

**Complex Centers and Powerful Peripheries:  
Catholicism, Music, and Identity Politics in Indonesia**

by

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the  
Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2020

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

DIETRICH SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

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This dissertation interrogates issues of piety, power, and politics through music in the Roman Catholic Church in multi-lingual, multi-ethnic Indonesia. This study implicates the power of institutions (the State and the Church), people (musicians, liturgical leaders, and congregants alike), and materials (hymnbooks, liturgical pamphlets, and other related media). My aim is to ethnographically re-center music produced by and for Catholic communities as a corrective to complicated and often troubling histories of center-periphery dynamics in religious, economic, musical, and political studies in Indonesia. Musical materials—such as the *Madah Bakti* hymnal, produced by the *Pusat Musik Liturgi* (PML) Center for Liturgical Music in Yogyakarta, Indonesia—have become key sites for communicating different visions of Indonesian Catholic identity and religious experience. Moving beyond a project that simply recounts historical and ethnographic narratives of Catholics in Indonesia, I ask: In what ways does the production, circulation, and consumption of music for Catholic communities shape the religious identities and experiences of Catholics in Indonesia? How do Catholics in Indonesia use music to express their minority identity and desire for representation and justice, in a nation where religious pluralism is included in official state discourse but increasingly occluded in daily social practice? And finally, who gets to musically control the discourse, practice, and meaning of Catholicism in Indonesia, and how is that power at times subverted? Focusing on the experience of Catholic communities on the islands of Java, Flores, and North Sumatra, this project will simultaneously work to

ethnographically re-center traditional center-periphery power models, acknowledging that communities in peripheral islands have agentive power which makes them centers in certain ideological schema. Ultimately, this work ultimately transcends the particularities of music made by and for Catholics in Indonesia, showing how musical materials and the practices which surround them can be used to assert minority religious identity while at the same time speaking to the complex national and global histories which inform such power-filled artistic practices.

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## Preface

This project started with a book—when I encountered the *Madah Bakti* hymnal in 2012—but the foundation for it had begun much before that. In 2009 I had my first experience of living and learning in Indonesia, as a study abroad student through the School of International Training Program on the island of Bali. In addition to language class and cultural history lessons, I lived with a host family who taught me how to move outside my comfort zone, embrace cultural and religious differences, and laugh at myself. This initial exposure to a place and way of life previously completely unknown to me—not to mention the challenge of diving into the social and musical intricacies of learning Balinese gamelan with a local women’s group—taught me to listen more acutely to the instruction of people around me, in and outside of traditional academic pathways of knowledge. That desire to learn through experience lead me back to Indonesia during the 2011-12 school year, where I taught as a Fulbright English Teaching Assistant at an Islamic boarding school in a rural town in South Sulawesi, learning to tell time by listening to the call to prayer and figuring out how to navigate the excitement of living with 500 teenage neighbors, and a herd of goats. While I did not spend that year overtly learning about music or religion, living in an Islamic community informed the way I came to understand the function of religion—and relatedly the practice of Catholicism—in Indonesia. That was also the year that, for my 23<sup>rd</sup> birthday, I was given the *Madah Bakti* hymnal by a friend, and began hearing murmurs about the work of some “Jesuit brothers” in Yogyakarta.

These Jesuits of whom I heard became concrete to me in the work and person of Romo Karl-Edmund Prier S.J. who, during the summer of 2017, graciously allowed me to come and see inculturation “as we do it” at the PML, the *Pusat Musik Liturgi* or Center for Liturgical Music that

he runs in Yogyakarta, Central Java. While I had heard of inculturation before—both as liturgical practice emerging out of and in various cultural contexts, and as a Catholic theological principle popular in the wake of the Second Vatican Council—I had yet to witness the implementation of this concept in as systematic, concrete, and contextualized a way as I saw it approached at the PML. The connections made that summer (2017)—both at the PML and with the broader Catholic community in Yogyakarta—became the bedrock supporting my dissertation research, providing the network necessary to carry out what became an intense multi-sited research project. I returned for formal research in 2018 and while Yogyakarta was my home base, I traveled every few weeks to cities where I typically arrived knowing no one. The religious communities who willingly welcomed this wandering research—housing, feeding, and introducing me to local musicians—made this project possible and my experience doing it safe and joyful. In Bandung, the R.S.C.J. community, who first told me about the work of the PML, bookended my time in Indonesia that year, and supported me during some of the more agonizing parts of the immigration and research process. My time in Flores was greatly enhanced through the support and kindness of the S.V.D. and S.Sp.S. communities in Ledalero, Ende, Mataloko, Ruteng, and Lubuan Bajo, Flores. In addition to helping me get from city to city with various traveling priests or drivers, I was welcomed into their diverse religious communities whose members each taught me about what it meant to be who they were, and how music and faith were an integral part of that. None of these connections in Flores would have been possible without the extensive network of PML constituents around the country, especially in Eastern Indonesia. I would like to thank Romo Prier and the PML and *Toko Puskat* staff, for constantly putting up with my naïve questions, entertaining my far-fetched research plans, and welcoming me into their work and lives, thank you. Wisma PTPM became my home away from home in Yogyakarta, and their staff my friends and confidants.

Mbak Riana who worked at the PTPM during her studies in Yogyakarta, connected me with Pastor Ferdi and the S.F.D. community in Medan. The kindness of this Priest and these Sisters, and the permission of Archbishop Sinaga, O.F.M. Cap. to do research in his Archdiocese, made my month in Medan productive and filled with fun.

A quick note on nomenclature is appropriate here, as it may have already caused confusion. The terms used throughout this work for “Father” or Roman Catholic Priest reflect the historical and local conventions used in each community I worked in. Romo, a Javanese term for priest or holy man, was employed by most of the Priests I knew in Java, particularly among the Jesuit community. Romo was also often used by Diocesan Priests—those working at the behest of their local Bishop/Archbishop and not part of a particular order—throughout the country, including in Flores. Priests in the S.V.D. community, the most prevalent religious community on Flores, went by Pater, preferring the use of Latin nomenclature to other alternatives. And finally, in Medan and North Sumatra, Pastor was the most common term I heard used for a Catholic Priest, Diocesan or otherwise. My use of each title reflects my experience in the field, as a way of honoring each Priest according to how they were known in their community. These titles also echo the complex histories that lent Pastor, Pater, or Romo as the appropriate term for Priest in the various islands covered in this study, a history that deserves to be acknowledged.

I would be remiss if I did not further acknowledge the people, institutions, and communities whose financial, academic, and spiritual support kept me going during my years of preparing for, carrying out, and writing this dissertation project. Two summers of funding from the University of Pittsburgh Asian Studies Center INPAC grant allowed me to make the connections in Yogyakarta and at the ICTM PASEA conference which grounded and contextualized what would become my formal research. My fieldwork during 2018 was made possible through a Fulbright



Student Research Grant; and was further supported by the gracious AMINEF staff who facilitated everything from the initial immigration process, to periodic conferences and check-ins, to final presentations, airplane tickets, and exit procedures. Meeting Philip Yampolsky during my orientation at AMIENF and communicating with him while in the field directed details for my fieldwork plan in Flores and was a great source of support academically and practically, particularly in the aftermath of the February 2018 attack on Romo Prier. Furthermore, the formal support of the Institute of Indonesian Arts and Culture (*Institut Seni Budaya Indonesia* or ISBI) Bandung and sponsorship of their Rector, Dr. Hj. Een Herdian, graciously provided me both the institutional support needed to carry out this project and the welcome and encouragement of familiar faces. The writing of this dissertation has been supported by a University of Pittsburgh Mellon Fellowship, allowing me the luxury of getting lost in thoughts, prose, and data without needing to pause the process in order to teach during the 2019-2020 school year. A number of transcribers have also given of their time and skill to support this project, rendering Indonesian audio into written form; I extend special thanks to Putri Sukmahartati, Raynardi Raznan, Vini Alfarina, Fatmawati Akhmad, and Lasma Tulusita for their kind help and support during this process. My dissertation committee members—Shalini Ayyagari, Mohammed Bamyeh, and Olivia Bloechl—willingly read my long prospectus and late research reports, providing the feedback which refined both my theoretical framework and my research plan and perspective. Andrew Weintraub, my advisor and committee chair, has graciously been in the metaphorical trenches with me throughout this entire project. Be it kindly critiquing my rambling stories, reminding me to enjoy the fieldwork process, or encouragement to not bury my points in other scholar's theory, I have become a better listener and more confident scholar under his and the committee's direction.

Very few things happen in a vacuum; certainly not 10+ years of post-secondary education. Professor Olabode Omojola at Mount Holyoke College has patiently acquiesced to every recommendation request I sent his way, even after I told him I had no intention of becoming an ethnomusicologist upon graduating. The faculty and staff at the Yale Institute of Sacred Music, in particular my advisor Markus Rathey, believed in this project before plans to carry it out even existed. In Professor Rathey's classroom I found my voice as a scholar by studying scholarship on music and religion which ignited my personal and professional passions for these topics and gave me the courage to continue to ethnomusicological studies at the doctoral level.

Finally, none of this would have been possible without the spiritual support I have received during the past decade. As a practicing Catholic, the ability to participate in the liturgy of the Mass with fellow Catholics in New Haven, Pittsburgh, and throughout Indonesia has been one of the greatest gifts I have received during this time. The toll of frequent moving and travel was lessened by the peace and support that members of these different communities of faith provided, making my wandering graduate student years a time of personal and spiritual, in addition to academic, growth. Throughout my studies, I have been encouraged by the friendship and support of fellow students during what otherwise felt like tireless hours of study. To my graduate student colleagues at the University of Pittsburgh Music Department; the Institute of Sacred Music, especially Martha Alimi and Adam Perez; and my dissertation writing accountability group members, Kelsey Cummings and Matthew Hadodo: thank you for enduring and celebrating with me throughout this process, and for inspiring me and others with the work you each are committed to. Finally, all of this would mean very little without my family. My parents, Nancy and Tom, have modeled selfless love, proofreading dozens of term papers and always supporting their kid's crazy life schemes. My husband Adam has nourished me during this Ph.D. process, from providing me meals during

comprehensive exams to always knowing how to help me refocus my priorities with laughter and prayer. And finally, my thanks would not be complete without offering thanks to God for everything that has brought me to this point. It is humbling to know that everyone named here—and many who, though unnamed in this preface, made unforgettable contributions to this project—have invested in something that I get to claim. This project is not mine; it is ours and God's, and I am forever grateful. For my mistakes, I apologize and am eager for the discussion and questions which this work may produce. And, most of all, I hope this project can encourage every reader to think about their own experience of religion, music, and power in ways which can shed light on the narratives hitherto less listened to. Thank you.

## 1.0 Introduction—“Catholic Music” in Indonesia?

The “problem” of “Catholic music” in “Indonesia”: I learned early on that saying that you study “Catholic music in Indonesia,” a country with the largest Islamic population in the world, tends to prompt quizzical expressions of both curiosity and confusion. This is often followed, I have found, by questions ranging from “Are there Catholics in Indonesia?” to “But isn’t that country Islamic?” and “You mean, *gamelan*?” While the answer to all these questions can be some variation of “yes,” the reality of how Catholics in Indonesia mobilize music as a tool for identification and community building is much more complex than these cursory questions might suggest.

The idea of “Catholic music in Indonesia,” was similarly perplexing to the Indonesian Catholic musicians I worked with on the islands of Java, North Sumatra, and Flores, as well. “What is ‘Indonesian Catholic music’?,” I asked at dozens of interviews during my ten months of doctoral field research, from January to November 2018. For many of my interlocutors, this was a puzzling question about categories which to them do not exist, or at least do not exist under the translated Indonesian terms I used.<sup>1</sup> What originated as a presumptive pre-fieldwork organizational schema—the idea of “Catholic music,” the idea of “Indonesia”—became a useful

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<sup>1</sup> In interviews and conversations, I almost always used the Indonesian terms “*musik Katolik*” or “*musik Katolik Indonesia*” to discuss the idea of “Catholic music” or “Indonesian Catholic music.” Furthermore, while the genre-specific terms for music used emically by Catholics in Indonesia—such as “*musik liturgi*” [“liturgical music”], “*musik inkulturasi*” [“inculturated music”], or “*musik pop rohani*” [“spiritual pop music”]—utilized the Indonesian word “*musik*,” it should be mentioned that “*musik*” itself is a translated term for Western/English term and concept of “music.” Other Indonesian terms for music and cultural performance—such as *karawitan* (a Javanese- and Sanskrit-derived term for Javanese classical gamelan music) or *kesenian* (a term for traditional music and cultural performance, particularly in West Java)—while implicating the use or incorporation of music, do not use the term “*musik*.” Accordingly, my use of the term “*musik*” in the idea of “*musik Katolik*” may have added to my interlocutors confusion, while at the same time—like the just mentioned genre terms—denoting a foreign or Western sense of the category of music as such, different from other understandings of what music is in other, more local contexts in Indonesia.

and unintendedly controversial trick question.<sup>2 3 4</sup> “Catholic music,” I found, was highly contested and in general was not used as a category by the Catholic musical and liturgical leaders I worked with. Opting instead for categories like “*musik liturgi*” [liturgical music], “*musik inkulturasi* [inculturated music],” or “*musik pop rohani* [spiritual pop music],” my interlocutors preferred to talk about music associated with the Catholic Church in Indonesia according to genre. Each genre could then be variably defined and implicated networks of people, music materials, and often personal or community preference. In this sense, the use of genre-specific terms was intimately

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<sup>2</sup> Catholic music or what I usually referred to as “*musik Katolik*” became a trick question for my interlocutors simply because it is not a thing, for many of the people I talked to. Instead they wanted to talk about different categories (and, as I will later argue, genres)—*musik inkulturasi*, *musik liturgi*, *musik pop rohani*. By asking about “*musik Katolik*” I accidentally created a category which people then would spend a lot of time refuting, and their rebuttals and corrections often provided the most candid insights; hence why this question remained in my repertoire, even after I knew it was not a thing/category within the context of most of my interlocutors. The false category of “Catholic music” prompted explanations about how my question/category was wrong, and then encouraged my informants to suggest and defend alternate categories which made more sense to them. Similarly, other instances of candid insight became heuristic theoretical or methodological devices. For example, the centrality and key/keyword nature of certain candid insights became evident to me through the insider use and understanding of specific terms, such as the term “*bisnis*,” to be discussed in chapter two on “A Tale of More Than Two Hymnals and the *Bisnis* of Making Church Musik.” “*Bisnis*” was a term which most of my interlocutors probably would have preferred I ignore, but with continued discussion and subliminal probing, their use of this term and the conversations surrounding it revealed complex interpersonal and institutional dynamics which otherwise could have gone unmentioned.

<sup>3</sup> The relationship between *musik inkulturasi*, *musik liturgi*, and *musik pop rohani* also resonates with the term “*musik Islami*,” a relatively recent term which Anne Rasmussen and David Harnish define as “(music featuring Islamic characteristics)...a category that can include all kinds of folk and popular music in regional languages and in Indonesian, as well as newly composed music and popular music hybrids” (Harnish and Rasmussen, 2011: 26). While *musik Islami* is considered important for *dakwah* or Islamic evangelization, it is different from *musik Islam*, whose texts are “both in Arabic and part of the Islamic literary canon,” thus carrying a heightened sense of Islamic authenticity (Harnish and Rasmussen, 2011: 26). Furthermore, the effects of globalization *musik Islami* and its connection to the performance popular music has led to disapproval amongst Islamic religious leaders, again suggesting that genre and performance can carry both religious and social power. For more, see: David D. Harnish and Anne K. Rasmussen (Eds.). 2011. *Divine Inspirations: Music and Islam in Indonesia*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

<sup>4</sup> This process of learning from my interlocutors and adapting my approach as a result resonates with anthropological idea of being “schooled by the ‘natives,’” as a heuristic device in ethnographic fieldwork. Other instances where I learned from and through the responses of my interlocutors include their uses of genre-terms, the terms and topics they avoided or mentioned in whisper (often related to ideas of “*bisnis*” or economics or fear of religious and ethnic persecution), and the interpersonal networks of Church music leaders in the country who were mentioned in almost every conversation I had related to certain topics (including Romo Prier, Romo Tanto/Soetanto, Pak Paul Widyanan). My interlocutors mention of these key figures told me both about the existence of hierarchy or networks that constituted structures within a Roman Catholic musical world in Indonesia while also suggesting hierarchical nature of these structures, while many who considered themselves non-instrumental or high up leaders reluctant to speak about their musical experiences given the at times absolute authority given to these referenced leaders.

related to larger realities among Catholics in Indonesia—like social life, individual and collective spirituality, and religious and ethnic identity—on local, national, and global planes. Genre was also a way of making camps, creating and settling into categories which were then used to constitute different ways of belonging to Church and nation. For example, almost all Catholics participate in *musik liturgi*, many in *musik inkulturasi*, and a few in *musik pop rohani* (considered more Christian or ecumenical). Genre gave power, defining who was in and who was out, what it could sound like to be Catholics, and who could decide. The idea of Indonesia was similarly complicated, at best, and frequently broken down into regional categories, defined by geographic location or ethnic affiliation, and revealing the positionality of each person I was talking to. Without meaning to, by asking about “Catholic music in Indonesia” I had stumbled into a question which could bring up a quagmire of identity politics, implicating complex issues of history, power, politics, and economics for Catholics in Indonesia.

However, more was at stake beyond how Indonesian Catholics use music to identify as religious citizens. Catholic leaders, I found, were making musical choices at intra-community, national, and global levels in an effort to both create and assert a right to belong to both Church and nation. Moving beyond research that simply tells historical and ethnographic narratives of the musical experiences of Catholics in Indonesia, I ask: What histories and contemporary political realities inform the way Catholics in Indonesia create and use music? Furthermore, who gets to musically control the discourse, practice, and meaning of Catholicism in Indonesia? In this sense, by “control the discourse,” I mean both putting parameters on the music that is used in the liturgy and the meaning of Catholicism as it is articulated through musical texts and sounds.<sup>5</sup> At the same

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<sup>5</sup> This idea of Catholicism as it is articulated through musicals texts and sounds includes the sensorial experience of music in this religious context, particularly in relation to music in the liturgy of the Mass. A concept of music as inseparable from a ritual, spiritual, and sensorial experience of “religion” or of the Mass is significant here,

time, however, and perhaps even more so, I am interested structurally on who/what institutions have control over who gets to print and publish: who gets to make the music that people are then permitted to use, or not, and who controls that permission, and how? There is an elaborate process in the Catholic Church for seeking and granting permission for Church sanctioned texts, a process attached to Priests or Bishops, liturgical committees, and other ecclesiastical structures (using printed citations known as *imprimatur* and/or *nihil obstat*). This has become an issue in some communities, as in Flores, where local parishioners want to make their own songs using what certain Priests consider theologically unsound texts. More nuanced additions to the above, broader question would then be: Who has the right to write and/or compose liturgical music and who conversely gets silenced or left out of this system? And who is deciding and/or adjudicating that?

Finally, I look at how Indonesian Catholics use music to assert their right to be a religious minority in a nation where religious pluralism is constantly in flux. My combined ethnographic and historical approach affirms the idea that these contemporary narratives are always in dialogue with global, national, and missional histories, all of which have contributed a dialectic of power. Furthermore, by looking at religion as an experiential dialectic instead of simply dogma, my work will intersect the fields of the anthropology of religion—specifically the anthropology of Islam and the anthropology of Christianity—and congregational music studies, to ethnographically embrace how people communicate through or with religion, and the role music can play in that process.<sup>6</sup> Ultimately, by conducting a critical examination of Indonesian Catholic music and

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as music serves metaphorically as sonic incense, complimenting yet inseparable from the other aspects of sensed experience here, like sight, smell, and touch.

<sup>6</sup> One example of this idea of music as a discursive form of religious communication can be seen in chapter one, where I look at hymn books as a site which communicate what it should look, sound like, and mean to be Catholic in Indonesia.

identity formation, this dissertation seeks to contribute to a nuanced understanding of how music and religion function in the fourth most populous nation in the world.

## 1.1 Project Significance

Located throughout the archipelago, Indonesian Catholics are at the same time members of a global Catholic community and citizens of a multi-faith nation-state. Musical materials—such as the *Madah Bakti* hymnal, produced by the *Pusat Musik Liturgi* Center for Liturgical Music (PML) in Yogyakarta, Indonesia—have become tangible signifiers through which ideas of an Indonesian Catholic identity are disseminated. The musical practices of the PML and their outer island affiliates are a paradigmatic example of how the study of music can provide insight into how identities are navigated for minority communities. This negotiation occurs through more or differently ‘powerful’ centers and peripheries, while simultaneously being affected by the production of arts and cultural products at national and global levels. The theoretical paradigms of center-periphery dynamics, identity politics, religious communication, and agentive power provide the composite framework for rethinking how music and power can function in the negotiation of minority identities through music.<sup>7</sup>

Accordingly, through this dissertation I seek to examine the power-filled ways music is employed by Roman Catholics in Indonesia. The “stakes” of this work, as a discursive study of Catholicism through music in Indonesia, will address the following six correctives. First, that Catholics in Indonesia have to reckon with or downplay their missional history. The history of

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<sup>7</sup> Here I understand “agentive” and, relatedly, agency as a quest for power and am using it to point to a person’s or community’s initiative which they claim to shape how things are or at least should be.



Catholicism in Indonesia is often negatively connected by non-Catholic Indonesians to colonialism and has historically been used to question the national allegiance of native-born Catholics. This dynamic ironically exists even though colonial histories inform (and formed) national history, and despite an ideological state philosophy (called *Pancasila*) theoretically focused on unity and freedom of religion. Furthermore, in music studies of Catholicism in formerly missional territories, missional musical influence has been used as a reason to not study Catholic musical practice, with the idea that what is being played or sung contemporarily by Catholics there is just a mimicry of religio-musical influences from colonial powers.<sup>8</sup>

Secondly, Catholics are frequently viewed as one monolithic entity or group with a single, unified tradition; a reality which is defied in local practice. While there is a sense in which the history of Roman Catholic practice is rooted in certain liturgical Traditions—one musical example being Gregorian chant—the idea that all Catholics practice the same things in the same way is reductionistic. The tension between the elements of liturgical or musical practice which connects Catholics globally—such as the rubric of the Mass (as a general outline of the liturgy), the text of the sung Mass parts, the practice of the same options of daily lectionary readings around the world, and the observance of the same liturgical seasons—and the ways those elements become localized provides rich insight into the praxis of a world religion within local cultural contexts, ironically often revealing more about the local than the global reach of a world religion.

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<sup>8</sup> Such is the case with the study of music in the Philippines, where until recently music associated with Catholicism was considered relics of a Spanish colonial past and not worth socio-cultural study. While that has changed—see: David R.M. Irving. 2010. *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press—revealing a highly localized and syncretic practice of Catholicism through music performed by Philippino Catholics, there is still much work to be done to catch up with the neglect of long-held anti-missional and anti-colonial views. Additional work towards re-examining the influence and sources of missionaries for musical information in Southeast Asia is underway at the University of California Davis, where Henry Spiller, Anna Maria Busse Berger, and Dustin Weibe are working on a musical history of the Indonesian archipelago through information gleaned from missionary sources.

Relatedly, as a third corrective, Catholics have historically been associated with liturgical continuity and rigidity; in practice, variety through localization has been common, especially in what have been considered missional lands.<sup>9</sup> This is not to deny the tension between localization, or what is now often considered inculturation, and the troubling reality of a power-filled Catholic apologetic for missionization; especially considering the commensurate power discrepancy between Religious Orders or the Catholic Church hierarchy (historically represented by white Western/European men) and the local populations they were missionizing. Rather, it is an acknowledgement of everyday realities of Catholic practice which defy the assumption that fixity or uniformity in certain aspects of Catholic liturgical and musical practice correlated to a lack of local diversity.<sup>10</sup> In fact, in areas of Indonesia with significant populations of both Catholics and Protestants—for this project, particularly in the region of North Sumatra and city of Medan—Catholic missionaries, and now the Indonesian-born Catholic hierarchy, are known for being more friendly and open to the incorporation of cultural practices than Christian (Protestant) missionaries and leaders, especially as regards the use of local or traditional music in worship.<sup>11</sup> In this sense,

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<sup>9</sup> Examples of this abound, in sources ranging from missionary narratives to regional historical accounts, including the following studies: Jean-Philippe Belleau. 2013. “The Ethnic Life of Missionaries: Early Inculturation Theology in Mato Grosso, Brazil (1952-1990).” In *Social Sciences and Missions*. Volume 26, Issue 2-3. Pages 131-166. Shanthini Pillai. 2015. “The Intertwining Vines of Liturgy, Ethnicity, and Nationhood: The Nativized Imaginary of the Malaysian Catholic Community.” In *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture*. Volume 18, Number 1, Winter 2015. Pages 94-112. And, Nicholas M. Creary. 2011. *Domesticating a Religious Import: The Jesuits and the Inculturation of the Catholic Church in Zimbabwe, 1879-1980*. New York, NY: Fordham University Press.

<sup>10</sup> For an “assumption [of] fixity or uniformity” of Catholic practice I am here thinking particularly in relation to liturgical rubrics which dictate the order of the Mass, musical and linguistic renderings of the Mass parts, or a hierarchical power and authority structure.

<sup>11</sup> This particularly resonates with issues surrounding the incorporation of *gondang* instruments for Mass or worship. For more on this historic divide between Christian (Protestant) and Catholic responses to the incorporation of *gondang* and other traditional cultural practices into liturgy or worship in North Sumatra, see: Yoshiko Okazaki. 1994. “Music, identity, and religious change among the Toba Batak people of north Sumatra.” PhD Dissertation. Los Angeles, CA: University of California- Los Angeles; Ibid. 1998. “Liturgical Music among the Toba Batak People of North Sumatra: The Creation of a New Tradition.” *Crossroads: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 12 (2). Pages 55-74; and Mauly Purba, 1998. “Music and Functional Change in the Gondang Sabangunan Tradition of the Protestant Toba Batak 1860s-1990s, with Particular Reference to the 1980s-1990s.” Dissertation for the Doctor of Philosophy, Music Department. Monash University. Australia.

it is important to highlight the role that members of the Roman Catholic Church—both missionaries and local leaders—have played in embracing the incorporation of local cultural and musical practices into the Catholic liturgy.

Furthermore, as a fourth point, Catholics are a minority group, and minority group politics are often challenged in Indonesia. However, at the same time—as will be explained in greater detail in chapter one on “*Musik Inkulturasi: Missional Matters, Localization, and Knowledge Production*”—Catholics have in some sense lived in a place of political privilege, for, despite their minority status, a number of Catholics have been influential in national politics. It is also important to point out a distinction here between *Katolik* (Catholic) and *Kristen* (Protestant) as it is understood and practiced in Indonesia. As separate state religions, and even separate religious categories on a citizen’s identity card, this firm divide is an important departure from common conceptions in other parts of the world (such as the United States) that Catholicism falls under the umbrella, so to speak, of Christianity. To have a *Katolik* call themselves *Kristen* in Indonesia, or to fluidly worship between Christian and Catholic Churches, would be equal to claiming two separate religions as your own.

It is important to note here that this staunch divide between Christian (*Kristen*) and Catholic (*Katolik*) is not Indonesian in its original distinction. Rather, it echoes the historic divisions between ideas of Christian and Catholic experienced throughout much of Europe and especially in the Netherlands. With European or Dutch missionaries working in Indonesia, the seeds of division between Christian and Catholic—while codified in political and cultural practice of both the Indonesian nation-state (particularly through official state religions and state-issued identity cards) and the practices or convictions local religious leaders and communities—can be understood as an adoption or importation of the practices of colonial or missional powers. In the Netherlands, the

divide between Christian and Catholic was further concretized and politicized in the late 19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> century through a process called pillarization which can be understood as:

the institutional arrangement which enables mutually interdependent social and political groups to maintain their autonomy to a perceived optimum, without a distinct geographical basis and within the frame of national sovereignty, ensuring the integration of these groups to a minimal degree while preventing the national identity or the social order from being jeopardized (Sturm, et al., 1998: 283).<sup>12</sup>

As James Kennedy and Jan Zwemer further explain, “the so-called ‘pillarization’ (*verzuiling*) of Dutch society, in which the country was ostensibly segmented along religious and ideological lines” had ramifications for Dutch colonial interests, “as pillarization processes in the Netherlands had their effects on Dutch missions in the overseas colonies” (Kennedy and Zwemer, 2010: 240, 246).<sup>13</sup> In the end, the history of Catholics as a privileged religious minority in Indonesia, and aa religious group distinct from Christians, implicated their participation in the religious distinctions imported to Indonesia from the Netherlands and Europe.

A fifth corrective deals with the significance of Catholicism’s relationship with Islam (and, of course, with Muslims) as people of the book and yet with different practices and history. This is true not only given the reality that Indonesia is the country with the highest Islamic population in the world, but in light of the fact that, in most places in Indonesia, members of different religions are constantly interacting and living the practice of a religiously plural nation despite increasing

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<sup>12</sup> Here Sturm, et al., cite Bax, 1988, page 82, in reference to a definition of pillarization. Johan Sturm, et al.. 1998. “Educational Pluralism—a historical study of so-called ‘pillarization’ in the Netherlands, including a comparison with some developments in South African education.” *Comparative Education*. Volume 34, No. 3. Pages 281-297.

<sup>13</sup> J.C. Kennedy and J.P. Zwemer. 2010. “Religion in the Modern Netherlands and the Problems of Pluralism.” *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review*. Volume 125, Nos. 2-3. Pages.237–268.

fears of sectarian violence and the threat of fundamentalism. In so doing, this project also serves as a corrective to contemporary media on the role of religion in Indonesia, which tends to focus on terrorism or sectarian violence rather than portray the reality of religious pluralism, which the majority of Indonesian's experience.<sup>14</sup> The everyday experience of this plurality—while not negating fear of religious persecution and the occasional occurrence of acts of religiously-motivated violence—sheds light on the complexity and fluidity of the experience of religious diversity in Indonesia and will allow me to highlight resilient responses to acts of violence within a context of pluralism and as an alternative to more polemical opinions and approaches.

And finally, as a sixth corrective, I ultimately argue that reframing a center-periphery paradigm is integral to debunking some of the above-mentioned misconceptions. This re-centering will be done ethnographically (and historically) by focusing on the actual practice of Catholic musicians on-the-ground in Indonesia.<sup>15</sup> While centers and peripheries will be presented and discussed dialectically throughout this dissertation—engaged through the Keyword

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<sup>14</sup> For the role of media in the portrayal of religion in Indonesia, see Richard Fox. 2010. "Why Media Matter: Critical Reflections on Religion and the Recent History of 'the Balinese.'" In *History of Religions*. Vol. 49, No. 4 (May 2010). Pages 354-392. And, Richard Fox. 2011. *Critical Reflections on Religion and Media in Contemporary Bali*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill. In the later, Fox reminds readers of the longevity of the connection between religion and media, explaining that "it is important to bear in mind that media of one kind or another have long figured prominently in the historical study of religions. From sacred books to cassette sermons, one might even go so far as to argue that we have been engaged in a form of media studies all along" (Fox, 2011: 5). Chapter two, "The Past in the Present? A Tale of Bouquets and Bombsites" is particular interest here, as Fox examines "the use of television by state and state-supported agencies for the dissemination of a normative 'Hindu religion', or Agama Hindu" as a case study of the ramifications of media in the portrayal of normative religious categories and practices in Indonesia (Fox, 2011: 23).

<sup>15</sup> The choice of re- versus de-centering here is conscious and deliberate. By focusing on re-centering, I acknowledge the unequal power dynamics which create and perpetuate a center-periphery paradigm. Thus, re-centering is my way of trying to find a corrective to centers and peripheries and a more equitable and agentive alternative to de-centering, which in its own way can be seen as reifying instead of correcting or re-orienting the center, to begin with. In this sense, "re"-centering is an attempt at suggesting the supposedly non-centers can or do function as centers in their own ways, instead of requiring a center to be destabilized (or de-centered) in order for non-centers to have central function. This terminological choice also comes out of an attempt to acknowledge that centers and non-centers are false binaries and in a state of subjective flux. As a result, the "center" can be seen as being within both the eye of the beholder as much as with those who wield traditional understandings of center-periphery or hegemonic power.

organizational schema, as I will discuss below—some chapters tend to necessarily focus on the experiences of one island over others, often due to local experience as dictated by my data.<sup>16</sup> For example, as I will explain in the chapter overviews at the end of this introduction, chapter four, focusing on *Pancasila* and national politics, focuses on the musical and liturgical experiences of Catholics primarily on the island of Java, where musically mobilizing *Pancasila* is more prevalent than elsewhere in the country. Furthermore, after establishing and challenging the ways centers and peripheries function in chapters one through four, chapter five, on music and Marian devotion, and the conclusion, shift this dialectic center-periphery approach to focus primarily on the central role and power of Catholics in the supposed peripheries, chiefly Flores. Both a dialectic relationship of centers and peripheries, and an ultimate subverting of that narrative at the end of this dissertation, highlight the fluidity of ideas and experiences between and beyond centers and peripheries.

While I acknowledge that centers and peripheries are a dynamic still experienced on various levels by most of my interlocutors, ultimately I am suggesting that this paradigm is no longer adequate on its own to describe the powerful experiences of Indonesian Catholics, most of whom reside in what is traditionally considered the geographic, economic, and political periphery. At the same time, a center-periphery paradigm is still epistemologically active in Indonesia—in Indonesianist and Catholic studies, in particular—precisely because it is part of people’s political, cultural, and academic histories as a model through which social life has been patterned and understood for centuries. Accordingly, center and periphery paradigms, constructed and fluid as they may be, are an active model people are living with, making it necessary to address the

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<sup>16</sup> I have approached a dialectic, integrated approach to discussing constructs of center and periphery narratives in each chapter—instead of a geographic or hierarchical separation of material between chapters—as a way to understand the dynamics contributing to the construction and at times subverting of this dynamic.

dynamics between supposed centers and peripheries as a way to question the applicability of this model in this context and suggest alternative understandings of power, understandings which necessarily center supposed peripheries. With the stakes thus laid out, I will address each corrective throughout this dissertation by interrogating the power of institutions, people, and materials through tracking the production and use of hymn books on and between the islands of Java, North Sumatra, and Flores. I will explain the rationale for choosing these ethnographic sites below.

