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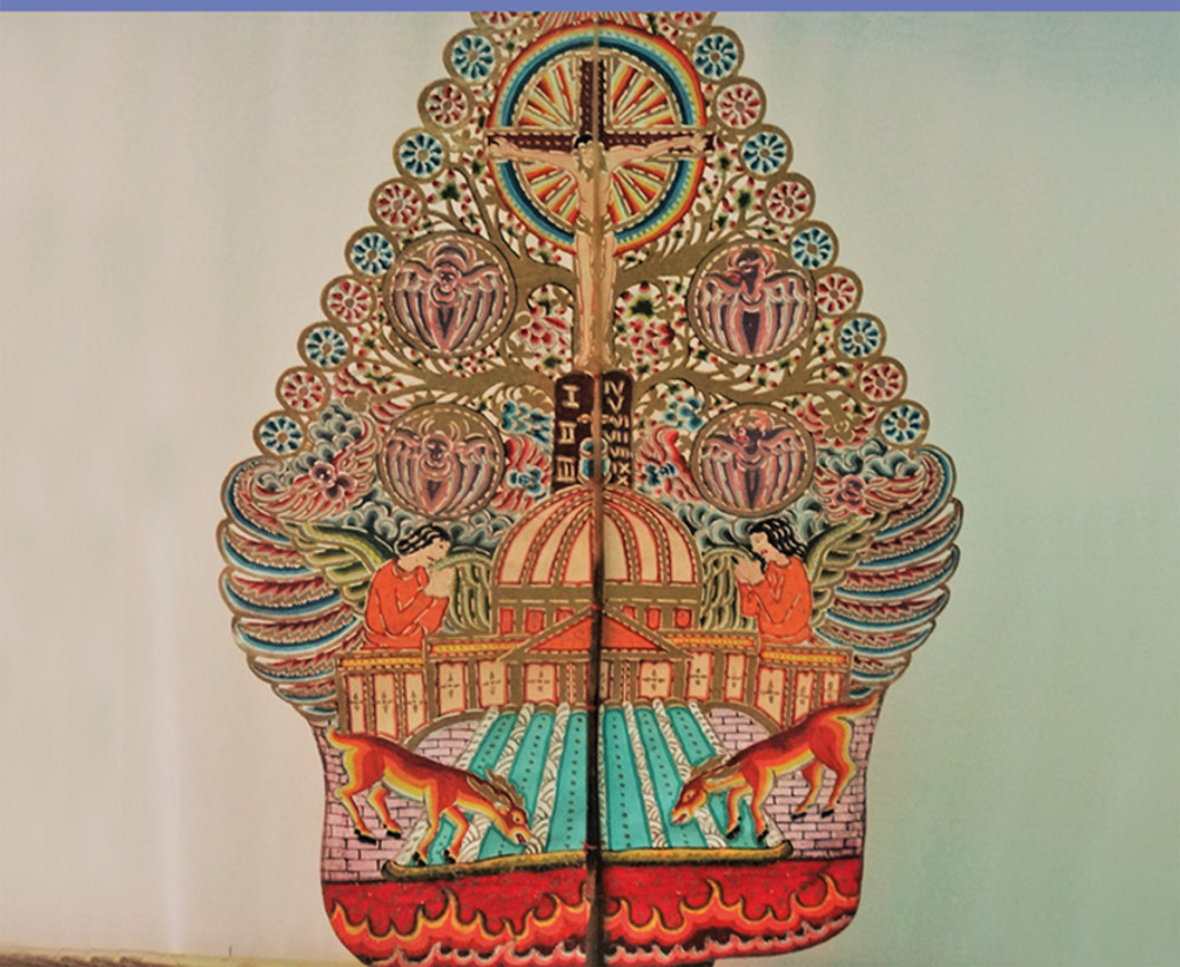
ROUTLEDGE

PERFORMING FAITH

CHRISTIAN MUSIC, IDENTITY AND INCULTURATION IN INDONESIA

Marzanna Poplawska



Performing Faith

This book is a study of music inculturation in Indonesia. It shows how religious expression can be made relevant in an indigenous context and how grassroots Christianity is being realized by means of music. Through the discussion of indigenous expressions of Christianity, the book presents multiple ways in which Indonesians reiterate their identity through music by creatively forging Christian and indigenous elements. This study moves beyond the discussion (and charge) of syncretism, showing that the inclusion of local cultural manifestations is an answer to creating a truly indigenous Christian expression.

Marzanna Poplawska, while telling the story of Indonesian Christians and the multiple ways in which they live Christianity through music, emphasizes the creative energy and agency of local people. In their practices she finds optimism for the continuing existence of many traditional genres and styles. Indonesian Christians perform their Christian faith through music, dance, and theater, generating innovative cultural products that enrich the global Christian heritage.

The book is addressed to a broad spectrum of readers: scholars from a variety of disciplines—music, religion, anthropology, especially those interested in interactions between Christianity and indigenous cultures; general music lovers and World Music enthusiasts eager to discover musics outside of European realm; as well as Christian believers, church musicians, and choir directors curious to learn about Christian music beyond Euro-American context. Students of religion, sacred music, (ethno)musicology, theater, and dance will also benefit from learning about a variety of indigenous arts employed in Christian churches in Indonesia.

Marzanna Poplawska holds a Ph.D. degree in Ethnomusicology from Wesleyan University, USA. She has studied, taught, and performed Javanese music in Poland, UK, Indonesia, Ireland, and the United States. Her primary interests encompass the musical traditions of Indonesia, Southeast Asia, Central-Eastern Europe as well as acculturation/inculturation, music and religion, diaspora, and Intangible Cultural Heritage. She is a performer of central-Javanese music and dance. She was the first Polish recipient of *Darmasiswa* scholarship awarded by the Indonesian government to study Indonesian music, which she studied at the Institute of Indonesian Arts (Institut Seni Indonesia) in Yogyakarta (1995–1997).

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Dedication

Psalm 150
Praise the LORD!
Praise God ... with trumpet sound ... with lute and harp ...
with tambourine and dance ...
with strings and pipe ... with sounding cymbals ...
Praise the LORD!

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Orthography

The orthography used in this book follows the conventions of modern Indonesian language. The vowels *o*, *u*, *a*, and *i* are pure, and approximate Italian. *R* is a dental trill, *ng* is always as in English "singer," and *c* is as in English *ch* (for example, "church"). Some proper names are spelled according to the earlier transliteration practice, in which *j* represents the modern *y*, *dj* represents *j*, *tj* represents *c*, and *oe* represents *u*. All words originating in Javanese language have been also spelled according to the Indonesian orthography rules.

Central/central Java—when in lowercase, it is used as a geographical region/location; when in uppercase, it is used as the name of the province.

Church/church—when capitalized, "Church" indicates a particular denomination (for example, Catholic Church) or the whole body of Christian believers. When lowercased, it refers to a nonspecific building, local congregation, worship service, or style of music (church music).

Following the current convention in academic writing on Indonesia, and to maximize the clarity of presentation, I drop the honorifics *Bapak* or *Pak* (Father, Mr.) and *Ibu* or *Bu* (Mother, Mrs.), except when introducing a given person for the first time.

