Multi-Religious and Cultural Regionalism Integrated to Contemporary Sacred Church Buildings in Indonesia

Regionalismo multirreligioso y cultural integrado en los edificios eclesiales contemporáneos de Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia demonstrates a variety of cultural expressions through foreign contacts but has never adopted other cultures fully. The country blended significant components into local circumstances to create a distinctive culture with geographic variations, and its history must be understood in its terms. The design of Maclaine Pont (1936)'s Pohsarang Church combined Hindu-Buddhist elements into a Western building. Blimbingsari stone-wooden Church destroyed by an earthquake (1976) was rebuilt in the Balinese pavilion style with a running water garden. Similarities showed in Batak Karo architecture in Berastagi's St. Francis Assisi, and Joglo architecture in Ganjuran Church where Jesus is depicted as a Javanese King. This exceptional regional phenomenon was due to integrating tradition, ethnicity, geographical space, and belief in multicultural societies. This paper discusses a few contemporary churches in Indonesia by historical contexts.

KEYWORDS

RESUMEN

Indonesia muestra diversas expresiones culturales extranjeras, pero nunca las ha adoptado plenamente. El país mezcló componentes significativos para crear una cultura distintiva con variaciones geográficas, y su historia debe entenderse en sus términos. El diseño de la iglesia de Pohsarang, de Maclaine Pont (1936), combinó elementos hindúes y budistas en un edificio occidental. La iglesia de piedra de Blimbingsari, destruida por un terremoto en 1976, se reconstruyó en estilo de pabellón balinés con un jardín de agua que fluye. En la arquitectura Batak Karo se observan similitudes con la iglesia de San Francisco de Asís, en Berastagi, y en la arquitectura Joglo de la iglesia de Ganjuran, Jesús es representado como un rey javanés. Este excepcional fenómeno regional se debe a la integración de tradiciones, etnias, espacios geográficos y creencias en las sociedades multiculturales. Este artículo analiza algunas iglesias contemporáneas de Indonesia, clasificándolas por contextos históricos.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Fig. 01. Buddhist Borobudur temple (Central Java, ca. 750-850).

BACKGROUND: PRE-ISLAMIC AND ISLAMIC JAVA

Indonesia is located in Southeast Asia and is 1,900,000 km^2 in area. Almost 90% are Muslim, creating Indonesia the largest Muslim nation in the world. Java has the most significant history, composing 70 % of the whole population among uncountable islands. With a tropical climate, abundant rainfall, and fertile soils, Java has two primary cultures of Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic Java, despite the arrival of Christianity during the Islamic period. Within the Hindu-Buddhist period (760-1500), Central (760-930) and East Java (930-1500) are distinguishable. In Islamic Java, three eras are recognizable: transitory (15C-1619), Dutch colonization (1619-1945), contemporary (1945-to the present).

Hindu-Buddhist Java and Temple Architecture-Ornamentation

Three theories exist in Hinduization in Java. First: Indian culture was imposed by Indians on indigenous Indonesians, testified in Hindu-Javanese temples (Krom 1931). Second: the temples were built by the native inhabitants as Hindu-Javanese culture of the creative product, guided by the Indian spirit (Bosch 1961). And third: the two cultures are 'one indivisible whole' with the term *a stream of culture* as a dynamic concept (Kempers 1937). In the fifth century, Indian civilization occurred through trade and Buddhist missionaries, and Sanjaya and Sailendra kingdoms (8C) emerged in Central Java, erecting Hindu Prambanan and Buddhist Borobodur temples, respectively (Fig. 01). Around 930, the political power shifted to East Java, facilitating the foundations of the Hindu Singasari and, in particular, Majapahit kingdoms as a golden period, testified by the Panataran temple complex (1197-1454).

The Javanese are spiritually familiar with mystic animism. Sivaite Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism penetrated this, creating fused beliefs and cultural elements (Wagner 1959; Holt 1967). A temple (*candi*) is a place for gods' actual presence to represent a replica of the Cosmos Mountain (Meru), the mythical abode of the gods. A King representing god is buried in the temple after his death to pay respect. Therefore, symbolic motifs on a specific place follow the scheme of temple architecture (Gupta 1996).