Focusing on the experience of Catholic communities on the islands of Java, Flores, and North Sumatra, this project will ethnographically re-center traditional center-periphery power models, acknowledging that communities in peripheral islands have agentive power which makes them a kind of center in certain schema. The particular choice of place for this project was both externally constrained and academically purposeful. First, certain cities in far eastern or western Indonesia were either places of travel restriction through my fellowship (such as Banda Aceh, in Eastern Indonesia) or considerably difficult to get to, both economically and in terms of time (such as with the Maluku islands, in Western Indonesia).<sup>17</sup> Logistics and permits also factored into this research and writing schema. With limited time in each location (in some part of Flores, my stay would be as short as a week), I needed to arrive with connections to key informants already made, for which my connection to the PML and their constituents was crucial. Flores and North Sumatra are two “outer island” locations that Romo Prier and PML staff members often visited for *lokakarya* composition workshops (particularly in the 1980s and 90s). Accordingly, getting connections in each of those places—through the PML networks and other Catholics in Java who

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<sup>17</sup> Funding and support for my 10 months of formal research in Indonesia (January to November, 2018) was provided through a Fulbright student research grant, administered jointly by the US State Department and the American Indonesian Exchange Foundation (also known as AMINEF), a binational Fulbright Commission.

are from those places—allowed me to both hit the ground running, so to speak, while also examining the role the PML played in the daily lives of their constituents further from their Center in Yogyakarta. Additionally, Flores and North Sumatra are two areas which do have ethnographies done about music in relation to Catholicism, albeit in a site specific and less theoretically critical manner.<sup>18</sup> By visiting these already researched areas (particularly Flores and North Sumatra) and putting them in dialogue with each other (in relation to a Javanese “center”), I could re-examine center-periphery dynamics, adding a more nuanced study which complements and complicates those which already have been written.<sup>19</sup> To make this study more than just PML-based, and to examine the pull of the other key hymn book on Java (*Puji Syukur*), I was able to connect with musicians and liturgical specialists in Bandung and Jakarta, heading to their respective Cathedrals as a way to look at both local (Cathedral) parish practice and the structure of music-making at the Diocesan/Archdiocesan level. Finally, each of the three islands I chose—in addition to eventually being the three places where I had official research permits—survey the different historical influences, and in particular, Catholic missionary orders, which have informed how Catholicism has developed in each place. This cross-section allows me to juxtapose representative histories and contemporary realities of Catholic practice in Indonesia, without overgeneralizing or remaining at a superficial level of inquiry. Accordingly, while the history of Catholicism in Indonesia will be discussed at length at the beginning of chapter one, briefly situating the role of

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<sup>18</sup> For examples of ethnographies on music and Catholicism/Christianity in Flores and North Sumatra see: Rappoport, 2004; Okazaki, 1994; and Poplawska, 2008 (particularly the second section, on Flores). All of which will be discussed at length in the related literature review below.

<sup>19</sup> The appeal of presenting versus interrogating Catholic music in Indonesia is something I was trying to avoid here, a desire which informed my plan to research areas already research instead of taking the approach of presenting previously un-researched material. I feared that the later approach could carry with it a propensity towards preservationist and comparative musicological tendencies, both paralyzing the music through a more catalogue-like approach while also limiting the critical connections which a more nuanced, critical, and multi-sited project can allow.



Catholicism in Flores, North Sumatra, and Java will allow me to further explain how and why each location became part of this re-centering study.

## 1.2 Contextualizing Catholicism in Research Sites

### 1.2.1 Catholicism in Flores

Introducing Catholicism in Flores is not an easy task for—as historian and missiologist Karel Steenbrink explains in his work on *Catholics in Indonesia: A Documented history 1808-1900*—“The geography of Flores is not conducive to large political units” (Steenbrink, 2003: 127).<sup>20</sup> In fact, until the late 18<sup>th</sup>/early 19<sup>th</sup> century presence of Dutch colonialism on the island, “the ‘Florinese’ had no special word for their island,” opting instead for regional, town, or ethnic affiliations (Steenbrink, 2003: 127). This regionalism was exacerbated by the linguistic and cultural differences—both local and of the missionary influences in various parts of the islands—making it historically and geographically difficult to talk about one influence or expression of Catholicism in Flores. This history of socio-cultural and musical diversity is what drew me to Flores in the first place, in addition to its current status as the island with the highest Catholic population in Indonesia. Accordingly, my research in Flores was planned both practically and liturgically to highlight (or at least glimpse) this diversity.

At the recommendation of many Catholics, and musical scholars, alike, I began my research in Flores shortly before Holy Week, at the end of March 2018. My first destination was

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<sup>20</sup> Karel Steenbrink, 2003. *Catholics in Indonesia 1808-1942: A documented history. Vol. 1: A modest recovery 1808-1903*. Leiden, Netherlands: KITLV Press.

Larantuka, on the Eastern tip of Flores, an area which portrays the legacy of Portuguese Dominican missionaries who arrived there through the spice trade in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>21</sup> However, “after a sweeping start in the sixteenth century,” as Steenbrink elucidates, “the Catholic missions [in Eastern Indonesia] experienced a serious setback for the next two and a half centuries” (Steenbrink, 2007: 7). These setbacks were both economically and politically motivated, for “After the arrival of the Dutch in 1596, Catholic priests were banned from the areas that came under Dutch control” and “During the whole period of the Dutch East Indies Company (1602-1799), Calvinism was the only tradition of Christianity tolerated, and in some respected promoted, by the Dutch in the areas under direct rule” (Steenbrink, 2007: 7).<sup>22</sup> Yet, as will be discussed in relation to ideas of *inkulturasi* and syncretism in chapter one, in the Southeastern islands of Indonesia, like Flores—where Dutch control was not established until the late 18<sup>th</sup> to mid-19<sup>th</sup> centuries (depending on the city or part of the island)—while Catholicism persisted, a lack of local priests and limited number of missionaries (then Portuguese) resulted in the reality that “Catholic practices and doctrines were transmitted along with rituals and convictions of other religions” (Steenbrink, 2007: 7). Thus, although Catholicism was prohibited by the Dutch VOC during the 17<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in most of Indonesia, in Flores this time period gave rise to independent Catholic communities throughout the island, where arguably syncretic practices combining Catholic tradition and local religious expression exist to this day.

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<sup>21</sup> Larantuka is a very present figure in missionary accounts of Flores, in part due to the prominent role it played as a port city in the 16<sup>th</sup> century spice trade, the arguably syncretic practices which localized the Catholicism of Portuguese Dominican (and then Dutch and Jesuit missionary priests), and because the local Raja was a documented and documenting key player between Church and kingdom/state.

<sup>22</sup> Steenbrink further explains that “During the two centuries of VOC jurisdiction (1602-1799) the Catholic clergy was not admitted into the colony of the Dutch East Indies, and indigenous Catholics were registered as members of the Reformed Church.” (Steenbrink, 2007: xvi).

Finally, in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, with Dutch conquest of Larantukan fortifications from the Portuguese, freedom of religion of this region was both confirmed and tied to the colonial state (Steenbrink, 2007: 70). However, the “Dutch missionaries [who were state-appointed to Larantuka in the late 1850s] did not enter a religious vacuum in Flores. There were already two main religious traditions: the ‘Portuguese’ Catholics of the coastal villages, and the adherents of traditional religion in inland Flores. Nineteenth-century Dutch Catholicism came in as a third religious culture” (Steenbrink, 2007: 74).” In the 1860s some of these missionaries ventured inland to the mountainous Central Flores regions of Maumere, Koting and Sikka which were then—and in some remote villages, still are to a certain degree—considered stations where a priest might only visit once a year, if that.

After Holy Week and Easter in Larantuka, my research plan—which was to travel to PML-associated communities (after Larantuka)—took me to the town of Ledalero, Flores, near the island’s current capital of Maumere. In addition to being home to a number of local seminaries and convents, Ledalero is the site of the S.V.D. major seminar—*Seminari Tinggi St. Paulus* [St. Paul Major Seminary]—where the PML-trained Pater Eman Weroh and Pater Yosef Kusi Pakaenoni live and work. Ledalero was also the site of my first primary interaction with the S.V.D. (or *Societas Verbi Divini*, or The Society of the Divine Word) order, also known as the Divine Word Missionaries, who gained strongholds through their Catholic school system starting in Western Flores in the early 1920s. Known for their work in education and a willingness to contextualize beliefs in relation to local cultural context, the S.V.D. order’s residence in Ende, southcentral Flores, was my next stop in this journey, both to visit the oldest and most influential Catholic publishing company in Eastern Indonesia—*Nusa Indah*—and to meet local composers who produced other hymnals in Flores. From there, I traveled dusty switchback roads to Mataloko

central-Flores to the *Kemah Tabor* S.V.D.-run retreat house which had been the site of PML *lokakarya* composition workshops since 1990.<sup>23</sup> There I was able to meet with Romo John Ghono and then (traveling with Romo John to the village of Boba) Bapak Johny Oja, among others who have been influential in creating *lagu inkulturasi* (inculturated music) in Flores. My last two stops were S.Sp.S. convents—the Missionary Sisters Servants of the Holy Spirit, who are also part of the S.V.D. family—in Ruteng and Labuan Bajo Western Flores. There I was to learn about the local language hymnal *Dere Searni*, produced by SVD priests and local Catholic school teachers in the region in the 1920s, hymns which are still sung in Manggarai-speaking communities there, and in diaspora. Taken together, a six-week, six-city trek from eastern-most to western-most Flores allowed me to hear the historic diversity of Catholicism across the island, including: the influence of 16<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese Dominicans (in Larantuka); hymns from early 20<sup>th</sup> century Dutch, German, and Polish SVD missionaries (in Western Flores); and stories from PML-trained musicians from the 1990s and early 2000s (in Central Flores). The diversity of these musical experiences also reflected the geographic, cultural, and linguistic plurality present elsewhere in Indonesia (as will next be introduced, in North Sumatra) but which, I argue, has become part of what it means to be religious in Flores in a more concretized and confident way than on any other island (Steenbrink, 2003: 150).

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<sup>23</sup> *Lokakarya* or *lokakarya komposisi* means workshop or composition workshop and is the word the PML uses for the workshops they hold for the creation of *musik inkulturasi* or inculturated music in Indonesia. While the process of *lokakarya komposisi* has been refined over the 70s years of these PML workshops, the idea that they are workshop opportunities for the coming together of local Catholic musicians and PML specialists—chiefly Romo Prier and Bapak Paul Widyawan—to create *musik inkulturasi* (according to PML-specific teaching and methods) has always been consistent in the history of these workshops.

### 1.2.2 Catholicism in North Sumatra

My entry point into research among Catholics in North Sumatra—particularly in and around the city of Medan—was a product of an inter-island Catholic network, connected to but beyond the auspices of the PML. As I would later discover, while there were PML *lokakarya* in North Sumatra until the mid-1990s, most of those ties had since been let fallow and the few PML connections which persisted with local musicians were hours outside the city of Medan, near the tourist destination of Lake Toba. As a result, I needed to utilize other Catholic networks and through a friend who had been part of a religious order in North Sumatra, was connected with a priest in Medan who worked for the Archdiocese. Thus, my foray into North Sumatra put me in the middle of two key structures of ecclesiastical power in the area: the Archdiocesan hierarchy (which here included the opportunity to spend time with the Archbishop of Medan— Archbishop Anicetus Bongsu Antonius Sinaga, O.F.M. Cap.—himself a theologian who was well versed in theories of inculturation) and the S.F.D. order of Franciscan sisters, at whose convent next to Medan Cathedral I stayed. The S.F.D. (*Suster-Suster Fransiskus Dina*), a sister order to the Franciscan Capuchins (O.F.M. Cap.), are now an Indonesian-run religious order, but their Dutch roots and that of their Capuchin brothers were evident in both a hymnic legacy and the continued economic support between this booming Indonesian order and the declining community in the Netherlands, from which they had sprung. The presence of Dutch Capuchins in North Sumatra is a product of history, Pastor Benyamin Purba O.F.M. Cap. explained to me when I met him at his office in October 2018. When European Capuchin missionaries came to the region of North

Sumatra in the late 1920s, the Dutch Fathers settled in Medan, with the German contingent of their order settling in the more western island of Nias.<sup>24</sup>

The Catholicism which took root in and around Medan not only reflected the more tempered practices of the Dutch roots of these Franciscans but was also influenced by the presence of Protestant missionaries who arrived there earlier in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The legacy of these early Christian missionaries—chief among them a German missionary named Ludwig Ingwer Nommensen, after whom the local Christian college is named—can be seen in both a persevering Christian majority in the area and, until recently, a hesitance to localized or contextualized music in church. As a foil to more liturgically conservative Protestant practices, the contextualizing of the Catholic Mass, particularly after the Second Vatican Council in the mid-1960s, has set Catholics in the area apart. This localizing focus has resulted in the creation of inculturated hymns, primarily through PML *lokakarya* workshops, starting in North Sumatra in the mid-1980s.

An additional challenge in the Archdiocese of Medan—and a result of its geographical vastness—is the disparate ethnic (and linguistic) groups represented therein, chief among them the Batak Toba, Batak Karo, Batak Pakpak, and Batak Simalungun. These distinct cultural and linguistic practices have been embraced by the Archdiocese in recent decades, with hymn books in each language under production or having been published. While this diversity makes it hard to talk about one kind of “Catholic” practice in North Sumatra, it also presents a richness and resilience of local musical and cultural tradition which local Catholic leaders, like Pastor Benjamin, take great pride in. This idea of pride and ownership has caused fissures as well, with the Archdiocese of Medan reclaiming PML-*lokakarya* produced hymns and producing a local

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<sup>24</sup> Personal communication with Pastor Benjamin A.C. Purba, O.F.M. Cap. Medan, Indonesia. October 3, 2018.

version of the national *Puji Syukur* hymnal. This rift is likely why I heard little about North Sumatra or Medan when at the PML. At the same time, the equal presence of the *Puji Syukur* and *Madah Bakti* hymnals in the Archdiocese of Medan made it a helpful additional site in my project, allowing for the investigations of *bisnis* (business), complicated identity politics, and a study of what Catholicism sounds like in an ethnically diverse, majority Protestant area.

### **1.2.3 Catholicism in Java**

On Java, while there were officially Dutch missionary Priests in Batavia (present-day Jakarta) starting in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was not until the late 19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> century that Catholicism really begin to take root in central Java among the “indigenous” (versus European) population. A key figure in this process was the famed Fr. Frans van Lith who arrived in Muntilan, Central Java in the late 1800s. While first met with opposition from both local communities and the colonial administration, Father van Lith began making inroads when influential leaders from the village of Kalibawang converted to Catholicism in 1904. In the years which followed, hundreds of people were baptized in the region, many at a place now called Sendangsono (still a popular pilgrimage destination and site of a Marian grotto). Van Lith’s experience highlights three key features of Catholic missionizing in Central Java (and similarly in the West Java area of Cigugur, as well). First, the initial “conversion” of the Kalibawang teacher and village heads was accompanied by “Diverse motives...[which] led to this quest for a new religious affiliation” (Steenbrink, 2003: 217). It is significant that this advantageous new religious alliance was made by the few and followed by the many. Thus, secondly, the conversions of individual ruling leaders initiated the conversion of those under their jurisdiction (as opposed to a whole community together), a process which unfortunately could have the effect of dividing whole villages among

religious lines (Steenbrink, 2003: 217). Third, by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Van Lith turned his efforts to education and the development of village schools, which themselves became sites of conversion, with pupils entering as Muslims and leaving as Catholics (Steenbrink, 2003: 218). Among the first graduates of Father Van Lith's schools was the first Indonesian-born Bishop, Monsignor Soegijopranoto, who would become an instrumental figure in the Indonesianization of the Roman Catholic Church during the mid-century fight for Indonesian independence. Furthermore, it was in Yogyakarta—a center for Catholic education (much of which is Jesuit-run)—that Romo Karl-Edmund Prier decided to start the PML, which accordingly made this city one of my primary research sites. While Yogyakarta was home base in Java—for both the PML and this legacy of educational and inculturated Catholic practice there—ecclesiastical and logistic pull prompted me to add two West Java cities to my research itinerary. First, the practical need to spend extended periods of time during my immigration process in the West Java city of Bandung prompted me to add this area—a Crosier or members of the Canons Regular of the Order of the Holy Cross, stronghold—to my research agenda. Furthermore, it became clear as I learned more about the dynamics of hymnal-making that Jakarta—and in particular the Priests connected to either Jakarta Cathedral or the Indonesian Bishop's Council (*Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia* or KWI)—should be part of my research agenda as well, allowing me to then re-center narratives surrounding musical material production and use away from the supposed economic, political, and ecclesiastical center of Indonesia's capital (through understanding what was created and used there). Accordingly, while geography, history, and access/connection all informed my choice of research sites in Flores, North Sumatra, and Java respectively, each location allowed me to examine the role of key orders, centers, and histories for Catholics in Indonesia. With these communities and their experiences located, I could then re-



locate the power dynamics of the narratives I heard in each place, through the music used and produced by or for Catholics therein. While the particulars of this project are geographically bound, the scope is focused on and grounded in the literature of three main categories: namely, Catholicism, Indonesia, and ideas of center-periphery power.

## **1.3 Scope**

### **1.3.1 Focus on Catholicism**

There is, to date, limited scholarship in English on Catholicism in Indonesia. While there are a few mission histories and site-specific case studies, this English language literature is often descriptive of specific locations or times, preferring ethnographic story telling over critical critique. This dynamic carries across discipline, with many of the Catholic music studies in Indonesia—and most music studies in Indonesia in general—being community or island specific. Furthermore, many of the missiological works on Christianity and Catholicism in Indonesia are similarly site specific, focusing on individual narratives to knit together both local and national histories (for example, Steenbrink 2015, 2007, and 2003). Indonesian-language literature on the Catholic church in Indonesia is much more extensive, and while usually produced by and for Church communities or orders, remains for the most part un-translated and thus inaccessible for non-Indonesian-speaking audiences. Knowledge of and access to this Indonesian-language material is further limited through issues of literal access, with the digitization, translation, and at time publishing of this body of work by and about (and largely for) Catholics in Indonesia not considered a feasible (or fundable) priority. It should also be noted that, in general, gathering

information about Catholicism has not been a priority for the recent and current national governments, although research on this topic is still permitted.

This neglect is further exacerbated in relation to the study of music and Catholicism in Indonesia, due both to the marginalization of non-Islamic minority religions in the Indonesian public sphere and media, and to the scholarly emphasis on music/sound in Islam.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, this study is not an attempt to add to contemporary theological, and often polemical, debates on sacred music in the Catholic church. It does, however, acknowledge the presence of Catholicism as a major actor globally in religious and political spheres. As a practicing Catholic who has spent time on both side of the “liturgy wars,” I know how charged and intensely personal someone’s experience and opinions on liturgical music can become.<sup>26</sup> In this project, I am embracing both insider and outsider aspects of my own identity, as an American practicing-Catholic working with Catholics in Indonesia. While I am conversant in Indonesian, have learned much of the Catholic Mass and Mass parts in Indonesian, and know the ritual of the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Mass by rote, there are nuances to the way Catholicism is practiced in Indonesia, and in each communities I worshiped with therein, that were new and often remained foreign to me. This knowledge gap or cultural divide was further emphasized in relation to the musical forms—both Catholic and Indonesian—which I heard and learned, often encountering instruments, tunings, or

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<sup>25</sup> Music and Islam in Indonesia has been the topic of a great deal of contemporary scholarship on the music in Indonesia and South East Asia. Three edited volumes published within the past decade—including David Harnish and Anne K. Rasmussen’s *Divine Inspirations: Music and Islam in Indonesia* (2011), Andrew N. Weintraub’s *Islam and Popular Culture in Indonesia and Malaysia* (2011), and Timothy Daniel’s *Performance, Popular Culture, and Piety in Muslim Southeast Asia* (2013)—provide contemporary methodological and theoretical context for a study of music and religion in Indonesia.

<sup>26</sup>“Liturgy wars” refers to the conflicting viewpoints and practices of so-called conservative and liberal factions in the Roman Catholic church, specifically in the United States. As explained by musicologist Peter Jeffery in his 2014 article, “Can Catholic Social Teaching Bring Peace to the “Liturgy Wars?,” the phrase “liturgy wars” is “an expression of journalistic origin...[which] has been in use since at least 2002” (Jeffery, 2014: 351-2). The phrase is related to both the late 1990s Protestant term “worship wars” and the early 1990s term “culture wars.” For more see, Peter Jeffery, O.S.B. 2014. “Can Catholic Social Teaching Bring Peace to the “Liturgy Wars?”” *Theological Studies*, Vol. 72, No. 2. Pages 350-375.

texts which were completely new to me in their particulars. Furthermore, despite my insider status as a Catholic, I am not Indonesian and often stood out as a white, Western, young woman researcher, puzzling to many I met in terms of what I did (and did not) know. Accordingly, I tried to address my own personal bias or the things I took ritually and religiously for granted, while also aware of the aspects of Catholic- and cultural-practice that were new to me in Indonesia. In this way, I worked to contextualize what I was experiencing while also aware of the challenges and benefits of cultural and linguistic distance. At the same time, my presence as a white Western academically trained Catholic resonated with a history of white Western (European) often academically trained missionaries who have worked and taught for the Catholic Church in Indonesia, including such public (often Jesuit) figures as Romo Prier at the PML and the well-known Professor and political confidant Franz Magnis-Suseno, S.J.<sup>27</sup> Accordingly, I am aware of the inherent tension and productive discomfort of my own insider biases and outsider stance, in an attempt to understand Catholic musical performance as what Mellonee V. Burnim calls “a music complex, which embodies ideology, aesthetic, and behavior” (Burnim, 1985: 147).<sup>28</sup> In so doing, I am following the work of Burnim and others in contemporary ethnomusicology—in particular, many of the scholars now actively engaging with the burgeoning field of congregational music studies—who embrace the messy, subjective, and power-laden reality of studying music as a

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<sup>27</sup> In fact, at one point, a Priest in Flores assumed I was Romo Prier’s niece and started speaking to me in German under that assumption. When he realized I was neither German nor related to Romo Prier, he laughed, let out a sigh of relief, and relaxed his manner of speaking with me, almost as if even that degree of distance from the esteemed head of the PML made me a bit more neutral and a bit safer to talk to more colloquially.

<sup>28</sup> Here Burnim speaks about “a music complex” in reference to gospel music and Black cultural experience. Mellonee V. Burnim. 1985. “The Black Gospel Music Tradition: A Complex of Ideology, Aesthetic, and Behavior.” In *More Than Dancing: Essays on Afro-American Music and Musicians*. Irene V. Jackson (Ed.). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. 147-167.

cultural practice, especially those researchers who live within the tension of partial insider/partial outsider status.<sup>29</sup>

At the same time, as an ethnomusicologist, I embrace the challenge to step back from preconceptions and personal opinions for the sake of trying to understand how music is functioning for Roman Catholics in Indonesia; I invite my readers to do the same. Accordingly, while discussions on liturgical appropriateness and “good” music will factor into this project, it be done for the sake of better understanding how music is being used for the purposes of identification, piety, and communication by Catholics in Indonesia. In so doing, this work will again be in line with current scholarship in the emerging field of congregational music studies, understood as distinct from but aware of and at times in dialogue with theological and confessional work.<sup>30</sup> Like work in congregational studies, this project is grounded in ethnographic and social scientific methods and will critically engage questions of music, religion, and identity politics as a way of better understanding the lived religious and musical experience of Catholics in Indonesia.

### **1.3.2 Focus on Indonesia**

Historically, the study of music in Indonesia focused on the islands of Bali and Java, emphasizing and often exoticizing courtly traditions and denigrating or dismissing music that

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<sup>29</sup> For more on dealing with the tension of insider-outsider status—and the messiness of this supposed dichotomy—see Timothy Rice’s work in *Shadow’s in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*; of particular interest is his problematizing of an insider-outsider dichotomy in his section on “Playing, Caring, Experience, and the Understanding of Bulgarian Music,” in chapter six, pages 106-112. Timothy Rice. 1997. “Towards a Mediation of Field Methods and Field Experience in Ethnomusicology.” In *Shadow’s in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*. Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley (Eds). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Pages 101-120.

<sup>30</sup> For more on the emergence of congregational music studies, see Mark Porter. 2014. “The Developing Field of Christian Congregational Music Studies.” *Ecclesial Practices 1*. Pages 149-166.

could be considered part of popular culture or colonial legacy.<sup>31</sup> Contemporary studies on music in Indonesia have embraced the study of popular music and Islam.<sup>32 33</sup> It is important to note here that this focus on Islam, particularly on Islam as music and sound practice instead of dogma, represents a significant departure from early ethnomusicological and anthropological studies of Indonesia, most of which focused on recovering the Indic, Hindu-Buddhist religious past of Indonesia, to the neglect of Islam.<sup>34</sup> As a result, the musical practices of minority religious communities in Indonesia are under-researched and frequently over looked. This project will attempt to address the lack of scholarship on minority religions in Indonesia while positioning such work in relation to the existing work on music and Islam in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. Furthermore, the way that the study of religion is approached in this project will draw upon ethnographic methods from the anthropology of Islam, focusing on lived religious experience over theology or dogma.<sup>35</sup> This project is interested in the musical practices of Indonesian Catholics as experience rather than theory. Any discussion of theology or dogma will be engaged in for the sake of understanding how my interlocutors understand their own practices and use theological arguments to understand who they are and what they do in relation to Catholicism and the other religious systems practiced around them (such as Islam). Discussions of religion will thus be

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<sup>31</sup> For a key example, see Kunst, 1934 [1949, in English] which famously denigrated popular music, and effaced modern foreign influences and Islam. Jaap Kunst. 1949. *Music in Java: Its History, Its Theory and Its Technique* [De toonkunst van Java. English]. 2<sup>nd</sup> Rev. and Enl. Ed.. Translated from Dutch by Emile van Loo. The Hague, Netherlands: Nijhoff.

<sup>32</sup> For more on the “decentering” of music studies in Indonesia through the study of popular music, see Andrew Weintraub’s 2014 article on “Decentering Ethnomusicology: Indonesian Popular Music Studies.” in *Producing Indonesia: The State of the Field of Indonesian Studies*. Eric Tagliacozzo (Ed.). Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program. Pages 347-366.

<sup>33</sup> See Again, see Rasmussen, 2010; Harnish and Rasmussen, 2011; Weintraub, 2011; Daniels, 2013.

<sup>34</sup> One important exception to the neglect of Islam in earlier anthropological and ethnomusicological scholarship on Indonesia is Clifford Geertz’s *The Religion of Java*, in which he makes an unprecedented attempt at describing religion, as practiced, in Java, with a significant focus on Islam. See Clifford Geertz. 1960. *The Religion of Java*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

<sup>35</sup> For more on the anthropology of Islam see Bowen, 2012; Kreinath, 2012; and Marranci, 2008.

understood in relation to theoretical concepts on power long employed in scholarship on Indonesia, chiefly the center-periphery or core-periphery paradigm.

### 1.3.3 Focus on Power

How power is wielded by and for Catholics in Indonesia through music is a question at the heart of this project, both theoretically and structurally. Because this project seeks to examine the idea of Catholic identities, and an underlying orientation towards Catholic hierarchy—at the local (Diocesan and Parochial), national (National Conferences of Bishops and Cardinals), and global (Pontifical) levels—the power of religious cultural capital will be a constant undercurrent throughout this project (Bourdieu, 1986: 241).<sup>36</sup> Because this is an examination of identity politics in Indonesia, I will reference and re-examine the center-periphery paradigm long employed in anthropological, political, and ethnomusicological scholarship in Indonesia. Beyond its history in Indonesia, this project will explore the center-periphery dynamic as an episteme of power and control which, when critically examined, can be re-centered on under-represented narratives. Accordingly, because this study engages the identity and space-making moves of a historically marginalized religious minority, I will draw from theories on agency in subaltern and post-colonial studies in an attempt to reexamine the subversion or reclamation of power through music by Indonesian Catholics.<sup>37</sup> Finally, musical and cultural products will be understood as capital in this

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<sup>36</sup> I reference here both objectified and embodied cultural capital, following the work Pierre Bourdieu, 1986. “The forms of capital.” In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. (pp. 241-258). New York, Greenwood. Retrieved from <http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/fr/bourdieu-forms-capital.htm>

<sup>37</sup> My intersection with post-colonial and subaltern studies will be a bricolage of specific work from certain scholars in those and related fields. It is thus important to mention that the work I cite, in integrally informed by the work of leaders in both post-colonial and subaltern studies, namely the work of Gayatri Spivak, Talal Asad, Edward Said, and Homi Bhabha. These foundational scholars have shaped and influenced the work of theorists whose ideas

project, part of the currency through which power is communicated and wielded to fight for the right to belong for minority populations.<sup>38</sup> Ultimately, by conducting a critical examination of Indonesia Catholic music and identity politics, this study will contribute to a more nuanced understanding of how music and religion function in Indonesia, while suggesting an alternative to theories on center-periphery power dynamics for a minority religious community.

#### 1.4 Methodological Concerns

While grounded in the ethnographic methods of participation in and observation of musical events, my methodology was both much more interdisciplinary and “thing” based than anticipated.<sup>39</sup> With a desire to ethnographically examine power dynamics in and between the Catholic communities and musicians I worked with, my project hinges on the narratives of my interlocutors. At the same time, my understanding of their stories was influenced by my experiences and observations of their music- and Church-related activities, be that conducting

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greatly informed the theoretical and methodological framework of this dissertation, specifically Sherry Ortner’s work on practice theory (Ortner, 2006); Michael Herzfeld’s ideas of cultural intimacy (Herzfeld, 2005); and Laura Nader’s call to “study up” (Nader, 1972), particularly as related to Sonja Thomas’s work, in particular through her ethnographic study of Syrian Christian communities in Kerala, Southwest India (Thomas, 2018).

<sup>38</sup> Thinking here of power related to Bourdieu’s notion of habitus, namely how power is constructed and kept through state and educational institutions in relation to knowledge and knowledge production. In his *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu defines habitus as “systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor” (Bourdieu, 1977: 72). Pierre Bourdieu. Richard Nice, Trans. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. 26<sup>th</sup> printing, 2011. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>39</sup> The study of materiality is still a topic of interest in the fields of anthropology and ethnomusicology. See, for example, Arjun Appadurai (Ed.). 2013. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press; and, Eliot Bates. 2012. “The Social Life of Musical Instruments.” In *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 56, No. 3 (Fall 2012), Pages 363-395.

choirs, singing for or celebrating Masses, or teaching musicians and church members alike in various capacities. In my search for these re-centering stories, I realized I needed to follow things, the material which in many ways powered their music-making. Thus, the creation, production, and use of hymn books my direct object of analysis. While this method of following musical material included the actual use of these books—be it singing from them, selling them, or sometimes even just bringing them in tow to Mass or Church-related events—the material itself allowed me to add object study and text study to the bricolage of methods that proved necessary for this project.

My ethnographic methods also in its own way produced *things*. This included hundreds of typed pages of notes that I scribbled into batik-patterned notebooks during and after participation in church choirs, attendance at Masses, and formal interviews with dozens of liturgical and musical specialists on Java, Flores, and North Sumatra. Reflections on frequent “deep hanging out” were similarly included in these notebooks.<sup>40</sup> Alongside the more formal observations, my field notes and experiences allowed me to gain a more intimate view into the issues of personality and power dynamics which I found followed the hymn books I was tracking. In addition to notes, I documented my ethnographic experiences aurally and visually, with over 40 hours of audio recordings and thousands of pictures from Masses, choir rehearsals, and Church-related events like concerts or training sessions.<sup>41</sup> While given verbal permission to record or photo-document these

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<sup>40</sup> This term is often attributed to Clifford Geertz, who wrote an article on “Deep Hanging Out” for the New York Review of Books in 1998. The origin of the term is frequently given to Renato Rosadlo, from the field of anthropology, in relation to ethnographic research. For more, see James Clifford, 1996. “Anthropology and/as Travel,” *Etnofoor* 9, no. 2: 5–15. Clifford Geertz, 1998 “Deep Hanging Out,” *The New York Review of Books* 45, no. 16: 69–72. And Samuel J. Redman, 2019. “Deep Hanging Out as Historical Research Methodology: The National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institution,” *History of Anthropology Newsletter* 43: <http://histanthro.org/bibliography/deep-hanging-out-as-historical-research-methodology-the-national-anthropological-archives-at-the-smithsonian-institution/>.

<sup>41</sup> Hundreds of those thousands of pictures are pictures of documents from the PML library—mostly of *skripsi* (theses), dissertations, or unpublished *lokakarya* hymn-writing workshop proceedings (all of which I was welcome to



events, the interlocutors I interviewed also signed consent forms, which themselves became a useful chronological research record. The consent forms also served an agentive purpose, allowing each person to choose if and how they wanted to be identified in the work that follows. Finally, the material surrounding liturgical and musical events factored heavily into the archive I created from these varied ethnographic experiences. Ticket stubs, Church bulletins, holy cards, information brochures, Rosary beads, and a plethora of other *things* became part of my data. This body of data was not just mementos but actual repositories of information and became useful for fact checking and word searching. Finally, I have also amassed a small library of Indonesian-language sources on topics pertaining to my project: Indonesian and local-language hymnals, books on the Indonesian political philosophy *Pancasila*, and books on Indonesian Catholic Church history.<sup>42</sup> While many of these resources are not accessible in the US and some not accessible beyond the island where they were published, being able to analyze and compare the information each contains is valuable for developing a more complete understanding of the music and academic material created for and accessible in Indonesia pertaining to facets of this project.<sup>43</sup> Together, this both tangible and digital data set—alongside my own experiences—present a window into the musical and socio-cultural realities of the Catholic communities and centers (variable defined) on Java (Yogyakarta, Jakarta, and Bandung), Flores, and North Sumatra.<sup>44</sup> This window allows me

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take notes on and pictures of, but not photocopy)—or personal hymnal collections, particularly from Flores. These pictures in a way are their own set of data and resources, encompassing decades of musical memories and tell their own stories about missionization, colonialization, and knowledge flow. Given the lack of government interest (and funding), these local and personal archives have great significance and power for the study of minority religions in Indonesia.

<sup>42</sup> Here including magazines and “*klipings*”—here meaning catalogued clippings of newspaper and magazine articles—which discuss contemporary issues for Catholics in Indonesia during the time I was there.

<sup>43</sup> Such as with some of the locally published books and resources from Flores or Medan.

<sup>44</sup> Here, my experiences are either mostly codified in interviews and documentation or at least cross-checked with my fieldnotes if they are more from memory.

to view narratives and experiences surrounding music material for Catholics in Indonesia that evoke larger issues of communication, identification, economics, and power.

### 1.4.1 A Methodology for Mapping Power

While in the field, my research plan itself geographically mapped traditional Indonesianist ideas of center and periphery, while also following the Roman Catholic liturgical year.<sup>45</sup> I began my research at the “Center” in the supposed center, at the *Pusat Musik Liturgi* (PML) [Center for Liturgical Music] in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The PML is doubly central, being a productive musical training center for Catholic musicians from around the country, which is located on the political and economically central island of Java. My reasoning for beginning at this Center as a way to de- or re-center power dynamics is trifold: because of what they do, what they have, and who they know. First, the liturgical and musical specialists at the PML—chief among them Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, S.J., and Bapak [Mr.] Paul Widyawan, to be formally introduced in the following chapter—created the *Madah Bakti* hymnal, which is the source of much of the music material I tracked and heard throughout both Flores and North Sumatra. Second, the PML houses the institutional memory of this process, the contents of which will be explored in the chapters to follow.<sup>46</sup> And finally, the PML’s role as progenitors of what they call “*musik inkulturasi*”

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<sup>45</sup> For scholarship that has created and interrogated center-periphery models in Indonesianist studies, see Benedict Anderson. 1972. *Java in a time of revolution: occupation and resistance, 1944-1946.*; Michael Dove. 1996. “Center, Periphery, and Biodiversity: A Paradox of Governance and a Developmental Challenge.” in *Valuing Local Knowledge: Indigenous People and Intellectual Property Rights*. Stephen B. Brush and Doreen Stabinsky (Ed.). Washington, DC: Island Press. 41-67; and Minako Sakai, Glenn Banks, and JH Walker (Eds.), 2009. *The Politics of the Periphery in Indonesia: Social and Geographic Perspectives*. Singapore: NUS Press.

<sup>46</sup> Hereafter, I will refer to “Bapak” Paul Widyawan as “Pak Paul” or “Pak Paul Widyawan,” with Pak being a shortened form of Bapak or Mister and the common way Pak Paul was referred to. Following this convention, I will introduce each male interlocutor with the formal “Bapak,” while thereafter utilizing the informal “Pak” in accordance with my fieldwork experience of the titles most frequently used by many of the musicians I worked with.

