruling power over Indonesia got transferred from V.O.C. to the Dutch government. In 1949, as the Dutch government handed over the regime of Indonesia back to the Indonesians, the two contracted a bill as the solution on the issue about Chinese Indonesians, who had to make a choice upon their own national identity within two years. One could either reclaim himself/herself as a citizen of China, or stand with the land where he or she and their ancestors were born, in other words – officially become an Indonesian.

The Chinese Indonesians not only concern about the national identity issue but also the survival of their own cultural identity. They have to inherit cultural traditions of their homeland China while living in a hardship among indigenous social tensions. On one hand, the performances arts of Chinese-origin could be seen as a way to save the civil symbols of their old homeland rather than just a form of entertainment. On the other hand, there are also extended adaptation and integration between the aura of the Chinese arts and Indonesia’s indigenous arts. In addition to the motivation of some personal preferences and the social interaction, the syncretism of arts also represents the cultural and the national identity of the Chinese Indonesian community with their new motherland. Eventually, the Chinese art expression build up their own flourishing character as well as their new social roles with roots of immigration and the trans-acculturation of local culture.

II. Banding Together in Complex:

The Performance Art and Cultural Interaction of Chinese Indonesians Before “*Zaman Orde Baru*, The New Order Era”

Beyond the political and economical difficulties that the Chinese Indonesians confront with, the Chinese art and culture proceed in Indonesia without hindrance. Through the communication and devotion in the realm of art, the social relationship between the Chinese Indonesians and the native Indonesians is established with mutual respect and appreciation; they would learn to perform each other's art, and even make efforts to the preservation of each other's cultural heritage.

There are many examples of this interactive balance. By devoting numerous contributions to the *batik* of Java, royal culture, and local performance art, once in Keraton Surakarta, a Chinese named Go Tik-Swan received a highly-honored noble rank “Kanjeng Panembahan Hargjonagara” from the Pakubuwono XII (Sri Susuhunan), who granted Go Tik-Swan the status as aristocratic the Prince in honor to all his dedications to art.

Also, according to the relative documents of Keraton Surakarta, there used to be a variety of traditional Chinese arts performing in the palace during the 19th century, such as *xiqu*, *wayang potehi*, *barongsai*, and setting firecrackers for celebration. As for the communication of art in folk life, the organization of *wayang wong* is a typical cross-cultural accomplishment. It is an indigenous theatrical performance art of Java with traditional *gamelan* accompaniment, but at the time being, it's very common to see in the *wayang wong* theatrical troupe that the owner comes from Dutch and the Chinese is in charge the marketing management. Speaking of the impressively excellent case under the direction of “Perkumpulan Masyarakat Surakarta, P.M.S.”,

the crew even consists of Chinese members only.

Similar story could be found at Yogyakarta, a old and historical capital in Middle Java. In 1920, it was Hamengkubuwono VIII as known as the Sultan of Yogyakarta who ruled over the big city where all the citizens had heard of the Sultan's decent fascination in art. Meantime, a well-trained Chinese puppeteer named Gan Twan Sing graduated from the Indonesia Royal Learning Center for Shadow Puppet "Hanganakake Biwara Rancangan Dalang." The subtle urge of the Yogyakarta's atmosphere brought up the possibility for "Gan the Puppeteer" to create a new way of performance *wayang cina jawa (wacinwa)* by combining the puppet features of Chinese *wayang potehi* with Java *wayang kulit* to tell folktales of Chinese legends and history. The *wacinwa* became very popular at the moment, as it caught both the eyes of the Indonesians and the Chinese Indonesians.

After decades, another memorable story took place in Yogyakarta. Being one of the childhood playmate with Hamengkubuwono X a.k.a. the present Sultan of Yogyakarta, Hamzah Sulaiman (also known as Tan Jin Ham in Chinese and Raminten as his stage name) was allowed to learn in the royal palace Keraton Yogyakarta where he started to specialize in the traditional Indonesian arts including theatre performance, *joged* (dance), *wayang wong*, and *ketoprak*. To Hamzah Sulaiman, the promotion and the preservation of Indonesia's art heritage are the goal of his life. On top of throwing shows on the stage, Sulaiman have established different learning centers for the cultural and art education for the next generation.