Translation

All the translations in the book are the author's. All quotes are translated word for word in order to represent most adequately the contents of the interviewees' statements. In many cases their word choice is critical to the understanding of the spirit of the oral communications. Therefore, the author has chosen the literal translation of direct quotes as preferable to more interpretative translation.

Preface

I became interested in this topic not at a particular moment in time but rather during a long process, beginning with a trip to Flores, a small Catholic island in the Lesser Sunda archipelago in eastern Indonesia. As a *Darmasiswa* student at the Institute of Indonesian Arts (Institut Seni Indonesia or ISI) in Yogyakarta, Central Java, in November 1996, I attended a celebration of Polish Independence Day at the Polish Embassy in Jakarta, where I learned of Father Józef Glinka, an SVD (*Societas Verbi Divini* or the Society of the Divine Word) missionary residing in Surabaya in East Java.[1] I contacted Father Glinka, paid him a visit the following December, and learned from him that he was part of a group of Polish missionaries who had traveled to Flores in the 1960s. I became rather curious about Flores—a nearly entirely Catholic atoll in the midst of the country with the largest Muslim population in the world. During my trip I was already learning that life is full of unexpected coincidences, discoveries, and encounters that are interwoven into the fabric of human existence—something that has often played a big part in my research process and my personal life.

I was intrigued to learn that, in addition to being ordained, Father Glinka was also a physical anthropologist teaching at the Airlangga University in Surabaya and a former disciple of the renowned anthropologist Jan Czekanowski, the father of my Warsaw professor Anna Czekanowska. This personal connection, as well as the island's very name, piqued my curiosity about Flores.[2]

In January 1997, determined to visit Flores, I headed east on a wonderful and memorable journey. Accompanied by a fellow Darmasiswa student, Jeannie Park, I visited Bali, Lombok, and Sumbawa along the way. After reaching Flores, I called on a few Polish priests still living there, 30 years after their arrival. While traveling east across Flores from Labuan Bajo to Maumere, I made another discovery that was a revelation for me. Inside a Catholic church in central Flores

1 *Darmasiswa* is a *scholarship program* offered by the Ministry of National Education and Ministry of Foreign Affairs for foreign students to study language and arts in Indonesia. I was a recipient of Darmasiswa scholarship from September 1995 to June 1997.

2 "Capo de Flores" or "Cape of Flowers"—a name given to the island by Portuguese explorers in the 16th century.

(Bajawa region), I saw beside an altar two wooden sculptures representing emblems of Ngada culture: *bhaga* and *ngadu*—traditional local symbols of female and male ancestry lines. This iconic juxtaposition left me intrigued about the processes that led to the intermingling of Christianity and local culture, so plainly and harmoniously entwined.

A few years later when I came to Wesleyan University to work on my doctorate in ethnomusicology, I formed the subject and the (long) title of my project: "The Role of Christian Music in the Processes of Inculturation and the Creation of Identity—An Indonesian Example." I began my research in December 2001, settling this time not in Yogyakarta but in the neighboring central-Javanese city of Surakarta, planning to eventually visit Flores again. I finally departed for Flores a few weeks before Easter 2003, in order to witness celebrations of this major Christian holiday, which was of great importance to my research. The visit ultimately expanded to three months.

How and why did a Pole come to study Christian music in Indonesia? The serendipity of meeting Polish priests in a distant country, writing about the culture and people among whom they worked, and whom they loved, surely led me toward this topic. Being a Polish Catholic (at the time of my research the Pope was Polish) facilitated my contacts with people, especially in Flores, and their acceptance of me.[3] I was treated as "one of them" (among Catholics) or as a close-enough friend (among Protestants). The people of Flores seemed to perceive me as a "relative" of every Polish priest whom I visited and even of Pope John Paul II himself—revealing the importance of familial relationships in Flores. My personal conduct (many people complimented me on being "like Javanese"—well-mannered, calm, and refined) benefited me on numerous occasions, easing potential differences.

As a student in Indonesia I lived among ordinary people and prided myself on not being just a passer-by. I felt ingrained in the local community, and was able to do my research at the grassroots level, getting to know the "real" lives of common people. While I did associate with important people and great personalities—priests, bishops, and directors of institutions who influence their communities through policy making—I came to realize that the common people, often not highly educated, live the ideas and theories of the "great" in their own, no-less-great lives. Attending rehearsals of various church music groups and participating in numerous church services, weddings of church members, and radio broadcasts gave me a deep sense of the community that strives to make their local art and culture an integral part of their worship of God. Its members very often do so on their own initiative, employing tools that are at hand. Believers realize the theories in various ways, maintaining their preferences and selectively accepting programs and agendas imposed from above.

While I focus on issues of identity, I am also aware of and I scrutinize various configurations of my own identity that emerged at different points in time.

3 John Paul II (Karol Wojtyła) passed away on April 2, 2005.

When researching and traveling through Indonesia, I encountered multiple kinds of affinities. Although a foreigner in Java, I felt as if the Javanese in Flores were compatriots. Polish priests, students, and diplomats in Indonesia helped me to reconnect with the symbolic cultural heritage shared by Polish nationals. My own experiences informed my study, and the multiple identities within myself helped me to understand the subjects whom I researched. They added yet another conceptual layer to the complexity of the study. Moving frequently among three continents, I became postmodernly "deterritorialized"—as my professor and mentor, Mark Slobin, observed upon my return to Wesleyan. I harbored manifold identities that could be brought to light or waved into shadow, that created a composite "self," expanding my horizons and enriching my perspectives.

Although I endeavor to present an objective study, I acknowledge the emotional connection that I have with the subjects of my research: the music, the religion that employs this music, and the wonderful people whom I met through my study, who influenced me greatly both personally and professionally.

Research methods and sources

This book is based on the study, research, and observations that I carried out in Indonesia (central Java—primarily Yogyakarta and Surakarta area, and Flores) among Catholic and Protestant communities in 1995–1997, 2000, 2001–2003, 2010, and also on the subsequent years of writing and thinking on the issues of religion, inculturation, Christianity, and religious diaspora. The study is strongly grounded in ethnographic fieldwork that includes participant observation, audio-visual documentation, collecting of published local sources, interviews, and informal conversations. I employ qualitative research methods, which enable the presentation of multiple perspectives and in-depth interpretation of the data. I critique and evaluate collected material with a reflexive perspective in mind (see Cooley 2008). I also employ comparative methods that highlight differences and similarities between the case studies presented in this book.

Types of research data include the following:

1. live audio- and video-recordings of masses and services that use traditional music within Catholic and Protestant churches in Surakarta (San Inigo, Purbowardayan, Margoyudan, Danukusuman, Joyotakan, Coyudan, Immanuel) and Yogyakarta (Pugeran, Ganjuran, Gondokusuman); other Christian performances in Java (shadow theater, dance drama); and Christian (Catholic) celebrations in Flores.
2. observation of Christian and other festivities (for example, the Islam-related *Sekaten* festival in Surakarta and Yogyakarta); participatory experience in numerous rehearsals of various (Catholic and Protestant) church gamelan and choir groups, workshops, RRI broadcasts, performances of Christian music (masses, services, weddings, church anniversaries).
3. recorded interviews and informal conversations with artists (RRI, SMKI, ISI): composers of Christian music, choreographers, ensemble leaders;

church activists, members of various ensembles, priests and pastors involved in the inculturation process in the Catholic, Protestant, and Baptist churches; a conversation with a member of Kraton Surakarta (examining the place of religion in the palace).