A combination Hindu-Buddhist *kala-makara* (a lion-fish with an elephant trunk) represents the celestial mountain, believed to expel demonic influence from temples. It also denotes a duality of the cosmos. Hindu mythology tells that the world was composed of *atman* (the soul) and *maya* (illusion), and the growth of the lotus symbolized its creation. As the primordial lotus grew from the waters of eternity, bringing Brahma (the god of creation) and all other

Fig. 02. Megalithic *tumpal* continued to Hindu Panataran Temple (East Java), 1154-1197, and Islamic Agung Demak Mosque (Central Java), 1479.
Fig. 03. Pre-Islamic influences on the roof and pillars of Agung Demak Mosque (Central Java), 1479.

creations, the motif implied creation and sanctity. In Hindu-Buddhist temples of Central Java, the lotus, characterized by naturalism, was extended to the representation of ideal beauty. The lotus, the creator and supporter of the cosmic tree, became the pattern for the abstract notions of the Dharma, preached by the Buddha (Bosch 1960).

Another frequent motif is a decorated triangle, *tumpal*, derived from Neolithic-megalithic times (Wagner 1959) (Fig. 02). Some scholars interpret it as an unrecognizable human figure due to its extreme stylization; others suggest a stylized bamboo shoot. Both bear connotations: a human (supernatural character) or bamboo (an idea of fertility). Moreover, the *tumpal* is a symbol of the Cosmos Mountain. Beliefs of its role existed in prehistoric times, and its thought was expressed in Hindu-Buddhist temples and Islamic mosques owing to Javanese Islam being a syncretic religion.

Islamic Java and Mosque Buildings

Although Islam is the official creed and a means of unity in Javanese culture, ancestral and mythical beliefs shared Islam (Wertheim 1956). Two types of religious manifestation exist: *Agami Jawi* (Javanese Religion) contains a complex of mystically inclined Hindu-Buddhist beliefs and concepts integrated within an Islamic frame of reference; *Agami Islam Santri* (Islam of the Religious People) is closer to the formal dogma of Islam (Koentjaraningrat 1990). With the Muhammadijah organization (1912), *Agami Islam Santri* spread across the country, founding the *ummat*, an orthodox Islamic congregation.

Muslim traders arrived in 1082, and gradual Islamization began. Indigenous local people converted themselves after contact with Muslims, or after that Muslim traders of Arabia, Persia, India, and China were settled in Indonesia, practicing their religion. The introduction of Islam was likely through trade routes in Java in 1450. During Islamization, the animistic ancestor cult was tolerated and incorporated into Islamic rituals. The ban on living beings in the *hadith* (the Prophet's sayings) was not strictly followed. Instead, modified *wayang* (shadow puppet) played a role in spreading Islam. Muslim missionar-

ies described Islam as a mystical doctrine to convert non-Muslims by syncretic Islamic religion (Pigeaud 1976; Koentjaraningrat 1990).

Accordingly, Javanese mosque architecture and ornamentation inherited symbolic elements from Hindu-Buddhist temples such as a tripartite division (base/body/superstructure), centralized plan, multi-tiered roof, mustaka (crown), outer colonnade, a walled courtyard with entrance gateway, tower and grave (Fontein 1990; Tjahjono 1998) (Fig. 03).

The first Islamic Demak kingdom (1479) was on the coastline in northern Java. By the end of the sixteenth century, Islam became the dominant religion and a part of Javanese life, retaining traditional socio-cultural structures. A century later, the political power changed to the Mataram (1587-1755) in the land whose kingdom was Islamic yet practiced mystic animism, Hindu-Buddhism, European pomp, and Islamic circumstance.

THE EMERGENCY OF EUROPEAN CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT CHURCHES

The oldest document depicting the emergence of Catholic churches in Indonesia was the writing (c. 1150) of the Muslim historian Syeik Abu Salih al-Amini. He mentioned some churches in Fansur, Sumatra, as part of Nestorian Church, and one was named the Virgin Mary Church (c. 645). According to another document in the thirteenth century, some bishoprics in Sumatra and Java were visible when two Franciscans visited Sumatra (1323 and 1346) as the Pope's delegation for a courtesy visit to Beijing in China.

Catholic missions were led by Spanish and Portuguese in the Moluccas, where spices were collected and resulted in 30.000 converts. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese mission in Flores also gained ground, and at the beginning of the next century, there were 50.000 Catholics (Hardawiryana 2001; Muskens 1974). One of the Jesuit Order founders, Francis Xavier, carried out a mission to the Moluccas including other islands (1546-47).