In the research of the Indonesian ethnomusicologist Sumarsam, it is said that the devotion on *gamelan*, the theatre performance, dance and literature fills up the life of Chinese Indonesians. With their great passions on a variety of Indonesia's traditional arts including Java *wayang kulit*, *wayang gokek*, and *wayang topeng*, the Chinese

Indonesians have made many valuable contributions.

For example, they would offer the native artists who can not afford the equipments of performance with their own shadow puppet or *gamelan* instrument collections for free, and they gave financial support to the *gamelan* ensemble, and even learn to play the music themselves. Moreover, they have made efforts on the preservation of *bedhaya*, the ritual dance in royal palace. Last but not the least, despite of the Chinese traditional arts like *wayang potehi*, the *wayang kulit* and *gamelan* were equally welcomed as part of the god celebration program in the Chinese temple *kelenteng* during important festivals. On the other hand, the Indonesia natives also contributed their own appreciation and even participation in the Chinese art perforamance such as *wayang potehi* and *barongsai*. The Jave Indonesians and the Chinese Indonesians learned from each other's culture beyond races, and lead to the kinship and prosperity of art together.

III. Out of the Prohibition & Into the Fire: The Predicament of Chinese Art and Culture Under The Exclusion Policy During the New Order

After Independence from Netherlands, the influence of "Partai Komunis Indonesia, PKI" gradually grew stronger in the developing country. The 1st President Indonesia Sukarno met with incredulity from the military force for his political preference on left-wing thoughts and communism. Lieutenant Colonel Untung Syamsuri, a trusted aide of the president, took the preemptive action with a league of communists in the army on Sep. 30th in 1965, arresting and killing high-ranking generals who're pro-America in their political stance. When the incident "Gerakan 30 September" was

under suppression, a skilled man named Suharto raised his reputation on grounds that he defeated the army of Untung Syamsuri and brought about the communists' massacre in return. There were approximately 200 thousand people dead during the massacre under the reason of eliminating communists, including innumerable Chinese Indonesians who were implicated for the groundless accusation of offering support to those PKI political criminals.

On March 11th in 1966, Suharto took over the throne from Sukarno with the force of the army. The next year, the term of Sukarno's service was suspended, and he was immediately under house arrest after Suharto temporarily assumed the office of Indonesia president. Suharto was officially elected as the president by the interim national assembly in 1968 when the "New Order" era of Indonesia launched its start. (Some would recognize the start as 1965 by "Gerakan 30 September.") Throughout series of murder, torture and discrimination, it's not until Suharto resigned in 1998 that the Chinese Indonesians was released from the abyss of misery.

Once Suharto was in charge of Indonesia, he gave his immediate order to break the diplomatic relationship with China, which was the second powerful communist country all over the world. 1966, an Act was launched for the elimination on Chinese language, the closure of Chinese school, and the dissolution of existing Chinese community. Moreover, the 14th executive order was issued in 1967 to ban the Chinese-Indonesians from their identical festival celebration and religious rituals, so that the prosperity of Chinese performance art declined no sooner it lost these bases. In foregone conclusion, the Chinese Indonesians had no choice but to meet with severe persecution under Suharto's ruling of New Order Era.