4. investigation of activities of Yayasan Wayang Wahyu (Association of Wayang Wahyu) in Surakarta, Pusat Musik Liturgi (Center for Liturgical Music) in Yogyakarta and Pusat Penelitian dan Inovasi Pendidikan (Center for Research and Educational Innovation) at the Protestant University Duta Wacana in Yogyakarta.
5. questionnaires distributed among members of church ensembles in Surakarta and Yogyakarta; songbooks, collections of songs, and other notation of Christian songs and music; recordings of inculturational music obtained from other people or institutions (ISI and RRI Surakarta); recordings of traditional music of Flores from individual collectors; commercial records, exemplifying certain tendencies in the Christian music market (Christian or spiritual *keroncong*, *dangdut*, pop).

This data is supplemented by the ongoing experiential study of traditional Javanese music and dance, and observation of the general gamelan music scene in central Java as well as the indigenous research scene concerned with traditional music.

The book is divided into two parts: Java and Flores. The choice of these two particular locations was determined by my personal interests, access, and connections I had with these places. Furthermore, in many aspects, the two constituted perfect reversals, calling for comparative treatment. Central Java and the island of Flores serve as contrasting examples of Christian traditions developing, respectively, in majority and minority settings (in Muslim–Christian context). While Java is situated in the geographical and political center within the Indonesian state, Flores (in eastern Indonesia) is at the periphery. These differences determine at least partly the nature of inculturational processes that take place.

The central-Javanese example, where Christian traditions were introduced mostly in the 19–20th centuries into predominantly Muslim and resilient Javanese backgrounds, demonstrates the difficulties faced by religion developing in a minority setting. By contrast, Flores, from the time of the Portuguese in the 16th century, has preserved Christian faith—despite various historical shifts—and remained Catholic within the conducive, predominantly Christian, province of Nusa Tenggara Timur. Drawing on these two cases, I examine the many roles that music plays in the process of forming and asserting complex identities—ethnic and religious—within a multicultural national community of Indonesia. I demonstrate how Christian music in Indonesia is being made, conceptualized, and performed; how it elucidates emotions; at times, stirs controversy; how traditional art is being transformed and localized in multiple creative ways to fit contemporary contexts of Indonesian Christian Church.

The book begins with an overview of Indonesian history and culture, then proceeds to detailed analysis of particularities of inculturation, and concludes by placing these concepts in the global context. Inculturation (see Introduction) is

realized through the incorporation of various art forms (music, dance, and drama) into church worship in order to make the worship and the whole experience of Christianity relevant and meaningful to the indigenous people. Therefore the book offers concrete examples and ethnographic case studies of Christian performing art genres. Chapter 3 discusses gamelan music, the core Javanese tradition, and Chapter 4 analyzes the intersections of Christianity and dramatic forms (primarily shadow theater). Chapters 2 and 6 parallel each other: Chapter 2 introduces the major inculturational institution (PML) located in Java; Chapter 6 shows how it operates "in the field"—that is, in Flores. Chapter 5 centers on particularities of social, cultural, and religious environment of Flores, and finally, Chapter 7 discusses the makings of inculturated music of Flores, including the adaptation of traditional ritual *mata golo*. The differences and similarities between the two large case studies (of Java and Flores) analyzed in individual chapters are restated and reemphasized in the conclusion, which contextualizes Indonesian Christian music within the national and global musical and religious scenes.

Acknowledgments

I am indebted to many people and institutions that helped me throughout this project, from formal arrangements to field work to writing and publishing.

First of all, I would like to thank the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Warsaw, its former ambassador Bapak Koko Wijanarko, and staff members Bapak Yudi Fitriandi and Bapak Soegijanto, among others, for their help, support, and manifold assistance. I thank the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (Indonesian Institute of Sciences) in Jakarta for issuing an official research permit. I thank many wonderful teachers and friends in Yogyakarta (at Institut Seni Indonesia) and Surakarta: among others, Bapak Suraji (ISI) and Bapak Suripto (RRI); Mbak Anita Rosari and her family, mas Bambang Siswanto, mas Lukman; mas Michael Asmara, mas Rahmad Sudimartoyo, mbak Retnaningsih Weronika; mas Sumiyanto, mas Joko, Bapak Prabto.

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Some of the musicians who contributed to this work have (very untimely) passed away: Bapak Darsono Wignyosaputro, Bapak Surono, Pater Pit Wani, Pater Daniel Kiti, and Rama Wiyono. Hence, the following account is also a testimony to their life and legacy.

I would like to thank my family, especially my Mum, Sister, and Gran, for their continuous support; my friends and colleagues in Poland—Magda Reklewska-M'Pika, Iza Niewiadomska-Labiak, Ewa Trochimiak—and the USA, especially those from Wesleyan University—Xiaoxi Wang, Kelly Boyle, Mike Heffley, Hae

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I gratefully acknowledge my teachers and mentors at Wesleyan—Mark Slobin, Sumarsam, I. M. Harjito, and Su Zheng, as well as Marc Perlman of Brown University and Anna Czekanowska of Warsaw University.

Furthermore, I thank Dawid Martin and Warsaw Gamelan Group for countless hours of music. They kept me well balanced in the final stages of preparing the manuscript.

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I would like to thank Pan Riggs, who assisted me in the process of copyediting this manuscript and preparing it for publication.

I also thank my editors Constance Ditzel and Megha Manju Promodu at Routledge for their support, advice, and patience, and the anonymous readers for their comments that helped me to improve the earlier versions of this text (special thanks to the last reviewer for his/her graciousness and encouragement).

Neither words nor a simple mention here can convey the depth of my gratitude and appreciation for all who in one way or another have contributed to the process of materializing my research and life experiences into words. I offer this book to all the Christians who through vitality, intensity, and gusto encapsulated in their music showed me the new ways to praise and revere. This project has enriched my own spirituality considerably; it expanded not only my knowledge of ways in which people around the world celebrate their faith but also broadened my musical experience. The friendships and connections established through my research have carried into the present day. For all of these experiences and relationships I am exceedingly grateful and forevermore indebted.

Abbreviations

ASKI	Akademi Seni Karawitan Indonesia—Indonesian Art Academy of Karawitan
ASTI	Akademi Seni Indonesia—Indonesian Art Academy of Dance
d.	died
GBI	Gereja Baptist Indonesia—Indonesian Baptist Church
GBIS	Gereja Bethel Injil Sepenuh—Bethel Full Gospel House
GKI	Gereja Kristen Indonesia—Indonesian Christian (Protestant) Church
GKJ	Gereja Kristen Jawa—Javanese Christian (Protestant) Church
GKJTU	Gereja Kristen Jawa Tengah Utara—North-East Javanese Christian (Protestant) Church
GKJW	Gereja Kristen Jawi Wetan—East Javanese Christian (Protestant) Church
Ind.	Indonesian
ISI	Institut Seni Indonesia—Institute of Indonesian Arts
Jav.	Javanese
Jl.	Jalan—street
KA	Kidung Adi, a Javanese songbook
KOKAR	Konservatori Karawitan—Karawitan Conservatory
KWI	Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia—Conference of Indonesian Bishops
LS	Langen Sekar, a type of Protestant hymnody
MB	Madah Bakti, an Indonesian-language songbook published by PML
NTT	Nusa Tenggara Timur—the east Lesser Sundas—a province in eastern Indonesia
PML	Pusat Musik Liturgi—Center for Music Liturgy
PPIP	Pusat Penelitian dan Inovasi Pendidikan—Center for Research and Educational Innovation at Duta Wacana Christian (Protestant) University
RRI	Radio Republik Indonesia—Radio of the Indonesian Republic
SMKI	Sekolah Menengah Karawitan Indonesia—High School of Indonesian Karawitan
STSI	Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia—Academy of Indonesian Arts
SVD	Societas Verbum Divinum—Society of the Divine Word, a missionary congregation of the Catholic Church

