

# Characteristics of Hakka Settlements in the Old Market China Settlement in Tangerang, Indonesia in Early 1902

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## Abstract

*The Pasar Lama Chinatown settlement has differences with other Chinatown settlements in the Tangerang area in terms of settlement patterns, forms of housing and building materials. This difference occurs because the Pasar Lama Chinatown settlement is a settlement formed by the Hakka tribe.*

*The purpose of this study is to identify and find the characteristics of Hakka settlements in the Pasar Lama Chinatown settlement. The research uses a qualitative method with a naturalistic approach. It employs a comparative descriptive method and compares the characteristics of the two Hakka settlements in China and the Pasar Lama Chinatown. The primary data in the form of books, journals and proceedings as well as secondary data in the form of maps, interviews and images are used. The data is used to describe the characteristics and elements of Hakka settlements.*

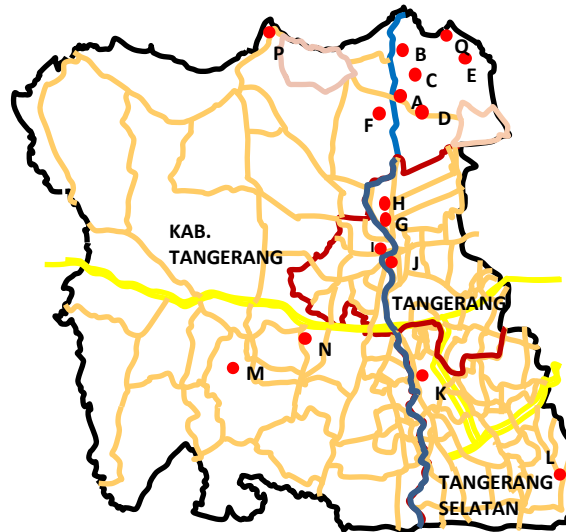
*The findings show that the Pasar Lama Chinatown settlement has the characteristics of the Hakka settlement of the Weilong Wu's house from Guandong, in terms of the visible form of the settlement, facing direction, characteristics of the settlement form, materials and the structure.*

**Keywords:** Chinatown, *Pasar Lama*, Settlements, Hakka.

## Introduction

The *Pasar Lama* Chinatown is located in the center of the city of Tangerang, Indonesia, precisely at the coordinates of 106.36 – 106.42 East longitude and 6.6 – 6 South latitude. Some of the unique things of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown as the object of research are first, the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement has a different settlement pattern from other Chinatowns located along the Cisadane river, Tangerang City (Fig.1). Chinatown settlements in Tangerang Regency generally have a linear sprawl, and organic patterns following the topography, while the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown in Tangerang City has a Grid pattern (Syoufa et al., 2021). Second, ethnic Chinese who come and settle in the archipelago will certainly acculturate architecture,

and language (Darmayanti1 and Bahauddin, 2020). In this case, the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown compared to the Chinatown in the Tangerang district has a different form of residence. In the Tangerang district, a Chinese residential house in the form of a Kebaya house is the result of acculturation from Betawi, Chinese and Javanese cultures which was built with wood material (Puspha, 2017; Alexandra and Khamdevi, 2020). Meanwhile, in the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown, the Chinese residential form has a Chinese architectural form with stone materials. It is assumed that this difference is due to the ethnic differences and the time when the Chinese entered the Tangerang area (Syofa *et al.*, 2021).



**Fig. 01:** Chinatown Settlement Distribution in Tangerang Area

Source: Map redrawn from Google Maps & Purwaningsih, 2015

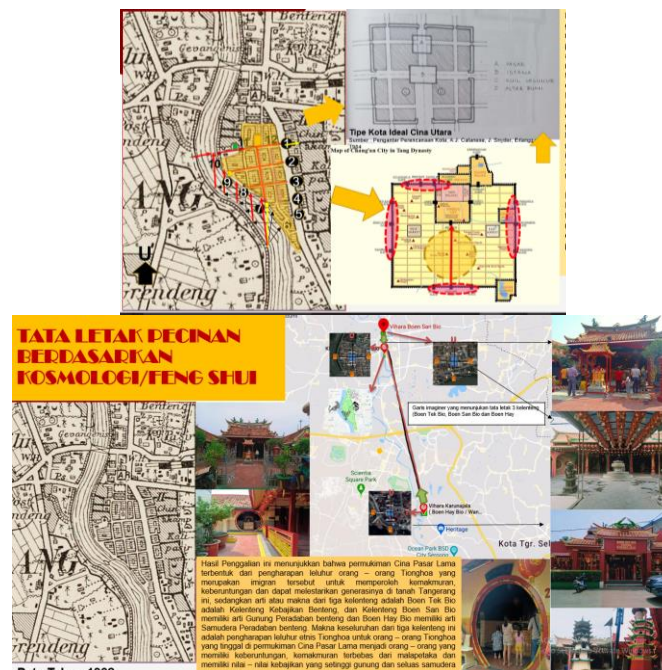
**Table 01:** Several Chinatowns Located on The Banks of The Cisadane River, Tangerang

Source: Field Visits And Research By Luciana Helly, 2015

Kode	Nama Daerah	Keterangan
A	Teluk Naga	It became the first place for the Chinese ethnic groups to be anchored in the Tangerang area, namely the Tje-tje lung boat (Cen Ci Lung), which is currently called the Seliong village, which later spread to the Malay villages and the Muara villages.
B	Tanjung Burung	Based on the writings of Luciana Helly, 2015, the Chinese settlement in Tanjung Burung was an ethnic Chinese arrived from Batavia in 1740.
C	Pangkalan	The spread of the Chinese Ethnic groups in 1407
D	Kampung Melayu	The distribution of the Chinese Ethnic groups in 1407
E	Kampung Muara	The distribution of the Chinese Ethnic groups in 1407
F	Kampung Gaga	Based on the writings of Luciana Helly, 2015, the Chinese settlement in Kampung Gaga is an ethnic Chinese escape from Batavia in 1740.
G	Desa Mekarsari	Based on the writings of Luciana Helly, 2015, the Chinese settlement in Kampung Gaga is an ethnic Chinese escape from Batavia in 1740.