Because Buddhism was identified as part of the India culture, the Chinese temples *kelenteng* were spared from the elimination policy. Although the space of the

temple were able to keep on with its own development, the traditional Chinese arts that used to take place around the temple were mostly cracked down by the Indonesia police. Under this political circumstance, *wayang potehi* had to bring about its own transformation without any variation on the puppet model, the featured music, or the content of script. The spoken language of *wayang potehi* performance must be thoroughly translated from Chinese into Indonesian, the Chinese puppeteer had to be replaced with Indonesian natives, and, the performance of *wayang potehi* was restricted to be held inside the Chinese temple only. On the contrary, as an Chinese-Indonesian puppeteer who kept doing the performances and promotions of *wayang potehi* openly, the artist named Thio Thiong Gie was arrested and imprisoned for several times. In contrast with the Chinese music theatre and *barongsai* which could barely be performed on stage at the time being, *wayang potehi* made its exception under the shelter of Chinese temple by its intergration and participation of native Indonesians.

Under the enforcement of discriminative politics, the predicament of Chinese Indonesians got tougher and tougher to survive. The more time went by, the more certainly they found their new “homeland” turning into their own “alienated land”. At first, the enmity of native Indonesians grew toward Chinese Indonesian communities for the institutional, economical and political inequality during the Dutch Colonization. Next, it was the authority of New Order Era that fanned the flames of violent raciation; when there were accusations on the bureaucratic corruption or any other dissatisfaction on the government, the president Suharto even could easily shift the blame on the Chinese-Indonesians.

From 1995 to 1996, the global financial crisis swept through East Asia; Indonesia was not spared from its turbulence either. In reaction, numerous citizens

and young students protested on streets for requesting the government's solution on starvation, poverty and Suharto's corruption. The demonstration was getting more and more server after the military opened fire at the crowd, yet again, Suharto intentionally stirred up another massive massacre of Chinese-Indonesians only to save his own skin. The tragedy was called "Kerusuhan Mei 1998," where the dead, injured and raped Chinese Indonesians were roughly estimated from 100 thousands to 500 thousands in total, not to mention the inestimable property loss. Soon after the massacre, Suharto got ejected from the president office. For the Chinese Indonesian, the darkest nights finally came to an end after 32 years of lives under suppression and discrimination; the dawn was going to rise with the efforts of successors.

IV. The Belated Blossoms at the Dawn:

The Development of the Chinese Culture and Performance Art

From "*Reformasi*" Era Up to Now

In 1998, the vice president Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie temporarily took over the leadership of the country at the dawn of "*Reformasi*" Era, where the Chinese culture in Indonesia were finally coming through its own recovery. Firstly, the ban on Chinese language school was officially removed by the 4th executive order of Habibie in 1999, and later in the same year, Abdurrahman Wahid was elected as Indonesia president. As an Indonesian of Chinese descent and also the president of Indonesia, Wahid issued the complete permission on the Chinese language as soon as he became in charge of the country. In 2000, Wahid disqualified the 14th order of Suharto so that the festival celebration as well as the religious rituals of traditional Chinese culture could be publicly and legally performed again in Indonesia. With his contribution to

the harmony among races, the President Wahid was honored as “the father of Chinese overseas” by all the Chinese Indonesian.

As Megawati Sukarnoputri succeeded to the presidency from Wahid in 2001, another important reformation of the country was brought about in the coming year. Through the pioneering 19th executive order of President Megawati, the Chinese New Year was formally identified as one of Indonesia’s national holidays. Therefore, to all citizens of Indonesia, traditional Chinese culture became more and more remarkable with every festival celebration. Regardless of races or nationalities, people enjoyed the major carnival that took place annually around the Chinese New Year *Imlek* and the Lantern Festival *Cap Go Meh*.

Getting over with the depression under the dark cloud of “New Order” Era, the prosperity of Chinese culture in Indonesia came back with its glory. Not only Indonesian natives but even also the armies devoted themselves as performers of traditional Chinese art. For instance, it was such a peaceful sight to see them unified as the marching parade of *barongsai* which was surrounded with the cheering crowds and the overwhelming sound of cymbals and gongs on the street during the celebration of Lantern Festival *Cap Go Meh*. Another obvious change in the new age was that the performing stage of *wayang potehi* no longer stayed limited at the Chinese temple only. Along with the participation and support of Java puppeteers and musicians, the narration spoken in Indonesian went on with traditional Chinese music to tell old Chinese folktales to the public in a variety of places.