Introduction

This study of music employed in Catholic and Protestant Churches in central Java and Flores, Indonesia, focuses on genres that use elements of traditional culture such as instruments, drama, dance, singing, customs, and regalia. It pursues answers to questions about the coexistence of global religion and indigenous tradition in sacred spaces. What processes have led to this coexistence? Does it have a history or does it emanate from contemporary ideas? Who are the catalysts? Who are the participants and promoters? What elements have been incorporated, adapted, or transformed?

The study also explores the ubiquitous issues of individual and communal identity, examining the creative process of identity formation that transcends local (ethnic, regional), national, and religious planes. Through the examination of different configurations of local and national manifestations of religion, it reveals how Indonesian Christian identities are constructed and how by reaching out to traditional local arts, Indonesian Christians perpetually reinforce their feelings of "belonging" to local ethnic and national communities. These feelings are not guaranteed but must be "constantly maintained through the articulation of both difference and similarity" (Lucy 2005).

I am particularly interested in the musical tastes and choices of the people who are active in their immediate Christian communities: musicians, untrained choir members, and church gamelan players. I examine the theories and agendas (political, institutional, religious) they enact, implement, and simply live in their everyday life experience. I am interested in individuals' interpretations and understandings of the concepts and programs that are being popularized and disseminated throughout Indonesia.

Church music provides the setting for an important negotiation between "western" Christian ideology and the receptive local, indigenous environment. This study elucidates the particularities of that negotiation process, its vehicles, methods, and results. How do the two interact and intertwine in music specifically? A comparative method allows the examination of similarities and dissimilarities among the approaches of Catholic and Protestant Churches, how Christian ideology acts upon the indigenous worldview, and in what ways the process of mutual interaction is determined by ethnic, historical, and cultural differences.

In the study of Indonesian music, the discussion of Christian music is nearly absent. Since the year 2000, several historical resources have been published on Asian, and specifically Indonesian, Christianity.[1] These publications underscore the increasing awareness of the significance of Christianity outside the First World, as the study of Asian Christianity evolves independent of that of Western Christianity. However, this growing interest has yet to fill large gaps in anthropological, sociological, and ethnomusicological literature. Though issues of Christianity in Africa have received considerable attention, and Christianity in India has received some attention, Christianity in Indonesia is awaiting more research.[2] Only a few dissertations deal with the issue of Christian music in Indonesia (Yoshiko Okazaki 1994 and William Robert Hodges 2009, on the Toba Batak of North Sumatra; Thomas Manhart 2004, on the people of Nias, Sumatra; Vincent Meka 2012, on Manggarai, western Flores[3]; Dustin Wiebe 2017, on Bali), and some dispersed articles can be found (Okazaki 1998; Yampolsky 1998 [unpublished conference paper]; Rappoport 2004). Most work on Indonesian topics has tended to ignore Indonesian Christianity and has not addressed the interweaving of Christianity and local practices.[4] Books by Kipp (on the Karo Batak in North Sumatra, 1990), Hayward (on the Mulia Dani of Irian Jaya, 1997), Aragon (on Central Sulawesi, 2000), and Keane (on Sumba, 2007) as well as articles by Paul Webb (on eastern Indonesia, 1986, 1990) are fine exceptions. These authors, however, discuss music little if at all. Only a couple of Indonesian authors (Sukatmi 2001; Supriyanto 2002) researched Indonesian Christian music (Javanese gamelan and dance specifically), but neither gives an overview of inculturation for both Catholic and Protestant Churches and neither includes multiple art forms. Moreover, these publications are available only in Indonesian language. Two recent books by Anne Rasmussen (2010, Harrnish and Rasmussen 2011) are a valuable contribution to the study of Islamic music in Indonesia and significantly strengthen the current interest in religious music in this part of the world. They offer a valuable counterpart to my research on Christian music in Indonesia.

This book is a case study in the cultural, religious, and political aspects of inculturation and its implications. It presents processes inherent to inculturation and the creation of identity, showing how the two operate, where they intersect, and how they permeate each other. Although it focuses on the present state

1 See Sunquist (2001), Klinken (2003), Steenbrink (2003, 2008, 2015), McLeod (2006), Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008), Wilfred (2014), Sanneh (2016).

2 Michael H. Webb (1995) writes on issues of music and Christianity in Papua New Guinea, while Zoe Sherinian (1998, 2014) writes on South India, Francis P. Barboza (1990) discusses Christianity in Indian dance forms, T. M. Scruggs in Latin America (2005), and Nicholas Ssempijja in Uganda, East Africa (2011).

3 Ph.D. dissertation written in Polish, at the Catholic University in Lublin, Poland.

4 The classical anthropological work by Clifford Geertz on *The Religion of Java* (1960) and the publication by Andrew Beatty on Javanese religion (1999), do not deal with Christianity at all.

of inculturation, it is more completely understood through historical context. "Modern practices and processes of inculturation have been shaped by historical moments of translation, adaptation, and exchange," as Engelhardt points out (2006:1).[5] The efforts of western as well as indigenous evangelists, who struggled to relay the meaning of the Christian Gospel and searched for the best ways and tools to do so, laid a foundation for present-day trials of bringing God's word to contemporary Indonesian society. This complex history makes clear that inculturation as a concept, process, and formula is over a century old. The only new elements are its name, its institutionalized agenda, and the interpretation of the past—the way in which it is viewed and acknowledged.

As a study in music inculturation specifically, this book contributes to the ongoing debate on contextual theology in Asia.[6] It shows how cultural contextualization can be enacted through music; how religious expression can be made relevant in an indigenous context; and how grassroots Christianity is being realized by means of music. Music—a powerful marker of identity—paves the way for distinctly Asian theology (see Lim 2008; Loh 2012, 2013).

Christianity has been indigenized in Indonesia in myriad ways. Through discussion of Christianity and its indigenous expressions, this book presents multiple ways in which Indonesians reiterate their identity through music by creatively forging Christian and indigenous elements. Such identity is not fragmented, but holistic, integrated, and complete.

This book moves beyond the discussion (and a charge) of syncretism in postcolonial countries, showing that the inclusion of indigenous music (and other local cultural manifestations) is an answer to creating a truly indigenous Christian expression.[7] Such inclusion looks at indigenous cultural heritage as an abundant source to draw from, not a threat to Christian beliefs.[8] Indonesian efforts in inculturation that result in innovative cultural products enrich the global Christian heritage. They are examples of how inculturation can be executed and lived by indigenous people themselves. Through multifaceted processes of inculturation,

5 See B. Andaya (2017) who situates the historical beginnings of the contemporary processes associated with "the global/local interface of Christianity" in Southeast Asia in the 16th century.