During the war against Spain (1568-1648), the Dutch built the colony of Spain-Portugal in South
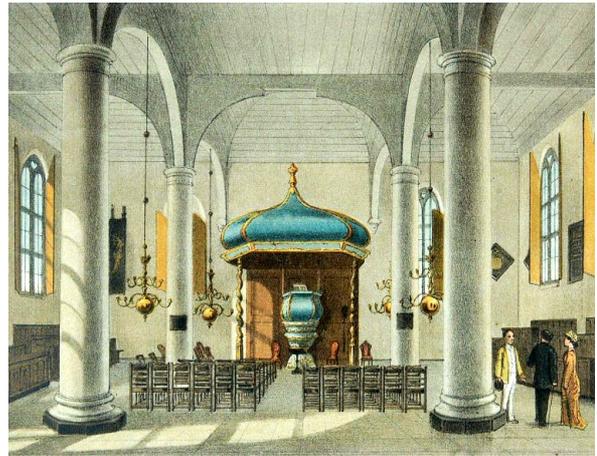
Fig. 04. The Portuguese Outer Church (now named Sion Church) (Batavia), 1881-89; colour lithograph after an original watercolour by Rappard.

East Asia and established the United Dutch East Indies Company (VOC 1602), while Jan Pieterszoon Coen decided on a government capital in Batavia (now Jakarta), forbidding all Catholic missions in its region. However, the French Revolution (1789) and later the fusion of the Netherlands into the French authority gave a new direction to the Dutch colonies, following Napoleon's principles (freedom/equality/brotherhood) to express the freedom of their faiths. A new chapter to carry on the Catholic mission started (Fig. 04).

For example, Sion Church is the oldest Church dating from 1695 still intact in Jakarta, known as The New Portuguese Outer Church compared to the Portuguese Inner Church. It was built outside the old city walls for the *black Portuguese* (Eurasians and natives) captured from Portuguese trading posts in India and Malaya and brought to Batavia as slaves. The majority of them was Catholics and received freedom under the condition of converting to the Dutch Reformed Church as *Mardijker* (the liberated ones). The Church construction was carried out of joint finance from the Portuguese and the VOC Government. Later, the name changed to Portuguese Church. However, in 1942, the name was forbidden during the Japanese occupation, and the Church was

closed for two years. The Japanese army wished to remodel the place into a columbarium for the dead soldiers. In the governmental transition, the Dutch transferred the Church ownership to the Protestant Church in Western Indonesia, changing its name to Sion Church. The building (24 x 32 m), designed by E. Ewout Verhagen, stands on 6,725 m² with an extension on the back facade (6 x 18 m). It is characteristically Dutch with a plain facade, ward-like appearance and domed windows.

From 1808 until the 1900s, it was the time of the consolidation among its former parishioners identical with European. When the Dutch's *ethic policy* commenced in the early 1900s, architects were challenged to formulate new ideas from the errors of the past colonial neo-Gothic style. The most concern dealt with humidity, temperature, and rainfall of a tropical country, prompting the local environmental situations. Two groups are neo-vernacular and pro-modern. Favoring the neo-vernacular solution, Henri Maclaine Pont and Herman Thomas Karsten underlined indigenous architecture as the base and modernity as the addition, using the term *Indo-European* for the architectural movement. For the pro-modern, modernity with climatic adaptation was

Fig. 05. 1. Santo Fransiskus Asisi Church, Berastagi (Sumatra); 2. Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Ganjuran (Yogyakarta); 3. The Pohsarang Church, Kediri (East Java); 4. The Sacred Heart Cathedral, Palasari (West Bali).

the solution for the new Dutch-Indies architecture and argued local factors (Santosa 2010).

During the Japanese occupation (1942-45), Catholic missions met again in the dark era, seen from the case of the Sion Church, but this period enabled local priests and parishioners to replace foreign missionaries. Nevertheless, the search for Indonesian architecture continued after independence (1945), and indigenization was necessary to experiment with local forms in new churches. In Sumatra, some churches were built with Bataknese house roofing style; in Bali, Hindu temple architecture was the spring of inspiration for the churches such as Palasari (Boelaars 2005).