H	Sewan	Based on the writings of Luciana Helly, 2015 and the results of a deep interview, the Chinese settlement in Sewan was an ethnic Chinese escape from Batavia in 1740.
I	Pasar Baru	Based on the results of the deep interview, the Chinese settlement in Pasar Baru was an ethnic Chinese escape from Batavia in 1740 and political events in 1946-1960.
J	Pasar Lama	Based on Tom Pires 1500, and the results of interviews with Chinese figures (Oey TjinEng) in 1600, the arrival time of the ethnic Chinese in the Chinatown settlement of Pasar Lama is not yet known clearly.
K	Pondok Jagung	The spread of the Chinese settlements carried out by the Dutch colonial groups
L	Pondok Cabe	The spread of the Chinese settlements carried out by the Dutch colonial groups.

Third, the settlement pattern of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown has a grid shape that follows the rules of the ancient Chinese city, namely the city of the Tang Dynasty (Djunaedi, 2002) with the direction facing the house East-West and has a philosophical meaning of the letter Kwang which means the King (Purwaningsih, 2015). Fourth, the layout of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown follows the topographic Feng Shui rules (Fig. 2) which have meanings for the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement (Syofa et al., 2021).



**Fig. 2:** The Uniqueness of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown Settlement Pattern

Source: map Leiden.com and Field Data Analysis

The difference in residential forms and settlement patterns between the Chinatowns in the Regency and the city center in Tangerang is due to the differences in the ethnic majority of the constituents. The Chinatown settlements in the Regency are inhabited predominantly by the Hokian ethnicity. The majority of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlements are inhabited by the Hakka ethnicity (Syofa et al., 2021). This is reinforced by a statement (Franke, Salmon and Siu, 1997) which says “the epigraphic material presented below provides interesting information on the Chinese Community from the very beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and shows that there was in Tangerang a Hakka Settlement”. From this statement, it can be understood

that the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement is a settlement formed by the Hakka ethnic community in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The Hakka ethnic communities in Indonesia are located in Kalimantan, Bangka and Surabaya (Anjarsari, 2016; Maghfiroh, 2015; Sugata, 2008). The three areas have a linear settlement pattern which is thought to adapt to the natural conditions in the settlement area. Meanwhile, the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlements form a symmetrical grid pattern. The things mentioned above show the uniqueness of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement pattern which needs to be explored further because it is thought to have some of the same rules as the Chinese Hakka settlements.

Therefore, this study raises the issue of the form of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement pattern which is suspected of adopting or following the rules of the Hakka settlement in the country of origin of China. Thus, the aim of this research is to find out the form of the Hakka settlement patterns formed by the ethnic Chinese in the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement. This study focuses on the pattern of Chinatown settlements in the city of Tangerang. It has the following objectives:

1. To find out the types or categories of Hakka settlements adopted by the Chinese of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown.
2. To find out the rules of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlements which follow the rules of the Hakka settlements in China.

To recognize the novelty of this research, several studies on the pattern of Chinatown settlements and the research conducted on the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlements related to the spatial planning of the area were examined.

### Review of Literature

Ma et al. (2017) reveal that settlement patterns in urban China develop or evolve based on economic conditions, demographics and topography. Meanwhile, L. Shi (2019) sees the differential relationship of settlement patterns with land and water resources. Song and Liu, (2021) found that a land transformation model (LTM) was used to simulate the spatial expansion of rural settlements in China in 2030. Meanwhile, several studies on local settlement patterns conducted by Sugata (2008) revealed that the pattern of Hakka settlements on Bangka Island is different from the architectural form of their ancestors. This happens because the Hakka people on the Bangka Island adapt to the local environment and culture, the need for activity space, construction knowledge, availability of building materials, and community beliefs which have given birth to a distinctive architecture, in each area, including Kampung Gedong.

Mandasari and Nurini (2013) looks at the Peunayong Chinatown settlement, Aceh generally known to be inhabited by the majority of Hakka ethnic Chinese. In this study, it is concluded that the Chinatown settlement pattern is in the form of a grid and still has the characteristics of Chinatown settlements in general such as temples, easy access or road networks with a grid pattern, as well as cultural and trade activities that are unique to the Chinese community. Meanwhile, the settlement pattern of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown (Purwaningsih, 2015) reveal that the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement has a unique shape, pattern and arrangement.

However, Syoufa et al. (2021) found differences in the form of settlement patterns and the form of Chinese settlements in the Regency and City of Tangerang. Franke, Salmon and Siu (1997) point out that the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement has several artifacts from the Hakka ethnicity which are still present and used. Nevertheless, none of the studies mentioned above have discussed the similarities between the patterns of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlements and the Hakka Settlement patterns in Guangdong China. None have discussed the pattern of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlements regarding the characteristics of Hakka settlements in the Old Market Chinatowns.

## Theoretical Ideas

### Hakka Settlements

Three factors influence the behavior and thought patterns of the Hakka ethnicity to produce a behavioral model that limits them or can also be called norms. The norms and background of the formation make ethical Hakka have a strong character. Before discussing the character, let us introduce the Hakka settlements.

Hakka settlement areas are in northern Guangdong, western Fujian, and southern Jiangxi (Ning, 2002). According to Zhijian (2005), the Hakka ethnic group belongs to the Minhai tribe, which was formed due to the following three factors.

1. Language factor: When the Hakka ethnic groups migrated from the North to the South and occupied an area, they made adjustments to the local dialects.
2. External factors: War conditions, invasions by foreign nations in the North and the social upheavals have accelerated the process of forming ethnic ties.
3. Factors related to the natural conditions: Hakka residences are difficult to reach by transportation. It is difficult to convey information from the outside world and people do not communicate with each other for a long time, which breaks the relationship between the Han nationality and other ethnic groups.

Zhiqiang said similarly, that Hakka settlements are based on the concept of a clan system and etiquette. The concept of forming the cohesion of family members. The overall concept of the Hakka people is expressed as equality and continuity, completeness and unity, and distinguishes primary and secondary in the form of their home space.