[inculturated music] means that they have become the head of a network of PML-affiliated musicians around the country or, as one PML trainee put it, from “Sumatra to Papua” (or, far eastern to far western Indonesia).<sup>47</sup> The role the PML plays as a central hub in a network of Catholic musicians and musical production, allowed me to both examine and challenge center-periphery paradigms between Java and North Sumatra/Flores, and to capitalize on the association with the PML while traveling through “outer island” locations.

While a reexamination of a center-periphery paradigm will inform my fieldwork methods, access to certain outer islands was limited during my research due to my fellowship restrictions, safety concerns, and travel feasibility.<sup>48</sup> As a result, I decided to focus on the nuanced relationships between the PML and their outer island affiliate communities by basing my “outer island” fieldwork in Flores and North Sumatra. While these two places have been ‘closer’ or more connected to the PML than other outer island communities—both geographically and in terms of the PML’s history of running hymn writing workshops in both communities—the close connections between communities in North Sumatra/Flores and the Center allowed me to better examine the power-filled relationships Catholic musicians enact through music material use and musical performance. Furthermore, limiting the number of outer island locations allowed me to focus on the social poetic relationship of the PML with the outer islands communities, rather than presenting a general catalogue of music used in Indonesian Catholic communities.<sup>49</sup> Thus, a

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<sup>47</sup> Personal attendance at closing Mass and certificate presentation for PML *Penataran* [Training Session] for Organists and Choir Conductors, 8 July 2017. Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>48</sup> By safety concerns, here, I mean both the US State Department’s designation of areas of far Eastern and far Western Indonesia which were not safe to travel in—due to a recent history of violence, such as Aceh or Papua—and the reality that, traveling as a single American young woman, there were places where I would be at higher or unnecessary risk because of my conspicuousness. Furthermore, the above-mentioned high-risk areas were generally off limits for Fulbright student grantees, as dictated to their organization (AMINEF) through the US State Department.

<sup>49</sup> Here thinking of Herzfeld’s social poetics, which, as will be detailed below, he described as: “The agents of powerful state entities and the humblest of local social actors engage in the strategy of essentialism to an equal degree, if not always with the same visibility or impact. Social poetics can be precisely defined as the analysis of

nuanced examination of center-periphery dynamics focusing on area with closer proximity to supposed centers could allow for a detailed, relational analysis of how certain actors are wielding music as cultural capital to identify in powerful ways.

One practical way this center-periphery dynamic played out in my fieldwork is how colleagues at the PML or in Yogyakarta often provided me with initial contact for the “outer island” communities I worked with. At the same time, however, engaging in the daily life of each place presented a more nuanced picture of localized musical and cultural practices that inform the ways music is used at each church. While I was afraid of how being seen as a PML affiliate would affect the way I was received into each community—potentially seen as a representative of the Center/center—I instead discovered that, in general, this connection was less defining than I feared.<sup>1</sup> Once I began worshiping and singing with the local community, I was often considered theirs more than as an ambassador of the PML, and was quickly invited to events and rehearsal in my capacity as the friend of local informants and usually not just because I was a friend of the PML. In instances where this opacity was not the case, being understood as a friend of the PML was a helpful commonality or connection to interlocutors who I otherwise would not have had the opportunity to meet.

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essentialism in everyday life. The essentializing strategies of state legislators and ordinary citizens alike depend on a semiotic illusion: by making sure that all the outward signs of identity are as consistent as possible, they literally create, or constitute, homogeneity.” (Herzfeld, 2005: 32). Michael Herzfeld. 2005: *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics and the Nation-State (Second Edition)*. New York, NY: Routledge.

### 1.4.2 Methodological Interdisciplinarity

My methodological approach simultaneously includes methods from other fields in the social sciences. Informed by liturgical studies, ritual studies, and congregational studies, my musical ethnography will draw from the work of liturgist Mary McGann, particularly her use of “liturgical ethnography” and “event-centered analysis” (McGann, 2002; 2004). Liturgical ethnography, according to McGann, is the study of the “rich particularity of one worshipping community...using music as a primary lens through which to explore the community’s liturgy” (McGann, 2004: xv).<sup>50</sup> Similarly, McGann describes event-centered analysis as the ability to “complement the ethnographic process by enabling the researcher(s) to explore and interpret music’s relationship to all other aspects of the ritual performance” with the idea that “both ritual and music are forms of action” (McGann, 2002: 53).<sup>51</sup> Ethnographic research of music in liturgical events that does not take into consideration the ritual framework and understanding surrounding the performance presents a partial picture and highlights the importance of a turn towards McGann’s methods of liturgical ethnography and event-centered analysis.

Similarly, drawing upon the work of scholars from ritual studies—including Ronald Grimes and Catherine Bell—I will look at ritual as a performative event, what Grimes describes as “gestures swelling up out of a sea of relationships” (Grimes, 2002: 45).<sup>52</sup> This orientation towards performativity from ritual studies also correlates with the idea of “performative

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<sup>50</sup> Mary McGann. 2004. *A Precious Fountain: Music in the Worship of an African American Catholic Community*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2004.

<sup>51</sup> Here McGann cites the work of ethnomusicologist Regula Qureshi in her musical analysis of Sufi rituals. Mary McGann, 2002. *Exploring Music as Worship and Theology: Research in Liturgical Practice*. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press. Page 53.

<sup>52</sup>For more on rites of passage and performativity, see Ronald L. Grimes, 2002. *Deeply into the Bone: Re-Inventing Rites of Passage* [paperback]. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

ethnography” in ethnomusicological research.<sup>53</sup> A performative understanding of ritual, through performance ethnography, allows me to look at music in and related to the Catholic Mass as liturgical performance, in dialogue with a community's understanding of self, time, and ways of identification. This understanding of music and liturgy as performance will also afford me a way to think about my participation and “performance” as ethnographer, navigating and reifying relationships through my emic participation in Mass and music making/production. The use of experiential, participatory methods—studying the lived expression of religious practice—correlates with the focus on ethnographic methods embraced by scholars in the anthropology of Islam.<sup>54</sup> This methodological effectiveness is relevant not only due to its success in producing nuanced studies on religious and cultural production associated, but has been an effective method for moving beyond the mire of theological and dogmatic difference towards the studies of people’s religious experience which can supersede divides based on belief.

## 1.5 Literature Review

### 1.5.1 Music, Christianity, and Catholicism in Indonesia

While the majority of recent scholarship on religion and music in Indonesia has focused on

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<sup>53</sup> For discussions on performative ethnography, see Kisiuk, 2008 and Wong, 2008, chapters 5 and 12, respectively in Gregory Barz and Timothy Cooley’s 2008 edited volume, *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

<sup>54</sup> For more on the anthropology of Islam, see Janice Boddy and Michael Lambek (eds.), 2013. *A Companion to the Anthropology of Religion*. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell; John R. Bowen’s 2012. *A New Anthropology of Islam*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; Jens Kreinath (ed.), 2012. *The Anthropology of Islam Reader*. New York: Routledge; Gabriele Marranci, 2008. *The Anthropology of Islam*. New York: Berg; Filippo Osella and Benjamin Soares, eds. 2010. *Islam, Politics, Anthropology*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

music and Islam, there are a few key studies of music, Christianity, and/or Catholicism in Indonesia that will form the basis for my work. First of all, again, it is important to distinguish between Christianity (Protestant) and Catholicism as understood both historically and nationally/politically in Indonesia, an understanding which is much less fluid or subsuming (Catholicism as a type of Christianity) in other parts of the world. Not only are there very different missional and liturgical histories for the proliferation of each religious tradition in-country, but Christianity and Catholicism are actually two separate religious categories on Indonesian identity cards. Furthermore, the theological differences between the Catholic Church and different Christian denominations have had very different effects and results in terms of music used in a worship setting; as a result conflating the two, as has been done in past studies of Christianity and Music in Indonesia, can be both misleading and miss key nuances which distinguish the streams of musical, theological, and liturgical knowledge production for each religious group.

The most comprehensive work available on the subject of music and Catholicism in Indonesia is that by Marzanna Poplawska, particularly her new book on *Performing Faith: Christian Music, Identity and Inculturation in Indonesia* (March, 2020), dissertation on “Christian Music and Inculturation in Indonesia” (2008) and related articles on this topic, including: “Inculturation, institutions, and the creation of a localized congregational repertoire in Indonesia” (2018), “Christianity and Inculturated Music in Indonesia” (2011), “‘Wayang Wahyu’ as an Example of Christian Forms of Shadow Theatre” (2004).<sup>55</sup> With six appendices and nearly 500

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<sup>55</sup> See Marzanna Poplawska. 2020. *Performing Faith: Christian Music, Identity and Inculturation in Indonesia*. New York, NY: Routledge; Ibid. 2018. “Inculturation, institutions, and the creation of a localized congregational repertoire in Indonesia.” In Monique M. Ingalls, Muriel Swijghuisen Reigersberg, and Zoe C. Sherinian (Eds.), *Making Congregational Music Local in Christian Communities Worldwide*. Philadelphia, PA: Routledge. Pages 149-174; Ibid. 2011. “Christianity and Inculturated Music in Indonesia.” *Southeast Review of Asian Studies*. Vol. 33. Pages 186-198; Ibid. 2008. “Christian music and inculturation in Indonesian Music.” PhD diss., Wesleyan University; and Ibid. 2004. “Wayang Wahyu” as an Example of Christian Forms of Shadow Theatre.” In *Asian Theatre Journal*, 10/2004, Volume 21, Issue 2 (Fall 2004). Pages 194-202.

pages, Poplawska's dissertation looks at music and "drama, dance, musical instruments, clothing, written texts, fine arts, and architecture" on the islands of Java and Flores through the lens of "inculturation" (Poplawska, 2008: ii). In many ways, Poplawska's doctoral work presents a representative overview of Catholic and Christian music and art in Indonesia (Java and Flores) and thus has laid the groundwork for future research. That being said, I found Poplawska's work lacking critical social theory which could help contextualize what she is presenting; I found this particularly true in the use of the idea of inculturation as an organizing principle in her work. While she does parse how inculturation is related to acculturation, enculturation, and cultural contact, Poplawska does not interrogate how such a term is used in an Indonesian context, as different from its history in Catholic Church theology (Poplawska, 2008: 2-8). Furthermore, in her discussion on the "*Madah Bakti*" hymnal as an "exemplary songbook" and the "Possibility of National Style," Poplawska's work remains at the level of musical and liturgical specialist without discussing this hymnal or music in practice (Poplawska, 2008: 313; 319).<sup>56</sup> Poplawska expands on this idea in her most recent article, "Inculturation, institutions, and the creation of a localized congregational repertoire in Indonesia," in the 2018 edited volume *Making Congregational Music Local in Christian Communities Worldwide*. Here Poplawska further interrogates the idea of a national style, while discussing the idea of inculturation in relation to representation.<sup>57</sup> In the end, Poplawska's work presents an important introduction to music and Catholic practice in Indonesia, particularly on Java and parts of Flores, while at the same time presenting space for further critical

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<sup>56</sup> Poplawska does call for a reception study of PML-produced music in the outer islands (Poplawska, 2008: 102, footnote 23). Marzanna Poplawska. 2008. "Christian music and inculturation in Indonesian Music." PhD diss., Wesleyan University.

<sup>57</sup> Marzanna Poplawska. 2018. Inculturation, institutions, and the creation of a localized congregational repertoire in Indonesia. In Monique M. Ingalls, Muriel Swijghuisen Reigersberg, Zoe C. Sherinian (Eds.), *Making Congregational Music Local in Christian Communities Worldwide*. London, UK: Routledge. 149-174.



theorizing on the role that music plays in navigating an Indonesian Catholic identity through musical material and sound. Similarly, her forthcoming book (March 3, 2020), titled *Performing Faith: Christian Music, Identity and Inculturation in Indonesia*, will be a landmark contribution for music studies among Catholics in Indonesia, paving a path for talking about music and inculturation through a breadth of Christian and Catholic musical and performative modalities.

While Poplawska's work focuses largely on music of Catholic practice in Java and to a lesser degree on Flores, Dana Rappoport's "Ritual Music and Christianization in the Toraja Highlands, Sulawesi" and Dustin Wiebe's article on "Performing Christian Kebalian: Balinese Music and Dance as Interreligious Drama," provide valuable case studies on how local or traditional music is used to navigate Christian identities in other area-specific communities.<sup>58 59</sup>

Other works similarly dealing with questions of contextualized or hybridized practice religious and musical practice in Indonesia include Neles Keadabi Tebay's exploration of "...Christology

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<sup>58</sup> See Dana Rappoport, 2004. "Ritual Music and Christianization in the Toraja Highlands, Sulawesi"<sup>[SEP]</sup> *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (Fall, 2004): 378-404. Referring to the changes of music culture and religious practice in Toraja, South Sulawesi, Rappoport untangles the changes to the conceptualization and practice of traditional ritual music among the *Sa'danis* ethnic group due to "the advent of Christianity and by pressures from the Indonesian government" (Rappoport, 2004: 378). Despite a somewhat folkloric, preservationist slant undergirding her work, Rappoport's discussion of how Protestant churches are adding a "Torajan flavor to church music" (Rappoport, 2004: 389), lines up with Yoshiko Okazaki's work on Catholic hymns that have been given a *Toba Batak* flavor, as well as echoing Poplawska's extensive discussion on inculturated practices in Catholic communities on Java and Flores.

<sup>59</sup> See, Dustin Wiebe, 2017. "Contextual Church Reform in Bali and the Secularization of 'Sacred' Music and Dance: Forging Protestant/Hindu Music Networks in an Age of Mass Tourism." PhD Dissertation. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University. Wiebe's 2017 dissertation on "Contextual Church Reform in Bali and the Secularization of 'Sacred' Music and Dance: Forging Protestant/Hindu Music Networks in an Age of Mass Tourism," presents a critical view of the "newly hybridized genres of Christian *gamelan* music and dance" as a cause of interreligious connection and a blurring of a "sacred/secular binary" (Wiebe, 2017: xiv). Looking at music and dance through the processes of contextualization, hybridity, and cultural tourism, Wiebe employs network analysis and Bourdieu's approach to capital to examine how new interreligious forms of music and dance are contributing to a reconfiguration of neighborhood networks (*kebalian*). While focusing on the socio-religious milieu of Bali and specifically Protestant/Hindu relations therein, Wiebe's discussion of "A Brief History of Christianity in Indonesia," "New Organology," and *gamelan* in light of economic, social, and cultural capital, resonates with similar phenomena within Catholic musical experience in Indonesia (Wiebe, 2017: 8-10; 33-6; 203-14). Also see Dustin Wiebe, 2014. "Performing Christian *Kebalian*: Balinese Music and Dance as Interreligious Drama." in *Between Harmony and Discrimination: Negotiating Religious Identities within Majority-Minority Relationships in Bali and Lombok*, ed. Brigitta Hauser-Schaublin and David D. Harnish. Boston, MA: Brill. 221-243, which deals with questions of contextualization in dance-dramas performed in Bali, specific to the Bali Protestant Church (GKPB).

Expressed in the Hymns of Mee Christians of West Papua” (Tebay, 2000), and David Irving’s work on “The Genevan Psalter in Eighteenth-Century Indonesia and Sri Lanka” (Irving, 2014).<sup>60</sup> While Irving explores the history of materiality of Christian missions in colonial Sri Lanka and Indonesia, Tebay’s site-specific study uses ethnographic material combined with theological theories and hymn-text analysis to explore the history of missionization and localized Christian practices among the *Mee* of West Papua.

Similarly interrogating the role of missionization and music in Christian communities in Indonesia, Thomas Manhart’s 2004 dissertation, “A Song for Lowalangi—the Interculturaiton of Catholic Mission and Nias Traditional Arts with Special Respect to Music,” turns away from a theory of inculturation—a theological idea championed by the PML and discussed at length in Poplawska’s work—and argues instead for the use of an idea of “interculturalation,” which he describes as “processes of mutual inculturation” (Manhart, 2004: 25).<sup>61</sup> Looking at Manhart’s work in chapter three on “Liturgical Songbooks and the *Pusat Musik Liturgi*” and “*Lokakarya Komposisi Musik Liturgi* in Nias” presents a helpful theological and historical example of Catholic

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<sup>60</sup> By examining the translation, publication, and dissemination of these psalters, Irving shows how this material represents the “intersections between multiple cultures,” including the intricacies of: “Protestant texts translated into Portuguese (a language traditionally associated with Catholicism), Tamil (associated with Hinduism), Sinhala (associated with Buddhism) and Malay (associated with Islam), with Swiss melodies, printed by the presses of the Dutch East India Company in two major port cities of Java and Sri Lanka, for use by Asian and Eurasian communities,” which will be pertinent to my work on language and translation in hymn books (Irving, 2014: 254). While over two thirds of the article focuses on Sri Lanka, the sections dedicated to “Translation and Theological Transactions in the Malay-Speaking World” and “Malay Psalters” presents important insights into the long-surviving institution that is the Genevan Psalter in this part of South East Asia and the circulation of missional music material in this part of the world (Irving, 2014: 248; 250). David R. M. Irving. 2014. “The Genevan Psalter in Eighteenth-Century Indonesia and Sri Lanka.” *Eighteenth Century Music*, Vol. 11. Pages 235-255.

<sup>61</sup> However, challenges with this theoretical framework are twofold, one being that interculturalation is not yet in common use in theology and certainly not in fields beyond it, and second that it is not part of the “inculturative” discourse in Indonesia, which I argue has a distinct localized meaning and use in Indonesia. Furthermore, Manhart tends to reify certain categories like “traditional” and “sacred,” such as in chapter three, on “Nias Music and Dance and Interculturalation,” which is divided into separate sections on “Traditional Music and Dance,” and “Interculturaiton of Traditional and Sacred Music and Dance” (Manhart, 2004: 70-126). Thomas Markus Manhart. 2004. “A Song for Lowalangi- the Interculturalation of Catholic Mission and Nias Traditional Arts with Special Resect to Music.” PhD diss., National University of Singapore.

musical and liturgical practice in the outer island location of North Sumatra (Manhart, 2004: 107-111; 112-125; 126-145). While Manhart also includes a brief section on “Examples for Interculturation from Other Regions”—including examples from Java (particularly Yogyakarta and the PML), Toraja, and Bali—his focus is on asserting a theological claim to the idea of interculturation as a vehicle for understanding the role of missionization in cultural preservation (Manhart, 2004: 199-202). Also discussing the localization or ‘inculturation’ among a regionally specific Christian or Catholic community, Yoshiko Okazaki’s dissertation on “Music, Identity, and Religious Change Among the Toba Batak People of North Sumatra” and article about “Liturgical Music among the Toba Batak People of North Sumatra: The Creation of a New Tradition,” together present a thorough examination of the musical practices of both Protestant and Catholic communities among the Toba Batak of North Sumatra (Okazaki, 1994; 1998).<sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> Okazaki’s work is a prime example of the understanding that can be rendered through historical and ethnographic study of a community’s music making in relation to religious beliefs and practices. Similarly bringing together ethnographic and historical work, Julia Byl’s 2014 self-reflexive ethnography on *Antiphonal Histories: Resonant Pasts in the Toba Batak Musical Present* “is a study of how Toba people recruit their pasts—India and Islamicate, colonial and national—and how these interpretive choices condition musical ones” (Byl, 2014: 4).<sup>64</sup> While not overtly

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<sup>62</sup> See, Yoshiko Okazaki, 1994. “Music, identity, and religious change among the Toba Batak people of north Sumatra.” PhD Dissertation. Los Angeles, CA: University of California- Los Angeles. Okazaki’s 1994 dissertation is especially focused on instruments and musical structure, including a whole section on “Instruments and Musical Structure of *Gondang*” and a chapter discussing the contentious relationship between “*Gondang* and *Adat*.”

<sup>63</sup> See, Yoshiko Okazaki’s 1998 article on “Liturgical Music among the Toba Batak People of North Sumatra: The Creation of a New Tradition.” *Crossroads: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 12 (2). Pages 55-74. Okazaki’s article on “Liturgical Music among the Toba Batak People of North Sumatra” focuses more explicitly on *gondang* and the “creation of a new tradition” based on the incorporation of *gondang* and other ‘indigenous’ Toba Batak instruments. Okazaki explicates the mission history amongst the Toba Batak as it relates to church history and divergent policies between Roman Catholic and Protestant authorities in encouraging or dissuading the use of certain traditional instruments in the liturgical service or at events associated with the church community.

<sup>64</sup> See, Julia Byl, 2014. *Antiphonal Histories: Resonant Pasts in the Toba Batak Musical Present*. Wesleyan, CT: Wesleyan University Press. One of Byl’s greatest contributions here is a reexamination of how ethnomusicologists

focused on religion, Byle's work does intersect with local Christian and Catholic musical communities and provides an excellent example of how to structure a project based on emic artistic and spiritual understandings. Taken together, the scholarship on Christianity and Catholicism and music in Indonesia lays an important groundwork for non-Islamic scholarship on music and religion in Indonesia. At the same time, however, this body of work is usually area-specific, lacks a broader national and inter-religious context, and often neglects the nuanced differences between Catholic and Christian (Protestant) religious practice in Indonesia.

### 1.5.2 Indonesian-language Sources

Sources in Indonesian pertaining to music and Christianity or Catholicism fall into one of two categories, those produced by (or under the direction of Romo Prier) and those not produced by the PML.<sup>65</sup> While both categories include sources about inculturated music, the latter provides valuable insight into how non-PML scholars have incorporated discourses on “*inkulturasi musik liturgi*” [the inculturation of liturgical music], as a juxtaposition to PML-produced or affiliated

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examine the performative present, not simply as something informed by the past, but something at time enacting and at times echoing distant past realities. With that in mind, there is one thread that Byle didn't include in this narrative that would have enriched and further contextualized the religious—Christian (Protestant)—discourse with which she engaged. In a nod to work done on “normative Toba Christianity...focused on Christian identity,” Byle mentions then dismisses previous work done by ethnomusicologists on Christian and Catholic music among the Toba Batak (Byle, 2014: 124). While I think rightly arguing that these missiological or confessional scholars largely ignored “the physical and cultural violence done in service of a higher power” in this context, dismissing their insights—there are certain scholars whose work helpfully complicates this assumption, including Yoshiko Okazaki's work explicitly referencing Catholic parallels to the *gondang* drum number issue that Byle mentions in a previous section (Byle, 2014: 99). Overlooking the resonance of other ethnomusicological studies on music and religion in North Sumatra potentially caused Byle to miss the opportunity of connecting with scholars whose research could have further nuanced her insights (Byle, 2014: 124). For more on music, religion, and conversion in North Sumatra, see, Julia Byle, 2016. “Music, Convert, and Subject in the North Sumatran Mission Field.” *The Oxford Handbook of Music and World Christianities*. Suzel Reily and Jonathan Dueck (Eds.). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. 33-54.

<sup>65</sup> It should be noted that I encountered the majority of these sources while at the PML library this summer. While that does not negate the importance of these works, it underscores their pertinence to my project as relevant texts both to the subject matter I am studying and due to the fact that they are on display as relevant work at the PML.

materials. It is also telling that most of these “external” sources, many of which are B.A. or M.A. theses which I accessed at the PML library, were produced in Java (largely in Yogyakarta) at institutions which are closely linked to the PML or the Jesuit community to which PML director Romo Prier belongs. On the other hand, PML-produced Indonesian-language sources focus on the theory behind their musical choices, using church documents and a multi-ethnic array of examples to argue for inculturation “as [they] do it.”<sup>66</sup> In addition to the many song books, dozens of CDs, and small collection of DVDs produced by the PML, their theoretical texts didactically explain, in charts and prose, what inculturation is and isn’t. With most of the text written directly by Romo Prier, this body of work can be seen as his apologetic of how communities across the archipelago can engage—particularly through traditional musicians, organists, and choir directors—in this kind of inculturated music making. Taken together, these Indonesian-language sources on inculturation present an emic understanding of this theory which will be important alongside the English-language literature on this topic. While there is a great deal of information with which to contextualize a study of music and Christian/Catholic practice in Indonesia, what is missing from this generally site-specific scholarship is a connection between these ethnographic case studies and the macro-concerns of Catholic music making. Connecting the daily practice of politics, economics, and agency, to the overarching theoretical structures of power, religious communication, and identity politics through the creation, use, and circulation of music material is a main goal of this project.

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<sup>66</sup> “Inculturation as we do it every day here” was a phrase Father Prier used to speak of the work at the PML written to me during email correspondence October 23, 2015.

## 1.6 Overarching Theoretical Structure

### 1.6.1 Power

What follows will be an overview of theories which will run through each chapter, effectively guiding my interpretation of data collected during fieldwork. A chief organizing principle to be examined and then challenged in this work is the idea of center-periphery power dynamics and the issues of politics, economics, mobility that this paradigm invokes. While a theoretical understanding of core-periphery dynamics can be traced back to Immanuel Wallerstein's 1970s world-systems analysis, the conceptual use of a center-periphery model in Indonesia is rooted in political structures of Dutch colonialism.<sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> What began as an understanding of Java as the center with the "outer" islands as the periphery became a fundamental analogy for the study of Indonesian politics and culture during the 1970s and 1980s. Political scientist Benedict Anderson conceived of this center-periphery dynamic as a cone of light; the

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<sup>67</sup> For scholarship on center-periphery models in Indonesia from during Dutch colonialism to national independence, see Leonard Andaya. 1993. *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press; Benedict Anderson. 1972. *Java in a time of revolution: occupation and resistance, 1944-1946*.; Syed Farid Alatas. 1997. *Democracy and authoritarianism in Indonesia and Malaysia: the rise of the post-colonial state*. New York, NY: MacMillan Press Ltd.; Michael Dove. 1996. "Center, Periphery, and Biodiversity: A Paradox of Governance and a Developmental Challenge." *Valuing Local Knowledge: Indigenous People and Intellectual Property Rights*. Stephen B. Brush and Doreen Stabinsky (Ed.). Washington, DC: Island Press. 41-67; and Joseph Errington, 1989. *Exemplary Centers, Urban Centers and Language Change in Java*. Chicago, IL: Center for Psychosocial Studies.

<sup>68</sup> For Wallerstein's definition of "core-periphery" see: Immanuel Wallerstein, 2004. *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. Here he defines "core-periphery" as "a relational pair, which first came into widespread use when taken up by Raul Prebisch and the UN Economic Commission for Latin America in the 1950s as a description of the AXIAL DIVISION OF LABOR of the world-economy. It refers to products but is often used as a shorthand for the countries in which such products are dominant. The argument of this book is that the key element distinguishing core-like from peripheral processes is the degree to which they are monopolized and therefore profitable" to the center (Wallerstein, 2004: 93).

more distant one gets from this light source or power, the weaker the light or power becomes.<sup>69</sup> Relatedly, anthropologist Clifford Geertz used the center-periphery trope to speak of the power and authority of the ruling king who served as the exemplary center and personification of the desired unity of the society in the politics of “*The Theatre State in 19th Century Bali*” (Geertz, 1980).<sup>70 71</sup> Core periphery power also manifested musically. Ethnomusicologist Pak Sumarsam explained in his book *Gamelan: Cultural Interaction and Musical Developments in Central Java*, that “the ruler could enhance his power by concentrating [“*gamelan* instruments and *wayang* paraphernalia”] around him” (Sumarsam, 1995: 7).<sup>72 73</sup> I would argue that this history supporting loci of power through revered materiality and a centralization of musical production has had a corollary in Catholic music production, with Java-based centers such as the PML affirming histories of power linked to ecclesiastical, empire-based, and colonial historical narratives.

The history of center-periphery scholarship in Indonesianist studies is now shifting to question and de-center these paradigms, seen in the work of Andrew Weintraub’s 2014 article on

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<sup>69</sup> Using this metaphor to analyze Indonesian New Order politics, Anderson equated oneness with strength and multiplicity or diffusion with weakness. For more, see: Benedict Anderson. 1990. *Language and power: exploring political cultures in Indonesia*. Cornell, NY: Cornell University Press.

<sup>70</sup> Each of these models, while complicated and questioned by contemporary Indonesianist scholarship, have laid the theoretical ground work upon which studies of center and periphery dynamics in Indonesia rest.

<sup>71</sup> For more on center-periphery dynamics in reference to Hindu-Balinese polities and Islamic sultanates in Indonesia, see Clifford Geertz. 1980. *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; and Sartono Kartodirdjo. 1966. *The peasants’ revolt of Banten in 1888. Its conditions, course and sequel. A case study of social movements in Indonesia*. Boston, MA: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

<sup>72</sup> Here Sumarsam cites Anderson 1972: 28, in reference to how “the core concept of traditional Javanese power lies in one’s ability to gain power,” then detailing the ways Anderson’s theory of power applies to Javanese *gamelan* and courtly arts, see Sumarsam. 1995. [1992]. *Gamelan: Cultural Interaction and Musical Development in Central Java*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Page 7. For further culturally contextualized studies of *gamelan* and power, see Judith C. Becker. 1980. *Traditional Music in Modern Java: Gamelan in a Changing Society*. Honolulu, HI: University Press of Hawaii; and, Richard Anderson Sutton. 1991. *Traditions of Gamelan Music in Java: Musical Pluralism and Regional Identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; and Ibid. 1993. *Variation in Central Javanese Gamelan Music: Dynamics of a Steady State*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University.

<sup>73</sup> This idea of centrifugal power—affirmed by the presence and proximate performance of “magically charged items” like *wayang* and *gamelan* (Sumarsam, 1995: 7)—resonates with Clifford Geertz’s analysis of power in his work on *Negara: the Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Geertz, 1980). Thus, the king displayed accumulated power through the presence and performance of *gamelan* and theatrical arts at court. Clifford Geertz. 1980. *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

“Decentering ethnomusicology: Indonesian Popular Music Studies,” and Michaela Haug, et al.’s 2017 edited volume, *Rethinking Power Relations in Indonesia: Transforming the Margins*, among others.<sup>74</sup> I argue that ethnographic narratives about music from supposedly peripheral places can re-center traditional Indonesianist understandings of power and politics. Accordingly, a re-centering of traditional Indonesianist center-periphery paradigms will be at work throughout this dissertation to shed light on the experiences of minority religious communities in Indonesia, many of whom exist either as a religious minority in Java or beyond the island of Java, in historically peripheral or disenfranchised places.

Enabling and challenging an idea of central and peripheral power are issues of mobility of both people and things. One modality of communication for Catholics throughout Indonesia is the music material which circulates in the form of hymn or song books, photocopied sheets, CDs and cassettes, and now MP3 files and YouTube videos. Here, I am using the work of Stephen Greenblatt’s work in his “A mobility studies manifesto” to embrace the idea that movement should be taken quite literally for, “only when conditions directly related to literal movement are firmly grasped,” he explains, “will it be possible fully to understand the metaphorical movements: between center and periphery; faith and skepticism; order and chaos; exteriority and interiority” (Greenblatt, 2010: 250).<sup>75</sup> By taking mobility in “*a highly literal sense*,”—following hymns and hymn books from their places (islands, countries) or creation to the places of their production and then use—a mobility studies approach will allow me to “*account in new ways for the tension*

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<sup>74</sup> See also: Eriko Aoki’s 2003 work on “‘Center’ and ‘Periphery’ in Oral Historiography in a Peripheral Area in Southeast Indonesia,” William Cumming’s article on “Would-be Centers: the Texture of Historical Discourse in Makassar” (2006), and work on “Center, Periphery, and Biodiversity” by Michael R. Dove (1996), and the 2009 edited volume on *The Politics of the Periphery in Indonesia: Social and Geographical Perspectives*, edited by Minako Sakai, Glenn Banks, and J.H. Walker.

<sup>75</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, et al. 2010. *Cultural Mobility—A Manifesto*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.



*between individual agency and structural constraint*” (Greenblatt, 2010: 250-51). To connect mobility to material, particularly print material and the technology and potential of the printing press, I turn to Benedict Anderson’s work in *Imagined Communities*, about the importance of print material in the creation of the nation state (Anderson, 1983).<sup>7677</sup> Furthermore, Anderson’s work on imagined communities will provide theoretical grounding for understanding the ways in which my interlocutors imagine Catholic connections, particularly their connection to Rome. While most Catholic communities are at least tangentially connected to the Vatican—through missionary or order-based channels of knowledge production, Priest training, pilgrimage of Religious and laity, or the papal visit of then Pope John Paul II to Indonesia in 1989—for a vast majority of Indonesian Catholics, Rome represents both a place and an authority conveyed through powerful Church hierarchy to local Catholic communities in Indonesia.<sup>78</sup> The tension of that communication plays out in how Church officials communicate constraints upon liturgical music composition to local composers, musicians, and communities. This often contentious disjuncture—between hierarchy and laity—further complicates ideas of centers and peripheries in this project and between musical practice in Indonesia and musical edicts in and from Rome. In this sense, the hierarchical nature of the Roman Catholic Church—as articulated through this musical legislation—can be seen to function as a hegemonic structure not dissimilar with governmental or legal institutions. In fact, one could even make the argument that the Church does have its own multi-leveled legal and

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<sup>76</sup> Benedict R O’G Anderson, 2006. *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Revised Edition. New York, NY: Verso.

<sup>77</sup> Thinking here specifically of Anderson’s idea of the importance of print and the mechanization of printing in chapter 3 “The Origins of National Consciousness” (Anderson, 2006: 37-46).

<sup>78</sup> Here the distinction of Religious versus laity denotes a vocational (and, for the Priesthood, Sacramental) difference between members of the Roman Catholic Church. I use Religious to mean both consecrated life—to single life, monks, or nuns—and Holy Orders, to the Priesthood. Conversely, the laity refers to the Church community or body of all baptized Catholics who have not been initiated into the formal, life-long commitments of the Priesthood or Consecrated life, but are still partake in service to the Church through their local communities and personal prayer lives.

“governmental” bodies, whose influence can affect music material production and performance through the exercise of both top-down and local power and authority. Thus, the centralized and hierarchical exclusivity of Roman Catholicism—as a world religion whose central power structure is historically based in Rome—is in relationship with the bureaucratic carrying out of institutional strictures and aims at the national and even local (parochial) levels in Indonesia.

By focusing on the power dynamics between the three islands where I did my research—specifically the “central” island of Java (and “Central” Java, in particular) and the “outer” or peripheral islands of Flores and North Sumatra—I am seeking to ethnographically re-center traditional Java-centric power dynamics.<sup>79</sup> In that sense, this project lines up with contemporary post-colonial and subaltern studies, influenced by the work of Gayatri Spivak, Talal Asad, Edward Said, and Homi Bhabha as models for examining the othering terminology, problematic power structures, and historically objectifying gaze of Western scholarship in relation to the “East” or “Orient.” I do this by focusing on the narrative of the “acting subject,” following Sherry Ortner’s work on practice theory and, like her, employing “narratives of power and inequality” as a way to understand different aspects of cultural practice (Ortner, 2006: 14).<sup>80</sup> As both a methodological and theoretical approach, Michael Herzfeld’s scholarship on cultural intimacy and social poetics

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<sup>79</sup> For studies of traditional Indoensianist power dynamics, see Leonard Andaya. 1993. *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press; Benedict Anderson. 1972. *Java in a time of revolution: occupation and resistance, 1944-1946*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press; Benedict Anderson. 1990. *Language and power: exploring political cultures in Indonesia*. Cornell, NY: Cornell University Press; Clifford Geertz. 1980. *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; Syed Farid Alatas. 1997. *Democracy and authoritarianism in Indonesia and Malaysia: the rise of the post-colonial state*. New York, NY: MacMillan Press Ltd.; Michael Dove. 1996. “Center, Periphery, and Biodiversity: A Paradox of Governance and a Developmental Challenge.” *Valuing Local Knowledge: Indigenous People and Intellectual Property Rights*. Stephen B. Brush and Doreen Stabinsky (Ed.). Washington, DC: Island Press. 41-67; and Joseph Errington, 1989. *Exemplary Centers, Urban Centers and Language Change in Java*. Chicago, IL: Center for Psychosocial Studies.