6 See Chan (2014), Campbell (2015), Valle (2010), Ariyanto (2011), Tan (2000), Pieris (1988), Elwood (1980), Anderson (1976), and Michalson (1960).

7 A similar stance of treating indigenous Christianity as autonomous and equal (to western Christianity) is shown in works by such authors as Aragon and Keane. While Aragon acknowledges that the Protestant Tobaku highlanders of Central Sulawesi are "not deficient Christians but simply distinctive ones" (2000:9), Keane, who writes about Sumbanese Christians, recognizes that many postcolonial societies have made Christianity their own (2007:8). See also Danilyn Rutherford's review of these issues (*After Syncretism: The Anthropology of Islam and Christianity in Southeast Asia*, 2002).

8 Simon Chan, in his recent book (*Grassroots Asian Theology: Thinking the Faith from the Ground Up*, 2014), argues that it is a mistake to judge preoccupations of Asian communities with the realm of spirits and demons or relations with the ancestors and "the living dead" as expressions of syncretism and superstition. To hold such opinion is to deny the close theological connections between traditional Asian religion and biblical Christianity.

in its various forms and creative manifestations, Christianity becomes a living faith, one that constantly evolves and adapts to cultural, communal, and individual life and context.

Terminology

The foundation of every meaningful discussion is a common vocabulary that can be employed in order to communicate effectively. Specific terminology connotes particular ideology. The key concept in this study is the notion of *inculturation*, which relates to the broad discourse on *cultural contact* and acculturation. In order to understand the motives for using the term *inculturation* in the depiction of complex contemporary processes considered in this book, a brief discussion of the genealogy of the term *inculturation* is helpful, followed by the reasons some scholars prefer this term to other terms of similar attribution.

Cultural contact—pertinent to the matters discussed in this book—largely denotes an encounter between European and non-European cultures. For decades, scholars describing and analyzing the phenomenon of *cultural contact* have used the term *acculturation* to describe its results.[9] In the early history of anthropology and ethnomusicology, the term *acculturation* sometimes had ethnocentric or racist—supremacist overtones or was based on negative value judgments. Because it emerged during the late colonial period in the context of the study of "primitive" cultures, its ideological framework was influenced by concepts of superiority and subordination. Scholars have viewed acculturation in diverse ways: from highly negative, to neutral, to very positive.[10]

The related term *acculturation* has been seriously questioned and resisted as its use and ascribed meanings and connotations have evolved. Ethnomusicological critique of this is particularly relevant to this study because the flaws and failures of acculturation point to the possible strengths of inculturation as it has been defined. Margaret Kartomi drew attention to the pejorative implications and inadequacy of acculturation and its derivatives, which stress "the union of the disparate parent elements" and deny or underestimate the uniqueness of the resulting musical product. Instead of the results of cultural contact, Kartomi proposes to place emphasis on the "positive musical processes set in motion" by it

9 The first systematic treatment of *acculturation* can be found in the work of Melville J. Herskovits. For Herskovits, "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of both groups." See the "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation" (published in *American Anthropologist* 38, 1936, pp.149–152). See also Herskovits 1938.

10 The ethnomusicological discourse concerning acculturation and cultural contact peaked in the 1970s, when acculturation became a primary subject of many regional studies; it remained of interest through the 1980s, and eventually declined in the 1990s.

(1987:26).[11] Her criticism reinforces the critique put forward by religion scholars, which is introduced below.

As western influence persisted, and technology, mass media, and tourism grew, discourse on acculturation and related issues became increasingly complex and diversified. Continuing dissatisfaction with the shortcomings of the term *acculturation* eventually led to the diversification of terminology (Reinecke 1991, Witte 1991). Terms such as *synthesis*, *syncretism*, and *transculturation* became more prominent, indicating a clear shift in ethnomusicological interests (Kartomi and Blum 1994). More recently, terms such as *indigenization* and *contextualization* were added to the plethora of expressions. The most up-to-date theoretical review of acculturation, contextualization and related terms in ethnomusicology wrote Zoe Sherinian (2005), in particular on the adaptation of Kaplan's typology of indigenization as applied to Tamil music. Sherinian proposes a classification of indigenization, designating acculturation one of its stages (2005:132). Therefore, in anthropology and ethnomusicology writings, a variety of terms persist, which is determined by the author's inclination, theoretical background, and subject of analysis.[12]

Acculturation's history of contradictory and unclear meanings urged the search for new, more adequate terms that would emphasize—in the context of cultural contact—the process and the agency, rather than the results, often perceived as undesirable and detrimental. One of the terms that this search yielded is *inculturation*, very often defined in opposition to *acculturation*.

The phenomenon of inculturation

Though *acculturation* and *indigenization* are used mainly in sociology and anthropology (also important in ethnomusicology), *inculturation* generally prevails in the fields of theology, liturgy, and missiology, having become a theological buzzword (Quack 1993:3).[13] Inculturation has been an important subject of postcolonial studies, both as a term and as a phenomenon, and it has occasioned a large body of theological, cultural, and musical literature. It has been used not only in ecclesiastical circles but also among music educators, religious advocates, and activists. It will be applied in this book as the central construct from which to analyze and interpret indigenous practices in Christian contemporary contexts. This application seems justified for several reasons. Inculturation seems better suited as a term because of its lack of straightforward colonial connotations, even though

11 Kartomi presented her ideas first at the 1979 conference on Transplanted European Music Cultures in Adelaide, Australia (the conference proceedings were published in 1987). See also other publications on this topic by Kartomi: 1994 (Kartomi and Blum), 2001. Engelhardt, when discussing inculturation (see below), also emphasizes the importance of the process over the outcome.

12 For example, Hayward (1997) chooses to identify his study as vernacular Christianity, Sherinian (2005) prefers to use the term indigenization, while Manhart (2004) employs interculturation.

13 Lublin Catholic University in Poland, for example, introduced a course devoted to inculturation.

the term does have European origins. The processes described in this book exceed the context of colonialism and its effects. Colonial government for the most part was disinterested and unsupportive of missionary endeavors (see Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008:100, 138); thus to some extent missionaries were independent of colonial politics.[14] Inculturation under the Indonesian label *inkulturasi* is commonly used in Indonesia to refer to processes of inclusion of local cultural (and musical) elements in Christian liturgy and worship.

As Margaret Kartomi was dissatisfied with *acculturation* and searched for other words to describe its related processes, religion scholars who investigated instances of cultural contact in its relevance to Christianity were even more eager to replace this term, because of its negative connotations. Other scholarly terms have been criticized: *indigenization* as obsolescent, *contextualization* as imprecise, *accommodation* and *adaptation* as inadequate. Anthropologist and historian Aylward Shorter warns that acculturation may lead "merely to a juxtaposition of unassimilated cultural expressions." For Shorter, inculturation "transcends mere acculturation" (1988:12).[15] He calls for "the shift … away from acculturation," defined as "the insertion of indigenous elements into patterns that are basically Western," and toward inculturation, which is "the creation of indigenous patterns themselves" (1988:266). This "creation of indigenous patterns" is key to understanding inculturational practices in contemporary Indonesia.