According to Yuanding & Yanjun (2000), the characteristics of the Hakka people are:

1. The Hakka folk family has direct blood and historical and geographical ties to the ancient central plains and the Han ethnic group and is in the same line as the ancient central plains. Plain culture has a strong concept of patriarchal etiquette and pays attention to clan authority, lineage, and temple rent.
2. Hakka people have a strong sense of ties to the central plains (ethnic Han). They have integrated with the same customs, beliefs, and concepts as the central plains of China (Han Ethnicity). They use the same dialect, showing very strong regionalism.
3. Hakka people have a focus on living together with their families and following patriarchal lines. They also often have strict village community organizations to maintain a harmonious rural community order. They respect their ancestors and pay attention to ethics and morality.
4. In terms of culture, the Hakka community places special emphasis on “cultivating and studying heritage”, attaching importance to cultural education, and having a prosperous culture and talents.
5. In terms of moral concepts, Hakka people refer to orthodox Confucian concepts, emphasizing etiquette and morality, but do not follow religious concepts such as Buddhism and Taoism.
6. In terms of character, Hakka people have the traits of courage, breadth, sincerity, kindness, honesty, faithfulness in speech, and perseverance in behavior. In addition, they also are of a hardworking nature, and study diligently. Being pioneers and having an adventurous spirit are the noble values of the Hakka people.

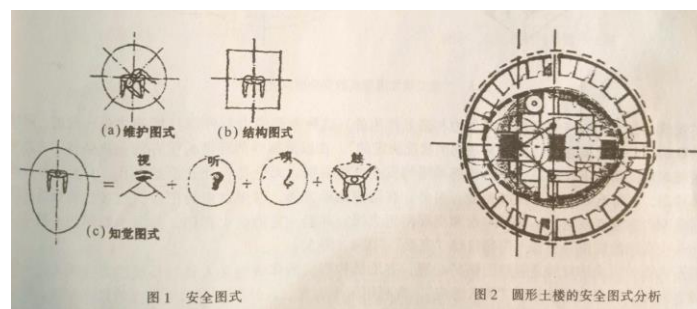
With this strong character, the Hakka ethnic groups form settlements also influenced by geographical, climatic, historical, cultural, and other conditions, resulting in closed settlements. Hakka villages and residences are usually based on the family as a joint unit and adopt a settlement method, with the concept of settlement as self-defense for survival or survival itself. This is also expressed by Lozada, (2003) who says that Hakka settlements, which can accommodate up to 1000 people are designed to accommodate and protect family members. Meanwhile Mogi (2000) says that a Hakka residence is not a single building or a city, but a large residential group and a tangible manifestation of Hakka culture, who are in the



same boat and survive their destiny. Hakka settlements are the residences of one clan and the location of the settlements is next to each other or scattered depending on the topographical conditions. However, one settlement is inter-connected through kinship to another.

The layout of the settlement takes into account the physical conditions of the environment and the mountains or mountains that are used in setting the layout of the settlement (Fig. 3). One of the most important aspects of site selection for Hakka villages and residential buildings is that buildings and villages must use a mountain as a support object and have water or a pond in front of the village (Yuanding & Yanjun, 2000). As stated above, Hakka settlements place a great importance on the topography, climate, and other natural conditions, so that they form settlements based on the image of the human body (Gangyi, 2000). The house is likened to a body, the spring is likened to a lineage, the slope of the land is likened to skin and flesh, grass and trees are hair, the meeting of the house is like clothes and the door is a crown.

In addition to regulating the layout of the Hakka ethnic settlements, it also regulates an environmental security system based on the five human senses. Fig. 4 below explains that the security system is based on the "human body", where human behavior and psychological needs will form a "field" around the human body, which will form an ellipse as an "invisible" cover, so that internal and external forces can reach a relatively balanced state within a certain distance from the human body. This follows the relationship between the circle and the square and the human body, where the circle is referred to as the maintenance scheme of the human body, and the square is the structural scheme of the human body. Structural schemas derived from human actions and perceptions are called schema perceptions, and the three are collectively referred to as security schemas.



**Fig. 3: Hakka Settlement Security Scheme**

Source: Gangyi, 2000

According to Mogi (2000), the architecture of the Hakka residence building is as follows.

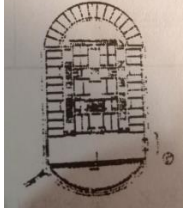

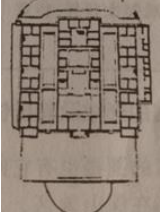
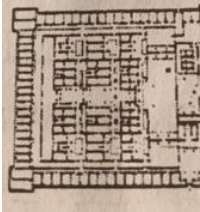
1. The size of the building used by the extended family is large.
2. The thick wall are very high and create a closed defense.
3. The combination of terraces and various housing units makes the layout of the Hakka residential building rich in types.
4. The use of general principles of Chinese architecture is the order and etiquette of space.
5. Buildings adapt to the local climate.
  - Spatial planning and architectural plans reflect Feng Shui principles.
  - Construction methods involve local, regional building materials.
  - Craftsmen, Feng Shui masters, and residents are closely related to the life of the building.
6. The composition of space emphasizes the function of life and production activities.
7. Chinese coat of arms is hidden in the floor plan.

Hakka residential buildings vary from region to region, because as discussed above, they adapt to topographic conditions, climate, language, culture, and other natural conditions. The basic forms of Hakka settlements are square, circle, ellipse, and octagon. Mogi (2000) and

Yuanding & Yanjun (2000) have mapped Hakka settlements, as follows. Table 2 shows the types of Hakka settlements.