VERNACULAR, HINDU-BUDDHIST, AND ISLAMIC IDEAS AND FORMS IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIAN SACRED PLACES

Sumatra

North Sumatra contains the second largest number of Christians (mainly Protestants) in Indonesia. The first missionaries were dispatched to the Batak people by Stamford Raffles under British rule and the first Christian community was set up in Sipirok, an Angkola community. The Dutch arrived in 1857, and four years later, one of the Ermelo missionaries united with the Rhenish Missionary Society. The mission, financially supported by Germany, was well received, adopting evangelistic strategies initiated by Ludwig Nommensen. According to his theology, Christianity was enhancing rather than replacing old Batak customs. Accordingly, the Batak Protestant Christian community was formed and educational institutions were built to preserve the identity of the Batak Toba people. Despite this, the Dutch considered war a way to consolidate their power in the Indies, leading to Karo's perception of Christianity as the 'Dutch religion' and colonization. Following Indonesia's Independence, the church adopted more elements of traditional Karo culture. Although the Protestants are prominent, there are Catholic and Pentecostalist denominations (Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008).

Architectural styles connect to building traditions and designs of Batak everyday living spaces: the meeting hall (*bale*), house (*rumah*), and rice barn (*sopo*) are the three main building types common to all six Batak groups. The architecture of each group differs from the other. Toba Batak houses are boat-shaped with carved gables and upsweeping roof
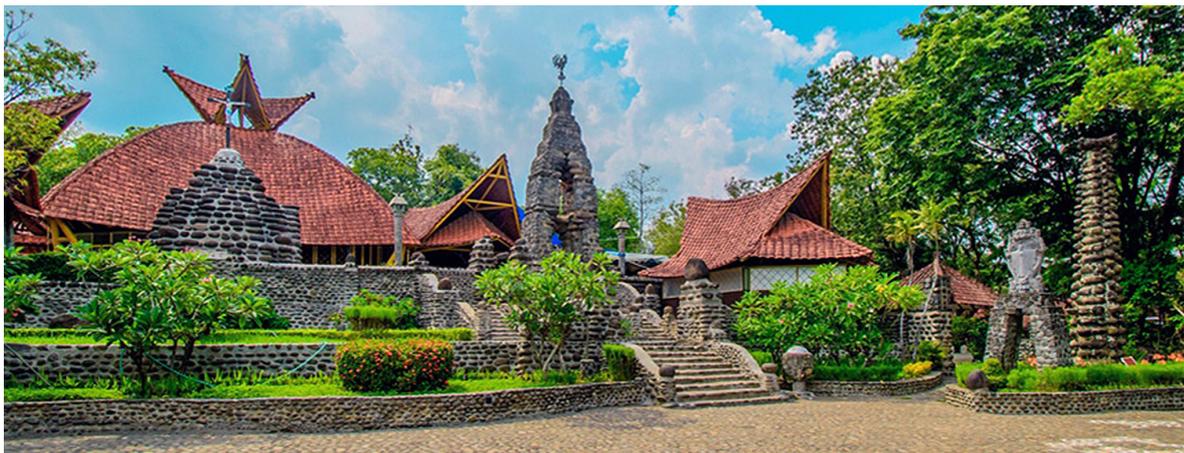
Fig. 06. Santo Fransiskus Asisi Church, Berastagi (Sumatra), 2005. The architectural style and ornamentation are a typical regional approach, facilitating a robust cultural identity among the indigenous Batak people.

Fig. 07. The Sacred Heart Cathedral, Palasari (West Bali), 1940. The church façade reflects a European form with a notion of Hindu-Buddhist Cosmos Mountain, while other architectural components, such as the gate, are a typical Javanese style to protect the sacred space.

Fig. 08. Henricus Maclaine Pont, The Pohsarang Church, Kediri (East Java), 1936. The building underlines a combination of Javanese and European ideas and forms, revealing a deep concern for safeguarding cultural heritage.

ridges. Karo Batak houses rise in tiers. These came from ancient Dong-Son modelled piles and applied to sacred places.

Santo Fransiskus Asisi Church, built in 2005, is situated at the foothills of Mt. Sinabung, Berastagi in Sumatra (Fig. 05, 06). A fusion of Batak Karo architecture and European construction style depicts the values and symbols of local elements and rites in the Karo tradition. It is named *an intercultural Church* due to its sturdy, unique and artistic combination of typical North Sumatra with Christianity. Even the Church held the initial construction ceremony of the local tradition and explained the architectural design to preserve the noble value of Karo that started disappearing, such as traditional houses. The building accommodates up to 1,000 people and has a prayer hall and an open pavilion (*pendopo*) for religious and youth activities. The churchyard takes care of pets and ornamental or fruit plants, inspired by Saint Francis of Assisi, who loved nature.