Inculturation was introduced and popularized by members of the Society of Jesus. First used by French missiologist Pierre Charles in 1953, it reappeared in 1962 in the work of Joseph Masson, who called for "'inculturated Catholicism'—an opening of the Church toward all cultures" (Quack 1993:3). Both the concept and the term became popular in the 1970s through the efforts of African bishops and theologians, who saw it as an ally against the consequences of cultural alienation and a guarantee of a genuinely African Christianity. It was then that the word found its way into official papal documents. After the 1974 Rome Synod of Bishops on Evangelization, the actual theology of inculturation was formed.[16] This theology constituted a new vision of a multicultural Catholic Church, recognizing that faith would become culture if it were to be fully received and lived. As Shorter (1988:XI) emphasizes, however, there is a contrast between "theological progress on the subject and official reluctance to sanction cultural diversity in practice," which he considers "a feature of the contemporary Catholic Church." In this regard, practice has not always conformed to official instructions.[17]

Over the decades, *inculturation* has retained its primary theological meaning: "the incarnation of the message of Jesus Christ about the coming of the kingdom

14 See also Keane for the explanation of reasons why indigenous Christianity cannot be discussed only within the framework of colonialism (2007:8–9).

15 Some authors treat acculturation as one of the phases preceding inculturation.

16 The change in Church politics considering evangelization and interactions with non-European communities emerged from the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) but was popularized later.

17 Similarly, Arbuckle (2010) draws attention to the impasse in implementation of inculturational directives in the new millennium.

of God into a human culture" (Quack 1993:4). Shorter defines inculturation as "the on-going dialogue between faith and culture or cultures," or more fully, "the creative and dynamic relationship between the Christian message and a culture or cultures" (1988:11). Because it can exist only in a cultural form, the Christian faith must be integrated with or "transposed" into the local culture, in time transforming it. This is a two-way process in which Christianity is also formulated and interpreted anew by local culture. In this process of mutual enrichment, according to Shorter, missionaries have an especially important mediating task: to "listen, stimulate, canalize" (1988:247).[18] They are to help indigenous people "not only to preserve their culture, but to adapt it to a changed social situation" (1988:246). The indigenous people, in turn, need to recognize their cultural ideals, learn about their culture, and develop it creatively, learning to enrich and be enriched by people of other cultures.

In ethnomusicology, the discipline most relevant to this study, inculturation has been theorized by Jeffers Engelhardt (2006), who outlines its "genealogies, meanings, and musical dynamics." His clear-cut definition of inculturation as "the adaptation or transformation of Christian liturgical expressions and the gospel message under new or changing cultural conditions" embraces the most important facets of this term. Central to this work is the understanding of inculturation as "an idea, practice, and process," through which religious ideas and beliefs are being made meaningful for local communities, through the medium of music. The process of inculturation highlights "the intercultural dynamics of religious translation and adaptation across differences," while drawing attention to contextual similarities and commonalities, and encouraging individual and communal creativity. Engelhardt stresses "the *descriptive* and *critical* [emphasis added] value of thinking in terms of inculturation," for inculturation tackles important issues such as "agency, change, translation, consciousness, experience, and efficacy," which will be addressed in the course of this study. In theorizing inculturation, Engelhardt points to the novel (third) way of approaching it—one that focuses neither on sameness "for the sake of orthodoxy" nor syncretism "as the explanation of new religious phenomena." While concepts of "sameness," may also invoke notions of "purity" (which in full is impossible), syncretism likewise fails as an explicatory tool in defining contemporaneity.[19] The third way concentrates "on the processes and practices of inculturation" rather than on its outcomes, "on the negotiations, translations, and transformations that mediate religious messages in new cultural contexts and illuminate their value and potential." Only inculturation conceived as "performance, feeling, experience, consciousness, embodiment, and efficacy" allows for moving beyond the limiting framework of syncretism, which is the goal of this work. Theoretically and experientially, inculturation provides a way to move toward a more sophisticated level of cultural analysis: consciousness (see Barz 2003). The phenomenological approach thus conceptualizes

18 Missionaries have been largely replaced by indigenous priests.
19 See Keane 2007:24, 79).

music as a realm of experience, allowing for tackling fundamental issues in the study of music and culture such as musical meaning, musical interpretation, and "the nature of the performance event" (Berger 2015:1, 25). This study centers on processes of inculturation as they bring to fore "the agentive, dignifying, and religiously meaningful possibilities" for Christian liturgy and worship. The "performative, feelingful, experiential, conscious, embodied, and efficacious" aspects of inculturation (Engelhardt 2006:3) are enacted in multiple ways (often differing regionally and individually) through music composition, arrangement and performance, song and dance, and instrument playing in a way that is intentional and culturally effective (meaningful, relevant, emotive, moving). Through such performative practices, a religious message becomes fully integrated and complete, while faith is articulated in ways that are conscious and full of agency.

In the past decade or so, the topic of inculturation has become widely popular not only in scholarly literature but also in many public forums, especially evident in the virtual world. A Google search revealed only a few entries in 2001; the same search yields more than 300,000 results today. *Inculturation* has evidently displaced such terms as *accommodation*, *assimilation*, *adaptation*, *acculturation*, *indigenization*, and *contextualization*, fulfilling its theoretical potential. After *inculturation*, other terms were invented, but none has surpassed the popularity of its predecessor.[20]

The concept of inculturation, however, raises questions about its practical implementation and the nature of local elements that are active in the process: who chooses them, how are they chosen, and for what reasons? In real-life situations, inculturation often generates varying opinions, views, interpretations, controversies even, and consequently, multiple executions. Inculturational practices are in fact a confluence of personal understanding and interpretation and official Church guidelines. Because of all these qualities, inculturation is an ongoing, perpetual process, constantly "in creation," a process that along the way yields "products" such as local Christian music compositions, shadow plays, and dance presentations. These "products," however, through their continual enactments, become highly fluid and variable.

Inculturation cannot be viewed as a strictly religious or even cultural phenomenon. Its relevance for socio-economic liberation and development can be observed in African and Indian societies, where it has had a great influence upon both national and social liberation movements.[21] Inculturation challenges both authoritarianism and exaggerated centralism within the church by stressing the importance of local forces. According to the directives of inculturation, indigenous people are given authority over their Christian heritage and thus have the power and agency to inculturate.

20 The most recent comprehensive study of inculturation from both theological and anthropological perspectives was authored by Gerald A. Arbuckle: *Culture*, *Inculturation*, *Theologians: A Postmodern Critique* (2010).

21 See Sherinian (1998, 2014) and Clarke (1998) for further reference.

Contextualization: the Protestant counterpart of inculturation

The idea of inculturation in Indonesia originated and developed within the Catholic Church. Later it was adopted and applied by Protestant churches, which sometimes prefer to call this phenomenon *contextualization* (Indonesian *kontekstualisasi*). Because the essence of these two terms is very similar, this book uses the term *inculturation* for consistency in the discussion of both Catholic and Protestant Churches in Indonesia. The following brief account of the genealogy of *contextualization* helps to further elucidate its meaning.[22]

Contextualization is the foremost term in Protestant missiology and can be defined as "communicating the Gospel in understandable terms appropriate to the audience."[23] Elaborating further, Bruce J. Nicholls (2003) states that contextualization of the gospel is presenting it in "forms which are characteristic of the culture to which the gospel is taken." For Nicholls the challenge is finding the right cultural forms and keeping the gospel message both clear and biblical. He identifies two levels of contextualization: cultural and theological. Another source defines contextualization as "meaningful and appropriate cross-cultural transmission of Biblical truth which is faithful to its original intent and sensitive to culture."[24] Contextualization is necessary if Christian meaning is to be preserved in the communication process (Hesselgrave 1991).[25] A missionary or an evangelist contextualizes the message into the worldview of his or her respondents. The message is then decoded and evaluated in the context of the specific worldview. Only then, "the true missionary communication can begin" (Hesselgrave 1991). Jennings (2006) stresses the process-like quality of contextualization, defining it as "Christianity becoming 'contextual,' or appropriate and fitting to its various settings."