**Table 2:** Hakka settlements in Guangdong, Fujian and Jiangxi provinces

Source : Yuanding and Yanjun, 2000

	East and North Guangdong	West and South Fujian		South Jiangxi
Typical shape of the building				
Name	Weilong Building	Tulou (Square,Circle)	Wufeng Building	Weizi
Shape Characteristics	With the hall as the center, the halls are joined horizontally. The center axis is symmetrical, with the Heping in front, and the ridge house or pillow housing behind the pond.	With the hall as the center, the house is built around the hall, which can be rounded. It is surrounded by terraced houses, with round and square buildings. Square buildings have symmetrical axes and round buildings. The ancestral hall acts as the central axis.	With the hall as the center, the hall model is combined horizontally. The center axis is symmetrical, with Heping and Banyue ponds in the front, and the mountains or the hills behind.	With the hall as the center, the house extends on both sides. The middle axis is symmetrical, and the house has two deep and two rows, or three deep and three rows. The shape of the field is in the form of Wang and Gong. Surrounded by multi-layered thick-walled houses, it is surrounded by towers.
Combination Characteristics	The large one has many horizontal and multiple enclosures, such as a double hall and with 1 enclosure, and 3 halls with 4 horizontal and 2 enclosures. 1 Family and 1 Closed House.	Take the earth building as a combined unit, which can be combined with several circular buildings (square buildings), or adjacent circular buildings can be combined.	Built on the sloping land, horizontal houses can be built in the terraces. The roof rises step by step.	Within the square, there is a combination of a king-shaped hall and a gallery house. There are 3 groups of 3 row hall houses and a gallery houses in the big square.
Residential Function	Encounter, half closed, half defense, <u>temple and house become 1</u> .	Encounter, closed, defense, temple and house made 1	Meeting, half closed, temple and house finished 1	Encounter, closed, defense, temple and house made 1
Facing (direction)	In the mountains behind and facing the water, mostly facing North-South direction	In the mountains behind and facing the water, the square building faces North and South, the circular building has	In the mountains behind and facing the water, facing North-South.	In the mountains behind and facing the water, especially facing North-South.

		no direction, and the gate opens to the East or South		
<b>Material and Structure</b>	Earthen walls or brick walls, wooden frames; stone arrangement/foundation.	Separating the wooden frame walls thick soil: stone structure/foundation.	Earth wall, wooden frame, stone structure/foundation.	Separating the wooden frame, thick walls of soil, stone foundations / structures also have stone walls and gravel walls.
<b>Number of Floors</b>	1 floor	Tulou building 3~4 floors, hall on the 1 <sup>st</sup> floor	The main hall entrance is on the 1 <sup>st</sup> floor, The horizontal house can be built layer by layer, and the hall can be built with 3 floors.	Wei house is multi-storey, with a single-story hall.
<b>Region and Environment</b>	Occupies little farmland. Is built on a slope.	Occupies little farmland. Is built on a slope.	Occupies little farmland. Is built on a slope.	Occupies little farmland. Is built in flat area.
<b>Geographical Characteristics</b>	Hilly land area.	Mountain area.	Hilly land area.	Mountain area.
<b>Climate Characteristics</b>	Moist and hot, lot of rain and hurricanes.	Moist and hot, lot of rain and hurricanes.	Moist and hot, lot of rain and hurricanes.	In spring/summer, it is hot, stuffy and can be rainy and humid. Winters are very cold.
<b>Climate and Architecture</b>	Focus on finishing ventilation. Forming a 3 ventilation system that combines hall, terrace and the corridor into 1.	The hall should be ventilated to prevent the North wind in the winter. The living room needs more sunlight.	Focus on finishing ventilation, forming a 3 ventilation system that combines the hall, the terrace and the corridor into 1.	The hall should be ventilated to prevent the North wind in winter. The living room needs more sunlight. Corridors are not blocked, but ventilation can enter the sun. The inner terrace becomes smaller, and the area is small.
<b>Exterior characteristics</b>	The outside is like a majestic chair, restless and depressed.	The exterior is simple and sturdy too.	The outside looks very heavy.	The outside looks deep and solid.

From the table above, it can be seen that Hakka settlements in China have their characteristics. There are several similarities and differences between each of the Hakka settlements above. The equation is

1. The same direction is North–South.
2. Closed and defensive.
3. The residents are oriented on an axis.
4. The Settlements consist of houses, halls, ancestral halls, or temples and corridors.
5. The hall and the ancestral hall are on the first floor and are the orientation of the dwelling.



The differences include:

1. The form of settlements in the form of buildings that are influenced by the geography, climate, and culture of the surrounding area.
2. Number of floors of the building.
3. Layout of dwellings, halls, and corridors.
4. Building materials and construction are influenced by available natural resources, climate, and geographic form.

## Research Methods

This research employs qualitative research methods. It emphasizes critical, detailed aspects that are deep and detailed regarding the settlement pattern of the Old Market Chinatown. It explores the form of the spatial arrangement of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown housing. The *Pasar Lama* Chinatown is based on the Hakka settlement theories described above. The research paradigm is naturalistic because this research is related to social phenomena that must be understood from an inner perspective based on the subject of the actor.

This research method is descriptive–comparative.

Primary data is generated from journals, books, proceedings, and maps. The secondary data comes from field surveys in the form of maps, photos, and interviews with Sinolog and several cultural figures, historians, environmental and temple administrators as well as people who have lived in *Pasar Lama* Chinatown for generations. The maps of 1600, 1800, and 1902 are obtained from the Museum and are analyzed and processed to explain the conditions of the Chinatown settlements at that time. The interview data collected from the sinologist figures are in the form of the characteristics of Hakka settlements and the characteristics of the Hakka community. The community leaders, cultural observers and historians collected data on the history of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown to understand the forms and conditions of settlements in the past.

The map data was redrawn using Autocad and analyzed by providing nodes on the map to explain the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement area and clarify the spatial settlement area. Meanwhile, the documentary data are processed by sorting the information or stories of informants to be able to explain an incident related to the establishment of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement. Documented data such as books, journals, and proceedings are used to analyze the form of the settlement by comparing the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement with the Hakka settlement in Guangdong. A Comparison of the two settlements is made using a table to make it easier to understand.

The purpose of the comparison between the two settlements is to find the similarities and differences in the elements, the forms, and the structures of the settlements. Meanwhile, to find out the shape and time of the formation, map data and the results of interviews with informants in the field were used. The research findings explain the similarity in the form and arrangement of the settlement pattern of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown with the Hakka settlements in Guangdong.