Bali

The dominant religion in Bali is Hinduism, with 86% of the population's adherents. The island retained its Hindu culture despite the arrival of Islam and its spread in the archipelago. The Dutch appeared after 1846, and three missionaries from the Protestant Utrecht Mission Society worked around Singaraja a decade later. Due to a conflict within the Church organization, the Dutch forbade further missionary activity. It was in 1930 when a Chinese-speaking missionary obtained permission to serve the needs of Chinese Christians. The Hindu Balinese were hostile to the missionaries' edicts to destroy idols and temples, expelling the Christian Balinese convert from the island. The Dutch again withdrew permission to preach from foreign missionaries. A native Javanese missionary began work (1933), and a minister was posted to Denpasar of the Dutch 'Indische Kerk' (1937). A Dutch response to the Balinese Christian converts favoured a Protestant village in Bali, that of Blimbingsari (1939). Its neighbour Palasari was founded as a Catholic village a year later (Sudgen 2002).

For over the century, migrants from different parts established ethnic, cultural and geographic communities in West Bali. The villages of Palasari and Blimbingsari intertwine Catholicism, Protestant and Hindu Balinese culture. The Sacred Heart Cathedral (1940) lies between the wooded hills and rice fields, where Christians, Muslims and Hindu people live together peacefully (Fig. 05, 07). As the first Catholic Church in Bali, the Dutch missionary Father Simon Buis introduced Catholicism in the 1940s. The Cathedral was completed in 1955, and the nearby Cave of Maria became a personal prayer space. Father Buis cultivated the nutmeg forest as a place of regular worship (the Old Palasari), but attendants' growth and enthusiasm inspired him to a new worship place next to the Sanghyang River (Palasari) with the Balinese-Dutch elements. The Gothic spires resemble a multi-tiered Hindu-Buddhist Cosmos Mountain, while the Church facade has a similar form to a Hindu open temple gate (*candi bentar*). Flower offerings, traditional attire, singing gospels to gamelan music, and indigenous food signalize traditional Bali culture and religious life.

East Java

Located at the foothills of Mt. Wilis in East Java, the Pohsarang Church (1936) bears a unique structure with relatively cool air (Fig. 05, 08). Father Jan Wolters initiated the foundation with Maclaine Pont. Father Wolters gave the spiritual meaning of the building for the catechesis of the Catholic faith, while Maclaine Pont incorporated this religious philosophy into the building to inscribe Javanese culture.

The ancient Church consists of two parts (the main building and the open pavilion) with three entrances: the largest entrance on the side welcomes devotees to pray; the second one in front of the pavilion leads to the cemetery; the smallest one implies a difficult path to the Kingdom of God. As a Dutch priest in the Kediri parish, Father Wolters loved and respected the Javanese as a whole. The Church is an iconic treasure by applying the remaining local material and the same style of the Trowulan Museum in Mojokerto nearby (destroyed in 1960) that preserves the Hindu Majapahit heritage.
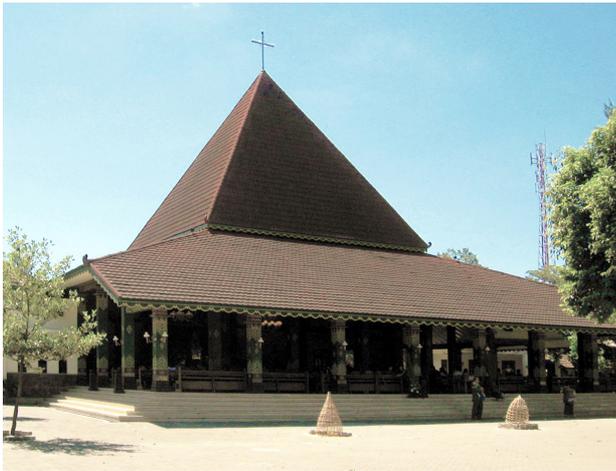
Fig. 09. Julius Schemutzer, The Sacred Heart of Jesus, Ganjuran, Yogyakarta (Central Java), 1924. Javanese traditional roof and ornaments such as pre-Islamic triangular *tumpal* and lotus-motifs can be seen, transferred through the Islamic Java period to underline regionalism.