The term *contextualization* was theorized in the early 1970s in reaction to the spread of the term *indigenization*, which was critiqued for "its more narrow anthropological focus on such cultural realities as language and traditional customs" (Jennings 2006). The conception of contextualization in Asia was authored by a Taiwanese theologian, Shoki Coe (1968).[26] The issues related to contextualization are linguistic and cultural "translatability" and tension between universality and particularity (see Jennings 2006; Sanneh 1989, 2005). Contextualization can be understood in two ways: evangelical (following inculturational meaning) and neo-orthodox and liberal (following sociological meaning).[27] In the first case,

22 An impressive bibliography on contextualization can be found at http://www.wheaton.edu/intr/Moreau/courses/532/biblio/biblio.htm.

23 http://guide.gospelcom.net/resources/context.php.

24 Contextualization: SIM Position Paper (http://africamissions.org/africa/contxSIM.html).

25 In other words, communicating the gospel in specific situations involves a contextualization process, which—according to Hesselgrave—includes definition, selection, adaptation, and application. For details, see his full article: http://home.snu.edu/~HCULBERT/context.htm.

26 See Wheeler (2002).

27 See McDowell (1994:125) for details.

the message remains unchanged yet relevant; in the latter, the context becomes part of the content.

Contextualization in the field of music lags behind theological contextualization. A pan-Asian effort toward contextualization of church music has been undertaken by I-to Loh, a Taiwanese pastor educated in theology, music composition, and ethnomusicology. In 1984, through the Asian Institute for Liturgy and Music, Loh published a songbook, *A Festival of Asian Christmas Music*, containing songs from different parts of Asia, including Indonesia; and subsequently developed a publication series on Asian church music. In 2000, he published another "hymnal of world music compiled specifically for Asian Christians," titled *Sound the Bamboo*.[28] It contains over 300 indigenous Asian hymns, songs, and ritual music from over 20 different countries representing 40 Asian languages. While the earlier songbook uses western staff notation exclusively, *Sound the Bamboo* employs cipher notation, which may be interpreted as an increased effort in localization. The publisher advertises the hymnal as one that "truly demonstrates how God's name can be proclaimed and praised across culture with unity despite diversity."[29] The hymnal was published under the auspices of the Christian Conference of Asia, and follows the tradition instigated by the East Asian Christian Conference and its hymnal edited by Sri Lankan pastor and evangelist D. T. Niles (1963).[30] These hymnals constitute an attempt at developing an Asian Christian repertory of songs that conforms to Asian cultural and musical experience. As a reviewer of the "Sound the Bamboo" notes, this hymnal is "a collection with a distinctively Asian ethos, in both sounds and musical forms" (Donaldson 2010:48). I-to Loh further explores Asian aspects in Christian worship in his book *In Search for Asian Sounds and Symbols in Worship* (Singapore: Trinity Theological College, 2012). His work is continued by his student, Swee Hong Lim (2008).

An Indonesian theologian, A. Sukarto, while advocating music contextualization, calls music "a special language" which is difficult to translate. In support of his argument, he cites Judith Becker (1990:15–25), who argues that a foreign music, even if mastered, still does not evoke the same emotions as one's own, for music is not universal, cannot be translated, and has an intimate, individual voice. (In light of Becker's writing, music is an indication of identity.) Contextualization of liturgical music should, then, as Sukarto suggests, become a "language," a platform where culture and gospel meet.

Protestant Churches in Indonesia to greater or lesser degree stress contextualization; thus, indigenous musics are also incorporated to differing extents. For example, the largest Protestant denomination in Indonesia, Huria Kristen Batak

28 This is a revised version. The first edition of the hymnal was published in 1990.

29 This citation comes from the website of GIA Publications: https://www.giamusic.com/products/P-6830.cfm.

30 The Christian Conference of Asia is a regional ecumenical organization that represents 15 National Councils and over 100 denominations in Asia. I-to Loh has also edited the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan official hymnal, *Seng-si* (2009), and the pan-Asian hymnal, *Let the Asian Church Rejoice!* (Singapore: Methodist School of Music, 2015).

Protestan (HKBP or the Batak Christian Protestant Church), allows for only cautious and restricted use of traditional music (see Okazaki 1994, 1998). Of the Protestant Churches in Java, it is the Gereja Kristen Jawa that includes traditional music most methodically and extensively. Other churches do it to a lesser extent; it very much depends on a particular local church congregation. Thus, in a Surakarta church belonging to Gereja Kristen Indonesia (Indonesian Christian Church), traditional music might be incorporated as described in Chapter 3. A local Baptist church (in Surakarta) may also use traditional gamelan occasionally. In South Sulawesi (Toraja) and Sumba, as both Rappoport (2004) and Keane (2007) report, inculturation has not yet become popular. Even though the regional churches—Gereja Toraja (Reformed Calvinist Church) in South Sulawesi and Gereja Kristen Sumba—make some efforts toward inculturation, for various reasons the process has not yet developed much.[31]

Inculturation in the eyes of Indonesians

The implementation of inculturation depends primarily on pastors in charge of particular churches and people responsible for the music of religious services. In Java, the latter are often artists affiliated with various institutions such as Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI), Institut Seni Indonesia (ISI or Indonesian Institute of Arts), and Sekolah Menengah Karawitan (SMKI or Indonesian High School of Karawitan). In Flores, they are graduates of Catholic schools, educated in western classical music, liturgical music, and to some extent in traditional local musics.[32] The section below discusses how selected individuals, representing the two groups (mentioned above), perceive their roles in the process of inculturation. They bring up various aspects of inculturation, pointing to its challenges and dangers. They also provide multiple reasons why inculturation is necessary, validating its continuance and revealing their personal reasons for being involved in it.

According to Rama Jono, pastor of the Purbowardayan church in Surakarta, inculturation has both broad and narrow meanings. In the broader sense, it is "a spiritual expression corresponding to the human situation, social situation at a given time," while in its narrower sense, it is an expression channeled through a given culture (for example, Javanese). Rama Jono considers inculturation in

31 Rappoport deems attempts to incorporate traditional elements of Toraja ritual music into Christian service unsuccessful thus far, "as these new hybrid songs mixing traditional features with Christian hymnody are not yet widely sung in churches" (2004:390). Keane observes that the local congregations themselves resisted the introduction of Sumbanese music and dance in the church as well as the efforts to replace the Indonesian and Dutch languages with Sumbanese religious vocabulary (2007:108), likely because of "poor fit between the local circumstances and a semiotic ideology" (109).

32 The education is heavily church based, giving the Church control over who teaches at the Catholic schools and who participates in music activities in the church. It is quite common that people engaged in composition and church music are former seminary students who did not pursue priesthood.