<sup>80</sup> Sherry B. Ortner, 2006. *Anthropology and Social Theory: Culture, Power, and the Acting Subject*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. Of particular interest to this project is Ortner’s Chapter 6, “Power and Projects: Reflections on Agency” (Ortner, 2006: 129-153)

has heavily influenced my work, showing how ethnographic research into the music and religion can unearth larger social issues sometimes explicitly avoided in conversation and yet inextricably intertwined with a person's experience. Herzfeld describes social poetics as follows:

The agents of powerful state entities and the humblest of local social actors engage in the strategy of essentialism to an equal degree, if not always with the same visibility or impact. Social poetics can be precisely defined as the analysis of essentialism in everyday life. The essentializing strategies of state legislators and ordinary citizens alike depend on a semiotic illusion: by making sure that all the outward signs of identity are as consistent as possible, they literally create, or constitute, homogeneity. (Herzfeld, 2005: 32).

This idea of homogeneity through socio-political essentialism also resonates with Gayatri Spivak's work on "strategic essentialism," namely that members of a minority group can make use of self-essentializing tactics for the sake of constructing a group identity and as a way to fight for certain political or social rights. By providing insight into both potentially embarrassing essentialisms and alternative, agentic narratives, social poetics have allowed me to connect key social issues—like politics, power, and economics—to the musical and religious experiences of my interlocutors (Herzfeld, 2005: 32). Finally, inspired by Sonja Thomas's work on Syrian Christian communities in Karola, Southwest India, and the ways in which her interrogating work lines up with Laura Nader's 1972 essay on "Up the Anthropologist — Perspectives Gained from Studying Up," I am embracing the idea of "studying up" as a way to critically engage with the work of the PML and KWI "centers" of music material production for the Catholic church in

Indonesia.<sup>81</sup> <sup>82</sup> As Laura Nader explains in her essay, “Up the Anthropologist—Perspectives Gained from Studying Up,” scholars “have a great deal to contribute to our understanding of the processes whereby power and responsibility are exercised...for the quality of life and our lives themselves may depend upon the extent to which citizens understand those who shape attitudes and actually control institutional structures” (Nader, 1972: 284).<sup>83</sup> Here Nader is referring to the contribution that anthropologists can make in studying “the processes whereby power and responsibility are exercised” specifically in the United States (Nader, 1972: 284). However, I would argue that her argument for a “studying up” of systems of power holds beyond the US, particularly in relation to religious institutions—as seen in Sonja Thomas’ work on Syrian Christian in Kerala, India—and holds the same potential for fields related to anthropology which make use of ethnographic methods, specifically ethnomusicology, sociology, and ritual studies.

By interrogating the social (political and economic) work which agents in both the PML and KWI are musically undertaking, I will be able to examine the structures and people whose projects in a way serve to regulate the work and experience of communities in the “peripheral” islands, all the while depending on the creative and consumptive power of these places with greater Catholic populations. At the same time, ethnographic re-centering of narratives from places considered part of the “outer islands”—in this study North Sumatra and Flores—will supplement a “studying up” of the supposed centers, re-centering narratives from the “peripheries” while

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<sup>81</sup> I first encountered Thomas’s work, and her use of Nader’s theory of “studying up,” in her Keynote Lecture on “Feminist Ethnography and ‘Studying Up’ in World Christianity Studies” at the 2019 World Christianity Conference on Currents, Perspectives, and Ethnographic Methodologies in World Christianity” on March 16, 2019.

<sup>82</sup> As an example of Nader’s “studying up,” in relation to the Syrian Christians in Kerala, of “how identity-based categories such as “Christian,” “minority,” and “woman” have been mobilized in postcolonial India” which problematizes “the presumed link between numerical subordination and political vulnerability” (Thomas, 2018: 4), see: Sonja Thomas. 2018. *Privileged Minorities: Syrian Christianity, Gender, and Minority Rights in Postcolonial India*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

<sup>83</sup> Laura Nader. 1972. “Up the Anthropologist—perspectives gained from studying up.” *Reinventing Anthropology*. Dell Hymnes (Ed.). New York, NY: Pantheon Press. Pages 285-311.

interrogating the projects of the centers themselves. In a way, studying up will present both a methodology and framework for de-centering or breaking down a hierarchy between “high” and “low” ecclesiastical power structures and geographic communities. In so doing, a culturally intimate studying up will address the historic absence of the study of power of the contemporary ruling or moneyed elite in a way that both resonates with the lack of such studies for Catholicism, especially in Indonesia, and the frequent focus on how the “high” affects the “low,” without really emically understanding the projects of the “high.” Accordingly, how the communication of religiosity and identity politics through music implicates and explicates power dynamics of supposed centers and peripheries will be another chief focus of this dissertation.

### **1.6.2 Religious Communication**

Following cultural turns in anthropology and religious studies, I am embracing the idea of religion as lived practice—specifically as studied in the anthropologies of religion, Islam and Christianity. By privileging an ethnographic, grass-roots approach to lived religion over strict study of theology or dogma, I can examine how Catholic musical and liturgical leaders in Indonesia are communicating practices of piety through music and music material. For theories on communication and religion, I am following the work of religious studies scholar Volkhard Krech to consider how “communication always consists of the interplay between semantic and social structures,” embracing horizontal (person to person) and vertical (often hierarchical, person to person, or person to God) ways of communicating religious meaning (Krech, 2016: 261).<sup>84</sup> Given

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<sup>84</sup> Volkhard Krech, 2016. “Communication” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Study of Religion* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. 257-270.

the contingencies of social structure and religious statutes, Krech explains that “the limitations that are imposed on the excess of meaning generated in religious communication contribute to the creation of memory, of traditions, of a sense of origin, and belonging or identity” (Krech, 2016: 265). A similar communication of emic identification is asserted by Catholics in Indonesia through music, articulating what is Catholic, Indonesian, and/or local (ethnic) through the instrumentation, text, tuning, material, and performance. By looking at music production, performance, and material as religious communication, I am embracing a discursive study of religion which, following the work of Kocku von Stuckrad, looks at “religions as systems of communication and action and not as systems of (unverifiable) belief” (von Stuckrad, 2003: 255).<sup>85</sup>

Catholicism has always been a foreign, missionizing force in the archipelago, resulting in missional, musical, and material encounters which shaped local practice and local Catholic identity politics for centuries. An excellent example of this is the process to the patroness of Larantuka, Tuan Ma, a statue of Mary brought to Eastern Flores in the 16<sup>th</sup> century by Portuguese Dominican Priests who arrived there through trade. While Catholic leadership in Larantuka is now all Indonesian, the legacy of Portuguese Marian hymns, veneration of the statue, and a famed procession of *Tuan Ma* and related statues during Holy Week, has been woven into the fabric of Larantukan identity, communicating both a localized Larantukan way of being Catholic and the realities of Catholic piety being expressed and communicated through centuries, as it is now, in an increasingly global context. While practice has now been largely localized, this globalized history of trade and missionization is still present in Catholic leadership and music-making in Indonesia. Here I turn to Arjun Appadurai’s idea of “-scapes,” what he sets up as a way to address “the tension

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<sup>85</sup> Kocku von Stuckrad, 2003. “Discursive Study of Religion: From States of the Mind to Communication and Action.” *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 15. Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV. 255-271.

between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization” in contemporary global interactions (Appadurai, 1990: 295).<sup>86</sup> Of Appadurai’s five -scapes, “mediascapes,” “image-centered, narrative-based account of strips of reality, and what they offer to those who experience and transform them” provide a way to understand music material and performance as “a series of elements...out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, [people’s] own as well as those of others living in other places” (Appadurai, 1990: 299). At the same time, Doreen Massey’s work on “power geometry” provides a strong reminder that globalization often occurs in such a way as to often not fully benefit those who power it; similarly unequal flows are present in the creation and use of music material in the Catholic communities in Indonesia where I did my fieldwork.<sup>87</sup>

### 1.6.3 Identity Politics

For many of my interlocutors, religious (Catholic) songs and song material implicate not just the effects of Catholic and national hierarchical power but complicated negotiations of identification. Ultimately, I will be treating identity itself as a contested word, understanding that often identity “tends to mean too much” and choosing instead to define the way both I and my interlocutors conceptualize identity (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000: 1).<sup>88</sup> Following the work of Brubaker and Cooper, in their article “Beyond ‘Identity,’” I will privilege the idea of identity politics and identification as alternatives to the potentially essentializing connotations of identity

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<sup>86</sup> Arjun Appadurai, 1990. “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy.” *Theory Culture Society*. Vol. 7. London, UK: Sage. 295-310.

<sup>87</sup> Doreen Massey, 1994. “A Global Sense of Place,” from *Space, Place and Gender*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

<sup>88</sup> See Brubaker and Cooper, 2000. “Beyond ‘identity.’” *Theory and Society*, Vol. 29. Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers. 1-47..

as an analytical category. Regarding the multiple and often contradictory uses of identity as an analytical category, Brubaker and Cooper assert:

Clearly, the term ‘identity’ is made to do a great deal of work. It is used to highlight non-instrumental modes of action; to focus on self-understanding rather than self-interest; to designate sameness across persons or sameness over time; to capture allegedly core, foundational aspects of selfhood; to deny that such core, foundational aspects exist; to highlight the processual, interactive development of solidarity and collective self-understanding; and to stress the fragmented quality of the contemporary experience of ‘self,’ a self unstably patched together through shards of discourse and contingently ‘activated’ in differing contexts (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000: 8).

In this way, I will discuss identification through identity politics by examining the production, use, and flow of Catholic music material (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000: 14, 34).<sup>89</sup> My study will focus on how both the idea of identity politics—in addition to missional histories, theology, and economic “business”—are practiced through music material and musical performance in a Catholic context in Indonesia. Furthermore, this study of identification with and through religion is done with the acknowledgement that—while religious and ritual practices often include assertions of identity—identity is not always the main concern or awareness of individual or community piety. Just as there are multiple ways of identifying, so too are there multiple ways and reasons why people are religious; highlighting the connections between religion and identification is not to dismiss the reality that piety can often be used to transcend ideas of identity.

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<sup>89</sup> For more on identity politics in the US, see: Elizabeth Schermund (Ed.), 2018. *Identity Politics*. New York, NY: Greenhaven Publishing. For identity politics and music, see: Ian Biddle (Ed.), 2012. *Music and Identity Politics*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.



Finally, I hope to acknowledge and begin to address power dynamics inherent in both my own positionality and the biases of academic access/publishing by focusing on work of Indonesian or South/Southeast Asian scholars on Indonesia in relation to politics and identity. As detailed above, I am an American Catholic ethnomusicologist who has done research in Indonesia. While a partial insider (Catholic), partial outsider (non-Indonesian) stance has afforded me both a degree of insider knowledge and cultural distance, the distinction of being non-Indonesian and the mindset of being trained in an American or Western academy can also become a barrier in understanding and interpreting certain cultural or theoretical nuances. I neither grew up with nor currently live in the cultural or political realities of Indonesia and turn to the work of various scholars, especially those who identify as Indonesian, in part to address this lack of experience and perspective. Accordingly, Ariel Heryanto's work on media and identity—specifically his recent work on *Identity and Pleasure—the Politics of Indonesian Screen Culture* (2014), edited volume on *Popular Culture in Indonesia: Fluid Identities in Post-Authoritarian Politics* (2008), and book on *State Terrorism and Political Identity in Indonesia: Fatally belonging* (2006)—argues for a critical examination of popular and visual culture as an entry point into an understanding of religiosity and identity politics in post-Suharto Indonesia. In addition to this focus on media and visual materiality (in the form of films), Heryanto's most recent work shows how contemporary social opinion and political sensibility “finds expression not just in public ceremonies of officialdom, or to-down state propaganda, but is also manifest casually in everyday life,” a reality that I ethnographically examine through a culturally intimate approach to the study of Catholic musical production and material in everyday life.<sup>90</sup> Doreen Lee's work on *Activist Archives—Youth Culture and the*

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<sup>90</sup> Ariel Heryanto. 2014. *Identity and Pleasure—the Politics of Indonesian Screen Culture*. Singapore: NUS Press.

*Political Past in Indonesia* provides insight into issues of religious pluralism, Dutch colonial legacies, ethnicity, and modernity during Indonesia's transition to democracy. Lee examines these "archives"—those documented and retained, and those destroyed—through both historical material and ethnographic sources, an approach which resonates with the multi-valent methods I have applied in my own research (Lee, 2016: ix, 272).<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, Krishna Sen's 2003 work on "Radio days: Media-politics in Indonesia" and her volume with David T. Hill on *Media, culture, and politics in Indonesia* (2000), broaden an understanding of the function of media and technology in Indonesia. This idea that media functions as "texts" which can reflect the hegemony of national cultural and political culture (particularly under the New Order Regime), connects with how I examine religious "texts"—printed, but also visual, performative, and aural "texts"—as cultural discourses which can be read and interpreted. Furthermore, examining how media has been used in nation-building projects connects with the use of radio and media in musical training and communication for the Catholic communities I have worked with throughout the country.<sup>92</sup> Finally, Andreas Harsono's book on *Race, Islam and Power: Ethnic and Religious Violence in Post-Suharto Indonesia*, affirms the idea that "Java-centric nationalism is unable to distribute power fairly in an imagined Indonesia" (Harsono, 2019: 244).<sup>93</sup> Through a journalistic approach ethnographically and historically grounded in the experience of communities on the "peripheries," Harsono works to highlight the narratives of local people and communities often unfelt and unknown by many, and particularly on Java. Harsono thus shows an ethnographic, journalistic

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<sup>91</sup> Doreen Lee. 2016. *Activist Archives—Youth Culture and the Political Past in Indonesia*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

<sup>92</sup> This is particularly true in terms of the use of radio, as can be seen in the PML's long distance learning program—"Kursus Organ Gereja Jarak Jauh" (KOGJJ) started in 1990, to be discussed in chapter three (for more see Prier, 2008: 106)—and Radio Maria Indonesia, to be discussed in chapter five. Karl-Edmund Prier, 2008. *Perjalanan Musik Gereja Indonesia Tahun 1957-2007*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pusat Musik Liturgi. PML A-79.

<sup>93</sup> Andreas Harsono, 2019. *Race, Islam, and Power: Ethnic and Religious Violence in Post-Suharto Indonesia*. Clayton, Victoria, Australia: Monash University Publishing.

focus on the realities of people in supposedly peripheral islands which highlights the centrality of their experience as part of the politics of a country whose capital and core claim an ignorance against their plight. By musically expanding upon the themes of the above studies, the overarching ideas of center-periphery power dynamics, politics, economics, religiosity (how to “be” religious or Catholic), missional history, media and texts, and identity politics will serve as the threads which will connect each chapter and bind the dissertation together.

## 1.7 Organizational Structure and Chapter Outline

### 1.7.1 Keyword Organizational Structure

While overarching thematic threads run throughout this work, each individual chapter will be organized around a “Keyword/s,” drawn from my discussions with informants, allowing their own words and experiences to quite literally shape my dissertation and inform how I introduce and discuss the overarching thematic issues.<sup>94</sup> In his work on *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Revised Edition), Raymond Williams defines “*Keywords*” as “the record of an inquiry into a vocabulary; a shared body of words and meanings in our most general discussions...of the practices and institutions which we group as *culture* and *society*” (Williams, 1983: 14).<sup>95</sup> In this way, my use of “keywords”—specific to my ethnographic research and the particular situatedness

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<sup>94</sup> Keywords will be highlighted in each chapter title. For the forthcoming “Chapter Overview,” keywords will be indicated through the use of **bolded** words. However, due to formatting regulations which render the entirety of all headings in bold for chapter titles, at the beginning of each chapter, the keywords will appear as underlined.

<sup>95</sup> Raymond Williams, 1985. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society, Revised Edition*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. For work that expands on Williams’ ideas, see: Roderick Hart, et al., 2005. *Political Keywords: Using Language That Uses Us*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press and John Patrick Leary, 2018. *Keywords: The New Language of Capitalism*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.

of this project—will similarly point out the relationships between words, history, and social context as part of a mutually constitutive dialectic relationship, a way of semantically seeing and explaining how things became the way they are. To highlight narratives and interlocutor experience, I have focused on the process of close listening, taking both my conversational cues and ultimately the structure for this dissertation itself from their words. I realized through the course of my fieldwork that certain key words kept coming up in conversation, words that often implicated or led to complicated stories which would provide insight into bigger issues. Accordingly, the terms and concepts which came out of the conversations with my interlocutors are the keywords around which I focus each chapter of the dissertation. These keywords, some in English, some in Indonesian, present the key ideas around which most conversations occurred, highlighting the importance of theology, national ideology, economics, and history alongside broader themes of identity politics, materiality, communication, and religious plurality. Keywords are thus the sites around which this dissertation will be structured, with communication, mobility and materiality, power, agency, and identity serving as the threads which run throughout the chapters, knitting the dissertation together.

### **1.7.2 Chapter Overviews**

Chapter one on “*Musik Inkulturasi*: missional matters, localization, and knowledge production,” interrogates the use of the Catholic theological term of inculturation. Arguing that *musik inkulturasi* or inculturated music has become its own genre in Indonesia—almost always connected with the people, processes, and products of the PML—this chapter will examine how the production of inculturated music implicates a web of missionary histories, charismatic central leaders, and local musicians. The chapter begins with brief introductions to Catholicism in

Indonesia, the idea of inculturation, the history of inculturated music in Indonesia, and the people and places involved in making that music. I will then examine the structures through which the localization of inculturated music occurs, including hymn writing workshops (known through the PML as *lokakarya*) and the use of national (Indonesian) versus local languages in creating hymn texts. While *musik inkulturasi* is an emic term, used for and localized in an Indonesian context, Timothy Rommen's "Ethics of Style" will provide a framework for understanding the implications of how theology can inform musical practice and together progress understandings of power dynamics, identity politics, and agency in liturgically-associated settings (Rommen, 2007).<sup>96</sup>

The second chapter, "A Tale of *More Than Two Hymnals* and the *Bisnis* of making Church music" begins with stories of the two most popular Catholic hymn books in Indonesia. While both are marketed towards national audiences, the business behind these books and the role of Church centers—both of places, the PML in Yogyakarta and the KWI in Jakarta, and people— provides insight into larger issues of colonialism, power, and communication. At the same time, the presence of many other Church hymn and song books in Flores and North Sumatra challenges the hegemonic narratives of these nationally produced books. A "studying up" of national hymn book production on Java coupled with ethnographic re-centering of narratives from the "outer islands," will show that there is agentive power in the production and use of Catholic song books in these supposed peripheries (Nader, 1972).<sup>97</sup> Bound in each of these hymn books is communication of what it should look and sound like to be Catholic in Indonesia, or on certain islands/areas therein. Using Herzfeld's cultural intimacy and social poetics and Benedict Anderson's print capitalism, I

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<sup>96</sup> Timothy Rommen, 2007. *"Mek Some Noise" Gospel Music and the Ethics of Style in Trinidad*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

<sup>97</sup> Nader, 1972. "Up the Anthropologist—perspectives gained from studying up." *Reinventing Anthropology*. Dell Hymnes, ed. New York, NY: Pantheon Press. 285-311.

will argue that while the tale of the Catholic Church music in Indonesia is much more complicated than its two most popular hymnic products, the stories told on both national and local levels through hymn and liturgical song book production produce powerful insights into the business of not just making Church music in Indonesia but of crafting what becomes considered as acceptable sounds and tools for representing a minority Catholic population across hundreds of islands and dozens of ethnic and linguistic groups.

The third chapter, on “Instrumental and Material Matters: *orgel* and the plague of the **rhythm box**,” takes an instrumental view on issues of genre and instrumentation. Highlighting the importance of material things—from musical instruments, to song photocopies, to flash drives and back-up generators—this chapter re-contextualizes and personalizes the way instruments can be related to narratives of piety and power. In so doing, I strive here to connect ideas surrounding the primacy of the organ in Church music and the intent to incorporate “traditional” instruments into *musik inkulturasi* to larger stories of missional methods of knowledge production and a re-centering of economic and musical processes for Catholic communities in various parts of Indonesia.

Chapter four, “*Pancasila* Politics: Music, Nationalism, and Catholicism in Java” scales up discussions of politics, national identification, and religious pluralism in Indonesia. Tracking the Catholic musical and visual uses of the national political ideology of *Pancasila*, this chapter will connect the idea of this national symbol with the political work Catholic musicians and leaders are using it for. The relationship between the idea and history of “Catholic” and “Indonesia” carries with it an inherent tension, which will be parsed in this chapter as a disruption to dominant narratives of what being “Indonesian” can sound like and mean. Furthermore, the employment of a Hindu-Buddhist symbol and its accompanying Javanese phrase *bhinneka tunggal ika* [unity in

diversity], is perceived as doing very different work in areas of Indonesia further from Java. This disjuncture in understanding and use of *Pancasila* will provide valuable insight into the differing identity politics for Catholic leaders in disparate parts of the country, while also examining how music in Catholic contexts is being used to address inter-religious tension and the need for the protection of religious pluralism.

The fifth and last chapter examines “*Lagu Maria: Music, Marian Devotion, and the Independent Power of the So-called Peripheries.*” Focusing on para-liturgical devotion to Mary, this chapter shifts focus from the dynamic interplay of centers and peripheries to forefront the power of supposedly peripheral places (both islands, especially Flores, and places, such as remote village pilgrimage sites) through the power and drama of Marian devotion. This ultimate subverting of a center-periphery narrative occurs through the examination of Marian music and ritual through three facets: first, as a re-appropriation and localization of missional Catholic legacies, and as such Catholic as opposed to Protestant signifier; second, as an economic catalyst which allows for community cohesion and independent-support; and third, as privately-produced musical and domestic devotion which can occur beyond the bounds of Church liturgy and Catholic hierarchy. In this way, Marian music and para-liturgical practice becomes a site where issues of gender, hierarchical power, and style shift are negotiated, centering the agency of the laity through both devotion and song.<sup>98</sup>

Finally, the dissertation will conclude by “Imagining Rome,” where the experiences of my interlocutors allow them to “Speak Back” to the supposed center of their faith. Here I will employ

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<sup>98</sup> As I will discuss further in chapter five, issues of gender and leadership—in the Roman Catholic Church and in Indonesia—have resulted in an almost exclusively male musical leadership, specifically among those who write and produce music material for the Catholic Church in Indonesia. Furthermore, this gendered power dynamic is ironically exacerbated by the fact that, while most of the local, trans-local, and national leaders are men, most of the musical “doers”—organists, choir directors, choir members—are women.

Benedict Anderson's ideas of *Imagined Communities*, where in this case global ties are socially constructed or imagined through the production and use of media. Furthermore, Doreen Massey's power geometry—the idea that the people who facilitate globalization are often those to least benefit from it—provides a schema through which to echo the questions of some of my interlocutors, asking if or when the music they create will reach the “Center” of their faith in Rome.

Despite the keyword particularity of each chapter, again this dissertation is tied together through the overarching themes of this project. Themes of religiosity, communication, economics, mobility, power, and identity politics thus become imbedded in the milieu of keyword-based discussions of each chapter. In this way, chapters focused on topics like the “*bisnis*” [business] of Church music or discussions about music and “**Maria**”an devotion becomes site for discussion of broader, power-filled issues. By focusing on the lived experience of Catholic communities on the islands of Java, Flores, and North Sumatra, this project will work to ethnographically re-center traditional center-periphery power models, complicating hegemonic narratives of and through the production of Church music. In so doing, this work ultimately transcends the particularities of music made by and for Catholics in Indonesia, showing how musical materials and practices can assert minority religious experience while at the same time speak to the multi-valent histories which inform these power-filled artistic practices.



## 2.0 Chapter 1- Musik Inkulturasi: Missional Matters, Localization, and Knowledge

### Production

#### 2.1 Introducing *Inkulturasi*

*Inkulturasi* or *musik inkulturasi* are translated Indonesian terms for the Roman Catholic phenomena of inculturation. A highly theorized theological term, inculturation is also a localized and localizing practice, with histories, sights, and sounds both culturally contextualized and site specific. Such is the case in Indonesia where *musik inkulturasi* [inculturated music] has become its own genre, most associated with the people and practices of the *Pusat Musik Liturgi* [Center for Liturgical Music] (PML). My first introduction to *musik inkulturasi* was similarly people- and place-bound, a web of interpersonal connections which eventually lead me to the PML in Yogyakarta and their constituents on the islands of Flores and North Sumatra. However, inculturation in Indonesia and even more so *musik inkulturasi* is necessarily shaped by histories which came before it and informed the soil out of which inculturated products grew. This history starts in trade, continues in missions, transitions to local ecclesiastical leadership, and is ever influenced by public piety in the milieu around it, in this case, ways to be religious in Indonesia. Accordingly, after a relevant historical situating of the practice of Catholicism in Indonesia, I will introduce the idea of inculturation as context for a discussion of this chapter's keyword, *musik inkulturasi*. I will then re-center ideas of power in producing and defining *musik inkulturasi* by examining the structures that govern its creation and use, including both "Centers" and independent "agents" who promulgate this music. These structures further affect the way Catholic leaders and musicians think about *inkulturasi* away from supposed centers, a dynamic which I will

highlight by including definitions of *musik inkulturasi* from interlocutors from a variety of geographic locals and ecclesiastical positions. Ultimately, an examination of *musik inkulturasi* will provide insight into how theology informs musical and devotional practice—following the work of Timothy Rommen (2007) and trends in the fields of both the anthropology of Islam and congregational music studies—within various cultural contexts.

### 2.1.1 *Inkulturasi*—A Key Keyword

“*Inkulturasi*,” as inculturation is known in Indonesian, is considered a kind of contextualization—and thus related to Christian, Protestant processes of localization—yet with its own unique history as a Catholic theological concept.<sup>99</sup> According to PML-produced texts, written by Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, *inkulturasi* it is a process through which the Gospel or Word of God is “planted” into a local cultural context often for use in the liturgy of the Mass and ultimately as a way to praise God (Prier, 2009: 71).<sup>100 101</sup> It is not acculturation, enculturation, or syncretism

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<sup>99</sup> While contextualization, in Indonesian *kontekstualisasi*, has been conflated with inculturation (see Poplawska, 2008: 17), these two terms stem from different theological traditions and historical, missional, realities. In light of these fundamental distinctions—particularly in terms of denominational or religious use of the terms, with inculturation generally referring to a Catholic context and contextualization to Protestant denominations—and the ways in which *inkulturasi* has become localized in an Indonesian Catholic context, I will use them as distinct terms, despite a similar evocation of localization of worship practices evoked by both. For more on contextualization, see Poplawska, 2008: 22-24; and for a brief history of inculturation, see Poplawska, 2008: 18-22.

<sup>100</sup> For PML Sources on *musik inkulturasi*, see: Karl-Edmund Prier. 2014. *Inkulturasi Musik Liturgi I (edisi revisi)*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pusat Musik Liturgi. PML A-84; Karl-Edmund Prier. 2014. *Inkulturasi Musik Liturgi II*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pusat Musik Liturgi. PML A-82. Karl-Edmund Prier and Paul Widyawan. 2011. *Roda Musik Liturgi: Panduan untuk para petugas Musik Liturgi*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pusat Musik Liturgi. Karl-Edmund Prier, 2009. “*Inkulturasi*” in *Kamus Musik* [Music Dictionary]. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pusat Musik Liturgi (PML K-77). Page 71.

<sup>101</sup> Romo Prier further defines “*inkulturasi*” in his *Kamus Musik* [Music Dictionary], as follows: “The prefix, ‘in-,’ expresses an ‘inward’ process, for example to be included/to be planted in culture. That means, a value or information or message wants to be expressed in the form of a particular culture, wants to be transformed / to be improved through certain forms/expressions of culture” (Prier, 2009: 71). In Indonesian, “*Awalan ‘in-’ menyatakan suatu proses ‘ke dalam’, misalnya dimasukkan/ditanam di dalam kebudayaan. Artinya, suatu nilai atau informasi atau pesan ingin diungkapkan dalam wujud kebudayaan tertentu, ingin ditransformasi/ditingkatkan melalui*

but is rather a process through which a new creation or transformation is achieved. I understand that using the term inculturation can be seen as treading murky theoretical waters, with some US-based scholars preferring terms which connote more dialogue and dynamism, such as hybridity or syncretism. However, despite taking issues with those terms—with hybridity suggesting that the composite elements are themselves some kind of “pure” pre-hybrid (which when brought together scientifically results in sterility) and syncretism suggesting a proscriptive understanding of combined elements—I use inculturation as a translation of *inkulturasi*, in large part because that is the word chosen and used by my interlocutors. Furthermore, as I have and will argue, *inkulturasi* and *musik inkulturasi* are themselves localized in Indonesian, having a specific meaning and use local in the Indonesian language and in an Indonesian context (Catholic and otherwise). Understandings of *inkulturasi*, I contend, are themselves evolving and dynamic, making it not only the most appropriate term for the project as a term used agentively in an Indonesian Catholic context. While first efforts towards localization of Catholic practices in Indonesia can be traced back to before the Second Vatican council, “*Musik inkulturasi*” or “*lagu inkulturasi*” has its own history in Indonesia after the Second Vatican council and continuing through to present day.<sup>102</sup> According, historically situating *inkulturasi* within a history of Catholicism in Indonesia will provide the context necessary to understand how it is used in reference to a broader sense of Catholicity while simultaneously localized in an Indonesian context.

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wujud/ungkapkan kebudayaan tertentu.” (Prier, 2009: 71). Karl-Edmund Prier, 2009. “*Inkulturasi*” in *Kamus Musik* [Music Dictionary]. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pusat Musik Liturgi (PML K-77).

<sup>102</sup> For more on this history, see: Karl-Edmund Prier. 2008. *Perjalanan Musik Gereja Indonesia Tahun 1957-2007*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pusat Musik Liturgi. PML A-79.

## 2.2 Historically Situating Catholicism in Indonesia

A history of so called inculturated music in Indonesia in and of itself starts around the 1970s. However, in order to understand the role that histories of trade, missionization, knowledge production, and broader practices of piety play in the creation and sustenance of this process and genre, it must begin much earlier. While some scholars have speculated that there has been Christian presence in Indonesia since as early as the seventh century, the beginning of Catholicism taking root in the archipelagic nation-state now called Indonesia is traced to Portuguese and Spanish missionary presence associated with the spice trade in Eastern Indonesia at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Aritonang & Steenbrink, 2008: 6, 23).<sup>103</sup> According to historian Karel Steenbrink in his 2003 book on *Catholics in Indonesia: A Documented History: Volume 1—A Modest Recovery 1808–1903*, the conquering of Malacca in 1511 led to the early 16<sup>th</sup> century influence of Portuguese Catholic missionaries in the Indonesian eastern outer-islands.<sup>104</sup> While these efforts were religiously divided, with the Jesuit Fathers working in the Moluccan archipelago and Dominican friars in Flores and Timor, Catholic missions in general met resistance “after the arrival of the Dutch in 1596” (Steenbrink, 2003: 6-7). For the next two and a half centuries, Catholic priests were banned and “Calvinism was the only tradition of Christianity tolerated” (Steenbrink, 2003: 7). During this time, there were still Portuguese missionaries working in Flores, until 1772, and some other islands in southeastern Indonesia remained Catholic. However,

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<sup>103</sup> Regarding seventh to ninth century Christian presence in Indonesia see “Christianity in Pre-Colonial Indonesia,” by Adolf Heuken, S.J., chapter one in Aritonang & Karel Steenbrink (Eds.). 2008. *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*. Vol. 35. Pages 3-8. For information on the role of 16<sup>th</sup> century Dutch trade and Catholicism in Indonesia, see chapter three, “Catholic Converts in the Moluccas, Minahasa and Sangihe-Talaud, 1512–1680, 2008. In Aritonang J. & Steenbrink K. Eds., *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*. Leiden; Boston: Brill. 23-72. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctv4cbgb1.8>.

<sup>104</sup> See Karel Steenbrink, 2003. *Catholics in Indonesia: A Documented History: Volume 1—A Modest Recovery 1808–1903*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

due to “the very small number of Portuguese missionaries, the absence of local priests, and poor communications with other areas, Catholic practices and doctrines were transmitted along with rituals and convictions of other religions” (Steenbrink, 2003: 7).

The history of Catholicism’s restricted, outer island missional roots in Indonesia provides significant insight into the persisting and often syncretic Catholic religious and musical practices in these regions, unofficial prototypes of localizing Catholic practices. The legacy of these missional efforts endures in the musical, liturgical, and linguistic practices of many of the Catholics communities throughout the country, particularly on the island of Flores. In Larantuka Eastern Flores, contemporary pietistic musical and liturgical practices resonate with the Catholic community’s Portuguese Dominican roots. These vestiges of Portuguese trade and missionization span from the presence of colonial cannons throughout the island, to the enduring practice of Gregorian chant, Marian hymns in a localized version of Portuguese, and their now famed Holy Week processions involving statues associated with Portuguese Dominican missionary presence in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>105</sup> What makes this history present, however, is not just the endurance of European or missional practices, but the fact that in the wake of missionary presence and at times in the absence of any Church ecclesiastical support, localized Catholic practices have taken root, born out of and for the community, as kind of early inculturation, as will soon be discussed. These processes, like the missional legacies which often began them, ever inform both the historical memories of many Catholic communities in Indonesia and their contemporary musical and liturgical practices.

The influence of colonial economics and politics upon religious practice did not just begin with the Portuguese Catholic priests who, associated with trade, started forming stations and in

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<sup>105</sup> For more on this tradition, see Steenbrink, 2015: 250-51.

roads into Flores and Eastern Indonesia from the last 16<sup>th</sup> to late 18<sup>th</sup> century (Aritonang and Steenbrink, 2008:75). Instead, European political realities had ramifications for both how Indonesia was colonially governed and the effect that governing had on religion. As Karel Steenbrink and Jan Sihar Aritonang detail in their 2008 *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as the Dutch East India Company (VOC) declared bankruptcy, control over what is now Indonesia came under the Kingdom of the Netherlands (established in 1815). This switch in governing power meant that “government policy in the Indies was no longer determined by a body of merchants, but by the Dutch Crown and, after 1849, increasingly by Parliament” (Aritonang and Steenbrink, 2008: 137). This shift had further ramifications for Catholics, both on the level of trade and in respect to a growing separation between church and state in the Netherlands. A shift in power away from VOC control lifted pressure from Catholic communities in Eastern Indonesia, for the “VOC [had] suppressed Catholicism in its dominions, because it was the religion of its Portuguese enemy” (Ibid, 137). Furthermore, this shift away from state religions in the Netherlands introduced secularity into the Dutch State’s governing of their colonies, in which “it was not supposed to give preferential treatment to any church or religion” (Ibid, 138). In the wake of the strict collusion of the colonial state with its Protestant roots, Dutch Catholic priests post-1800 were finally able to plant roots of their own, with two priests stationed in Java after 1808 and then the Jesuit missionaries expanding to other regions after 1859 (Ibid, 139). In this way, both colonial administration and Dutch Catholic missional influence in Indonesia were at least administratively centered on Java, with communities beyond this geographic center permitted to exist independently, as with Portuguese Catholic influence in Eastern Indonesia. At the same time, this history points to how the periphery shaped the center, with the history of Catholicism in Indonesia being indebted to historical realities of peripheral

communities and in a way to the function of church and state politics in colonial countries, far from Indonesia's archipelagic shores.