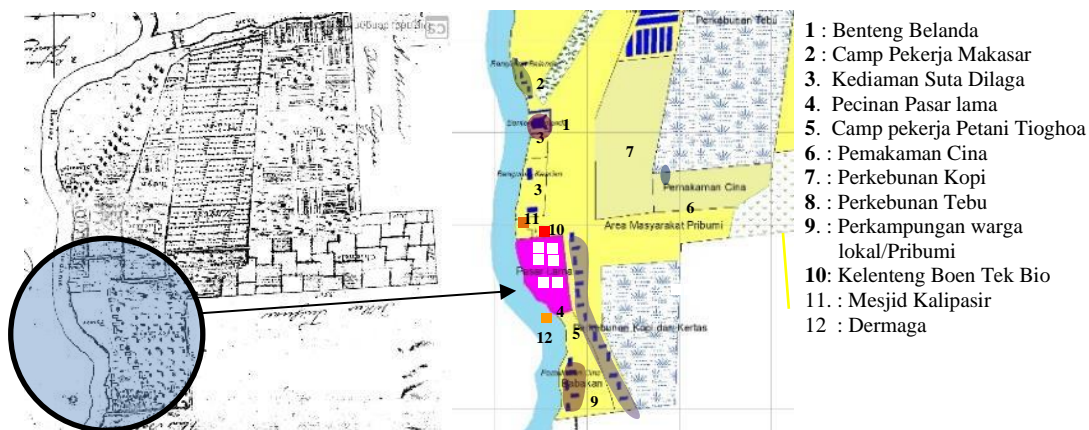
## Findings and the Discussion

### The Beginning of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown Settlement in 1800

To find out the similarities in the form of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement with the Hakka settlement, it is necessary to know the initial form of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement. Based on map searches and interviews with the informant Mr. Oey Tjin Eng, it is understood that the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown began to appear as a community settlement in the early 1800s. The map shows the existence of a *Passer* (market) which is close to the Dutch Fort and plantation areas. The communities and trade in the Tangerang area is also contained in the book *Suma Oriental* written by Tom Pires which says that in 1600, when visiting Tamgaram (the name of the city of Tangerang in the past) there was international trade where there were Chinese, Arab and Indian communities (Wahyudi & Hum, 2019). Based on this, it can be concluded that the Chinese community in Tangerang have existed since 1600, before the Dutch

colonial era. It continued to develop until 1800. The map shows the *Passer* or the market, a temple building, a Dutch fort, Camp Makasar (Makassar Workers Camp), and a camp of Chinese workers (as plantation workers) and the area around Chinatown is plantations, sugar cane, nutmeg, pepper, rubber, and others. In 1800, the houses were settled in the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown along the road connecting the pier and the temple. The street is a market and there are Chinese shop houses facing the street (Fig. 4) (Purwaningsih, Arifin, & Fauzy, 2022).

The results of the study of Lucia Helly's 2020 research and in-depth interviews with informants, a sinologist, Mr. Edi Prabowo Witanto, and Mr. Surikin, the head of the HAKKA museum management at the Taman Mini Indonesia Indah. Mr. Edi Prabowo shows that the housing along the trail was a camp for the Chinese plantation workers.<sup>1</sup> According to him, the Omeladen plantation workers were Chinese. An interview with Pak Surikin regarding the periodization of the Hakka migration out of China and into southeast Asia. The results of interviews with Mr. Edi Prabowo (a Sinologist) and Oey Tjin Eng (Chinese Fortress) show that in 1900, the Tangerang area had been completely controlled by the Dutch Colonial community. Thus, the forts and camps of the Makasar workers as fort workers have been eliminated.

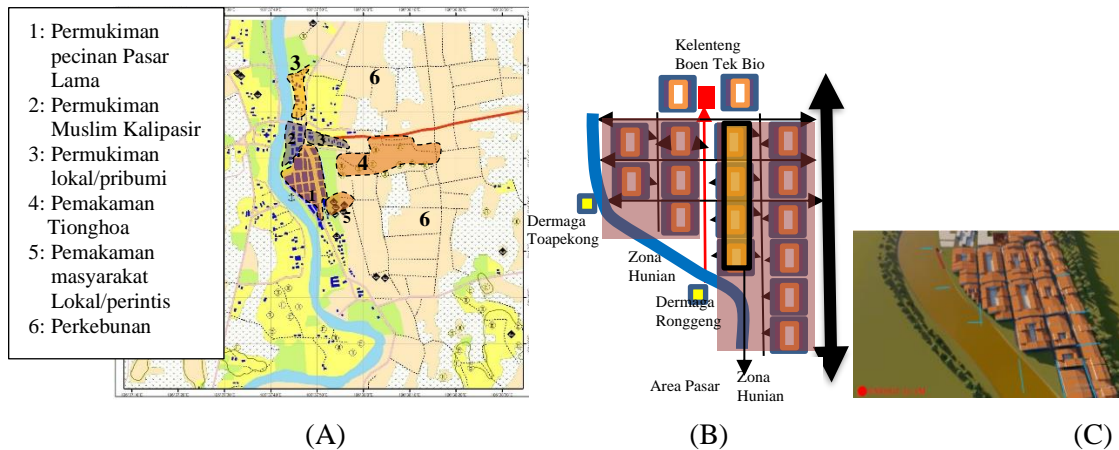


**Fig. 4:** Map 1800 of *Pasar Lama* Chinatown Settlement Land Use Map  
Source: ANRI Map redrawn and processed

### The Formation of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown Settlement as a Compact Settlement in 1900

This settlement continued to develop over time and the development of the Tangerang city area formed a compact settlement on the banks of the Cisadane river in 1900. Based on the 1900 map, the houses in the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown have become increasingly dense and form a grid pattern. Based on a map of 1900, the surrounding area has begun to develop into an indigenous village in the South of Chinatown, across the Cisadane river and the Makassar camp has also turned into an indigenous village (Fig. 5A).

<sup>1</sup> The results of an in-depth interview with an informant, a sinologist, Mr. Edi Prabowo Witanto and Mr. Surikin, a head of the HAKKA museum management at Taman Mini Indonesia Indah. Mr. Edi Prabowo said that the housing along the trail was suspected to be a camp for Chinese plantation workers because according to him generally the omeladen plantation workers were Chinese and based on J.L. Fleming Jr. in his book *Kongsi and Speculation of Chinese Business Networks* which have been adapted by Bob Widyahartono, publisher of PT. Pustaka Utama Grafiti, page 182. The book mentions that the results of the 1922 population census of the Chinese community who worked as farmers and in the forestry sector on the island of Java were only found in Tangerang only

**Fig.5:** Land Use in 1902.

Source: Author

In the image above, it is clear that the form of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement with a grid pattern with the temple is in the middle of the settlement. (Fig. 5B & C). Some of the plantation lands located on the North side of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown have been turned into local/indigenous people's settlements. Meanwhile, on the South and West sides of the Old Market Chinatown, the indigenous villages are growing (Fig.5). In Fig.5 (B) above, it can be seen that the houses in the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown face the road. The road in the settlement forms a grid pattern that is connected and indirectly has an orientation to the temple in the middle of the settlement. Inside the residential area, there is the Cilangkap road which is the axis of the settlement because this road divides the symmetry of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown residential area.<sup>2</sup> The direction of the layout of the temple, and the road that serves as the axis of the settlement are the basis for the alleged resemblance to Hakka settlements. The similarity between the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement and the Hakka settlement in 1900 is also based on the statement of Claudine Salmon who says that “the Epigraphic Material presented below presented interesting information on the Chinese community from the very beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and show that there was in Tangerang a Hakka Settlement” (Franke et al., 1997). Furthermore, Claudine also explains that, based on the epigraphic material in the Boen Tek Bio Temple of the Hakka Ethnic in the Chinatown settlement of *Pasar Lama*, they came from Jiaying, Guangdong, and Pinghe (Fig.6).