Combined with the style of Chinese shadow play in 1920s, the Java *wayang kulit* went through the New Order Era and gradually got forgotten by its audience in the 32 years of performance restriction. With the efforts of local musiems, academic researchers, puppeteers, and Chinese Indonesians, this performance art of traditional

Java culture was finally managed to be available once again. The native audience enjoyed the comeback of *wayang kulit* while rich Chinese businessmen would like to host the show. Various kinds of Chinese music such as *lam kwan*, *bat im*, and *hua yue* restarted their spreading over Indonesia by accompany of appreciators and learners, bringing about the enrichment of indigenous music culture.

Speaking of the development of Chinese art and indigenous art culture in Indonesia, Chinese Indonesians absolutely made important contributions and connections to both of them. On the Moon Festival for example, there would be friendly folks going by in front of the Chinese temple, listening to the *gamelan* and enjoying the performance of *wayang kulit*. The Chinese Indonesians devoted themselves to their own participation or financial investment in the development of indigenous Indonesian arts, including traditional performance arts such as *wayang kulit*, *gamelan*, *wayang golek*, *wayang topeng*, *wayang wong*, *bedhaya*, *ketoprak*, or other arts forms like literature publication, *batik*, painting art, and the forge work on *keris*. The Chinese Indonesians made these efforts not only to build closer relationships with other races, but also to represent their own personal taste of art and their cultural identity, “Indonesia have been our “homeland” for a long time. It is our mission and responsibility to enhance the preservation of our homeland’s art.”

V. Epilogue

It has been over 20 years since Indonesia opened the *Reformasi* Era, where the Chinese performance art culture was no longer staying in bondage on its newly rooted “homeland”. Once again, *wayang potehi*, *barongsai*, and the Chinese music theatre won the heart of the indigenous audience in performances that raised cheering-warm applauses as well as the passions to learn. For the Indonesia society, the influence of

art is not only the key to break down the barriers and conflicts among different races, but also the key for people to shield or care about each other.

The associate professor of “Institut Seni Indonesia Yogyakarta” Hanggar Budi Prasetya responded, “To me, I won’t discriminate the Indonesian cultures of Java from Chinese, especially under the name of art. Art is the media that brings the possibility for different races to understand each other, to live together, and eventually to unite as one. The Java people can learn to speak Chinese as well as dig into the performance art like *potehi*. Through the interactions, the Chinese Indonesians can get closer to the native Indonesians, too. We are already a united community of shared life in our country. Because the racial discrimination was all about the political calculations, it’s impossible for me to agree with it. We all have rights to live in this country. No matter what race we are or what religion we believe, we all have been living in Indonesia since a long, long time ago. We are supposed to fight for the right of our friends. We deserve a peaceful life together in this land.”

In the opinion of Didik Nini Thwok a.k.a. Kwee Tjoen An, one of the grandmasters in Chinese-Indonesian Performing Art: “To appreciate the culture of Indonesia shouldn’t be a political issue. It’s not about the point of being a Chinese or not, either. For me, what you can do for the Javanese-culture as a Javanese people is the key point that matters. I’m not referring to the stories of native Javanese being paid for their traditional art performances with the financial support Chinese Javanese. There could have been more motives to understand the traditional culture of Indonesia; there could have been more original intentions of sincerity on building up friendships with native Indonesians. Those are what make the achievements meaningful.” With the harmony of cultural identity for different races to take faith in, the Chinese performance art blossoms in the land of Indonesia, where once the dark

cloud kept on shutting down, but the Chinese Indonesians held themselves on and on. Through all the struggles and efforts over the past thousand of years, now, it's time when this foreign land really becomes their home land; now, it's coming to the time of dawn.

(Written by Tsai Tsung-te and Chen Sheng-yuan.)