It is important to acknowledge that Catholic missionizing in Indonesia was not a monolithic force. The presence and influence of priests and nuns representing diverse religious orders further particularized the kinds of Catholicism which took root in each part of the country. For the sake of this project and the areas it surveys—mainly the islands of Java, Flores, and North Sumatra—the influential orders include: the Jesuit order, throughout Java; the O.S.C./Crosiers in Bandung, West Java;<sup>106</sup> the S.V.D. missionary priests and brothers throughout Flores and their sister order, S.Sp.S.;<sup>107</sup> and finally, the O.F.M. Capuchin priests and S.F.D. sisters in North Sumatra.<sup>108</sup> Each order has its own histories, practices, and proclivities which will be enumerated in site- or order-specific discussions later in this dissertation. However, it is important to underline that colonial center-periphery dynamics were also affirmed in the administration of religious orders, with most of the Superior Generals then and often still being of Dutch or German descent. This constant reference to colonial or European religious power is magnified for Indonesian Catholic religious communities with the centrifugal pull of Rome, as the place from which knowledge on Church teaching—everything from Canon or Church law to appropriate musical and liturgical practices—is known to emanate. Even as Indonesia marched closer to national independence, Catholics in this colonial, missional land were subject to the plays of powerful politics from both the Indonesian nation-state and the edict of the Roman Catholic Church emanating from Vatican City, as

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<sup>106</sup> O.S.C. stands for “Canons Regular of the Order of the Holy Cross,” abbreviated as O.S.C./O.Cruc., and also known in English as the Crosiers, in Indonesian known as “*Ordo Salib Suci*.”

<sup>107</sup> Again, S.V.D. stands for *Societas Verbi Divini*, or The Society of the Divine Word, also known as the Divine Word Missionaries or under the abbreviation S.V.D. S.Sp.S. sisters are Missionary Sisters Servants of the Holy Spirit, and are also part of the SVD family.

<sup>108</sup> O.F.M. Capuchin stands for the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin monks and is one of the chief Franciscan orders worldwide. The S.F.D. order—in Indonesian, *Suster-Suster Fransiskus Dina*—is also a Franciscan order of religious sisters.

poignantly exhibited for Catholics in Indonesia in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century and through the adoption and then localization of inculturation.<sup>109</sup>

### 2.2.1 From Colonial Rule to an Independent Indonesia

Marching towards Indonesian independence, the early 20<sup>th</sup> century saw a growth in nationalist movements and a commensurate attempt from the Dutch regime to repress any threat to colonial control.<sup>110</sup> Dutch rule in Indonesia came to an abrupt halt during the Second World War, when in February of 1942 the Japanese Naval forces defeated the Dutch fleet in the Battle of the Java Sea, taking possession of the Netherlands East Indies and establishing their own Japanese imperial rule. When the Japanese surrendered on August 15, 1945, Indonesian independence was declared two days later. However, it would take four years of conflict with Dutch forces until Indonesian independence was universally recognized in December 1949.

Starting in this period of transition—from Dutch colonial rule to Japanese occupation and eventually Indonesian independence, in 1945—until the end of the Second Vatican Council, in 1965, Catholics in Indonesia experienced a kind of holding pattern. According to Karel Steenbrink in his work on *Catholics in Independent Indonesia: 1945–2010*:

In the history of the Catholics of Indonesia the period of 1945–1965 is seen mostly as a period of survival. Most Dutch initiatives were drastically and completely cut off in this

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<sup>109</sup> I would argue here that instead of static critical debates within the Church that Catholicism has never been fully localized in Indonesia, there is an acute awareness—on behalf of foreign- and Indonesian-born Church leaders—that efforts at localizing or inculturating—both the liturgical and Church leadership—is an ongoing, unfinished process which many ecclesiastical leaders are either actively participating in or intentionally conscious of, on both local (parochial) and institutional (diocesan/KWI) levels.

<sup>110</sup> These early nationalist movements included *Budi Utomo* (formed in 1908) and *Sarekat Islam* [Islamic League] (formed in 1912). For more see Vickers, 2013: 74-81. Adrian Vickers. 2013. *A History of Modern Indonesia* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.



period. After the Dutch recognised Indonesian independence in late 1949, relations never became good until the late 1960s... In this period, however, the missionaries could continue their work (although there were restrictions as to the sending of money and of new personnel). The real transition from Dutch to local leadership took not place in the 1950s, but after 1965. In many cases these transitions from Dutch to Indonesian leadership went rather smoothly (Steenbrink, 2015: 252).

Why 1965? Meeting in Vatican City from October 1962 to December 1965, the Second Vatican Council spanned two papacies—that of Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul VI—and can be considered the Church’s response to the socio-cultural needs of post-colonial and post-modern realities. Of the four constitutions written during the Council, the *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (SC), or *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, introduced significant changes in how the Mass could be practiced, including the use of vernacular languages and various forms of localized musics in the liturgy.<sup>111</sup> These shifts had great ramifications for churches in what was known as missional areas. In addition to allowing liturgy in local languages and utilizing local customs, the constitution called for a greater participation of the laity in the liturgy and an increased focus on creating and using local expressions of faith.<sup>112</sup> The later was specifically spelled out in articles 40 and 119 of the

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<sup>111</sup> For more on the implications of language and sacred music as discussed during the drafting of the SC, see Rita Ferrone, 2007. *Rediscovering Vatican II: Liturgy- Sacrosanctum Concilium*. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press.

<sup>112</sup> In reference to participation of the laity, the *Sacrosanctum Concilium* reads, “Mother Church earnestly desires that all the faithful should be led to that fully conscious, and active participation in liturgical celebrations which is demanded by the very nature of the liturgy. Such participation by the Christian people as “a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a redeemed people (1 Pet. 2:9; cf. 2:4-5), is their right and duty by reason of their baptism.” The Holy Roman Catholic Church, 1963. “*Sacrosanctum Concilium*” II. 14. Accessed November 6, 2017. [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_const\\_19631204\\_sacrosanctum-concilium\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html).

Constitution, both of which advocate for a proscriptive adaptation of cultural practices in liturgy at the discretion of “territorial ecclesiastical authority” (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*: Article 40).<sup>113</sup>

It should also be noted that while the edicts of the Second Vatican Council and eventually the implementation of inculturation did important work at not just localizing but making relatable Catholic practice, the idea of inculturation was promulgated in the “West” for “non-Western” communities; inherent in inculturation was a proscriptive othering of mission areas, inculturation was not for “the West,” except in cases of indigenous populations in the US and Europe. Although not specifically using the term inculturation, the Second Vatican Council itself focused on embracing cultural practices, especially in so-called missional lands. For broader context, as Néstor Medina points out in his work on *Christianity, Empire and the Spirit: (Re)Configuring Faith and the Cultural*, since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Roman Catholic Church “was confronted with its own past and complicity with Western European colonial projects and the colonizing nature of missionary enterprise,” while at the same time realizing “that most Catholic Christians live(d) in the southern hemisphere, outside the centres of power in Western Europe and Euro North America” (Medina, 2018: 254).<sup>114</sup> While inculturation in many ways was intended by

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<sup>113</sup> Article 40 reads, “In some places and circumstances, however, an even more radical adaptation of the liturgy is needed...to ensure that adaptations may be made with all the circumspection which they demand, the Apostolic See will grant power to this same territorial ecclesiastical authority to permit and to direct, as the case requires, the necessary preliminary experiments over a determined period of time among certain groups suited for the purpose.” For more see: The Holy Roman Catholic Church, 1963. “*Sacrosanctum Concilium*” article 40. [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_const\\_19631204\\_sacrosanctum-concilium\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html). Similarly, article 119 states “In certain parts of the world, especially mission lands, there are peoples who have their own musical traditions, and these play a great part in their religious and social life. For this reason, due importance is attached to their music, and a suitable place is to be given to it, not only in forming their attitude toward religion, but also in adapting worship to their native genius, as indicated in Art. 39 and 40” (Ibid: article 119).

<sup>114</sup> For more on both the problems with and promise of inculturation and the Roman Catholic Church, see: Nestor Medina, 2018. *Christianity, Empire and the Spirit: (Re)Configuring Faith and the Cultural*. Theology and Mission in World Christianity, Vol. 11. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill. Especially pertinent to this study is chapter 7 on “Inculturation, the Catholic Church and the Cultures of the World,” pages 253-310.

theologian and clergy alike to address these power-filled social issues, Medina points out the “colonial past and accompanying Eurocentrism” of the term itself (Medina, 2018: 255).

In most countries the changes initiated during the meeting of the Second Vatican Council took years to implement. Such was the case in Indonesia where, despite a missional legacy of localized liturgical practices in some parts of the country, localization which constituted inculturated practices needed to be created; the Jesuit initiated *Pusat Musik Liturgi* (PML) [Center for Liturgical Music] was part of this initial response, creating a process for inculturation in Indonesia, as will be discussed later in this chapter. While many attribute inculturation to the actual documents of the Second Vatican council, and while there were theologians calling for a greater localization of liturgical and theological practices using this term during the early 1960s when the council was meeting (1962-65), it was not until the late 1970s that it first appeared in Vatican documents.<sup>115</sup> In the meeting of Vatican II however, cultural contextualization of liturgical and theological practices was telling referred to as “aggiornamento, or updating,” underlining ideas of both relevance and process while the word was still undergoing theological refinement.<sup>116 117</sup> Inculturation as both term and process, was eventually defined by then Pope John Paul II as “the intimate transformation of authentic cultural values through their integration in Christianity and the insertion of Christianity in the various human cultures” (1985, *Redemptoris*

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<sup>115</sup> Pope John II. 1979, *Catechesi tradendae*, N. 53, delivered October 16, 1979. [http://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost\\_exhortations/documents/hf\\_jp-ii\\_exh\\_16101979\\_catechesi-tradendae.html](http://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_jp-ii_exh_16101979_catechesi-tradendae.html). Last accessed January 27, 2020.

<sup>116</sup> For more on the use of the term “aggiornamento” in the documents of the Second Vatican Council, see Dennis Doyle, 2012. “The Concept of Inculturation in Roman Catholicism: A Theological Consideration.” In the *U.S. Catholic Historian*, Volume 30, Number 1, Winter 2012. Pages. 1-13. *Aggiornamento* in term, history, and context, is dealt with on page 3 of Doyle’s text.

<sup>117</sup> In a conversation about inculturation and the Second Vatican Council with Pastor Eman Sembiring, head of the liturgical committee for the Archdiocese of Medan, Pastor Eman explained that, “A, aggiornamento, yes, [in] their language there [in Italy], but if it’s in Indonesian, we try to translate [it to] ‘adaptation’” in Indonesian, “Uh *aggiornamento ya, bahasa mereka di sana kalau ke Bahasa Indonesia, kami coba terjemahkan ‘penyesuaian’*” Personal Communication with Pastor Emmanuel Sembiring, O.F.M. Cap., 8 Oct 2018, transcribed by Vini Alfarina.

*Missio*, n. 52).<sup>118</sup> Although inculturation was and remains an imperfect process, the switch from the prevalence of Latin-based Tridentine worship to Catholic Mass in vernacular languages with culturally contextualized liturgies, opened the floodgates for the process of greater localization of Catholicism around the world.<sup>119</sup> Necessarily, in different places that process looked and sounded different.<sup>120</sup>

## 2.3 *Inkulturasi* in an Indonesian Context

### 2.3.1 *Inkulturasi* and Genre

The connotations of the words *lagu inkulturasi* or *musik inkulturasi* [inculturated song or inculturated music] in Indonesia tell of the local, cultural, missional, and Indoneisanized embeddedness of these terms. I would argue that *musik inkulturasi* is actually understood not just as theological process or product, but as its own kind of music, its own musical genre in Indonesia. By genre, here, I do not just mean a category of work characterized by similarities, but also assert

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<sup>118</sup> For more on inculturation from leading theologians and scholars, see Aylward Shorter, 1988. *Toward a theology of inculturation*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books; Peter Schineller, 1990. *A Handbook on Inculturation*. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press; and Anscar Chupungco, 1992. *Liturgical Inculturation - Sacramentals, Religiosity, and Catechesis*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press.

<sup>119</sup> For more see: The Holy Roman Catholic Church, 1963. "Sacrosanctum Concilium" article 40. [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_const\\_19631204\\_sacrosanctum-concilium\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html). This document is cited in the work of PML leaders, including director Fr. Karl Edmund Prier. Article 119 is of particular importance here and states: "In certain parts of the world, especially mission lands, there are peoples who have their own musical traditions, and these play a great part in their religious and social life. For this reason, due importance is attached to their music, and a suitable place is to be given to it, not only in forming their attitude toward religion, but also in adapting worship to their native genius, as indicated in Art. 39 and 40" (Ibid: article 119).

<sup>120</sup> Taking in context all the sensory aspects of ritual or liturgical practice, the process of "inculturation" can often not just be seen and heard, but also smelled, felt, and potentially even tasted.

the idea of genre as a way of constituting self and other. Accordingly, in his work on *Genre in Popular Music*, Fabian Holt explains that genre:

continues to create cultural and historical horizons over the course of life. It is also a tool with which culture industries and national governments regulate the circulation of vast fields of music. It is a major force in canons of educational institutions, cultural hierarchies, and decisions about censorship and funding (Holt, 2007: 3).<sup>121</sup>

Andrew Weintraub—in his article on “The Sound and Spectacle of Dangdut Koplo: Genre and Counter-Genre in East Java, Indonesia” echoes the cultural and social work genre implicates, explaining how:

Shifts in nomenclature reflect and generate corresponding shifts in musical practice as well as shifts in meaning. When genres are given different names, or are said to morph into other genres, these are important border moments for understanding specific political, economic, and ideological interests in the realm of culture (Weintraub, 2013: 184).<sup>122</sup>

Thus genre, more than just asserting a commonly held understanding of similar musical or literary characteristics, can become a tool in both individual and communal identity politics.<sup>123</sup> Adding to this argument of genre-ness, even non-Catholic Indonesian scholars and musicians are

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<sup>121</sup> Fabian Holt 2007. *Genre in Popular Music*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>122</sup> Andrew Weintraub, 2013. “The Sound and Spectacle of Dangdut Koplo: Genre and Counter-Genre in East Java, Indonesia.” *Asian Music*, Vol. 44, Num. 2, Summer/Fall 2013. pp. 160-194.

<sup>123</sup> The cultural and historical work genre is used to do includes ideas of center and periphery, particular to the idea of de-centering. As Holt suggests, “the notion of music in between genres as a conceptual metaphor in a form of decentered thinking that is structured less by core-boundary models than by models with more chaotic and transformative structures,” arguing that “Core– boundary models of genre should be complemented with decentered models” (Holt, 2007:159). In a similar way, I suggest the idea of *musik inkulturasi* as genre here to argue that decentering, or re-centering understandings of music (including genre) and music material made by and for Catholics in Indonesia can complement (and at times even correct) understandings of what it can look and sound like to be Catholic, and Indonesian, and Catholic in Indonesia.

familiar with *lagu inkulturasi*. Among many of my Catholic interlocutors, the sound or musical “brand” associated with *musik inkulturasi* is the telltale imitative counterpoint of the PML of Pak Paul Widyan, and the method and leadership of Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, SJ.<sup>124</sup> While the process and product of the PML, and the work of these two key actors, will be detailed below, it is significant to highlight the role of hierarchical power in the impetus for and creation of this style, a story which suggests both a shift from and tension between colonial and native-born Roman Catholic leaders.

While there had been attempts at localizing Catholic liturgical and musical practices in Indonesia prior to the Second Vatican Council, the situation of Catholic musical practice nationally in the mid-1960 reflected the European roots of the missionary religious Orders and often the origin and training of individual Priests themselves.<sup>125</sup> As Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, S.J. pointed out at the beginning of his *Perjalanan Musik Gereja Katolik Indonesia Tahun 1957-2007* [*The Journey of Indonesian Catholic Church Music Year 1957-2007*], when he arrived from Germany to be a missionary in Indonesia at the start of 1964, “the situation of Church music in Indonesia at that time was closely connected with the traditions which had prevailed in the areas the

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<sup>124</sup> For more on the idea of “brand” in Christian missionization of Southeast Asia, see: Barbara Watson Andaya, 2017. “Glocalization and the Marketing of Christianity in Early Modern Southeast Asia.” in *Religion*, Vol. 8, 7.

<sup>125</sup> Examples of localized music books created for the late 1950s/early 1960s by missionaries for regionally specific Catholic communities includes *Dere Searni* under the impetus of Mgr. van Bekkum S.V.D in West Flores Manggarai region; and “*Tsi Taneb Uis Neno*” in 1957 by Pater Vincent Lechovic S.V.D. in Timor/NTT [Nusa Tenggara Timur or East Nusa Tenggara]; in addition to efforts under the direction of the first Indonesian-born bishop, Mrg. A. Soegijapranata, SJ, who as Bishop of Semarang Central Java, created a committee in 1956 for “composing quality Javanese liturgical songs that could then be used in liturgy as well as outside the liturgy” [“*menciptakan lagu liturgi khas Jawa yang bermutu yang kemudian dipakai dalam liturgi maupun di luar liturgi.*”] the results of which were published in 1961 as a booklet titled “*Kidung Sutji Lagu Djawai*,” and another titled “*Kyriale*” using pelog accompaniment and the former with a few songs in Javanese, although both greatly privileged chant [*lagu Gregorian*] and Latin (Prier, 2008: 7-8).

missionaries were from” (Prier, 2008: 9).<sup>126</sup> While efforts were already underway for the use of localized tunes and instruments for the liturgy, as mentioned above, it is important to also point out that regional ecclesiastical autonomy had already been granted in certain cases for the use of local, Indonesian instruments—in this case, *gamelan*—in the Mass as early as 1956.<sup>127</sup> The later half of the 1960s in Indonesia saw greater focus on localized elements in Catholic liturgical practice, yet these remained regionally specific and often imbedded or indebted to systems of knowledge production ran and created by European missionaries. Ironically, the task was given to a German-born Jesuit to lead the Center which would challenge and nuance these regional, missional approaches.

### 2.3.2 “Centers” and “Agents” of *Musik Inkulturasi*

The *Pusat Musik Liturgi* or PML Center for Liturgical Music opened its doors in Yogyakarta, Indonesia on July 11, 1971. According to Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, S.J., the PML was born into a vacuum, so to speak, for “the renewal of liturgy and liturgical music which had been proclaimed by the Council could not yet be carried out because there were not yet songs fitting and quality songs (proprium songs and Ordinarium songs in Indonesian for the congregation; new inculturated songs)” (Prier, 2008: 17).<sup>128</sup> In addition to the creation of new

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<sup>126</sup> In Indonesian, “*Situasi musik Gereja di Indonesia pada waktu itu berhubungan erat dengan tradisi-tradisi yang berlaku di daerah asal apra misionaris*” (Prier, 2008:9). All translations from Indonesian into English are done by the author, E. Rook, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>127</sup> Marzanna Poplawska refers to this in her 2001 article on “Christianity and Inculturated Music in Indonesia,” saying, “in 1956, after Bishop Sugiyopranoto obtained permission from Rome, musicians started to perform Christian songs with gamelan accompaniment during the mass” (Poplawska, 2011: 191). Marzanna Poplawska, 2011. “Christianity and Inculturated Music in Indonesia.” *Southeast Review of Asian Studies*. Vol. 33. 186-198.

<sup>128</sup> In Indonesian, “*Pembaharuan liturgi dan musik liturgi yang dicanangkan oleh Konsili belum dapat dilaksanakan karena belum ada nyanyian yang sesuai dan bermutu (lagu proprium dan ordinarium dalam bahasa Indonesia untuk umat; lagu inkulturasi baru)*” (Prier, 2008: 17)

inculturated music for the congregation, choir conductors needed to be trained in order to lead the laity in their new, post-conciliar musical roles.<sup>129</sup> To fill this vacuum and serve as a training center for Catholic church musicians, Romo Prier—a German Jesuit Priest and organist who had been stationed in Indonesia since 1964—teamed up with the Javanese Catholic choir conductor, Pak Paul Widyawan, who Prier became connected with while studying theology in Yogyakarta in the late 1960s, starting in 1967.<sup>130</sup> Pak Paul and his Vocalista Sonora choir, which he started in Yogyakarta in 1964, provided the base for the professionalization of Catholic church music during this period.<sup>131</sup> Furthermore, with European musical training and being of Indonesian, Javanese descent, Pak Paul could be in many ways the musical and socio-cultural bridge for Romo Prier, a cross-cultural partnership which the two sustained from then on. Significantly, it was also around this time that Romo Prier heard products of the inculturation of liturgical music from Sub-Saharan Africa, listening to pieces like the Congolese Missa Luba.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> This new role of the laity was laid out at the beginning of the second chapter of the “Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy,” or *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, promulgated by Pope Paul VI in December, 1963, which states that “Mother Church earnestly desires that all the faithful should be led to that fully conscious, and active participation in liturgical celebrations which is demanded by the very nature of the liturgy.” (SC, 1963: Point 14).

<sup>130</sup> For a photograph of Bapak Paul Widyawan and Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, S.J., see Appendix A.1 Figure 1.

<sup>131</sup> Regarding this base of collaboration between himself and Pak Paul, Romo Prier says “*Dasarnya ialah niat untuk menangani musik Gereja secara profesional: mulai dengan eksperimen untuk menciptakan lagu liturgi baru sesuai dengan cita-cita liturgi baru; dengan meliatih lagu baru pada umat dan mendorong umat untuk ikut bernyanyi; dengan memperkenalkan lagu baru pada kor sebagai penyemangat umat; dengan penerbitan lagu baru; dengan rekaman yang memadai*” [“Basically, the intention was to approach Church music in a professional manner: starting with experiments to compose new liturgical songs which fit with the new liturgical ideals; by practicing new songs for the congregation and encouraging the congregation to join in the singing; by having the choir introduce new songs as a way of encouraging the congregation [to sing]; by publishing new songs; by making accurate recordings.”] (Prier, 2008: 17).

<sup>132</sup> From personal conversation on 22 October 2018 with Father Prier; when I asked “*When and where did you first hear about inculturation?*,” he responded: “During around 1966, there was information about inculturation in Africa...that is what we received in Indonesia, and that was the first impression regarding the renewal of church music.” In Indonesian, “*Selama sekitar tahun 1966, ada [uh] informasi mengenai inkulturasi di Afrika...Yang kita terima di Indonesia, dan itu adalah kesan yang pertama mengenai pembaharuan [uh] musik gereja.*” Personal Communication with Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, SJ. October 22, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia.



So it was that, in 1971, the *Pusat Musik Liturgi* opened its door as a Jesuit-innovative, run by the newly ordained Romo Prier and in conjunction with Pak Paul and his choir.<sup>133</sup><sup>134</sup> The process which Romo Prier and Pak Paul followed is similar to a formula used by other Catholic musicians and centers across the country: charismatic, trained Church musicians/church leaders + their own choir (for trying out their own and others songs in rehearsal, liturgy, and performance) + a Diocesan, university, or religious order's publishing company or book store through which their work could be published, disseminated and sold. While the business of this formula will be discussed at length in chapter 2, what is significant for *musik inkulturasi* is that the earliest and broadest bandwidth for producing this kind of music was the PML.<sup>135</sup> The positionality (in Java/Yogyakarta as a Jesuit-run organization), authority (run by a missionary and a musician who were theologically and musically trained in Western musical traditions), and resources (from funding to access to Church media being circulated about inculturation to instruments) of the PML produced a trifecta of initial power. Thus, Romo Prier, and relatedly Pak Paul, took on the authority of what a form PML staff member termed in jest "*nabi inkulturasi*" or a prophet of

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<sup>133</sup> According to the PML's English-language website, while: "FOUNDED by the Society of Jesus on July 11th 1971, formerly as an independent institute with office rooms in the Catechetical Center (Puskat); since 1986 [the PML has been] integrated as a special department in the Catechetical Center in Yogyakarta. In cooperation with Vocalista Sonora Choir." *Pusat Musik Liturgi* English-Language Website. Pusat Musik Liturgi. <http://pml-yk.org/english.html>. Last accessed May 11, 2019.

<sup>134</sup> Romo Prier was ordained in by Cardinal Darmojuwono on December 18, 1969, in Saint Anthony Church in Kotabaru, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>135</sup> Additional examples of this formula include: Romo Antonius Soetanta, S.J., in Jakarta, who leads the Ascensio choir and is associated with both the KWI's publishing company, Obor, and YAMUGER, the biggest Christian (Protestant) music publishing company in the country, also in Jakarta. Pater Redemptus, O.F.M. Cap., runs the Magnificat choir and music training program in Medan, where the O.F.M. Cap.-run Bina media press is located. And in Ende, Flores, Bapak Ferdy Levi leads his own choir and has his music and hymn books produced by the SVD-run Nusa Indah Publishing company. It should stand to say, though that the duo of Pak Paul and Romo Prier, and the PML's *Madah Bakti* hymnal, is present in the places and work of all mentioned (whether or not they care to admit it). The same is not necessarily true in reverse. Part of this is due to the monopoly of sorts, or authority as first creators, that Pak Paul and Romo Prier have on music *inkulturasi* and to some extent on setting or compositions of *musik liturgi*.

inculturation for the Catholic Church in Indonesia.<sup>136</sup> While he probably would scoff at such a title, the reality stands that inculturation at the PML has become the model that many Catholics in Indonesia associate with *musik inkulturasi*, but it was not until the creation and refinement of their method that the body of PML *lagu inkulturasi* began to grow.

### **2.3.3 The History of Creating *Musik Inkutursi***

The process of creating *musik inkulturasi* has a complex history, implicating issues of the colonial, the traditional, the national, and Catholic ways of “experimenting” with music.<sup>137</sup> The Catholic Church in Indonesia was on the margins of receiving and enacting the edits of the Second Vatican Council, marginalized both in terms of access to information from Rome and due to tumultuous events in-country. As Romo Prier explains:

While the Second Vatican Council came to an end towards the end of 1965, the results were only incidentally shared [socialized], primarily through radio programing and letters from the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Germany. However, during the years 1965-1966

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<sup>136</sup> In daily communication with PML staff member, Bernedeth Diaz, February-March, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>137</sup> “Experiments” is a word frequently used by the PML to discuss the process of inculturation, referring to the process of creating *musik inkulturasi* as “experiments on about the indigenous music, by using the original music instruments as well as special vocal arrangements” (<http://pml-yk.org/english.html>).

Indonesia was busy with other issues, namely the G30S.<sup>138 139 140</sup>

In 1965, the priority for the national Catholic liturgical commission in Indonesia was to translate the *Ordinarium* of the Mass into Indonesian.<sup>141</sup> This need sparked a concentrated effort of translation of the text of the Mass from Latin into Indonesian, accompanied by the musical and melodic setting of these texts by Romo Prier and other missionary priests and brothers associated with Saint Ignatius Jesuit Seminar in Kota Baru, Yogyakarta, Indonesia (Prier, 2008: 12-13).

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<sup>138</sup> In Indonesian, “*Meski Konsili Vatikan II telah ditutup menjelang akhir tahun 1965, namun hasilnya disosialisasikan hanya secara insidental terutama melalui berita radio dan surat dari Belanda, Swiss dan Jerman. Namun selama tahun 1965-1966 Indonesia sibuk dengan kepentingan lain ialah dengan G30S*” (Prier, 2008: 12)

<sup>139</sup> G30S refers to the 30<sup>th</sup> of September Movement, in Indonesian Gerakan 30 September or *Gerakan September Tiga Puluh* (abbreviated *Gestapu*), also known as the First of October Movement, or *Gerakan Satu Oktober*. It refers to an attempt to allegedly pre-empt a suspected coup by those high-ranking generals against Sukarno in the early morning hours of October 1, 1965 when some low-ranking members from Indonesian National Armed Forces assassinated 6 Indonesian Army Generals. The Coup was blamed on the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and resulted in mass killings of an estimated 500,000 to a million people supposedly associated with the Community Party, during the years 1965-1966. Over the following fifteen years, during the New Order regime of Suharto, hundreds of thousands more were imprisoned. For more on these events and the mass killings which followed, see: John Roosa, 2006. *Pretext for mass murder: the September 30th Movement and Suharto's coup d'état in Indonesia*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, and Saskia E. Wieringa and Nursyahbani Katjasungkana, 2018. *Propaganda and the Genocide in Indonesia: Imagined Evil*. London, UK: Routledge. The 1965 coup also signaled another stage in the transfer of power from Indonesia's first president, Sukarno, to authoritarian dictator, Suharto, who was in office until 1998.

<sup>140</sup> A few religio-political dynamics precipitated by the G30S are worth mentioning here. While I do not think there was a causal relationship in the 1960s between those who considered or declared themselves Catholic at this point, I argue that the Indonesian Catholic experience was different than say for those who identified as Muslim post-G30S. when many Indonesians claimed Islam as their religious identity to provide allegiance to the nation-state and distance from the Community Party (accused falsely of being atheistic). This difference in the Catholic experience is in part because being Catholic was still associated with an unsavory (colonial/missional) identity and still carried the taint of being a colonial puppet. At the same time, however, I have heard that with persecution against ethnically Chinese Indonesians towards the end of Suharto's New Order regime, many did switch from Confucianism to Catholicism, perhaps in part due to the liturgical similarities between these two religions as practiced in Indonesia, particularly on Java. This idea of conversion under social political pressure also resonates with the experience of Indonesians of Chinese-ethnicity after 1965, whose conversion to Catholicism or Protestantism was understood as a life-preserving measure. For more on these post-1965 conversions, see page 176 in the chapter by Patricia Spyer. 1996. “Serial Conversion/Conversion to Seriality: Religion, State, and Number in Aru, Eastern Indonesia. In *Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christianity*. Peter van der Veer (Ed.). New York, NY: Routledge. Pages 171-198.

<sup>141</sup> The *Ordinarium* or Ordinary, also referred to as Mass-parts, are the part of Roman Catholic/Western liturgies which are relatively constant day to day, this include the *Kyrie* [Lord Have Mercy], *Gloria*, *Credo* [Creed], *Sanctus* [Holy...holy, holy], *Angus Dei* [Lamb of God], etc. The *Ordinarium* are complimented in each liturgy by the *Proprium* or Propers, which change daily according to liturgical season or feast day.

The above context highlights a key dynamic in the creation of *musik inkulturasi* in Indonesia, namely, the missional basis of knowledge production. Despite a focus on local traditional musicians and cultural context, the PML's methods for making *musik inkulturasi* is in essence based on what was known by those who created the system, namely Romo Prier and Pak Paul; thus, both method and often product are European-derived. In depth research into traditional musical structure and instrumentation is part of the PML's inculturation process: "collecting and studying scores, traditional instruments and recordings of indigenous music...[resulting in recordings of] indigenous music which was recorded on the spot in outer islands."<sup>142</sup> With file cabinets and shelves devoted to these transcriptions and recordings in their library—in both audio and video form—the PML's "fieldwork" consists of compiling and then producing traditional music, often in Western staff notation. Recording, classifying, and codifying are all parts of the PML's research process. While the aim of this process is to "propagate, renew and compose liturgical songs, especially according to the scales and rhythms of the local music traditions," the dependence on Western musicological and music-theoretical methods for fieldwork underscores the relationship between *musik inkulturasi* and the enduring authority of European/colonial/missional knowledge production.<sup>143</sup> If the roots of analyzing and evaluating local music—for the sake of then producing *musik inkulturasi* based on that data—resonate with older European musicological methods, so does what often becomes the end product of the PML's methods, four-part choral arrangements of *musik inkulturasi*, also usually following Western music harmonic conventions. With the original conciliar calls for inculturation meant largely for

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<sup>142</sup> *Pusat Musik Liturgi* English-Language Website. *Pusat Musik Liturgi*. <http://pml-yk.org/english.html>. Last accessed May 11, 2019.

<sup>143</sup> For more, see: *Pusat Musik Liturgi* English-Language Website. *Pusat Musik Liturgi*. <http://pml-yk.org/english.html>. Last accessed May 11, 2019.

missional lands, and with processes, like the creating of *musik inkulturasi*, dependent on European-based musical or musicological methods, the process of inculturation itself can seem like a colonial attempt at de-colonizing Catholic practice, effectively using missional methods to contextualize liturgical practices. As the same time, there are scholars, clergy, and lay musicians in Indonesia who argue the opposite, saying that the methods of *musik inkulturasi* promulgated by the PML and Romo Prier worked towards de-colonializing musical and liturgical practices for the Catholic church in Indonesia.<sup>144</sup> But how exactly does this play out in the production of *musik inkulturasi*?

### 2.3.4 The Process of Making *Musik Inkulturasi*

The inspiration for workshops to create *musik inkulturasi* in Indonesia has its genesis in the work of the PML, although the process has shifted significantly since the first “*Lokakarya Komposisi Lagu Gereja*” in Yogyakarta, May 16-20, 1977. Dr. Liberty Manik, an Indonesian ethnomusicologist who settled in Yogyakarta after receiving training in Germany, suggested the he, Romo Prier, and other teacher/scholars hold a Church Song Composition Workshop to train lay participants in “knowledge of form, knowledge of harmony, knowledge of melody, Indonesian poetry/literature” (Prier, 2008: 33).<sup>145</sup> Father Prier explained that the idea of a composition workshop for lay (non-religious) musicians was “completely new terrain in Indonesia;” a process

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<sup>144</sup> See in particular, Simon Tama’s 2018 Masters of Theology thesis looking at Romo Prier’s practice of inculturation through a post-colonial hermeneutic. Tama portrays Romo Prier in an in between position as both Western missionary and important agent/advocate for inculturation in Indonesia, citing the work of critical theorists—like Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* (2006)—and postcolonial theologians (Tama, 2018: 154). Simon Arief Herian Putra Tama, 2018. “Inkulturasi Prier Memperkaya Ekspresi Iman Dengan Musik” [“Prier’s Inculturation Enriches the Expression of Faith with Music”]. Tesis. M. Th. Universitas Sanata Dharma. Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>145</sup> In Indonesian, “*ilmu bentuk, ilmu harmoni, ilmu melodi, puisi/sastra Indonesia*” (Prier, 2008: 33).

which had to be both created and then refined.<sup>146</sup> While the first *lokakarya* was highly criticized—compositional techniques taught too theoretically, the participants being too Java-centric, and the atmosphere in the city of Yogyakarta too urban—it was an integral step in not just beginning the process of writing songs, but more acutely for involving local lay musicians in both training and composition. This initial workshop marked the beginning of discerning what *musik inkulturasi* should and should not sound like in Indonesia at this time. It is also significant to point out that while the workshop occurred under the auspices of the PML and area specialists, it was at the behest of the KWI Indonesian Bishops Council and specifically for the sake of creating songs for a national song books which the KWI asked the PML to help produce.<sup>147</sup> <sup>148</sup> Through this workshop, and the over fifty others which followed, the PML was effectively beginning a process which would define a genre and influence the production of *musik inkulturasi* for decades to come.

Romo Prier acknowledges all of the above challenges and more in his critique of the first three *lokakarya* in Yogyakarta (1977-78), saying that “the songs were composed through Western style; inculturation was still a new field... There were not traditional musical instruments to support

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<sup>146</sup> “*Lokakarya Komposisi perintis ini merupakan suatu medan yang serba baru di Indonesia.*” [“This pioneering composition workshop was completely new terrain in Indonesia.”] (Prier, 2008: 33)

<sup>147</sup> For more on this first workshop, and the two to follow, for the creation of the *Madah Bakti* hymnal, see: *Perjalanan* Chapter 1: “8. Lokakarya Komposisi persiapan Madah Bakti” [“8. Composition Workshops for the preparation of Madah Bakti”] Prier, 2008: 33-4.