**Fig. 6:** Artifacts of the Hakka Tribe in Boen Tek Bio Temple,

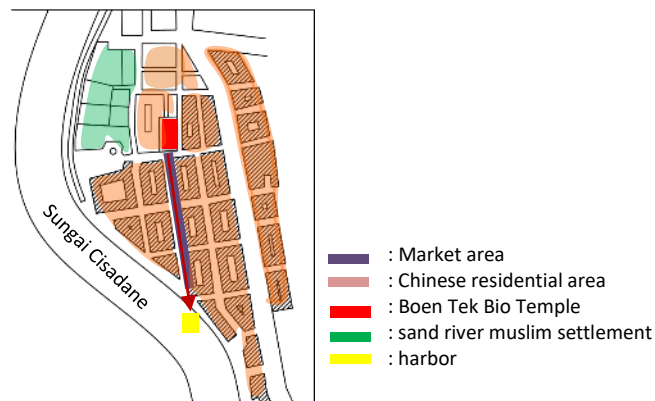
Source: Boen Tek Bio Library

<sup>2</sup> The results of an in-depth interview with Oey Tjin Eng, a Benteng Chinese figure who once lived in the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown who told the condition of the Chinatown Old Market Settlement in the past based on experience and information that he knew from generation to generation..

### Similarities between the Pasar Lama Chinatown and the Hakka Settlement

The characteristics of the Hakka settlements in the Pasar Lama Chinatown are already evident from the things that have been mentioned previously; namely the direction facing into the settlement, having a residential axis road, and the layout of the temple in the middle of the settlement indirectly becoming the center of orientation for houses in the Old Market Chinatown. The direction of facing the house into the settlement makes this settlement closed. According to Meizhou civil society research, Hakka houses are closed out and opened in. The hallmark of Hakka settlements that distinguishes them from other settlements is the placement of an open courtyard or hall with residential houses in a harmonious settlement. Hakka settlements resemble large buildings designed in such a way as to withstand enemy attacks, and having strong adaptations to environmental changes (climate and topography). Hakka settlements have Chinese architectural characteristics and noble buildings from the central plains, such as settlements having a central axis, symmetry, and clear functional division. (Zhou, 2002).

These three things can be seen in the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown Settlement, which is the direction towards the house and is inward so that it gives the impression of a closed settlement and the presence of a road that is the axis of the settlement and the Pasar Lama Chinatown settlement has a clear spatial space based on its function (Fig.7).

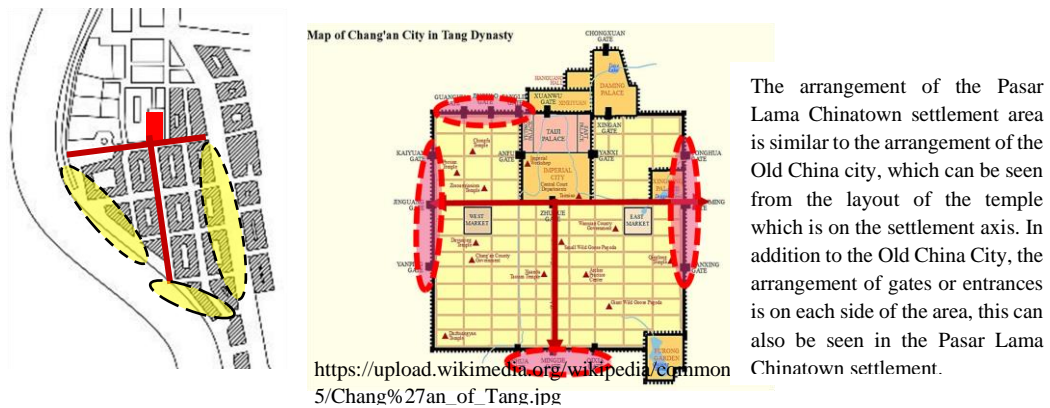


**Fig. 7:** Zoning Area or Spatial Pattern in the Pasar Lama Chinatown Settlement in 1902,  
Source: Map of the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI) redrawn and processed based on field data.

The image above shows that the Chinatown Market Settlement has a symmetrical axis. Residential blocks are divided symmetrically and have a common courtyard/*cimce* in one building block. Residential spaces also have clear spatial boundaries that do not mix. From the image, it can be seen that the functions of space, namely residential areas, and worship markets, do not mix. Residential areas or houses are located in the front and East of the area, while the market area is in the middle, namely the road that connects the temple with the pier. Each unmixed area has an imaginary boundary.

The Han ethnic culture followed by the Hakka ethnicity is in the spatial arrangement of the environment based on the microcosm and macrocosm. Catanese, Snyder and Susongko, (1984) say that cities in North China are generally rectangular cities as symbols of the cosmos and are signs of the greatness of the cosmos, signs of protection of the earth, axis, and the orientation of the cardinal points, symbolizing a center, and the togetherness of the microcosm and the macrocosm. Based on the results of the research (Djunaedi, 2002), the Pasar Lama Chinatown settlement has a similar arrangement to the ancient China (Chang'an), which is seen from the position of the Boen Tek Bio temple, which is in the middle of the settlement. It is believed to be the link between the three worlds, namely the underworld, the middle and the above world (Fig.8).