Java and Indonesia as rather accidental and not very intensive so far. He actively supports inculturation, considering it a positive phenomenon. This is apparent in fairly regular use of Javanese gamelan (and occasional use of Javanese dance) in his parish church. Rama Jono also notes the possible danger that it may become a spectacle, a show, rather than a true expression of spirituality and faith. He emphasizes personal relevance of inculturation to worshippers: it has to connect with the souls of contemporary people. For young people who may not be familiar with traditional Javanese culture, different methods or (music) styles should be used to reach them.

An SVD priest and musician, Pater Dan Kiti, stresses the creative aspect of inculturation, as does Aylward Shorter (1988). In his opinion, inculturation is transformation from local culture to church culture; it implies reconstruction and reformation. To inculturate means to build a new construction, even though rooted in local culture. As Pater Dan notes, at present, there is no "pure" inculturation. Inculturation is a slow, years-long process, requiring extensive thought and preparation. It is not static; it is in constant development, a process of "becoming." Pater Dan envisions that this process will continue until inculturational practices become habitual and widely accepted. Even then, one cannot say that the inculturation will cease, because the faith will always need to be adapted to the present-day life.

Pater Dan Kiti emphasizes the importance of indigenous people joining the process of inculturation and feeling active in it. They should be subjects in this process, and not objects. It is they who need to research and incorporate the culture of their ancestors. They need to absorb, develop, create, and transform, so it (a song, for example) becomes something new, not just a copy (D. Kiti, interview). The role of the priest in this process is seen more as an educator—he should prepare the faithful for active participation, trying to find together with parishioners what exactly can be inculturated, and deepen the understanding of inculturation purposes, goals, and terminology (according to the Vatican Council II directives). Those who are involved in inculturation first need to understand their own culture well. The priest should provide explanations and adequately prepare the faithful so that they are ready to participate.

Because vocal music and singing are primary elements of the church setting, Pater Dan identifies a goal of inculturation as being able to sing according to one's cultural expression (for example, people of Java and Flores would prefer different songs). Similarly, for Pater Pit Wani, inculturation means that Europeans and Florenese articulate faith in their own ways, according to their own cultural habits and means (language, symbols, music). Thus, inculturation involves expressing one's belief in God in the way that is most appropriate for one's home and identity. Pater Wani formulates the goal of inculturation as follows:

> So a [particular] person more and more expresses one's faith in one's own ways. Inculturation is ongoing; it will never reach a certain point where it will be finished. But the more people acknowledge [it], the more they respect their culture, their customs, and traditions. … People must … appreciate their culture.

The expression of inculturation is closely linked with one's appreciation for one's own culture. If the cultural awareness is high, inculturation will progress naturally; it will not have to be forced. People who remain embedded in their traditional culture will naturally express Christian religion through traditional means.

Pater Pit Wani strongly emphasizes the value of local culture. He is not worried that traditional culture may die out. He believes that there are supreme values, which will be maintained in perpetuity. He stresses the need for awareness of the real meaning and appreciation of traditional local ideals and the importance that these ideals are observed and maintained. As he emphasizes, preserving values is not a matter of external expression (for example, wearing traditional dress) but of overarching convictions and behaviors that are positive, reinforced by the community, and sustained. The expressions may change over time, but the values are unchanged. If people are aware that supreme standards are the foundation for the customs and traditions, then they will maintain them and pass them on. People's awareness of their values and their importance, merit, significance, necessity, and relevance will ensure the perpetuation of these values.

As perceived and defined by respondents, the aim of inculturation is to instill Christian spirituality in all believers so it will become an integral part of their person and will be recognized as their own cultural heritage, not foreign. Pater John Ghono formulates the aim of inculturation as follows:

> So that the faith of the religious community (*umat*), our faith, the Christian faith, would be truly rooted inside. A person should not feel estranged, that this comes from an outside teaching. … On the contrary, one [feels] integrated; one feels that it belongs to us; it becomes a part of oneself because it is united with one's culture. If I still feel alienated from Christian teaching, on the one hand I have my own culture, [on the other] the Christian teaching itself—I am not [an] integrated [person]. I am always divided into halves. But if Christian teaching is united with local culture, [if it is] integrated, it is as if there is no longer any difference. That means that the inculturation was successful.

Pater Eman Weroh stresses the contextuality of inculturation, explaining that one of the goals of inculturation is to enable people (*masyarakat* or *umat*) to "celebrate their faith through the nuances of their culture, in the context of their culture." This will be more effective, and as a result, people will not feel that their religion came from the west. On the contrary, it will feel like "their own" because they can celebrate their faith in the context of their own culture (E. Weroh, interview). Therefore, in other words, a process of internalization should be taking place—not to disguise the "western" religion or to dress it in new clothes but to internalize and accept it as their own. The determinant of internalization and full integration reaching a deep spiritual level is the feeling of happiness, which is accomplished by expressing faith by means of one's own culture.

> And one is happy, one must be happy. But if not yet, one is not happy yet, it means [that] it is still foreign. It means—I feel—[that] it is not the

> inculturation in a deep manner yet. If a person is already happy, sings during the mass, he rejoices, it means [that] already [inculturation has reached the deep level]. (J. Ghono, interview)

All interviewees assign to music a special (even primary) role in the process of inculturation. Pater Pit Wani constructs an order of importance of the elements in the inculturational process: music (including dance), visual art (decoration), traditional clothing, and architecture (least important). According to Pater Dan Kiti, in the process of inculturation some music elements (for example, singing) can be transformed more quickly than others.

According to interviewees, the most effective way to introduce Christianity and successfully inculturate is through music. This is because music has a unique ability to integrate people and to bring them together. Music constitutes one of the most powerful expressions of faith: very concrete, most suitable and best understood by people (E. Weroh, interview). Pater Włodzimierz Gorgoń points out that music and singing seem to be more effective as a prayer, and touch people's hearts. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Church has always paid great attention to music, its form, and practice.[33] Inculturation through music (both vocal and instrumental) is engaging and enjoyable. Interviewees emphasize that it was music that opened the door for inculturation in Indonesia. After music, other cultural elements could be actively inculturated.

> Inculturation here began, first of all, with music in fact. [Then] slowly other things entered as well. First, it started with music. For our people … if they sing, they feel they also pray. It is said: if you sing, you pray twice. In here, this becomes very tangible. (W. Gorgoń, interview)
>
> Music is the easiest way [for religion] to enter. [For] inculturation … music is the number one. Music so easily makes people [feel] united. Because of that it is important. … Although I said earlier it is the language—without [local] language it would not be possible, would it? That's right but this would be still dry [only language], it must be [done] with arts, and the most important art is music. Therefore, the entrance door for inculturation was music, at first. (J. Ghono, interview)

Music is the foremost medium to express, stimulate, and evoke emotions. These emotions pour out through music. Music is even more—it is the soul of spiritual life; it enlivens the faith (J. Ghono, interview). This is why the presence of local music in church services is of utmost importance.

> Music has a role in the spiritual life (*kehidupan iman*) and life of the Church—maybe this is exaggeration but I feel that music is a kind of soul and spirit

33 See Church documents on music: Overath (1969), Hayburn (1979), Faulkner 1996), Music (1998).