<sup>148</sup> This song book would come out in 1980 as *Madah Bakti*, but not without tension between the PML and what is now the KWI, see *Perjalanan* chapter 1 “Hambatan dalam penyelesaian buku Madah Bakti” [The Obstacles in Completing the Book Madah Bakti”] and “9. Kongres Liturgi III 1980 di Jakarta dan peresmian Madah Bakti” [“9. The 1980 Third Liturgical Congress in Jakarta and the inauguration of Madah Bakti”] (Prier, 2008: 37-39). Initial tensions between the two factions ended in the eventual fallout between members of both “centers,” resulting in the publication of Puji Syukur as the official book (editio typica) for music and liturgical practice in the Indonesian Catholic Church, see *Perjalanan* Chapter IV “Musik Gereja Indonesia yang pluriform” “1. Angin lawan: Madah Bakti versus Puji Syukur” [“Pluriformity in Indonesian Church Music” “1. Opposing/Adversarial Winds: Madah Bakti versus Puji Syukur”] (Prier, 2008: 93-95). These perceived differences between Madah Bakti and Puji Syukur, and the business—economic and social-cultural—which lead to this divide will be discussed in length in chapter 2.

the rhythm and style of the music” (Prier, 2018: 33, 35).<sup>149</sup> While the ultimate goal of these workshops was to work towards the creation of a national hymn book, and while the tools available for the writing of these hymns depended on Western musical idioms and instruments, the idea of inculturative songs was already emerging despite the fact that most of the songs still “smelled western” (Prier, 2018: 35).<sup>150</sup> After the publishing of the *Madah Bakti* hymnal in 1980, two key shifts took place to de-center the Java- and Western-centrism apparent at the beginnings of this process: a pluralization of the locations where the workshops occurred and changes in workshop processes.

In October 1979, the first *lokakarya* outside of Java was held in Detusoko, Flores, again for the sake of creating songs for the upcoming publication of the *Madah Bakti* hymn book. This first beyond-Java location was followed in the mid-1980s by workshops in Kalimantan, Sumatra, Nias, and Timor. As of 2017, the PML has conducted 57 *Lokakarya Komposisi* “in almost all regions of Indonesia,” most in what are considered outer island areas (PML, 2017).<sup>151</sup> Most of these early workshops were at the behest and often expense of the local dioceses, organizations, or orders. Furthermore, the connections between PML and the local, inviting community were frequently predicated upon connections with European missionaries and often included European-based economic support.<sup>152</sup> While the “List of Liturgical Music Composition Workshops Run by the Yogyakarta Center for Liturgical Music” included by Romo Prier in his 2008 book *Perjalanan Musik Gereja Katolik Indonesia Tahun 1957-2007 [The Journey of Indonesian Catholic Church Music Years 1957-2007]*, starts with the workshops in Yogyakarta and Flores, those focused on

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<sup>149</sup> In Indonesian, “*lagu-lagu yang dikarang melalui bergaya barat; inkulturasi masih merupakan suatu medan baru... Tidak ada alat musik daerah untuk mendukung irama dan gaya musik ybs.*” (Prier, 2018: 33, 35).

<sup>150</sup> In Indonesian, “*berbau barat*” (Prier, 2018: 35).

<sup>151</sup> In Indonesian, “*di hampir seluruh wilayah Indonesia*” (PML, 2017 Brochure)

<sup>152</sup> For more on the foreign financial backing of *lokakarya*, see Poplawska, 2008: 89.

the creation of the *Madah Bakti* hymnal, the first *lokakarya* to involve the fieldwork process now associated with PML *lokakarya* occurred in 1984 in Buntok, central Kalimantan (Poplawska, 2018: 157) (Prier, 2008: 113).<sup>153</sup> Of this experience in Buntok, among the ethnic Dayak people, and this event's connection to the genesis of the process of *musik inkulturasi*, Romo Prier explained, in 2018:

And there we were faced with a different situation, this is indeed that the Pastor of Buntok came here to invited us, told us that these people are somewhat illiterate, but they can sing. They know rich music from there. Could the PML educate or teach them to make church songs from their songs? A similar but new approach without theory, without writing notes, but with the foundation of singing. This means that the music was born from singing, not in writing. Not based on the compositional theory and the sciences, but from their feelings as Dayak people, they have songs and those could be made into new songs.<sup>154</sup>

A process began to take place, lead ostensibly by a team from the PML—namely in this case Romo Prier and Pak Paul—but emerging from the culturally contextualized experience of music and song from the local Dayak community. Music born from singing and feeling, planted in local context, growing out of local knowledge and experience; in Central Kalimantan in 1984, the creation of an inculturation process through the PML with local communities was beginning.

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<sup>153</sup> In Indonesian, “*Daftar Lokakarya Komposisi Musik Liturgi yang Dipimpin oleh Pusat Musik Liturgi Yogyakarta.*” For more on this list, see Prier, 2008: 113-114) first five.

<sup>154</sup> In Indonesian, ““*Dan di situ kita berhadapan dengan situasi yang lain, ini memang pastor dari Buntok datang ke sini mengundang kita mengatakan ini orang sebagian ada buta huruf [inaudible 23:44], tapi mereka bisa nyanyi. Mereka tahu musik yang kaya di sana. Apakah PML sanggup mendidik atau mengajar mereka untuk membuat lagu gereja dari lagu mereka? Satu approach yang sama sekali baru tanpa teori, tanpa menulis not, tetapi dengan dasarnya bernyanyi. Artinya musik lahir dari nyanyi, bukan dalam menulis. Bukan berdas berdasarkan teori komposisi dan ilmu-ilmu, tetapi dari perasaan mereka sebagai orang Dayak, punya lagu dan itu diolah menjadi lagu baru.*” Personal Conversation with Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, October 20, 2018.



Romo Prier explained that this dialectic research and song writing process included studying local music and cultural practice from the Dayak community: “for two days, we invited them ‘you try to introduce to us to your songs for departed spirits, for marriage, for planting, for the harvest, for children, for this and that, to work.’”<sup>155</sup> This dialogue of knowledge became efficacious, as Romo Prier explains, “and we asked why does it have to be like this and that why, why, what is the meaning. At that moment they began to get interested in seeing that this is not just a formality that we want to know about but that we truly have interest. Then they opened their hearts, and so we became close with them for 10 days!” (Prier, 2018).<sup>156</sup> The dialectic of Dayak musicians teaching the PML representatives about Dayak music morphed into the Dayak community asking for guidance in generating liturgical songs from the traditional repertoire they presented, resulting in the creation of 25 songs. Meeting for 10 days, studying local musics, producing a few dozen *lagu inkulturasi*: this has been the prevailing patten of PML-run *lokakarya* until this day. The process of creating *musik inkulturasi* “from the grass roots” in Indonesia had begun, but as with most processes, refinement of this *lokakarya* process was too just beginning.<sup>157</sup>

In 1990, the beginning of what would become 5 *lokakarya* in Mataloko, central Flores, ushered in a “*gaya baru*” or “new style” of workshop process and subsequently product (Prier, 2008: 59). Focusing on the music and traditional cultural practices of one ethnic group at a time,

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<sup>155</sup> In Indonesian, *Artinya selama dua hari, me kami mengajak mereka, “coba kamu memperkenalkan lagumu untuk arwah, untuk perkawinan, untuk menanam, untuk panen, untuk anak-anak, untuk itu-itu, bekerja,”* Personal Conversation with Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, October 20, 2018.

<sup>156</sup> In Indonesian, Romo Prier said “*dan kita tanya mengapa harus begini dan itu mengapa, mengapa, apa artinya. Nah pada saat itu mereka mulai tertarik melihat wah ini bukan hanya formalitas bahwa kita ingin tahu tetapi kita sungguh-sungguh mempunyai kepentingan. Nah ini membuka hati mereka, dan dengan demikian kita menjadi akrab dengan mereka selama sepuluh hari ya!*” Personal Conversation with Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, October 20, 2018.

<sup>157</sup> “From the grass roots” being how the PML refers to their “inculturation program” on their English-language website. *Pusat Musik Liturgi* English-Language Website. *Pusat Musik Liturgi*. <http://pml-yk.org/english.html>. Last accessed May 11, 2019.

the participants of the Mataloko *lokakarya* came as culture bearers to not just learn how to compose liturgical songs but to record and teach each other and PML staffers about the traditional musical idioms which would provide musical context for the creation of *lagu inkulturasi*.<sup>158</sup> This combination of music study alongside music creation informed not only how *lokakarya* were done, but further solidified the process and sound of making *musik inkulturasi* as the PML does it. The process began at the 1990 *lokakarya* in Mataloko, Flores, provided an exchange of knowledge between PML staffers and local community members and musicians, Catholic and non-Catholic alike. What was further significant about this *lokakarya* is the way it eschewed traditional ecclesiastical authority, with a community of local musicians and priests—including the now locally famed Pater John Ghono, S.V.D.—inviting the PLM to hold workshops there, outside of the invitation or auspices of a local bishop. In her article on “Inculturation, institutions, and the creation of a localized congregational repertoire in Indonesia,” Marzana Poplawska cites Pater John Ghono from 2003, explaining the *lokakarya* process:

‘The first day – we come; the second day – there is an explanation about how to create a song. There are songs from our area; we study them. Then, perhaps on the third day, we would begin to split into groups to create songs based on all former explanations, so we would not create just a random song – [that would be] very different, not in the local style, this would be [for example] in very obvious pop style. It has to be a song for the church, with the local background. In groups we would create only one voice – this is

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<sup>158</sup> Father Prier explains, this “*gaya baru*” or “new style” as, “attention focused on one ethnic group, the workshop had been preceded with the recording of traditional music as the main study material together and at the same time as a guide for the leading team and for the participants; the new songs were composed together in groups.” In Indonesian, “*fokus perhatian dibatasi pada satu suku; lokakarya didahului dengan rekaman musik tradisional sebagai bahan studi utama bersama dan sekaligus sebagai pegangan untuk team pembimbing maupun untuk para peserta; lagu baru diciptakan bersama-sama dalam kelompok*” (Prier, 2018: 59).

what's most important. One voice – the [main] melody, not the choir [arrangement].’ (P. J. Ghono, interview) (Poplawska, 2018: 157).<sup>159</sup>

While the songs composed at the *lokakarya* are composed in groups of local musicians and catechists—including, namely, “a catechist who is well versed in religious texts and can help with lyrics, a traditional musician who is an expert on local styles and forms, and a music teacher who is familiar with (western/staff) music notation”—Poplawska explains that “the songs are a result of a negotiation process; it is not the PML representatives who solely determine the shape of the songs or their quality, although their voice seems to carry a lot of weight” (Poplawska, 2018: 157). This process, I argue, has become codified in the process as both a genre (*lagu/musik inkulturasi*) and a line of products which have begun to symbolize *musik inkulturasi* in Indonesia. When I asked interlocutors in Indonesia about *musik inkulturasi*, within thirty seconds, the PML, and usually Romo Prier and Pak Paul Widyawan were mentioned. Responding to the calls in the 1960s and 70s from members of the Indonesian bishops council to localize the training and production of music for Catholic communities in Indonesia in the 1970s, the PML has expanded beyond its original impetus, to effectively develop a system for *musik inkulturasi* in Indonesia which I argue became both prototype process and prototype product, a prevailing brand of *musik inkulturasi*. The PML has amassed decades of power and authority as the engine behind much—although not all—of the creation of inculturated music in-country. However, the idea of *musik inkulturasi* itself—as both a theological ideal and musical process—has become localized in Indonesia and it is these localized definitions which suggest an agentive shift of power from its Java-based center at the PML to the outer islands where many of the PML’s *lokakarya* took place.

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<sup>159</sup> Marzana Poplawska. 2018. “Inculturation, institutions, and the creation of a localized congregational repertoire in Indonesia.” In Monique M. Ingalls, Muriel Swijghuisen Reigersberg, and

### 2.3.5 Defining *Musik Inkulturasi*

Inculturation is thus understood as a transforming process through which a new creation occurs, with the understood purpose being liturgical, to praise God in the liturgy. However, despite the scope and power of the PML's teaching and material related to *inkulturasi*, I quickly learned during my fieldwork that there was no one understanding among my interlocutors of what inculturation was.<sup>160</sup> Instead, I noticed that how musical and liturgical leaders defined inculturation often belied their own positionality and opinions on larger questions of music and identity politics.<sup>161</sup> Each interlocutor's understanding and experience of inculturation informed the music they produced, while at the same time resonating with issues of history, hierarchy, and often disenfranchisement. This highly personal, experiential understanding of inculturation lent itself to ethnographic methods and allowed me to both address what inculturation means to people and to examine what they do with that understanding, especially as it relates to liturgical or inculturated music. As a result, I could interrogate how understandings of inculturation are also inflected by larger musical, religious, and social (political and economic) structures. In order to examine the localization and implications of inculturation, or *musik inkulturasi*, among my interlocutors, I will present ethnographic vignettes from three liturgical music specialists. I will start in the historically politically disenfranchised island of Flores, and then travel to the Center for Liturgical Music in Yogyakarta and finally shift to Indonesia's political and economic capital

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<sup>160</sup> For PML produced books related to inculturation, see: Karl-Edmund Prier, 2015. *Paduan Musik Liturgi*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pusat Musik Liturgi. PML A-85. Karl-Edmund, Prier. 2014. *Inkulturasi Musik Liturgi I* (edisi 2014, revisi). Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pusat Musik Liturgi. PML A-84. Karl-Edmund Prier, 2014. *Inkulturasi Musik Liturgi II*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pusat Musik Liturgi. PML A-82. Karl-Edmund Prier and Paul Widyawan. 2011. *Roda Musik Liturgi: Panduan untuk para petugas Musik Liturgi*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pusat Musik Liturgi.

<sup>161</sup> Here including ethnicity, nationality, gender, economic position, race, and religion as parts of identity politics.

of Jakarta, home to the Indonesian Bishop’s Council (*Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia* or KWI). Each vignette will begin with a brief contextualization of the island or city and the person’s role in music and the Catholicism there. Then I will present their definition of inculturation and give an example of how this “plays out” in the music they create. In this way, every interlocutor’s experience of inculturation will be shown to relate to the music they produce, while also resonating with issues of history, politics, and economics, affected by their respective geographic, and social locales.

## ***2.4 Lagu Inkulturasi in Local Contexts***

### **2.4.1 Larantuka, Flores: Bapak Yosef**

Larantuka is a small coastal town on the eastern tip of the majority Catholic island of Flores. Known for an enduring legacy of Portuguese Dominican missionization and its localized Good Friday candlelit processions to their patroness *Tuan Ma*, Larantuka is a linguistic and cultural outlier on an island of great ethnic diversity and general economic disenfranchisement. I arrived there during Holy Week, 2018, to experience their Good Friday procession first-hand and to hear what Catholic liturgical music sounded like on this part of the island. Through contacts at the local Cathedral I was connected to Bapak Yosef: a famed local liturgical music connoisseur, organist, choir director, and high school music teacher.<sup>162</sup> He proudly identifies as a self-trained musician, conducts local church music workshops, and serves on the diocesan liturgical committee: he is

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<sup>162</sup> For a photograph of Bapak Yosef Uran, see Appendix A.1 Figure 2.

both well-connected and revered, a reality he is humbly aware of. When it came to inculturation, Pak Yosef outlined his understanding of liturgical music before the Second Vatican council, and then explained:

Then at that time [of the Second Vatican council] the chance was given or space was opened for inculturated music, music that is born, is planted/grows, and develops in certain ethnic areas, that is what is called inculturation. And the church actually gives space for that to develop. We can include instruments for inculturated music, and here I usually use them, I usually use these instruments when there are large Mass celebrations. For that I always involve the drum, there is guitar, ukulele, there's flute, there's viola/violin, and that is what I always include.<sup>163</sup>

Pak Yosef went on to explain that certain “traditional” musical instruments—like locally produced bamboo flutes (often with local, non-diatonic tunings)—are now becoming a rarity. While this kind of flute or traditional instrument is occasionally performed or composed with for extra-special ecclesial celebrations, much more common renderings of *musik inkulturasi* travel to Flores through the PML's *Madah Bakti* hymnal and its accompanying four-part choral books arranged by Pak Paul Widyawan, often disseminated to local choirs through photocopies.

Inculturated music in Flores, according to Pak Yosef's definition and the experience of other Larantukan Catholic musicians, is both agentive and constricted. Despite a decline in the production and teaching of local music in Larantuka, Pak Yosef is confidently sharing and

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<sup>163</sup> In Indonesian “*Kemudian saat itu diberi kesempatan juga atau dibuka ruang bagi musik inkulturasi, musik yang lahir, bertumbuh, dan berkembang, di etnik daerah tertentu, itu yang namanya inkulturasi, dan gereja justru memberi ruang itu untuk berkembang., kita bisa melibatkan alat-alat musik inkulturasi, dan disini saya biasa pakai, saya biasa gunakan ketika ada perayaan-perayaan misa besar, itu sering saya libatkan ada gendang, ada gitar, ukulele, ada suling, ada Viol, dan itu selalu saya libatkan*” Personal communication with Pak Yosef Uran, March 27, 2018. Larantuka, Flores, Indonesia.

producing *musik inkultursi*—both of his own composing and that from the PML *lokakarya*—on behalf of his Catholic community. He insists that even though he and his musical colleagues are self-trained, they as Larantukans are best fit to create “music that is born, is planted/grows, and develops in [their] ethnic areas.”<sup>164</sup> At the same time, such self-sufficiency has its limits. Pak Yosef and most other Catholic musicians I have talked to suggested that inculturation as it is best known and most commonly done in Indonesia is PML or Java-produced. Furthermore, despite his desire to have PML training and in-region workshops, neither Pak Yosef nor the Diocese of Larantuka have the funds for such endeavors. Caught between economic want and independent agency, local definitions of *musik inkulturasi* have encouraged an important albeit imperfect process for the Catholic community in Larantuka, providing opportunity for creativity while simultaneously constricting such creativity through geographic and economic marginalization.

#### **2.4.2 Yogyakarta, Java: Bapak Wahyudi**

From Flores, I shift focus to the central Java city of Yogyakarta. Considered by some as the Rome of Indonesia, Yogyakarta is an Islamic Sultanate known for courtly arts, top tier universities (including the Jesuit-run Sanata Dharma) and a high concentration of Javanese

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<sup>164</sup> Personal communication with Pak Yosef Uran. March 27, 2018. Larantuka, Flores, Indonesia.

Catholics.<sup>165166</sup> Within this milieu, the *Pusat Musik Liturgi* functions as a locus for training in Church music and the production of *musik inkulturasi*.

Since 2017 I have been invited to become acquainted with the PML's methods, staff, and products first-hand, including Bapak Johannes Wahyudi.<sup>167</sup> Catholic liturgical theologian by training and accomplished amateur traditional musician, Pak Wahyudi has an experiential and processual understanding of inculturated music. Ever since joining the PML staff in the late 1990s (January 1997), he has developed a renowned ability to learn and then teach "traditional" instruments from throughout Indonesia. He and other PML staff members frequently learn to play instruments from different Indonesian ethnic groups to accompany performances for PML concerts and training sessions (*penataran*). To Pak Wahyudi, inculturation is:

...all about identity. As a Javanese person, I pray in a Javanese way, to believe in Christ and understand with a Javanese mindset. Then to give expression to faith, with prayer and singing which I feel fit with my culture. So, in my opinion, Javanese inculturated music, as an example within this one ethnicity, it helps me get closer...with God, yes, an expression of faith...Yes, the process for me is that people must know their own culture,

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<sup>165</sup> Rome of Indonesia or "Roma di Indonesia" is from Romo Priers 2008 book *Perjalanan Musik Gereja Katolik Indonesia Tahun 1957-2007*, page 18, where he says, as an explanation for why the PML was begun in Yogyakarta and not Jakarta or Surakarta: "Kota Yogyakarta sebagai kota budaya dan "Roma di Indonesia" dirasa paling tepat untuk itu" ["The city of Yogyakarta as a cultural city and the "Rome of Indonesia" felt the best for it"] (Prier, 2008: 18). While Father Prier does not explicitly state here the reasons why Yogyakarta is considered the Rome of Indonesia, I would argue that the reasons for this comparison or claim are based on an understanding of a commensurate socio-cultural import and the power of education or knowledge-production in each location. For example, as Rome could be considered a center of learning and training (especially, contemporarily, for the Roman Catholic Church), so too is Yogyakarta known for its Catholic colleges (like the Jesuit University, Sanata Dharma) and for being a center of ecclesiastical training and development (particularly for the Jesuit community, of which Romo Prier is a part). Relatedly, as Rome is seen as the cite of ancient Rome and the center of the historic Roman Empire (seat of the emperor), Yogyakarta is understood as the center of cultural production and political power, as the seat or home of the Sultan.

<sup>166</sup> The percentage of Catholics on Java in Yogyakarta is 5-10% of Catholics in Java which is significant considering that 19% of Indonesian Catholics live in Java (Poplawska, 2008: 83).

<sup>167</sup> For a photograph of Bapak Johannes Wahyudi, see Appendix A.1 Figure 3.



that's a process. Yes, if people don't know the culture, they cannot inculturate.<sup>168</sup>

This idea of inculturation requiring an emic understanding of one's own cultural identity is at the core of the PML's mission and process, in which again the comparative musicological field study of traditional musics, in situ and from local experts, is paramount. Pak Wahyudi went on to explain that inculturation is thus a process to help the faithful pray and meet God in such a way that cultural values harmonize with the values of the Gospel. Here, even cultural and Christian (or Catholic) values are referenced in an Indonesianized way, with the national rhetoric of “*harmoni*” espousing a nationalism which the PML also supports in their use of other nationally inflected phrases, such as the Javanese, now-national motto of “*bhinneka tunggal ika*” or unity in diversity.<sup>169</sup>

While Pak Wahyudi speaks from his own experience as a Javanese theologian and Catholic musician, it is important to point out that both his academic training and his over two decades of experience at the PML have been much influenced by Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, Pak Wahyudi's undergraduate thesis (*skripsi*) advisor and now his boss and way mentor. As explicated above, Romo Prier has had a formative role in establishing the sound and process of *musik inkulturasi* in Indonesia. However, not everyone in the world of Catholic liturgical music leadership in Indonesia is in agreement with the process of inculturation as practiced by Romo Prier and the PML.

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<sup>168</sup> “*Jadi musik inkulturasi dulu ya, bagi saya musik inkulturasi adalah uh pertama-pertama adalah identitas. Saya sebagai orang Jawa, saya berdoa dengan cara sebagai orang Jawa, mengimani Kristus dan paham pola pikir Jawa. Kemudian mengungkapkan iman, dengan doa dan nyanyian yang saya rasa pas dengan budaya saya. Jadi bagi saya musik inkulturasi Jawa misalnya ini satu etnis ya, itu membuat saya dekat...dengan Tuhan ya, ungkapan iman ya... Ya, proses bagi saya adalah uh orang harus mengenal kebudayaan sendiri, itu proses. Ya, kalau orang tidak mengenal budayanya, dia tidak bisa berinkulturasi.*” Personal communication with Pak Yohannes Wahyudi, February 27, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>169</sup> Here referring specifically to the idea of unity in diversity or the national model of “unity in diversity,” the PML embarked on an “inculturation program” to “build up Indonesian Church music ‘from the grass roots.’” From the *Pusat Musik Liturgi* English-Language Website. *Pusat Musik Liturgi*. <http://pml-yk.org/english.html>. Last accessed May 11, 2019. Furthermore, “Unity in diversity” is the English translation of “*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*,” a phrase in Old Javanese which has become the country's national motto, mentioned in the Indonesian constitution and inscribed on the national symbol.

### 2.4.3 Jakarta, Java: Romo Tanto

One such person and priest is Romo Antonius Soetanto, S.J., who is currently a parish priest, organ teacher, choir conductor, and composer in Jakarta, the political and economic capital of Indonesia.<sup>170</sup> Romo Tanto as he is often called is known for his role in the other national Catholic hymn book in Indonesia, *Puji Syukur*, produced under the auspices of the KWI (*Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia*) [ Indonesian Bishop’s Council]. In addition to composing numerous songs for *Puji Syukur*, Romo Tanto was and still is highly active with the Indonesian Christian (Protestant) music publishing company YAMUGER (*Yayasan Musik Gereja Indonesia* or [“Indonesian Institute for Sacred Music”]) and runs his own choral and organist training programs.<sup>171</sup> For Romo Tanto, inculturation could not be explained without reference to Rome, as he said:

Inculturation--if its according to original understandings, from Rome itself it was said that the purpose of inculturation was so that local people could understand the same theology. The same theology, with a more appropriate way...So, [inculturation is] that which is of here, even though it often does not fit with the liturgical spirit.<sup>172</sup>

Romo Tanto went on to explain that many inculturated song in Indonesia are predicated upon a touristic understanding of traditional music which goes against this “liturgical spirit.”<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> For a photograph of Romo Antonius Soetanto, S.J., see Appendix A.1 Figure 4.

<sup>171</sup> For more on YAMUGER, see their website: Yayasan Musik Gereja Indonesia (YAMUGER) [Indonesian Institute for Sacred Music] Website. 2016. Designed by CED711226. <http://www.yamuger.or.id/>. Last accessed January 27, 2020.

<sup>172</sup> In Indonesian: “*Inkulturasinya itu kalau aslinya, dari Roma sendiri mengatakan bahwa tujuan inkulturasinya itu supaya orang yang setempat bisa memahami teologi yang sama. Teologi sama, caranya lebih tepat...Jadi yang khas disini tapi padahal seringkali tidak cocok dengan jiwa liturgi.*” Personal communication with Romo Antonius Soetanto, S.J., August 8, 2018. Jakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>173</sup> In his use of “touristic,” I understood Romo Tanto as meaning something different than a conventional understanding of touristic as superficial or surface-level. Rather, my understanding of his use with the term has more to do with his position as an Indonesian-born Priest coming into the Priesthood at the end of a time of missional and

Naming Romo Prier as one of those creating these unsound inculturated songs, Romo Tanto went so far as to “other” the PML’s and Romo Prier’s process, and to suggest that colonialism and missionization as what these other *lagu inkulturasi* represent. Instead, he considers the official liturgical book *Puji Syukur*—which Romo Tanto helped create, under the auspices of the Indonesian Bishops’ Council (KWI)— “Indonesian” in process and product. Because it was Indonesian-produced, with theologically sound texts and majestic musical settings (many of which are pasted in Western musical forms/hymn tunes), to Romo Tanto *Puji Syukur* has in some ways become an alternative to European missionary power in Indonesia, despite or perhaps due to the PML and Romo Prier’s take on *musik inkulturasi*. Interpersonal tension between Romo Prier and Romo Tanto—and the economic realities of their respective contingencies at the PML and KWI—aside, I think these different views of inculturation can provide valuable insight into the idea that how each “camp” defines inculturation informs the way they produce *musik liturgi* [liturgical music] and *musik inkulturasi*. Furthermore, Romo Tanto’s use of terms like “touristic”—and in that, his implied acknowledgement of the power dynamics surrounding the creation of *musik inkulturasi* in Indonesia—provide a perfect and almost playful example of the social experience of Herzfeld’s social poetics, the employment of various essentialisms in everyday life, here framed within an interpersonal ideological sparring match.

Accordingly, for Romo Tanto, *Puji Syukur* is a post-colonial Indonesian hymn book. In its capacity as official liturgical book for Indonesia—referred to in its introduction as “*editio typica* (*edisi acuan* [reference edition])”—it stands from now until the end of time as a resource in line

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colonial authority in Indonesia. Accordingly, touristic to Romo Tanto, I contend, is a way of saying or implicated the “other” or outsider, here meaning white, Western, and/or missionary.

with appropriate liturgical spirit as encouraged by Rome and the KWI.<sup>174</sup> Following Romo Tanto's line of reasoning, *Puji Syukur* is considered to be rendered local through national language and cipher (or number) notation, but does not fall into the same touristic traps as the *Madah Bakti* hymnal. Conversely, Pak Wahyudi as a representative of the PML, has a definition of inculturation which centers around personal identity and knowing one's own cultural background, chiefly as a way to express and share faith according to the local musical traditions of that ethnic group. This context-oriented approach is reflected through the PML's *Madah Bakti*, which in its 2000 edition is purported to include roughly 300 songs created in the style of local ethnic groups. The PML describes this process and their hymnal as trying to represent the "unity in diversity" of Indonesian Catholicism while rendering locally produced songs all in Indonesian and largely conforming them to 12-tone equal temper tuning (as in, keyboard tuning, so playable on an organ).<sup>175</sup> In this way, inculturation "as [they] do it" at the PML addresses Pak Wahyudi's statement of: "if people don't know the culture, they cannot inculturate," providing European-derived methods to study and then produce *musik inkulturasi* and effectively creating their own PML-brand of it in Indonesia.

Finally, in Flores, *musik inkulturasi* has opened the door for greater independence and self-sufficient localization of liturgical music. At the same time, Pak Yosef acknowledged that money is what is preventing his diocese from having training which would allow them to produce and disseminate *musik inkulturasi* on the level of national centers, like the PML, whose methods and mode of production have become equated with best practice for the creation of *musik inkulturasi* in Indonesia. The agency which allows local Catholic musicians throughout Flores to create and

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<sup>174</sup> Monsignor Blasius Pujaraharja, 1992. "Pengantar" ["Introduction"] to *Puji Syukur* [Praise and Thanksgiving]. *Komisi Liturgi Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia* [The Indonesian Bishops Council Liturgical Commission]. Jakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>175</sup> See Poplawska, 2008: 92-4. *Madah Bakti* as containing "songs that are typical for Indonesia, being characteristic of different ethnic groups" with Mass with *Madah Bakti* becoming "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*" (Poplawska, 2008: 93-4).

produce localized liturgical songs and song books is still understood against the more monied, nationally marketed creation and production of the Java-based song books: specifically, *Madah Bakti and Puji Syukur*. Within the reality of a post-colonial, now arguably post-missional Indonesia, the politics of inculturation connects issues of power, politics, money, and Eurocentrism to music production and performance which pervade every level of Catholic practice, from the provincial parish to the Indonesian Bishops Council (KWI).

Accordingly, *musik inkulturasi* re-centered through an ethnographic lens is perhaps best understood through the eyes and ears of local beholders. Examining the ways in which each of the above interlocutors defines and does *musik inkulturasi* (or not, in the case of Romo Tanto)—within the constraints of their own context—presents alternative narratives to top-down, or in the case of Indonesia, Java-out models of power and analysis. Instead, Pak Yosef’s understanding and those of his colleagues in Flores are held on par with those from “centers” of power on Java and in places like the KWI and PML. By ethnographically “re-centering” how we know about inculturation, we can come to a fuller understanding of the range of meanings and practices it represents.

Michael Herzfeld’s idea of cultural intimacy and social poetics coupled with the above ethnographic narratives shows that how one defines and then musically does theological ideals, can provide insight into both potentially embarrassing essentialisms and alternative, agentive narratives.<sup>176</sup> The social poetics of inculturation thus provide insight into formative social issues—like power, politics, and economics—which are inextricably intertwined with a person’s positionality and affect both their theological understandings and musical-liturgical experiences.

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<sup>176</sup> Again, see Michael Herzfeld. 2005: *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics and the Nation-State (Second Edition)*. New York, NY: Routledge. Page 32.

Furthermore, through a hermeneutic focused on social poetics, the economic and political disenfranchisement felt in places like Flores, instead of being understood as lack, can be alternatively understood as its own kind of power. The independence and ingenuity of local Catholic musicians in Flores was asserted by Pater John Ghono in a conversation we had with his colleagues in Boba, Central Flores, as will be discussed at length in following chapters.<sup>177</sup> Pater John and others in the so called outer islands hold strong to narratives of independent, creative local agency in relation to *musik inkulturasi*, while at the same time aware of the interdependence and lack of access experienced by Catholic communities that do not have the political, economic, or academic access of the PML and KWI. If inculturation can open a door for liturgical practice to be planted in and grow in local contexts, then perhaps the eyes and ears of Church leaders and scholars alike need to be more tuned into the reality of supposedly peripheral places, making these places the centers that they are in terms of the creation, production, and consumption of inculturated musical products.

## **2.5 *Inkulturasi* and Language**

While ethnographically re-centering definitions surrounding *inkulturasi* can contribute to a more nuanced and multi-vocal understanding of *musik inkulturasi*, there are still prevailing issues with the production and product of this localized music, particularly in reference to language use. Frequently in conversations with area Catholic musicians throughout Indonesia, the issue of composing lyrics for *musik inkulturasi* in local languages came up. In the “outer islands” of Flores

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<sup>177</sup> Personal communication with Pater John Ghono, S.V.D. April 24, 2018. Mataloko, Flores, Indonesia.

and North Sumatra in particular, language was a complex issue for many of the musicians I worked with for three reasons. First, in many of these places there is both a variety of local languages and in general a higher affinity for communicating in local languages than in the national Indonesian language [*bahasa Indonesia*]. This affinity was described as an embodied feeling, that liturgical music which uses local language is closer to people's heart than Indonesian-language lyrics. Second, for many of these local languages, there are poetic structures and rhetorical speech patterns which cannot be as effectively rendered in Indonesian or any other language. Additionally, the nuanced meanings of certain words in local languages often lose their full meaning or semanticity when translated. Finally, for communities that are experiencing political and economic marginalization in Indonesia, ethnic or regional identity, often expressed through local languages, has greater resonance than their complicated relationships with the idea of the nation-state.<sup>178</sup> While there is inculturated music in Javanese, the linguistic dynamic there is different, in part because on Java there are established structures in place for both the creation/publishing of Javanese-language *musik inkulturasi* and for the checking of theological and liturgical correctness in that local language. Conversely, vetting the theological appropriateness of local language text of *lagu* or *musik inkulturasi* is particularly difficult for linguistic groups with smaller populations or where access to a native-speaker with formal theological education is often limited.

So it is that language employed for *musik inkulturasi* speaks to larger issues of knowledge production, access, and power. Through their history of training church musicians and producing materials and methods for *musik inkulturasi*, Romo Prier and the PML have created a brand of *musik inkulturasi* largely predicated upon the broad semanticity of a national language. However, this process is itself the product of a long history of missionization, nation building, and Catholic

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<sup>178</sup> As will be explicated in reference to *Pancasila* and "*Lagu Maria*" in chapter four.