**Fig. 8:** Comparison of Old China Town Planning with Old Market Chinatown.

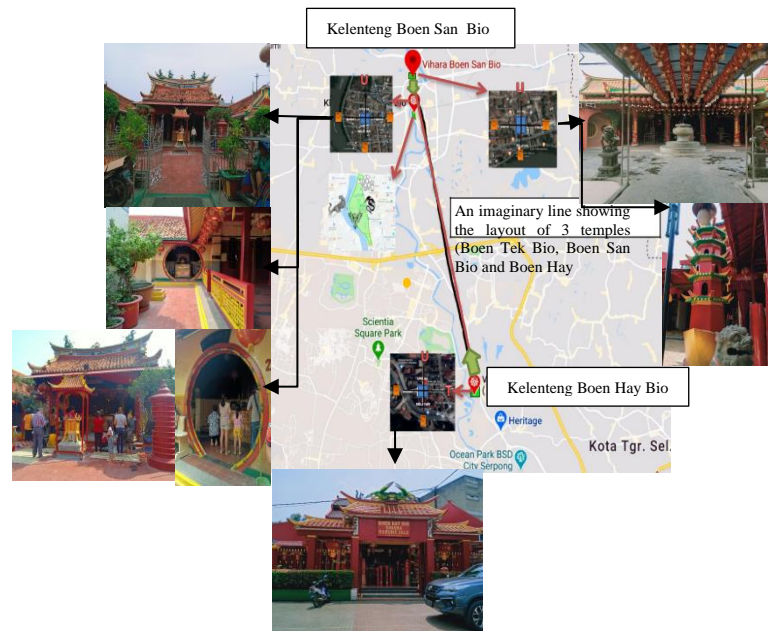
Source: Map redrawn from ancient ANRI map

The image above describes the comparison of the location of the Boen Tek Bio temple in the Pasar Lama Chinatown settlement with the ancient Chinese city. It can be seen that the two have similarities in the layout of the temple and the arrangement of the entrances on each side of the area.

Yuanding & Yanjun (2000) show that one of the most important aspects in choosing a location for the Hakka villages and residential buildings is that buildings and villages must use mountains as their buffer objects and there is water or a pond in front of the village. Syoufa et al. (2019) discusses the layout of the Pasar Lama Chinatown settlements related to the existence of the two temples (Boen San Bio and Boen Hay Bio) which are outside the settlement. The Pasar Lama Chinatown settlement has a position far from the mountains and the sea, where these two elements are important and considered for the Hakka ethnicity in the formation of their settlements. In this case, the position of the Pasar Lama Chinatown settlement which is far from the mountains and the sea, then two temples were built outside the settlement as a pre-supposition of the mountain and the sea. The Boen San Bio Temple to the North of the settlement built-in 1689 is assumed to be a mountain and the Boen Hay Bio Temple to the South of the settlement built-in 1694 is considered the ocean. These two temples form a straight line with the Boen Tek Bio temple in the Pasar Lama Chinatown settlement (Fig.9).

The information above shows that there are some similarities between the settlement of the Pasar Lama Chinatown and the Hakka Settlement.





**Fig. 9:** Formation of the Temple as a Mountain and Sea  
Source: Syoufa et al., 2019

### Similarities of *Pasar Lama* Chinatown Settlement with the Hakka Settlement in Guangdong

Claudine explains that judging from the material, the artifacts came from Jiaying, Guangdong, and Pinghe. Jiaying's location is within the Meizhou Region. Guangdong Province and Pinghe County are not far from the Meizhou County. The form of the settlement in this area has almost the same shape as the Meizhou (Jinmin, 2000; Zhiqiang, 2000).



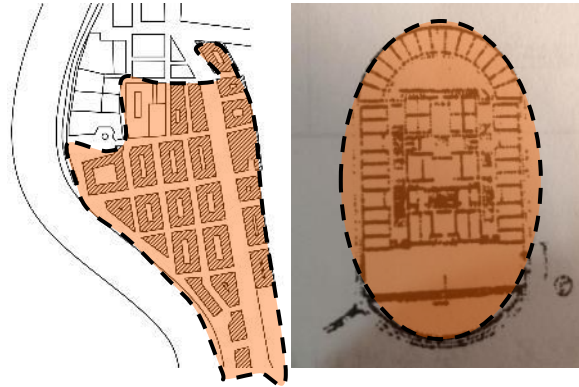
**Fig.10:** The Meizhou and Pinghe regions, Guangdong Province.  
Source: Google Maps. accessed 26 May 2022

Hakka settlements in Meizhou during the Ming dynasty are generally elliptical in shape, which in the front forms a semi-circle and the back is square (Figs.10 and 11). Generally, the Hakka settlements in Meizhou have a symmetrical central axis and clusters of dwellings that are low in the front and high in the back, because the Meizhou settlements are generally located on a mountain or hillsides (Table 1).



**Fig. 11:** Hakka Settlement in Pinghe and Meizhou County.  
Source: Google maps and the TMII Hakka Museum

Based on the image above, it can be seen that the forms of settlements in the Pighe and Meizhou areas have similar shapes (Fig.10). Based on the Table I, it is understood that there are several types of Hakka settlements in the area. In the Hakka settlements in Meizhou, the Eastern Guangdong are divided into two, namely in the Southern Jiangxi and the Southwest Fujian in the form of one-story buildings with weaker defenses. Regarding the form of the settlement, *Pasar Lama* Chinatown has a shape that follows the flow of the Cisadane river and pockets so that it is an oval or truncated ellipse, and the settlement faces the Cisadane river.



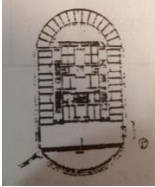

**Fig. 12:** Comparison of the form of the Hakka Weilong Wu settlement in Guangdong with the Chinatown settlement of Pasar Lama Tangerang.

Source: Author

Fig.12 above shows a comparison of the settlement form between the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement and the Hakka Weilong settlement in Guangdong, the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement appears to have an oval shape but is cut off on the North side of the top because it borders the Kalipasir village. Furthermore, according to Zhi, (2000), the architecture of the Hakka house is a combination of the architecture of the Hakka culture in Jiaying and others with Cantonese culture and the Hakka culture itself. Hakka settlements in Meizhou are generally one-story and have three halls with enclosed settlements. The forms of Hakka settlements in the North Guangdong in each region are different but still form closed settlements. The *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement, although does not have a wall boundary, is realized from a row of closed houses and has a direction facing the dwelling that leads into an impressive settlement as a residential boundary wall.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the comparison of the Hakka settlements in Guangdong with the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlements are discussed in Table 3.