The laying of the church's first stone was carried out on June 11, 1936, to coincide with the feast of the Blessed Sacrament. Maclaine Pont explained designing sacred objects such as the cross or Christ's monogram to symbolize the Catholic faith in his speech. The four ends of the beam are the four evangelists in spreading the teachings of Christ towards four cardinal directions as well as the means of a pedagogic Bible for less-educated people. In the Church structure, devotees have to wait to see Christ, the King of kings, like Javanese kings living in palaces surrounded by walls and gates. After the devotees' pass through the first gate, they continue through the tower to reach the main building. In the last sacred place, they feel closer to God.

The Church resembles a boat attached to a mountain-like building to depict Mount Ararat, where Noah's Ark was trapped after the flood to punish wicked humankind (Gen 8,4). In Javanese culture, a mountain (gunungan) is a sacred place of humans encountering gods, engraving eternity, the realm of glory, and the gods' abode, seen in Hindu-Buddhist temples or the *wayang* plays for Islamization. In a word, Pohsarang facilitates meetings with a spiritual character between the human world and the world above, unifying space between man and God, the King. As the Church was erected before the Second Vatican Council (1962-65), liturgy indicated not-yet-baptized people staying far from the altar of God. Instead, an open pavilion is a transition space reserved for them before entering the sacred space. Although the distinction of place in the Eucharist no longer exists after the Second Vatican Council, the building structure of Pohsarang testifies to the church's liturgical history (Lih 1991).

Central Java

Javanese architecture of a Hindu-Buddhist stone temple and later combining the pavilion was implemented in 1924 to the Sacred Heart of Jesus of Ganjuran Church in Bantul, Yogyakarta Province (Fig. 05, 09). Joseph and Julius Schemutzer founded the Church to establish the spirit of *Rerum Novarum* (May 15, 1891), whose Papal teaching of Pope Leo XIII concerns poor people's social justice and prosperity as the reaction to the negative impacts of the industrial revolution and capitalism. After graduation from Delft Polytechnic, the Catholic activist Julius Schemutzer returned to the Dutch Indies and ran his family sugar factory (Gondang Lipuro) in Ganjuran village. Supported by his brother Joseph, Julius applied a better salary system for his employees and put them as partners. He also opened a hospital, schools, and an orphanage for social responsibility, leading many of his employees' interest in Catholicism. To fulfill the need for mass celebration for the new parishioners, Julius set up a chapel in his property, which later became a Church.

Despite a global economy under distress in the late 1920s, Julius believed his business success was due to protecting the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and a gratitude monument was erected as the first and the only one in Java. Eventually, the Ganjuran Church transformed into an independent parish, and the local parishioners and priests kept Schemutzer legacies. Many local elements, including Javanese language, gamelan music instruments, folk songs, traditional dances and rituals, were evolved to enrich the Mass celebrations in the liturgy following the Second Vatican Council (Santosa 2010).

Since 1998, people outside the village have made Ganjuran a pilgrimage destination. The discovery of a water fountain and prayer services to cure illness are attractions. Fifteen sacrifice routes were made around the monument, facilitating a sacred place for devotional activities. In 2006, the Church building facade was collapsed by an earthquake; three years later, the new Church was complete.

Ganjuran Church is to be understood as the strengthening of the existing culture. The destruction brought by a natural disaster came as a chance for traditional representations to replace the non-local symbols and representations. The toleration from Catholicism during the initial building of the Church is being replaced by a total domination of traditional image and representation. Ganjuran Church is becoming a cultural hybrid. The phases of conceptualization, replacement and constitution are apparent. New values brought by Christianity (e.g. Catholicism) are
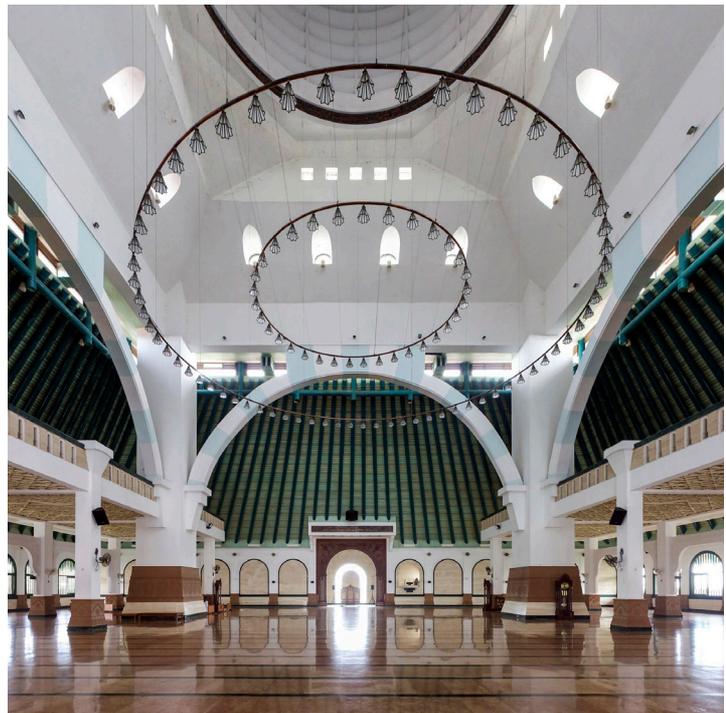
Fig. 10. Ahmad Fanani, Agung Semarang Mosque, Semarang City (Central Java), 2001-06.