Church history which often has privileged certain communities—particularly those on or near Java—while effectively perpetuating the representation yet marginalization of others. In addition to ethnographically re-centering narratives surrounding *musik inkulturasi*, it is important to recognize that this is indeed still and always a process. What the PML has created and contributed methods and material towards is not the definitive end of the journey of inculturated music in Indonesia. Recently, in October, 2108, Romo Prier explained that holding *lokakarya* is no longer the focus of the PML, since “all of Indonesia has been served, and they have songs...therefore the need to create new songs I guess is not number one anymore.”<sup>179</sup> Instead, their focus has shifted towards application, in the words of Romo Prier:

But what I think is important is that PML uses these songs. In the sense of trying to study about culture from the recordings and information we have, documentation, that we are closer to trying to use that pattern. This means that we here must carry out inculturation in the form of music studies from the regions with not only studies but by trying with musical instruments that we have, making an increasingly distinctive accompaniment, in accordance with the music that is in the book from the area concerned. Of course, not just playing here but to use it, for education, courses.<sup>180</sup>

Turning inward with a focus on implementation, Romo Prier is acknowledging the extent to which inculturation as they have done at the PML can now become centralized in their archives

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<sup>179</sup> In Indonesian, “*Saya kira lokakarya mungkin tidak banyak lagi, karena sudah...seluruh Indonesia dilayani, dan mereka mempunyai lagu...Sehingga [uh] kebutuhan untuk menciptakan lagu baru saya kira bukan nomer satu lagi.*” Personal communication with Romo Karl-Edmund Prier October 22, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>180</sup> In Indonesian, “*Tetapi yang saya kira penting bahwa PML memakai lagu-lagu itu. Dalam arti ya mencoba mempelajari budaya yang kita punya dari rekamannya dan informasi, dokumentasi, bahwa kita lebih dekat dengan mencoba men[pause] memakai pola itu. Artinya kita s di sini harus melaksanakan inkulturasi dalam wujud studi musik dari daerah dengan ya tidak hanya studi tapi dengan mencoba dengan alat musik yang kita punya, membuat iringan yang makin khas, sesuai dengan musik yang di buku yang da dari daerah yang bersangkutan. Tentu tidak hanya main-main di sini tetapi untuk men memakai itu, untuk pendidikan, kursus-kursus...*” Personal communication with Romo Karl-Edmund Prier October 22, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia.



and experiences. At the same time, *musik inkulturasi* has slowly become localized, both in practice and at times in process. Local seminars on Church music are being held by area clergy and musicians with topics ranging from liturgical appropriateness, to composition, and choral/vocal technique. These workshops implicate ecclesiastical authority, often happening at the behest of the bishop or pastor or priest, but at the same time making space for local community musicians to teach and be trained without the need for PML staff to be present or the funds which hosting a PML *lokakarya* requires. As Pak Yosef, explained to me, the insider experiences of local musicians to emically produce and promote *musik inkulturasi* specifically to the musical and cultural needs of that place—as not directly subject to the authority of the PML, albeit influenced by its process and products—creates a kind of local agency which gives power to various kinds of local proximity which more distant centers, like the PML or KWI, cannot claim. The PML’s *lokakarya* approach as “from the grass roots” has spun off into localized instantiations of creating and understanding *musik inkulturasi*. Underscoring Timothy Rommen’s ethics of style—that theological and ethical beliefs affect musical choices—I would argue that *musik inkulturasi* has been a key for local ownership of Catholic theological and liturgical practice (Rommen, 2007). Being able to localize and contextualize not just music but the Catholic theological ideal of inculturation, allows individual community musicians and leaders to define and act upon what *inkulturasi* and *musik inkulturasi* means to them. This local agency can still ring true even if many of the materials and processes of *musik inkulturasi* are ecclesiastically and institutionally bound by the Church and in centers like the PML. A grass roots approach to this study of *musik inkulturasi* can privilege individual lived experiences over, or at least alongside, institutional

teachings and religious dogma.<sup>181</sup> Thus, a contextualized understanding of *musik inkulturasi*—one that recognizes the Catholicity of the term while also parsing the levels of localization of the process and products—itself works to re-center the power of who gets to define and then act upon creating this music, highlighting less heard voices as a re-centering balance against prevailing discourses from supposedly hegemonic centers.

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<sup>181</sup> And in this way again resonating with the grass roots, ethnographic approach espoused by the anthropology of Islam.

### 3.0 Chapter 2—“A Tale of *More Than Two Hymnals* and the *Bisnis* of Making Church Music”

#### 3.1 Setting Up the Problem

On the national level of production there are two hymn books created for and used by Catholics in Indonesia: *Madah Bakti* [Devoted Service]—the most widely distributed hymn book in Indonesia, produced by the *Pusat Musik Liturgi* or PML in Yogyakarta—and *Puji Syukur* [Praise and Thanksgiving], produced by the Indonesian Bishops Council (the *Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia* or KWI), in Jakarta. While using a lot of the same material the intent behind these song books are purported to be somewhat different, even in conflict, with the PML’s *Madah Bakti* having more of a focus on *lagu inkulturasi* and *Puji Syukur* focusing more on European or missional Dutch and German hymns. In reality, the differences cede to a shared reality that hymnals are a chief vehicle for granting authority and producing revenue.<sup>182</sup> Thus, while differences between *Madah Bakti* and *Puji Syukur* are explained and nuanced throughout this chapter—particularly with reference to other “levels” of regionally used hymnals—the importance of *bisnis* starts here and according to many of my interlocutors is why Indonesia has two national hymn books to begin with.

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<sup>182</sup> In his article on “*Madah Bakti*: An Experiment in the Inculturation of Liturgical Music,” now-Archbishop Emeritus Anicetus B. Sinaga, OFM Cap. refers to a “classical quality” of song, a quality which in his appraisal some of the songs (particularly the inculturated melodies) *Madah Bakti* is lacking, thus justifying the need for creating *Puji Syukur*. Anicetus B. Sinaga, 1993. “*Madah Bakti*: An Experiment in the Inculturation of Liturgical Music. *East Asian Pastoral Review* 30: 2. Page 144.

To allow for an emic understanding of how each of these “Centers” introduce their own books, I now turn to the introductions to these texts themselves. In their remarks about the *Madah Bakti hymnal*, the PML claims it as “the most popular book produced by this Center” and “the first Catholic hymnbook for whole Indonesia (published in 1980).”<sup>183</sup> Conversely, in his introduction to *Puji Syukur*—the official Catholic liturgical book in Indonesia—Monseignor Blasius Pujaraharaja, the then head of the Liturgical Commission for the Indonesian Bishops Council, similarly claims to “offer it [*Puji Syukur*] to the Catholic congregation/community throughout Indonesia” (*Puji Syukur*, 1992: v).<sup>184</sup> *Puji Syukur* has a further claim to authority not formally extended to *Madah Bakti*, as it is the official “*editio typicia*” or reference book for Indonesian Catholics. As Msgr. Pujaraharaja bluntly wrote: ““Therefore the function of the Prayer Book and Song Book which was compiled by PWI Liturgi (Music Section) is now replaced by *Puji Syukur*” (*Puji Syukur*, 1992: vi).<sup>185</sup> <sup>186</sup> This “General Prayer and Song Book” once compiled by the PWI, now the KWI or Indonesian Bishops Council, is none other than *Madah Bakti* and the divisions which spun into *Puji Syukur* are now infamous. Both books are intended for a national audience with broad yet separate national band width in terms of distribution.<sup>187</sup> However, the stories of

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<sup>183</sup> Pusat Musik Liturgi English-Language Website. *Pusat Musik Liturgi*. <http://pml.yk.org/english.html>. Last accessed May 11, 2019.

<sup>184</sup> In Indonesian, “*mempersembahkannya kepada umat katolik di seluruh Indonesia.*”

<sup>185</sup> In Indonesian, “*Dengan demikian fungsi Buku Doa dan Nyanyian Umum yang pernah disusun oleh PWI Liturgi (Seksi Musik) sekarang digantikan oleh Puji Syukur.*”

<sup>186</sup> PWI stands for “*Panitia Waligereja Indonesia*” or “Indonesian Catholic Committee,” to which, beginning in 1967, belonged Liturgical Music Section or “*Seksi Musik PWI Liturgi*” (Pasaribu, 2015: 82). The PWI was a division under the MAWI or “*Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia*,” “The Supreme Council of Bishops of Indonesia,” which was under the “*Federasi Para Waligereja (Uskup) se Indonesia*” or “Federation of Bishops throughout Indonesia” (Pasaribu, 2015: 83). In 1987 MAWI changed its name to the KWI or *Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia*, Indonesian Bishops Council. For more, see Pasaribu, 2015: 82-3, especially footnotes 46 and 48. Rianti Mardalena Pasaribu. 2015. *Mengembangkan Musik Liturgi Khas Indonesia: Perjalanan Hidup dan Karya-karya Karl-Edmund Prier*. [Developing Distinctive Indonesian Liturgical Music: The Life Journey and Works of Karl-Edmund Prier]. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Penerbit PT Kanisius.

<sup>187</sup> Regarding distribution of *Puji Syukur* and *Madah Bakti*, certain cities or islands trending towards the use of one or the other, or sometimes purposefully both, in rotation. This was the case at the Cathedral in Medan, and *Kumetiran Paroki Hati Santa Perawan Maria Tak Bercela* in Yogyakarta, where *Puji Syukur* and *Madah Bakti* were

these two books—the projects they represent and the people, and *bisnis*, behind them—is only part of the grand narrative of crafting resources for prayers and music used by and theoretically representing a minority Catholic population across hundreds of islands and dozens of ethnic and linguistic groups in Indonesia.

I had been introduced to part of this debate years before, when in January 2012, for my 23<sup>rd</sup> birthday, I was given a copy of *Madah Bakti* 2000. The imagined idea of one hymn book representing the “unity in diversity” of Indonesian Catholic musical practice through the inclusion of local musical styles and texts, caught my attention. I was intrigued and bought this harmonizing narrative. However, after my 10 months of ethnographic research in 2018—working with the PML, their constituents on the islands of Flores and North Sumatra, and Catholic musical leaders in Jakarta—this rosy and power-filled picture of representing and uniting Indonesian Catholics through one singular hymn book became much less plausible and a lot more complex. Unearthing issues of politics, economics, and access to knowledge production—not to mention the existence of another “national” Catholic hymn book and dozens of local Catholic song books—the PML’s powerful narrative was challenged by the experiences and realities of Catholics on the so-called “outer island” periphery.

Accordingly, if you travel to Flores—the island with the highest percentage of Catholics in Indonesia—you will see and hear a much more polyphonic reality. There, over a half dozen locally produced and printed hymn books serve alongside (and sometimes as part of) *Madah Bakti* as resources for musical worship. Similarly, in the expansive Archdiocese of Medan, North Sumatra, local language hymnals and locally produced songs have been published for use

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both used, in rotation. Conversely, *Puji Syukur* is the most common hymnal in Jakarta and Bandung, with most communities throughout Flores preferring *Madah Bakti*, in my experience worshiping and researching in these places, and according to the experiences of my interlocutors.

throughout the archdiocese, especially in the more ethnically homogenous countryside. Taken together, this diversity of musical materials provides insight into larger issues of colonialism, power, and communication—issues I often found referred to as the “*bisnis*” of song books for or in Catholic communities in Indonesia—and prompts me to ask: How can the examination of the production of music material provide insight into issues of piety, politics, economic disparity, and subversion? What alternative ways have local musical and liturgical leaders in Flores and North Sumatra designed to create and use music material for Catholic worship? And finally, how can ethnographic narratives of the production of music materiality and the power of proximity in “outer island” locations show how song books can subversively create alternative centers of power for historically disenfranchised minority communities? These questions, together, seek to ethnographically re-center narratives of power and identity politics through the production and use of music material and as an alternative to traditional center-periphery scholarship in Indonesianist and music studies.

### 3.2 Introducing the Keyword: *Bisnis*

This keyword, “*bisnis*,” is the onomatopoeic Indonesian adaptation of the English-language loan word, business. Adopted through globalization and trade, this loan word has become Indonesianized, made into the verb “*berbisnis*” [“to do business”] and noun “*pebisnis*” [“Business person”].<sup>188</sup> While an Indonesian definition of “*bisnis*” can have negative connotations, it can also just simply mean business or a transaction involving money and services. I was

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<sup>188</sup> For more, see definition for “*bisnis*” in Alan M. and A. Ed. Schmidgall-Tellings, 2004 (Revised from 1981 edition). *A Comprehensive Indonesian-English Dictionary*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press. Page 143.

introduced to this term during my research as a word furtively employed by my interlocutors. It was a term that generally seemed to suggest negative overtones, the discussions of *bisnis* often occurring in whispered embarrassment. At the same time, *bisnis* is the practical, economic side of the Church music endeavor for Catholic music material production in Indonesia, an open secret and present reality, while still supremely un-flattering.

It is important to point out that “*bisnis*” here—as it relates to music material production for Indonesian Catholics—does not simply mean a translation of the English “business” but rather has ethical implications for a socio-political economy of Catholicism as it is practiced throughout the country.<sup>189 190</sup> This is particularly clear when compared to the preferred, “good” word used for religious service—particularly religious musical/liturgical service: *pelayanan*. Translated as “service,” *pelayanan* as I heard it used in faith-based contexts is religious service to God through

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<sup>189</sup> Connecting religion and a socio-political (and economic) economy also resonates with James Hoesterey’s work on the life and career of Aa Gym (also known as Abdullah Gymnastiar), a popular Islamic preacher in Indonesia who connected business or entrepreneurship to Islamic ethics through psychology, in his preaching and seminars. James Bourk Hoesterey, 2015. *Rebranding Islam: Piety, Prosperity, and a Self-Help Guru*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Furthermore, while the work of the PML and other Catholic music-material producing centers in Indonesia occurred in different decades (for the PML/KWI the 1980s/90s, for Aa Gym early 2000s) and in a different socio-cultural milieu than that of Aa Gym (as in, the institutional hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church and religious orders in Indonesia, versus a realm of super star tele-evangelism) the connection of economy or *bisnis* and religion as something present but to be skeptical over resonates with both examples. At the same time, however, Hoesterey’s work resonates with questions asked in this dissertation and chapter. Hoesterey asks: “How might Aa Gym’s political engagements on the public stage compel scholars to reimagine the relationship between popular cultural and political Islam? And what does his abrupt fall from grace reveal about the cultural and market politics of religious authority and public piety?” (Hoesterey, 2015: 2). Such questions could be similarly asked about Catholicism and music in Indonesia, betraying a shared fundamental tension between economic and socio-cultural ethics and ideas of effective evangelism and the practice of religious piety.

<sup>190</sup> This idea of connecting business to religion through ethics is also a salient characteristic with other academic articles on “*bisnis*” and religion in Indonesia, the majority of which focus on either the ethics of *bisnis*—perhaps related to the common trend or rhetoric geared at anti-corruption in Indonesia—or the function of religiously aligned banks, such as sharia banks. One example of this trend is the journal “*Ikonomika: jurnal ekonomi dan bisnis Islam*,” published in 2016 by the Economic Faculty of The State Islamic University Raden Intan in Lampung [Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Intan Lampung]. See also related articles, including: Hasan Baharun and Harisatun Niswa, 2019. “Syariah Branding; Komodifikasi Agama Dalam Bisnis Waralaba di Era Revolusi Industri 4.0.” In *Inferensi Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 07/2019, Volume 13, Issue 1. Pages 75-98. And H. Muhammad Djakfar, 2013. “Corporate Social Responsibility: Aktualisasi Ajaran Ihsan dalam Bisnis.” In *ULUL ALBAB Jurnal Studi Islam*, 09/2013.

your church, or temple.<sup>191</sup> It is freely offered, you should never get paid for *pelayanan*.<sup>192</sup> Accordingly, the idea and practice of *pelayanan* exists in the realm of spiritual or religious capital, where the open exchange of money could negate or cheapen the spiritual reward one would receive. *Pelayanan* is done for God; *bisnis* is done in the realm of humans. Accordingly, there is a chasm between the secular economy of *bisnis*, of the exchange or pursuit of money, and service which is emphasized by the completely free offering of time, treasure, and talent—as I have often heard religious service of the laity referred to by Priests in Catholic Churches in the US—which *pelayanan* requires. The monetary economy of *bisnis* negates the free will offering of *pelayanan*. While I have insufficient evidence to say that *pelayanan* or service is part of an Indonesian approach to religion, I think I can safely say that “*bisnis*”—as least for Roman Catholics—is not, or rather, should not be.

Thus, I argue that it is the open secret of the motivating factors of hymnal production politics being that of money, rather than just *pelayanan* or service to God, renders *bisnis* an unsavory word in the context of my interlocutors, following their definition and use of the term.<sup>193</sup> Ultimately it is not the action of payment that is the problem, but rather the intention behind it. Using money to thank Priests for their *pelayanan* or service in saying a Mass, or producing and

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<sup>191</sup> This use of “*Pelayanan*” resonates with the use of the word “*ngayah*,” which I heard used by Balinese Hindu women who played in women’s *gamlean* groups (known as *gamelan wanita/ibu-ibu gamelan*), in reference to their playing for services or celebrations in their local temples as an offering or gift to God. I learned this through an “Independent Study Project” (ISP) on “The Socio-Cultural Implications of Women’s Gamelan in Bali,” which I conducted through the School of International Training Study “Indonesia Arts and Culture Program” in Bali, Indonesia: Fall Semester, 2009.

<sup>192</sup> This holds for one’s religious service within their own religion. For example, it is common for Catholic Church organists to not get paid for playing for Mass in Indonesia, as it is considered their service or *pelayanan*. However, for a Christian musician to play or conduct at a Catholic Mass, it would be appropriate for them to receive a small monetary gift for their services, since they are helping their Catholic friends/neighbors instead of worshiping at their own church or within their own faith community.

<sup>193</sup> It should also be noted that the word *bisnis* can also be used in Indonesia to mean *korupsi* or corruption. While this resonance is significant, and perhaps part of why my interlocutors were weary to talk about *bisnis* in reference to the Church, their definition of the term is more nuanced, specific to their experiences and use as detailed above, and not suggestive of the *korupsi* connection that *bisnis* can be identified with in other contexts.



selling music books for the sake of supporting community worship, is not necessarily *bisnis*. Conversely, using your Priestly services or music material as a way to enter into a monied economy shifts an understanding of the intention behind the action from *pelayanan* to *bisnis*, from overtly spiritual to overtly economic capital. This is not to equate *bisnis* with a concept like *korupsi* or corruption—a frequently practiced and decried political reality in Indonesia—but rather to suggest a commensurate sensitivity to these money-associated terms and other open secrets considered socially or ethically unsavory.<sup>194</sup>

Connecting *bisnis* with music material through Michael Herzfeld’s methods of cultural intimacy and Benedict Anderson’s ideas on print-capitalism, this chapter will relate song book stories told on both national and local levels to powerful insights into the business politics of crafting what becomes considered acceptable sounds and tools for representing and musically supporting Catholics—locally, regionally, and nationally—in Indonesia. Furthermore, through a “studying up” of national hymn book production, this chapter will aim to present and then re-center the projects of charismatic centers—both of places and people—involved in making music material for Catholic communities in Indonesia, both in and beyond Java.<sup>195</sup> In so doing, I will aim to ethnographically re-center the experience and music material production of Catholics in the so-called outer-island locations of Flores and North Sumatra, arguing that the *bisnis* which

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<sup>194</sup> Again, sources on *bisnis* and religion in Indonesia tend to interrogate the ethics of the connection between religion (chiefly Islam) and economics, perhaps directly related to the anti-corruption rhetoric which is prevalent throughout the country. As stated above, examples of this academic trend include: the existence of the journal “*Ikonomika: jurnal ekonomi dan bisnis Islam*,” published in 2016 by the Economic Faculty of The State Islamic University Raden Intan in Lampung [Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Intan Lampung]. And related articles, including: Hasan Baharun and Harisatun Niswa, 2019. “Syariah Branding; Komodifikasi Agama Dalam Bisnis Waralaba di Era Revolusi Industri 4.0.” In *Inferensi Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 07/2019, Volume 13, Issue 1. Pages 75-98. And H. Muhammad Djakfar, 2013. “Corporate Social Responsibility: Aktualisasi Ajaran Ihsan dalam Bisnis.” In *ULUL ALBAB Jurnal Studi Islam*, 09/2013.

<sup>195</sup> Here referencing Laura Nader’s 1972 article, “Up the Anthropologist — Perspectives Gained from Studying Up,” advocating for a “studying up” of institutions and systems of power. Nader, 1972. “Up the Anthropologist—perspectives gained from studying up.” *Reinventing Anthropology*. Dell Hymnes, ed. New York, NY: Pantheon Press. 285-311.

produces both national and local musical products itself points to the integral, central power of supposedly peripheral places, places where the power of creativity and proximity to a majority Catholic population makes these so-called peripheries indispensable.

Accordingly, after a brief introduction to the ideas of centers and peripheries in Indonesianist studies, I will present three levels of song books, explicating their efficacy as sites of religious communication and history-telling. I will then discuss the importance of printing presses as the technology for communicating, disseminating, and ultimately a shaping of identity politics and power through the engine of print-capitalism. This discussion will then lead into a detailing of some of the *bisnis* of compiling these song books, and a studying up of the men and institutions that produce them on both national and local levels. Switching gears to musical consumption, I will briefly look at the reception or perception of Catholic music material in the powerful (and populous) peripheries of North Sumatra and Flores, discussing the role of language, rhythm, and accused Java-centrism locally. Ultimately, this chapter will put forth an argument that material matters and the *bisnis* behind song books can do a great deal of social and cultural work to communicate religious, regional, and national identity politics.

### **3.3 Introducing the Idea of Centers and Peripheries**

As discussed previously, while the idea of core-periphery dynamics can be traced back to Immanuel Wallerstein's 1970s economic theory of world-systems analysis, the concept of using a center-periphery model in Indonesia is rooted in politics, be it that of early kingdom polities, the political realities of Dutch colonialism, or the centrifugal power of Suharto's New Order

government.<sup>196 197</sup> The work of Benedict Anderson and Clifford Geertz established understandings of political power in Indonesia with the location of the ruling power as the center—be it Java or Bali, respectively—and everything else as the less powerful periphery. In these schemas, the further a community is from the center, the less power they have, resonating with Anderson’s a cone of light analogy, where the further one gets from the central light source or power, the weaker the light or power becomes.<sup>198 199 200</sup>

As addressed in the introduction to this dissertation, core-periphery power also manifested musically, as explained by ethnomusicologist Pak Sumarsam explained in his book *Gamelan: Cultural Interaction and Musical Developments in Central Java*. The role of materiality is key here, as “the ruler could enhance his power by concentrating [“*gamelan* instruments and *wayang*

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<sup>196</sup> Again, for scholarship on center-periphery models in Indonesia from during Dutch colonialism to national independence, see Leonard Andaya. 1993. *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press; Benedict Anderson. 1972. *Java in a time of revolution: occupation and resistance, 1944-1946.*; Syed Farid Alatas. 1997. *Democracy and authoritarianism in Indonesia and Malaysia: the rise of the post-colonial state*. New York, NY: MacMillan Press Ltd.; Michael Dove. 1996. “Center, Periphery, and Biodiversity: A Paradox of Governance and a Developmental Challenge.” *Valuing Local Knowledge: Indigenous People and Intellectual Property Rights*. Stephen B. Brush and Doreen Stabinsky (Ed.). Washington, DC: Island Press. 41-67; and Joseph Errington, 1989. *Exemplary Centers, Urban Centers and Language Change in Java*. Chicago, IL: Center for Psychosocial Studies.

<sup>197</sup> Again, for Wallerstein’s definition of “core-periphery,” see: Immanuel Wallerstein, 2004. *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. Here he defines “core-periphery” as “a relational pair, which first came into widespread use when taken up by Raul Prebisch and the UN Economic Commission for Latin America in the 1950s as a description of the AXIAL DIVISION OF LABOR of the world-economy. It refers to products but is often used as a shorthand for the countries in which such products are dominant. The argument of this book is that the key element distinguishing core-like from peripheral processes is the degree to which they are monopolized and therefore profitable” (Wallerstein, 2004: 93).

<sup>198</sup> Using this metaphor to analyze Indonesian New Order politics, Anderson equated oneness with strength and multiplicity or diffusion with weakness.

<sup>199</sup> Each of these models, while complicated and questioned by contemporary Indonesianist scholarship, have laid the theoretical groundwork upon which studies of center and periphery dynamics in Indonesia rest.

<sup>200</sup> For more on center-periphery dynamics in reference to Hindu-Balinese polities and Islamic sultanates in Indonesia, see Benedict Anderson. 1990. *Language and power: exploring political cultures in Indonesia*. Cornell, NY: Cornell University Press; Clifford Geertz. 1980. *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; and Sartono Kartodirdjo. 1966. *The peasants’ revolt of Banten in 1888. Its conditions, course and sequel. A case study of social movements in Indonesia*. Boston, MA: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

paraphernalia”] around him” (Sumarsam, 1995: 7).<sup>201</sup> <sup>202</sup> I would thus argue that this history supporting loci of power through revered materiality and a centralization of musical production has had a corollary in Catholic music production, with Java-based Centers such as the PML affirming histories of power linked to ecclesiastical, empire-based, and colonial historical narratives. These Centers and their products have been the focus of the only English-language study of inculturated production of music for the Catholic church in Indonesia (See Poplawska, 2007), with the only other related ethnographies being largely beyond Java and site or island specific (See Weibe, 2017; Manhart, 2004; Rappoport, 2004; Okazaki, 1998 and 1994). Furthermore, a “studying up” of the practices of Java-based “centers” like the PML or Indonesian Bishops Council (KWI) have as of yet been neglected and center-periphery dynamics reified or ignored for the study of music and Catholicism in Indonesia.<sup>203</sup>

As the history of center-periphery scholarship in Indonesianists studies is now shifting to question and de-center these paradigms—as evident in the work of Michaela Haug, et al.’s 2017 edited volume, *Rethinking Power Relations in Indonesia: Transforming the Margins* and Andrew Weintraub’s 2014 article on “Decentering ethnomusicology: Indonesian Popular Music Studies,” among other sources— I argue that ethnographic narratives about music from supposedly peripheral places can re-center traditional Indonesianist understandings of power and politics, particularly when put into dialogue with a “studying up” of power dynamics at supposed C/centers.

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<sup>201</sup> Here Sumarsam cites Anderson 1972: 28, in reference to how “the core concept of traditional Javanese power lies in one’s ability to gain power,” then detailing the ways Anderson’s theory of power applies to Javanese gamelan and courtly arts, see Sumarsam, 1995: 7. Sumarsam. 1995. [1992]. *Gamelan: Cultural Interaction and Musical Development in Central Java*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

<sup>202</sup> This idea of centrifugal power—affirmed by the presence and proximate performance of “magically charged items” like wayang and gamelan (Sumarsam, 1995: 7)—resonates with Clifford Geertz’s analysis of power in his work on *Negara: the Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Geertz, 1980). Thus, the king displayed accumulated power through the presence and performance of gamelan and theatrical arts at court.

<sup>203</sup> From Laura Nader, 1972. “Up the Anthropologist—perspectives gained from studying up.” *Reinventing Anthropology*. Dell Hymnes, ed. New York, NY: Pantheon Press. 285-311.

This potential is especially pertinent for minority religious communities in Indonesia, many of whom exist beyond the island of Java, in historically peripheral or disenfranchised places.<sup>204</sup> But, how can song book use and production contribute to a re-centering of these traditional center-periphery dynamics for Catholics in Indonesia?

### 3.4 Why Song Books?

In his work on *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson explains the role of the printing press in idea-spreading and eventually nation building, stating that the technology of the printing press, combined with printing in common vernacular languages, “made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways” (Anderson, 2006: 36).<sup>205</sup> Terming this concept “print-capitalism,” Anderson created a theory for a process of mass production and mass dissemination, one centered on the technology of printing while creating new communities of readers through ready access to information in vernacular languages. Even before the advent of the internet and understanding of space-time compression, the globalizing forces of colonialism and missionization utilized the printing press as a technology for disseminating ideas: communicating, codifying, and creating

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<sup>204</sup> See also: Eriko Aoki’s work on “‘Center’ and ‘Periphery’ in Oral Historiography in a Peripheral Area in Southeast Indonesia” (2003), William Cumming’s article on “Would-be Centers: the Texture of Historical Discourse in Makassar” (2006), and work on “Center, Periphery, and Biodiversity” by Michael R. Dove (1996), and the 2009 edited volume on *The Politics of the Periphery in Indonesia: Social and Geographical Perspectives*, Minako Sakai, Glenn Banks, and J.H. Walker.

<sup>205</sup> Anderson refers to the use of vernacular languages in print as print-languages, explaining that “print-capitalism created languages-of-power of a kind different from the older administrative vernaculars...[and that] the fixing of print-languages and the differentiation of status between them were largely unselfconscious processes resulting from the explosive interaction between capitalism, technology and human linguistic diversity” (Anderson, 2006: 45). Benedict R O’G Anderson, 2006. *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Revised Edition. New York, NY: Verso.

elements of both Church and state(s) which themselves became the things around which individual and community identification formed, a material habitus of sorts. This power and communicative property of print-capitalism was even more acute pre-internet, when the mobility and ownership of things was paramount and often portable.<sup>206</sup>

The presence and creation of musical things resonates with the importance of ritual objects both in Catholic liturgical practice and in many ritual practices throughout Indonesia. As centuries of missionaries brought liturgical and musical practices with them to various islands throughout Indonesia, they also brought texts to support these practices, bound up in material like missals, Bibles, and song books. Songs which were locally created and produced—such as those in the *Dere Searni* hymn book in the Manggarai region of Western Flores, famed for its early genesis and longevity—documented early efforts at localizing Catholic practice, efforts which continue through to today in local-language hymn books. Even more so, after the implementation of what would become understood as inculturated liturgical practices, hymn books became sites where the identity politics of being Indonesian and Catholic were worked out. Looking into a missional history and inculturated future at the same time, hymn books like *Madah Bakti*—and also, although less so, *Puji Syukur*—became variably fit for an Indonesian musical context. Cipher or number notation could accommodate both Gregorian chant tones and localized or inculturated hymns in various tuning systems. Nationally, Indonesian-language was adopted for song texts; regionally, local language hymnals became increasingly accessible. However, at the same time, the Indonesianization of song books and the history of music material for Catholic communities before

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<sup>206</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, et al. 2010. *Cultural Mobility—A Manifesto*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

and after the inculturation “turn” of the 1960s/70s, also laid bare issues of Javanization, access, and power, all communicated through the *bisnis* of creating hymnals.<sup>207 208</sup>

### 3.5 Communication, Religion, and the Idea of *Bisnis*

Who gets to decide what music for religious communities looks and sounds like? Who is represented in this process? Who is not? Who has the power to then produce and disseminate material based on the understandings they espouse about music and religious practice? At the root of these questions is a complicated web of relational connections—between people, places, and institutions—which musically and materially implicate broad issues of piety, power, and politics. However, in order to understand how these larger issues are communicated through this music and music material, one needs to understand both what it is and what it does. The power for people to create and use music material works only in the perceived ability for the material to communicate both socially and religiously. Following cultural turns in anthropology and religious studies, I am embracing the idea of religion as lived practice, specifically as studied in the anthropologies of religion, Islam and Christianity, which emphasizes the lived, everyday experience of piety over

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<sup>207</sup> For more on the “*Indonesianisasi*” or “Indonesianization” of the Roman Catholic Church, see Huub J.W.M. Boelaars’ 2005 work on *Indonesianisasi: Dari Gereja Katolik di Indonesia Menjadi Gereja Katolik Indonesia [Indonesianization: From Catholic Church in Indonesia to Indonesian Catholic Church]*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Penerbit Kanisius [Canisius Press].

<sup>208</sup> With the idea of “the inculturation ‘turn’ of the 1960s/70s” I am referencing two Catholic realities, both brought up and discussed in chapter one of this dissertation. First, I am implicating the etic, global, institutional turn towards the theory and practice of inculturation in the Roman Catholic Church around the world (particularly championed by Catholic Bishops and theologians in and from countries in Sub-Saharan Africa) in the wake of the Second Vatican Council. Second, I reference the emic and Indonesian (here mostly meaning PML and/or missionary-initiated) turn towards embracing inculturation as both theory and practice in Indonesia specifically, starting in the 1970s.

doctrine or dogma.<sup>209</sup> By privileging an ethnographic, grass-roots approach to lived religion, I examine how Catholic musical and liturgical leaders in Indonesia are communicating practices of piety through music and music material, a process which happens on both vertical and horizontal levels.<sup>210</sup>

In his work on communication in religion, religious studies scholar Volkhard Krech considers how “communication always consists of the interplay between semantic and social structures,” embracing horizontal (person to person) and vertical (often hierarchical, person to person, or person to God) ways of communicating religious meaning (Krech, 2016: 261).<sup>211</sup> By looking at music production, performance, and material as religious communication, I too am embracing a discursive study of religion which, again following both Krech and Kocku von Stuckrad, looks at “religions as systems of communication and action and not as systems of (unverifiable) belief” (von Stuckrad, 2003: 255).<sup>212</sup> <sup>213</sup> Furthermore, by addressing questions of how and why people are religious, a discursive study of religion makes space for both the

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<sup>209</sup> For a contextualized approach to the study of “lived religion,” see Meredith B. McGuire. 2008. *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

<sup>210</sup> By “vertical” here I mean hierarchical or institutional, at various levels; by horizontal, inter-level relational, be it parochial, within an institution, or person to person, particularly in a community or organization.

<sup>211</sup> Volkhard Krech, 2016. “Communication” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Study of Religion* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. 257-270.

<sup>212</sup> Kocku von Stuckrad, 2003. “Discursive Study of Religion: From States of the Mind to Communication and Action.” *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 15. Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV. 255-271.

<sup>213</sup> By looking at religion as a discursive manner of communication, my work will line with scholarship from the anthropology of religion—specifically the anthropology of Islam and the relatively new field of the anthropology of Christianity—and the ethnographic, contextual critical approach to the study of music and religion in community espoused by the new field of congregational music studies. For the anthropology of religion, see Janice Boddy and Michael Lambek (eds.), 2013. *A Companion to the Anthropology of Religion*. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell. For anthropology of Islam: John R. Bowen’s 2012. *A New Anthropology of Islam*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; Jens Kreinath (ed.), 2012. *The Anthropology of Islam Reader*. New York: Routledge; Gabriele Marranci, 2008. *The Anthropology of Islam*. New York: Berg; Filippo Osella and Benjamin Soares, eds. 2010. *Islam, Politics, Anthropology*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. For anthropology of Christianity, see in particular Webb Keane, 2007. *Christian Moderns: Freedom and Fetish In the Mission Encounter*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.



communication of other ways of being alongside religion—such as identity or identification—and the transcendence of bounded or scripted ways of being, on both individual and community levels.

As hymnals have a kind of religious and cultural currency behind them, it follows that communicating religion through music requires work which can and often does carry with it some kind of commensurate economic compensation. As mentioned above, *bisnis* as an Indonesian word from the English business, seemed to carry negative connotations when my interlocutors applied it to the process of making and distributing hymn books. *Bisnis* was treated like a backroom word, a signifier for the economic reality of production and consumption that many priests, musicians, and laity alike did not want to align their work or the work of other Catholics with. Yet, to this end, *bisnis* was brought up so frequently in my interviews that it drove me to wonder both why the role of the term *bisnis* worked as a tainted or even unsavory word in relation to religion and music, and how it was contextualized based on the access to power and markets afforded more to musicians in certain regions and positions than others.<sup>214</sup>

Furthermore, *bisnis* often had a foil in conversations surrounding not just the production but the use of hymnals produced in and for Catholic communities throughout Indonesia; if *bisnis* had negative connotations, *pelayanan* was its selfless positive. As explained above, *pelayanan*, translated as service, was used in a religious context to refer to one's offering of time and skill to their Church community, and often more directly to their *lingkungan* or intra-parish group.<sup>215</sup> *Pelayanan* is a high good, something that each member of the community is expected to do in their own way. Playing organ for Mass, singing in the choir, serving as a conductor or head of music

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<sup>214</sup> Personal communication with Bapak Ferdinandus (Ferdy) Levi. April 18, 2018. Ende, Flores, Indonesia.