<sup>3</sup> The results of interviews with informants in the field, Oey Tjin Eng, Dharmacari, and Pak momon regarding Chinatown settlements in the period 1900-1945. This tells that the old Pasar Chinatown settlement did not previously have a direction facing Kisamaun street on the boundary of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement.

**Table 3:** Comparison of characteristics and elements of the Hakka Settlement in Guandong and the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown Tangerang  
Source : Author

Settlements	Face Shape and Direction	Characteristics of the settlements	Functional Characteristics	Geographical & environmental conditions	Material and Structure	Climate and Architecture
Guangdong Weilong wu	Oval and mountains behind and facing the water, mostly facing the North-South direction. 	With the hall as the center, the halls are joined horizontally. The center axis is symmetrical, with the Heping in the front and the ridge house or the pillow housing behind the pond.	Hall, Gathering, half closed, half defense, temple and house finished 1.	Occupies little farmland, is built on a slope.  Hilly land area	Earthen walls or brick walls, wooden frames; stone arrangement/foundation	Moist and hot. Lot of rain and hurricanes.  Focus on finishing ventilation, forming a 3 ventilation system that combines the hall, the terrace and the corridor into 1.
Pecinan Pasar Lama Tangerang	Oval and make the assumption of Mountain, facing the river, North – South 	The hall/temple as the center, has an axis that divides the settlements symmetrically. The temple becomes the tip of the settlement axis. The front of the settlement is directly connected to the river. The residences are in a row and have a shared courtyard.	The hall and the temple became one, slightly opened. The temple and the house became one.	Occupies low and sloping plains, surrounding the agricultural areas. Built in areas that are not contoured and sloping/flat.	Half brick and half woven bamboo wall. stone foundation	Humid, tropical. A lot of rain.  The architectural form of the settlement consists of row housing divided into blocks that are cut symmetrically with Feng Shui considerations in mind.

From the table above, it can be seen that there are several similarities: the form of settlements, having a settlement axis or axis, and having a water element in front of the settlement. The functional character has similarities in the arrangement of the temple, which is one with the settlement. Geographical and environmental conditions have in common that they are built close to the agricultural land. While the materials and structures of house buildings, the walls and foundations of house buildings are both made of stone. The climate and architecture of the buildings, Guangdong settlements, and the *Pasar Lama* Chinatowns are both built-in tropical-humid climates, but the architectural forms of the settlements are different

because in the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown, the settlements do not form buildings. However, the layout and orientation rules of the houses form like boundaries or walls. This separates the space in the settlement from the space outside the settlement. Overall, the Chinatown settlements are in the form of applying symmetry, axis, and ancestral hall as the orientation of the settlements. Based on the similarities that have been described above, it can be said that the Chinatown settlement of *Pasar Lama* Tangerang has similarities with the Hakka settlement in Guangdong. This can be seen from the form of settlement, facing direction, characteristics of settlement form, materials and structures, and climate.

## Conclusion

The *Pasar Lama* Chinatown is one of the Chinatowns that has a Grid settlement pattern that is different from other Chinatown settlements in the Tangerang area. The layout of the settlements is cosmologically arranged. The *Pasar Lama* Chinatown began to appear on the 1600 map with a linear pattern and has already functioned as a trading area. The *Pasar Lama* Chinatown began to develop and has a Grid pattern on the 1900 map. As the city and area of Tangerang developed, the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown affected the area and spatial space of settlements, namely the change in the placement of the function of the trading area from the middle to the east side of the settlement. However, this does not change the shape and pattern of the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement.

The *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement is unique, including the layout of the settlement that follows the rules of Ancient China and Feng Shui. The arrangement of Old China in the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown can be seen from the arrangement of the functions of the space and the entrances to the settlement. Feng Shui arrangements can be seen from the direction facing the settlements in the North-South, and the arrangement of residential blocks. Feng Shui arrangements can also be seen in the layout of the temple which is in the middle of the settlement and at the end of the road which is the axis of the settlement. The function of space in a separate settlement with an imaginary boundary line.

Based on the artifacts in the BoenTek Bio temple, it is known that in the early 1900, the Old Market Chinatown was a Hakka settlement from Jiaying, Guangdong province, China. The large Hakka community in China is located in 3 regions, namely Guangdong, Fujian, and Jiaying. Each region has a different shape according to geographical conditions, climate, and availability of available natural resources. The Hakka settlements adopted the rules from North China, as their home region.

In general, Hakka settlements are located in hilly and mountainous areas with steep topographic conditions and a cold and humid climate. This condition makes the settlements closed and defensive from enemy attacks. For each type of Hakka settlement, the temple or ancestral hall becomes the center or orientation of the settlement. The direction of the settlement is North-South with the arrangement of row houses surrounding the hall and the ancestral hall. This arrangement or layout can also be seen in the *Pasar Lama* Chinatown settlement.

The results of the analysis show that the Old Market Chinatown is a Hakka settlement that has similarities with Hakka settlements in Guangdong. Some of these similarities can be seen in the character of the function which has similarities in the arrangement of the temple or temple which is one with the settlement. Geographical and environmental conditions have in common, namely that they are built close to agricultural land. While the materials and structures of the house, namely the walls and foundation of the house are made of stone. The climate and architecture of the buildings, the Guangdong settlement, and the Old Market Chinatown are both built-in tropical-humid climates, but the architectural forms of the settlements are different because in the Old Market Chinatown the settlements do not form buildings, but the layout and orientation rules of the houses form like boundaries or walls. which separates the space in the settlement from the space outside the settlement. Overall, Chinatown settlements in the form of applying symmetry, axis, and ancestral hall as the orientation of the settlement. The layout of the Boen Tek Bio temple which is in the middle of the settlement and the end of the road which is the axis of the settlement is a distinctive feature that can still be seen today. The function of space in the Old Market Chinatown settlement area is separated from the imaginary



boundary within the area. Based on this, it can be said that the Old Market Chinatown has a similar arrangement to the Hakka settlements from the Guangdong region, in accordance with the Hakka ethnic artifacts that still exist at the Boen Tek Bio Temple.

### Author Contributions

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