blended across the time, represented in a dominant local, traditional symbolism (Gunawan 2012).

Why do Indonesians still maintain their architectural tradition for sacred buildings? One of the answers is their collective memories of the past exercised across geographical space, regardless of Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, or Christian. Each believer's fused worship toward ancestor and God is deeply rooted in Indonesian's cultural identity through remembrance.

COLLECTIVE MEMORIES

Discussions about the notion of *collective memory* went through in the nineteenth century and have been explored from various viewpoints with extensions. At first, human leanings to fear of fire or desire for social status are derived from a collective unconscious within the human, accompanying life memories from past generations (Jung 1912). Moreover, new generations are linked to the past in learning about history, and their memories carry forward. With a focus on social memory, the human necessity connects to prior generations and searches for repeating actions to associate with the past. Religion is a repetitive social practice because people keep on following the same belief structures and worship in similar ways over time (Durkheim 1912).

Durkheim's study of religious traditions reveals that rituals transfer traditional beliefs, values and norms, and shared rituals offer a sense of *collective effervescence*, transcendence of the individual and the profane into a united religious group. Collective thought is necessary for individuals to partake for their universal experience in sharing within the group, demanding physical gathering to extend the unity if demolished. Although the collective effervescence was the transfer of the past to the present, his argument came from individual memory.

The term *collective memory*, coined by Halbwachs, examines social recollection as a basic structure. As a sociologist and a student of Durkheim, Halbwachs's analysis of collective memory in *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925, 1992) suggests a possibility of construction, sharing, and passing on by any size of social groups, communities, nations, and genera-

tions. All individual memories are recorded through the filter of their collective memories, built within social structures and institutions. Individual memory is understood through a group context, and collective memory develops further. The group builds the memory; the individuals do remember. Therefore, every collective memory relies on specific groups designated by space and time. Symbols or architecture are references for binding people to past generations and affecting their memory.

Halbwachs's new concept of *the present* in collective memory would influence social constructions of memory. Ongoing issues and understandings formulate collective memory, and groups take different memories to explain them. To illuminate the present, groups reconstruct a past through rationalization in selecting events to remember or discard. After then, they rearrange events to conform to the social narrative (Hakoköngäs 2017). It means the deliverance of various collective remembering and commemorations to a shared past. From a personal level, everyone shares stories about ancestors or childhood, while nations carry narratives of their country's origin, myths or citizens' historical roots (Connerton 1989).

The theorization of Halbwachs casts two issues. First, collective memories have depended on the context of remembering. In dealing with this, a group can seek reassurance for their decisions from the past. By doing it, collective remembering brings a selection of narratives that can respond both to present and future needs. Second, collective memory paves a group's way to the future. For the first issue, discussions of memory and its present significance occur at multiple levels of the social environment (Pennebaker et al 2006).

> Instead we now have history as collective memory, that is as a fabricated narrative (once called myth) either in the service of social-ideological needs, or even expressing the creative whim of a particular historian (Gedi and Elam 1996, 40-41).

New thoughts have emerged from different viewpoints in opposition to collective memory. First, the theory of collected memory initiated by Young (1996) stands for a character of innately fragmental,

Fig. 11. Sanggar Agung Temple, Surabaya (East Java), 1999, with Javanese roof style and Buddhist lotus buds.

collected and individual memory. Another development is a theory of communicative memory, a variety of collective memory based on everyday communication. This memory format resembles the interactions in an oral culture or the memories collected through oral history. With this activity, each memory involves contacting other groups whose unity and characteristics are devised through a public image of their past. Each person is a valuable agent of groups and handles collective self-images and memories (Assmann 2008). Recently, Historian Rieff (2016) differentiates the term *collective memory* between memories of people alive during the events and people who learn about them from culture or media, indicating cultural accentuation on specific historical occasions. At any rate, further discussions of collective memories take place in another field, such as psychology.

CONCLUSIVE THOUGHT

Culture consists of behavioral patterns, forming the distinct achievement of human groups. Acquired-transmitted by symbols, it bears traditional ideas and their attached values (Geertz 1973). As a visual language, a Church building is a symbolic place and manifests the divine project. Anyone in this sacred place senses a harmonious world of the Divine and eternal life. The Christian idea of sacred space took the notion of the divine beings' abode metaphorically from Hellenism and Judaism (Kilde 2017). Churches exemplify a *representational* space (Lefebvre 1991) through associated images and symbols. Dominated by ideology, it is experienced through liturgy and space (de Jong and Marcello 2019).

After the Second Vatican Council, inculturation re-determined the universal Catholic policies respecting local wisdom and customs to harmonize with the Gospel. Moreover, it enabled architectural forms and functions to transform from universal standards and meanings into local variations in the Christian teachings (Santosa 2010).

A final question arises in terms of Indonesian churches. The author's view connects to regionalism

- a process of interaction between animism, Hindu-Buddhism, Islam and Christianity. When new cultures met existing places, they were influenced and remodeled by local traditions, enriching the material culture of both. Indonesians' collective memory exercised this unique distinction.

A few examples can shed light on this. In a case of Islamic architecture, Agung Semarang Mosque, in Semarang City (2001-06), could validate a return of the rich traditions alongside the pan-Islamic world to mosque architecture after 1945 (Fig. 10). However, global solidarity and a unifying pilgrimage in the Islamic world are in tension with local people's ability to absorb and syncretize new elements outside, confusing their efforts to differentiate, even evaluate continuities and consistencies.

The architect Fanani explains that Agung Semarang represents a modern Javanese mosque whose design principle combines locality and Islam, nationalism and internationalism, and strictness and softness. The ten hectares complex covers three central buildings arranged in the U shape. Traditional four columns (*soko guru*) in the mosque's prayer hall extend to become four minarets through a Javanese Joglo roof with an Islamic dome on the top. The multi-tiered roof signifies acquiring Allah's blessing in heaven. Six symbolic umbrellas (six tenets of imam) in the courtyard inspired by the Prophet Mosque in Medina protect massive worshippers against weather during prayer. At the open end of the U shape stands a series of arches with Arabic calligraphy of Allah's ninety nine attributes and twenty five pillars named prophets. Above all, local floral motifs are designed for the Islamic arabesque to reflect the Javanese cultural heritage of unity in diversity.

Of syncretic Chinese temples, Sanggar Agung Temple in Surabaya (1999) is devoted to Chinese deities and other religious representations for Tri Dharma followers (Confucian, Mahayana Buddhist, Taoist) (Fig. 11). Its location within the Pantai Ria amusement park facilitates a tourist destination. In the Moon Festival of 1978 (Chinese calendar: 15 August), a temple was erected about 500 meters south of the current Sanggar Agung. Named Temple of Guan Gong, it was officially moved to its present location. The temple's uniqueness is the construction over the sea, forming like a bay surrounded by mangroves around 4.000 m^2.

Combined with Balinese building design and Javanese culture, Sanggar Agung has continued the traditional style to escape from the universality of Chinese temples or Buddhist Vihara. Although the round holes in the wall echo the Chinese touch, it signifies the emotional and cultural accord of local communities with Tri Dharma peoples. The temple's main icon is a 20 meters' statue on the waterfront as a tribute to Guan Yin Bodhisattva of the South Sea.

The collective memories among Indonesians seem to manifest this uniqueness with the two additional examples. One should be aware of the perspective of multicultural societies, which generated a wealthy practice through the integration of tradition, ethnicity, geographical space, and beliefs (Van Leur 1955). This inspiration is the Indonesian force in sustaining a regional culture and identity through sacred buildings in this archipelago.

> Regionalism looks for sustaining spiritual forces (...) to unravel the layers, to see how indigenous archetypes have been transformed by invading forms (...) how foreign imports have been adapted to the cultural soil (Curtis 1985, 74).

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