<sup>215</sup> For more the “*lingkungan*,” community groups that make up Parish structure in most of Indonesia, see Steenbrink, 2015: 75-76 and Poplawska, 2008: 107, particularly footnote 32.

for the *Seksi Liturgi* could all be considered music-related *pelayanan*, unpaid service to the Church; freely given, although often accompanied by some degree of obligation or expectation.<sup>216</sup>

While performing church music was so often considered exclusively as service—with very few funded church music positions existing for Catholics, especially within their home parishes—creating it required funds beyond the resources of time, experience or training, and occasionally donations of food or if necessary, materials and money. In the creation of *musik inkulturasi*, as discussed in chapter one, *lokakarya* composition workshops required money from the community hosting them, be it parish or diocese, with occasional support from outside (foreign) organizations.<sup>217</sup> However, the effective economic capital which accompanies the production and sales of song books could not be ignored by my interlocutors in conversations of hymnbook diversity. While not every sale of hymn book is considered *bisnis*, the classification of capital—spiritual or *pelayanan* (service) over economic gain—is determined by perceived intention. Hymn books understood to have been produced for profit and not just in the service of community necessity begin to resonate too much with the sense of profit instead of service. For example, in general during many of my discussions, *Madah Bakti* is considered a book created out of and for a need, as affordable and accessible, and as a necessary resource to local parishes. Conversely, *Puji Syukur* is often seen as the KWI’s attempt to enter into a stream of capital created by other hymn books (like *Madah Bakti*). While this is an over simplified and potentially polemical division, the feelings and terms engendered by these perspectives associated ethical values with

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<sup>216</sup> For example, in Indonesia, Catholic organist and choir directors are generally not paid positions. If a ringer from another Church or a Christian denomination is brought in to coach, play, or conduct, a stipend may be given, but for organists—amateur to advanced—“*pelayanan*” or your socio-religious duty trumps the “*bisnis*” of getting paid.

<sup>217</sup> For more on outside (foreign: Swiss) support for some *lokakarya komposisi*, see: Marzanna Poplawska, 2008. “Inculturation and Christian Music in Indonesia.” PhD Dissertation in Ethnomusicology. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University. Page 89.

each book or camp that produced it, values which I heard about as the presence or absence of the intention of *bisnis* or money-making. The numbers of song book sales told stories, as did the places where each book was produced and printed, as will be discussed later in this chapter. Following the *bisnis* of hymnals showed how bandwidth and relative economic prosperity accompanied some books and not others, economically affirming the central and monied role of institutions and charismatic Catholic musical leaders and teachers on Java.

At the same time, the power of proximity—both to the creation of songs and the production of local song books—in populace outer island Catholic communities, here represented through the experience of communities in Flores and North Sumatra, produced a plethora of music resources which itself challenged the hegemonic *bisnis* of national hymn books with generally higher production value and broader bandwidths. In the end, studying the *bisnis* of hymn books became a productive, positive way to understand the powerful roles people (and the institutions they represented), technology (with the printing press as paramount), and material play in hymnal production for Catholic communities throughout Indonesia. In that sense, I argue that *bisnis*—while often carrying negative connotations within the context of Catholic music-making—is a marker for distinct projects, different ways of dealing with the economy of music material production for liturgical use. Furthermore, when examined as a word that can do specific, project-oriented theoretical work, the projects—and hymnals—that the word is associated with can be seen as part of the larger picture of Catholic or even religious identity politics in Indonesia. In that way, an examination of the *bisnis* behind these hymnals and song books can illuminate how song books, and the presses and people that create them, are part of larger stories and histories of missionization, knowledge production, and religious and political power. In this sense, I am

attempting to eschew the allure of the dramatic for the sake of understanding the aim of the different hymn book projects themselves.

### 3.6 Charismatic Centers—the Importance of Certain People

In his work on *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali*, Clifford Geertz puts forth the idea of charismatic center of a Balinese king, the ever-composed figure toward whose power all subjects were oriented and thus ordered.<sup>218</sup> In a similar albeit less absolute way, the song books produced for Catholic communities in Indonesia often have become associated with leading figures or institutions in the Catholic Church music scene. These charismatic men, often musically and liturgically trained clergy, have become associated with the books they helped create, almost to the point of paring off a person or people (and the institution or organization they are involved with) and the song book they produced or have very much contributed to. But not all notoriety is created equal; rather, just as there has historically been centers and peripheries of power in Indonesia, I would argue that there are hierarchical levels of prestige associated with the people behind these song book products. To that end, just as there are degrees of authority and renown for each person, there are also different categories of song books produced by and for Catholics in Indonesia. These I have differentiated by intended scope and bandwidth into three levels of production—and commensurately, a tripartite hierarchy of notable people—namely: national, localized national, and local Catholic song books. In what follows, I will introduce each level of song book through the figures most associated with them.

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<sup>218</sup> For more, see Clifford Geertz. 1980. *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

### 3.7 The Levels of “National,” “Localized National,” and “Local” Song Books

In his cultural studies manifesto, literary historian Stephen Greenblatt further argues that “mobility must be taken in a highly literal sense,” that only then “will it be possible fully to understand the metaphorical movement: between [ideas like] center and periphery...” (Greenblatt, 2010: 250). With that in mind, literal mobility of material in this case involves three levels of production. First “national” Catholic songs books, specifically *Madah Bakti*, produced in Yogyakarta by the PML and *Puji Syukur*, produced under the auspices of the KWI (*Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia*) or Indonesian Bishop’s Council, located in Jakarta. Both Java-produced books include hymns and liturgical supplements (like Mass parts and liturgical prayers) in Indonesian, with music rendered in cipher (number) notation. While there are definite differences, soon to be discussed, the scope of each is similar, to create a hymn book for use throughout the country. Both include many translated European or missional hymns (mostly Dutch or German in origin) in diatonic tuning, with the 2000 edition of *Madah Bakti* also including around 300 inculturated or localized songs, the product of their *lokakarya* hymn writing workshops. While both claim to be for use throughout Indonesia, diocese and cities on certain islands have often leaned towards using one or the other, with some parishes owning and using both in rotation, a few weeks with *Puji Syukur* followed by a few weeks using *Madah Bakti*.<sup>219</sup>

For some of these communities, local versions of these books—what I am calling “localized national” hymnals—have been created, such as a version of *Puji Syukur* for the

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<sup>219</sup> This was the case at the Cathedral in Medan, and Kumetiran Paroki Hati Santa Perawan Maria Tak Bercela in Yogyakarta, where *Puji Syukur* and *Madah Bakti* were both used, in rotation. Conversely, *Puji Syukur* is the most common hymnal in Jakarta and Bandung, with most communities throughout Flores preferring *Madah Bakti*, in my experience worshipping and researching in these places, and according to the experiences of my interlocutors.

Archdiocese of Medan (*Keuskupan Agung Medan*) or an edition of *Madah Bakti* for the Diocese of Maumere, Flores. These localized versions of *Madah Bakti* or *Puji Syukur* often include a supplement of hymns produced specifically in and for that area, generally through the PML's *lokakarya* (this is true for both *Puji Syukur* and *Madah Bakti*). Finally, locally-produced hymn books—both in Indonesian and in local languages—are common on a smaller scale, especially in places with both sizeable Catholic populations and access to local printing presses and publishing companies (such as in Ende, Flores, or Medan, North Sumatra). As I will argue later, there is power in proximity to more populace Catholic “Centers, even in the peripheries, where demand and production serve to re-center power dynamics and often provided both the market and material for each variety of hymnal type. The ultimate irony here is that nationally, the “market” for Catholic hymnals is in the peripheries, where the majority of the country’s Catholic population reside. Consequently, the diversity of hymn books in these supposedly peripheral places in its own way shows the power of proximity which the demand of larger populations can produce.

### **3.8 The People and Production Behind the Books**

#### **3.8.1 Behind *Madah Bakti***

The people most associated with the *Madah Bakti* hymnal—and with *musik inkulturasi*, as well—are Romo Karl-Edmund Prier and Bp. Paul Widyawan.<sup>220</sup> As alluded to in chapter one’s

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<sup>220</sup> Again, for a photographs of Romo Prier and Pak Paul, see Appendix A.1 Figure 1.

discussion on *musik inkulturasi*, what became the *Madah Bakti* hymnal was created in response to a need and a lack, voiced most concretely at the First Congress for Liturgical Music [*Kongres Musik Liturgi I*] in Yogyakarta in 1975. Born out of the Second Liturgical Conference [*Kongres Liturgi II*] in Jakarta, in 1973—the theme of which was Indonesianization—the Liturgical Music Congress identified additional challenges in the area of access to localized and inculturated musical resources.<sup>221</sup> In her book on the life and work on Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, Rianti Mardalena Pasaribu explains that, while the Second Liturgical Congress presented participants and participating PML staffer members “a good opportunity to jointly think about the inculturation of liturgical music in Indonesia considering that although it was 8 years after the Second Vatican Council ended, songs that were inculturated in Indonesian liturgy were still very limited,” it was not until the First Liturgical Music Conference two years later that the lack of resources was acutely detailed (Pasaribu, 2015: 83).<sup>222</sup> Pasaribu explains that:

when the Congress took place, it was evident that the main problem faced by the Catholic Church in Indonesia was the lack of quality songs for the congregation. Then a joint decision was born so that the Music Section compiled a prayer book and common songs that could respond to the needs of the people. A book that can be used by people in Indonesia with many inculturated songs (Pasaribu, 2015: 84).<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> For more on the Second Liturgical Congress in 1973 and the first Liturgical Music Conference in 1975, see: Prier, 2008: 22-26.

<sup>222</sup> In Indonesian, “*Ini adalah sebuah kesempatan yang baik untuk Bersama-sama berpikir mengenai inkulturasi musik liturgi di Indonesia mengingat 8 tahun setelah Konsili Vatikan II berakhir, lagu-lagu inkulturasi liturgi di Indonesia masih sangat terbatas.*” (Pasaribu, 2015: 83). Rianti Mardalena Pasaribu. 2015. *Mengembangkan Musik Liturgi Khas Indonesia: Perjalanan Hidup dan Karya-karya Karl-Edmund Prier. [Developing Distinctive Indonesian Liturgical Music: The Life Journey and Works of Karl-Edmund Prier]*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Penerbit PT Kanisius.

<sup>223</sup> In Indonesian, “*Saat Kongres berlangsung, nyata bahwa masalah utama yang dihadapi oleh Gereja Katolik di Indonesia adalah kurangnya lagu bermutu untuk umat. Kemudian lahirlah sebuah keputusan bersama agar Seksi Musik menyusun sebuah buku doa dan nyanyian umum yang bisa menjawab kebutuhan umat. Sebuah buku yang dapat dipakai oleh umat di seluruh Indonesia dengan banyak lagu inkulturasi.*” (Pasaribu, 2015: 84).

The PML—with Romo Prier at the helm, as both head of the PML and member of the Music Section [*Seksi Musik*] of the PWI—had been tasked with creating a book for which there was a voiced need but as of yet, no process to draw upon and no structure.<sup>224</sup> For the structure of the *Madah Bakti* hymnal, Romo Prier was inspired by the 1975 German Catholic congregational hymn book, *Gotteslob* (Pasaribu, 2015: 85). After a year in Germany studying the making and use of this book, Romo Prier returned to Indonesia with the structure for and conviction to make a book both by and for Indonesians.<sup>225</sup>

As detailed in the previous chapter, the process itself for making these new Indonesian inculturated songs was suggested by Indonesian ethnomusicologist Liberty Manik, newly returned to Indonesia in 1976 after ethnomusicological study in Germany. Thus, after three *lokakarya komposisi* [composition workshops], the song book that would become known as *Madah Bakti* began to take shape. However, challenges ensued. First, the need to create and translate new prayers, which Romo Prier did by translating some of the prayers from *Gotteslob* into Indonesian (Pasaribu, 2015: 89). Second, while the Liturgical Commission [*Komisi Liturgi*] of the MAWI was the formal ecclesiastical institution prompting the creation of this national songbook, they did not have the money to pay for its production.<sup>226</sup> Instead, the PML had to pay for the entirety of the printing costs on its own, receiving a loan from the economy of the Jesuit Provincial to cover

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<sup>224</sup> Again, PWI stands for “*Panitia Waligereja Indonesia*” or “Indonesian Catholic Committee,” which was a division of the MAWI or “*Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia*,” “The Supreme Council of Bishops of Indonesia,” which was under the “*Federasi Para Waligereja (Uskup) se Indonesia*” or “Federation of Bishops throughout Indonesia” (Pasaribu, 2015: 83). In 1987 MAWI changed its name to the KWI or *Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia*, Indonesian Bishops Council.

<sup>225</sup> Pasaribu talks about “*lagu-lagu inkulturasi baru yang khas Indonesia*,” literally, [“new inculturated songs, that which are typical of Indonesia”] (Pasaribu, 2015: 86).

<sup>226</sup> As stated above, the MAWI or *Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia*, “The Supreme Council of Bishops of Indonesia,” was under the “*Federasi Para Waligereja (Uskup) se Indonesia*” or “Federation of Bishops throughout Indonesia” (Pasaribu, 2015: 83). And again, in 1987 MAWI then changed its name to the KWI or *Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia*, Indonesian Bishops Council. For more on the naming and tasks of the MAWI, see Pasaribu, 2015: 82-3, particularly footnote 48.



the printing costs. Furthermore, printing itself was excessively expensive at the local Catholic press, *Kanisius*, driving the PML to print the book at a small local press (Pasaribu, 2015: 89). In the end, the *Madah Bakti* hymnal was printed in time for the Third Liturgical Congress in July, 1980, with official permission given by Monsignor Sinaga, the then-head of the Liturgical Commission of the KWI.

According to Archbishop Sinaga in his 1993 article on “*Madah Bakti*: an experiment in the inculturation of liturgical music,” the 1980 edition of the *Madah Bakti* hymn book included 442 melodies, which can be divided into four categories: “Ethnic 147 (33.3%), ‘Traditional’ 117 (26.5%), ‘Modern’ 149 (33.7%), Gregorian 34 (7.7%).”<sup>227</sup> These numbers, explained by the PML more generally as “containing about 450 hymns: 33 % are based on indigenous melodies and rhythms; 33 % are new hymns composed by Indonesian composers but in Western style; 33 % are translations of Western hymns” were complimented in the 2000 edition of *Madah Bakti* with “about 300 new songs that were composed during the seminars in 1980-2000.”<sup>228</sup> Chief among these new creations were *lagu inkulturasi* or inculturated songs composed at the *lokakarya* hymn writing workshops and often prepared for choral arrangement by well known choral conductor Bapak Paul Widyawan. In his introduction to the *Madah Bakti* 2000 edition, Romo Prier explained that, “in particular, we say thank you to Mr. Paul Widyawan who tirelessly became the motor to pioneer the inculturation of liturgical music and joined in leading all the composition workshops

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<sup>227</sup> By ‘Traditional,’ Sinaga means “melodies which have already been published for church use. Generally they have originated from the European style of music. Some of them are in Latin...This category of melodies has been generally complemented with Indonesian texts.” ‘Modern’ or “mixed modern melodies,” Sinaga defines as songs “of modern Indonesian religious origin. Others are of the international modern origin...Presumably 50% of the melodies under this category stem from the Indonesian soil” (Sinaga, 1993: 123). Mgr. Ancietus B. Sinaga OFMCap. 2016. “Testimoni” [“Testimony”] in *Buku Kenangan Perayaan Sewindu Radio Maria Indonesia [Book of Memories in Celebration of Radio Maria Indonesia]*. Medan, North Sumatra, Indonesia: Radio Maria Indonesia.

<sup>228</sup> *Pusat Musik Liturgi* English-Language Website. *Pusat Musik Liturgi*. <http://pml-yk.org/english.html>. Last accessed May 11, 2019.

since the Liturgy Center of Music was founded in 1971.<sup>229</sup> Pak Paul has not only been a creative engine in the lokakarya workshops by has also been responsible for arranging hundreds of *lokakarya*-derived songs for choir, many of which are then published by the PML and have been professionally recorded by his *Vocalista Sonora* choir. As head of *Vocalista Sonora* since 1964, Pak Paul was instrumental in the founding of the PML, helping Romo Prier refine his vision “to address Church music professionally and to compose new Indonesian liturgical songs in accordance with the ideals of the new liturgy from the Second Vatican Council” (Pasaribu, 2015: 84).<sup>230</sup> Along with Romo Prier, these commitments to professionalism and inculturation are values which Pak Paul too professed, the two developing a life-long collaboration. While the *Madah Bakti* hymnal is easily the best-selling song book in Indonesia, there came a time in the early 1990s where it was clear that *Madah Bakti* was no longer going to be the only hymnic product on the national scene. Here enters the *bisnis* of national song book production, as interpersonal and economic decision making resulted in the production of another national hymn book in Indonesia.

### 3.8.2 Behind *Puji Syukur*

*Madah Bakti* is the first “national” hymn book in Indonesia, but it is not the official liturgical book. That position belongs to *Puji Syukur*, the official liturgical book and self-proclaimed reference edition. Ostensibly the work of the KWI, Indonesian Bishops Council, the main person connected with the creation of *Puji Syukur* is Romo Antonius Soetanta, S.J..<sup>231</sup> While

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<sup>229</sup> Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, S.J. “Kata Pengantar” in “*Madah Bakti: Edisi 2000 sesuai TPE Baru.*” 2000 (128<sup>th</sup> Printing, 2011). Disusun oleh: Pusat Musik Liturgi Yogyakarta [Compiled by Pusat Musik Liturgi Yogyakarta]. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pusat Musik Liturgi.

<sup>230</sup> In Indonesian, “*untuk menangani musik Gereja secara profesional dan menciptakan lagu-lagu liturgi baru khas Indonesia sesuai dengan cita-cita liturgi baru dari Konsili Vatikan II*” (Pasaribu, 2015: 84).

<sup>231</sup> Again, for photo of Romo Tanto, see Appendix A.1 Figure 4.

not fully admitting to the primary role he played as the arranger (*pengarang lagu*) of over 30 songs for the book, Romo Tanto, as he is known, is the person most associated with the books contents and responsible for making professional recordings of *Puji Syukur* songs with his choir.<sup>232</sup> Romo Tanto, a Javanese Jesuit Priest classically trained in Sacred Music, now serves as area organ teacher, director of the *Ascensio* choir and related Church music training programs, and Parish Priest at St. Servatius Church in Kampung Sawah, on the outskirts of Jakarta.<sup>233</sup> His understanding of *Puji Syukur* is one of theological and poetic refinement and Indonesianization, with songs that “are in accordance with theology, according to the liturgy,” and an appropriate liturgical spirit.<sup>234</sup> Conversely, he referred to *Madah Bakti* in our conversation as representing a more touristic understanding of traditional music, an understanding which would go against a proper “liturgical spirit” or “*jiwa liturgi*.”<sup>235</sup>

Accordingly, Romo Tanto considers the official liturgical book *Puji Syukur*, “Indonesian” in process and product, because of who created or produced it, and the way the texts and tunes are theologically rendered. In Romo Tanto’s narrative, *Puji Syukur* is presented as an alternative to the history and legacy of European missionary power in Indonesia, despite or perhaps due to what he considers as Romo Prier’s touristic take on *musik inkulturasi*. For Romo Tanto, *Puji Syukur* is

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<sup>232</sup> The only person to arrange more songs for *Puji Syukur* was Romo Prier, who is given credit for arranging 36, with Romo Soetanta only arranging 33. Tellingly, works by Pak Paul Widyawan, who arranged many of the songs for the 2000 edition for the *Madah Bakti* hymnal, are missing from *Puji Syukur*, assumedly the result of Pak Paul’s decision to not be involved with the *Puji Syukur* hymnal.

<sup>233</sup> According to an article on “Romo Antonius Soetanta SJ: Musik, Hadiah Tuhan,” in the Catholic Magazine *Hidup Katolik* [Catholic Life], Romo Tanto, went to “Church Music School in Utrecht, Netherlands” from 1973-1977; in Indonesian, “Sekolah Musik Gereja di Utrecht, Belanda (1973-1977).” “Romo Antonius Soetanta SJ: Musik, Hadiah Tuhan.” November 13, 2016. In *Hidup Katolik* [Catholic Life] Magazine. <https://majalah.hidupkatolik.com/2016/11/13/942/romo-antonius-soetanta-sj-musik-hadiah-tuhan/>. Last accessed January 6, 2020.

<sup>234</sup> In Indonesian, “*yang sesuai dengan teologi, sesuai dengan liturgi*.” Personal Conversation with Romo Antonius Soetanta, S.J. August 8, 2018. Jakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>235</sup> In Indonesian, “*kebanyakan pameran kultur, untuk turis*” [“the majority [of inculturated songs] are like cultural exhibits, for tourists”]. .” Personal Conversation with Romo Antonius Soetanta, S.J. August 8, 2018. Jakarta, Indonesia.

a post-colonial Indonesian hymn book in the sense that it was created not just for but by Indonesians, with the most accessible and appropriate language, and a refined sense of poetics and text setting. In its capacity as a theological sound official liturgical book, it stands as a resource in line with appropriate liturgical spirit as encouraged by Rome and the KWI. While *Puji Syukur* has decidedly less *lagu inkulturasi* than *Madah Bakti*, there have been other ways in which this now official, reference song book has been made local in a number of Catholic dioceses throughout the country.

**“Localized National” Song Books**—The differences between *Madah Bakti* and *Puji Syukur* are further wrought with localized versions of each book, including, as stated above, a version of *Puji Syukur* for the Archdiocese of Medan (*Keuskupan Agung Medan*). At times, as with the Archdiocese of Medan, this localizing of a national song book can provide agency for local communities. In Medan, North Sumatra, the centrifugal pull of either *Madah Bakti* or *Puji Syukur* is challenged but an almost equitable presence and use of both hymnals in their Archdiocese. According to Pastor Eman, a Franciscan (O.F.M. Cap) Priest and the current head of the liturgical commission [*Komisi Liturgi*] (or *KomLit*) for the Archdiocese of Medan [*Keuskupan Agung Medan*] (or KAM), use of *Puji Syukur* and *Madah Bakti* is split evenly throughout their community, with *Puji Syukur* perhaps a bit more in use. The “official” liturgical book is still *Puji Syukur*, Medan edition, but Pastor Eman explained that jurisdiction has been given to local bishops to decide what hymn books and musical resources can be used in their diocese.<sup>236</sup> Archbishop Sinaga, the then (in October 2018) Archbishop of Medan, declared that both “national” hymn books are permitted in the KAM. However, the back story is a little more

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<sup>236</sup> Personal Communication with Romo Emmanuel Sembiring, O.F.M. Cap., October 8, 2018. Siantar, North Sumatra, Indonesia.

political and provides insight into what many referred to as the “*bisnis*” behind the divisions which produced *Madah Bakti* and *Puji Syukur*.<sup>237</sup>

A former member of the Archdiocesan Liturgical Committee, Pastor Benyamin Purba O.F.M. Cap., provided insight into the telling details of this story, one which highlights the power of local ownership in musical creation. It was Pastor Benyamin who invited PML representatives—specifically Romo Prier and Pak Paul Widyawan—to Medan in the mid-1980s to run a *lokakarya* hymn writing workshop at the Archdiocesan seminary in Siantar, North Sumatra.<sup>238</sup> Pastor Benyamin explained that the inculturated songs created at a series of PML-run *lokakarya* in the 1980s and 90s—composed in the musical styles of local Batak ethnic groups—were often first composed in local languages which they then translated into Indonesian, at the behest of the instructors from the PML. While the Archdiocese of Medan always had the intent of eventually publishing these *lagu inkulturasi* in their original, local languages, at the *lokakarya* it was the PML’s nationalizing project and insistence of Indonesian that took precedence. The *lokakarya* songs, composed in groups, were never attributed to the individual artists—a common practice at PML-run *lokakarya*—and as published in *Madah Bakti*, simply state the location and year of the workshop the song came from. No royalties were ever offered to the individual creators of the hymns—again, PML protocol—and when they left Medan, the PML constituents, according to Pastor Benyamin, considered the hymns composed at the KAM *lokakarya* the property of the

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<sup>237</sup> While this *bisnis* was often considered as broadly between the PML and musical liturgical leaders at the KWI, Indonesian Bishop’s Council, it was an open secret of sorts that there was interpersonal tension involved, specifically between the two Priests associated with each hymnal namely, Romo Prier—and, depending on who I was talking to, even more so Pak Paul—and Romo Soetanto.

<sup>238</sup> Personal communication with Pastor Benyamin A.C. Purba. OFM Cap. Medan, Indonesia. October 3, 2018.

PML, thus shifting full ownership from the place of the hymns creation (in the KAM) to the PML.<sup>239</sup>

Conversely, songs published in *Puji Syukur*—generally under different methods and conditions than a prototypical PML *lokakarya* workshop—give credit to the composer and disburse royalties each year to songs’ creators.<sup>240</sup> Clearly, the PML methods and procedures were effective in producing dozens of songs at the *lokakarya* for the KAM. Yet, at the same time, Pastor Benyamin’s critique of PML methods highlights a fundamental disjuncture related to understandings of intention, ownership, and representation. Emphatically believing that KAM *lokakarya* music belonged to the Batak musicians and communities who created it, Pastor Benyamin offered *lokakarya*-created music for a special KAM edition of the *Puji Syukur* hymnal, which came out in 2007. Further localization and local ownership of KAM *lokakarya*-produced hymns informed the production of another locally produced hymnal in Medan, namely the *Buku Ende Toba Katolik*. This rather dramatic “studying up” of the processes of the PML in Medan—as told through the experiences of Pastor Benyamin and other priests involved in the KAM *lokakarya*—is not for the sake of intrigue, but shed light on the very lives and livelihoods of the people involved, rendering human various processes and institutions of power.

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<sup>239</sup> Personal communication with Pastor Benyamin A.C. Purba. OFM Cap. Medan, Indonesia. October 3, 2018.

<sup>240</sup> Personal communication with Friez R. Tambunan, Dr.. September 30, 2018. Medan, North Sumatra, Indonesia. Pastor Friez composed some of the hymns that were incorporated into *Puji Syukur* and explained that he receives yearly royalties for the use of his songs. In addition to the economic benefit of composing a song published with the author’s name in *Puji Syukur*, Pastor Friez explained that the history and authorial credit was important to him on a personal and professional level, so that people knew it was his work.

### 3.8.3 Behind Local Song Books

Locally-produced hymn books—both in Indonesian and in local languages—are common on a smaller scale, especially in places with both sizeable Catholic populations and access to local printing presses and publishing companies, such as in Ende, Flores, or Medan, North Sumatra. The presence of printing presses in missional areas themselves tell stories, not necessarily of the exclusivity or rapid development of Catholicism in a place, but of the streams of money and access to knowledge production that missionary presence, and funds, made possible. In a way, these Catholic printing presses were and still are seen as for the whole community, printing political, national, and Catholic material together, an offering of technology for everyone in the area and a way to connect and support already existing Catholic communities. In terms of the people behind creation and production of these localized products, these books can be split into categories based on who produced them and when. The first category—of missionary-produced books, produced on Flores—can be introduced with chronological highlights, starting with the West Flores *Dere Searni* in 1947, then *Syukur Kepada Bapa* in 1976, and *Yubliate* in 1991.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> According to Bishop Wilhelmus van Bekkum, the first printing of the Manggarai book *Dere Serani* was in 1947; here Bonefasius Jehandut cites his 1989 interview with Bishop Wilhelmus van Bekkum in Ruteng on 4 July (Jehandut, 2012: 65). Bonefasius Jehandut. 2012. *Uskup Wilhelmus van Bekkum & Dere Serani [Bishop Wilhelmus van Bekkum and Christian Songs [hymn book]]*. Jakarta, Indonesia: Penerbit Nera Pustaka. In my copy of the 2015 edition of *Dere Searni*, there is no mention of original publishing date, although there are a number (17, at last count) of older songs whose composition year predate-1947, making the 1947 date given by Bishop Wilhelmus plausible. Furthermore, when reading Jehandut's text—particularly the discussion on editions and publishing date—the process sounds more layered and varying due to producers and access to printing presses mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, then a documented and unified printing process, adding to the idea that one actual first publishing date might not be as accurate or promoted as it would with a contemporary publishing company or process.

### 3.8.3.1 *Dere Serani*

*Dere Serani*, a local-language song book in the Manggarai language of West Flores—chronologues the shifts from early 20<sup>th</sup> century mission activity in Flores to a post-Vatican II, Indonesianized Roman Catholic reality. While the original printing of this hymnal in 1947 at the Arnoldus Printing Press in Ende, Flores featured mostly translated hymns of Western origin, the number of locally composed, localized, and inculturated songs increased in editions that followed. Two levels of actors are important in the process of creating this book, first missionaries—through whose impetus and funding the project began—and, second, the local Catholic school teachers and eventually musicians who were willing and able to write and compose in the local Manggarai language.

The man most associated with the plan and localizing process of *Dere Searni* is the deceased Bishop Wilhelmus van Bekkum. In his book on *Bishop Wilhelmus van Bekkum and Dere Serani [Uskup Wilhelmus van Bekkum & Dere Serani]*, Bonefasius Jehandut explains that, after "Father Wilhelmus van Bekkum SVD was appointed by the Holy See as Apostolic Vicar" for the Manggarai Region:

Then on January 3, 1961, this area became a diocese and Bishop Wilhelmus van Bekkum, SVD was the first Bishop. Such rapid development was due to the courage of the missionaries to make adaptations. From the beginning, they had tried to familiarize themselves with the language, songs and devotions of the Manggarai people. And they saw that which society in that place had that it can be counted and used to lead them to the Christian faith. Due to their humility they collaborated with local communities to translate prayers and songs into the Manggarai regional language. Then they tried to integrate native culture and devotional practices into the Liturgy of the Catholic Church



(Jehandut, 2012: 69-70).<sup>242</sup>

This process of adaptation, localization, collaboration, and eventually inculturation is exemplified and represented or typified through the *Dere Serani* song book and the process used to create it.

Father van Bekkum—a S.V.D. missionary priest who served in different ecclesial capacities for the Manggarai region of western Flores—is attributed with being the impetus behind the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century localization efforts in this region, knowing and being a part of a history in which *Dere Serani* has become emblematic of contextualized, now inculturated missionary practice. In addition to Bishop van Bekkum’s mid-century localizing missionary fervor, the openness of pioneering S.V.D. missionaries in the 1920s to culturally embedding liturgical practices within Manggarai context and language began the processes which became this book. As Jehandut enthusiastically explains, "Adjustment is very important in the development of the Catholic Church in Manggarai. Missionaries bravely and diligently adjusted to local culture and language." (Jehandut, 2012: 41).<sup>243</sup> How they did so, who and what they used adds another level of mission history to the story of this book.

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<sup>242</sup> In Indonesian, "*Pater Wilhelmus van Bekkum SVD oleh tahta suci diangkat menjadi Vikaris Apostolik untuk wilayah ini [daerah Manggarai]. Lalu pada tanggal 3 Januari 1961, wilayah ini menjadi Keuskupan dan Uskup Wilhelmus van Bekkum, SVD adalah Uskupnya yang pertama. Perkembangan yang sedemikian pesat disebabkan keberanian para misionaris untuk mengadakan penyesuaian. Sejak awal, mereka telah berusaha mengakrabkan diri dengan bahasa, nyanyian dan kebaktian asli orang Manggarai. Dan mereka melihat bahwa apa yang masyarakat setempat miliki itu dapat diangkat dan digunakan untuk mengantar mereka kepada iman kristiani. Kariena itu dengan penyuh kerendahan hati mereka menjalin kerja sama dengan masyarakat setempat untuk menerjemahkan doa-doa dan lagu-lagu ke dalam bahasa daerah Manggarai. Kemudian mereka berupaya mengintegrasikan budaya dan kebaktian asli setempat ke dalam Liturgi Gereja Katolik*" (Jehandut, 2012: 69-70). Bonefasius Jehandut. 2012. *Uskup Wilhelmus van Bekkum & Dere Serani [Bishop Wilhelmus van Bekkum and Christian Songs [hymn book]]*. Jakarta, Indonesia: Penerbit Nera Pustaka.

<sup>243</sup> In Indonesian, "*Penyesuaian adalah hal yang amat penting dalam sejarah perkembangan Gereja Katolik di Manggarai. Para misionaris dengan berani dan tekun menyesuaikan dirinya dengan budaya dan bahasa setempat.*" (Jehandut, 2012: 41).

Beginning in 1922, Pater Frans Dorn, an SVD Priest, had a Church song in Manggarai performed for the first time; sung by school children in the city of Ruteng, it was titled “*Mai Momang Maria*” or “Loving Mary” [“*Mengasihi Maria*”] (Jehandut, 2012: 42). What followed was initiative taken by local missionary priests to use the talent and knowledge of local school teachers to compose more songs in Manggarai. Sometimes this contextualizing work included translation—as with a 1942 translation of the “Kyrie” by Bapak Rik. Romas—sometimes it was songs specifically written for a feast day on a certain topic (Jehandut, 2012: 51). This process continued for decades, even, albeit limited, through the internment of German and Austrian missionaries (by the Dutch), and then Dutch missionaries (by Japan) during World War II (Jehandut, 2012: 50). Finally, in 1947, *Dere Searni* as a collection of Manggarai-language Catholic Church songs was put into print for the first time, at the SVD-owned and supported Arnoldus Printing Press [*Percetakan Arnoldus*] in Ende, central Flores. What started as mostly translated Western hymns and a few Manggarai songs became almost twenty percent localized Manggarai songs in the second printing in 1954 (Jehandut, 2012: 65).

The 1960s ushered in a period of change and challenge for the Catholic community in Indonesia, changes that had a direct impact on *Dere Serani* and the people who both made and consumed it. As Jehandut explains in his discussion of “*Dere Searni* From the Years 1962 to 1972,” starting in the early 1960s, the attention of the Roman Catholic Church was turned to the events and ramifications of the Second Vatican Council in Rome (Jehandut, 2012: 62).<sup>244</sup> Furthermore, the attention of Catholics in Indonesia was consumed during the 1960s with a combination of the meeting of the Indonesian bishops (1966-1973)—“meeting to discuss together the results of the Second Vatican Council meeting, to be applied in Indonesia, both concerning

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<sup>244</sup> In Indonesian, “*Dere Serani Antara Tahun 1962 Sampai 1972*” (Jehandut, 2012: 62).

adaptation and socioreligious problems and socio-economic projects”—and the uncertainty of Indonesia’s political situation, such as with NASAKOM and G30S (Jehandut, 2012: 62).<sup>245</sup> Together, these ecclesiastical and national issues were exacerbated by what Bishop van Bekkum referred to “the influence of modern education,” teaching that village people and ways were old fashioned, and thus adding to the “decline or congestion of *Dere Serani*” (Jehandut, 2012: 62).<sup>246</sup> While *Dere Searni* is still printed and available for purchase, it was not until 2010 that the Bishop of Ruteng reinstated a monthly Mass in the Manggarai language, many of the songs for which are from *Dere Searni*.<sup>247</sup> Furthermore, for Manggarai in diaspora, *Dere Searni* has become a tool through which to access nostalgia of their home land, native language, and musical memories.<sup>248,249</sup> Certain songs, like the Marian hymn “*O Ende Maria Nggeluk*” or “Holy Mother Mary” [“*Ya Bunda Maria Yang Suci*”] are still taught to children and sung at Catholic school Masses for special occasions in the Manggarai region.<sup>250</sup> Songs from *Dere Serani* has become embodied in

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<sup>245</sup> In Indonesian, “*mengadakan sidang untuk membahas Bersama hasil sidang Konsili Vatikan II, untuk diterapkan di Indonesia, baik itu menyangkut adaptasi maupun masala sosioreligius dan proyek-proyek sosio-ekonomi*” (Jehandut, 2012: 62).

<sup>246</sup> In Indonesian, “*pengaruh Pendidikan modern*” and “*kemunduran atau kemacetan Dere Serani*” (Jehandut, 2012: 62).

<sup>247</sup> Personal Communication with Dr. Fransiskus Borgias, a Manggarai theologian and professor at the Catholic university in Bandung, UNPAR Filsafat (Philosophy Department), on 2 and 9 February 2018, regarding the beginning of a monthly Manggarai Mass to celebrate the centennial celebrations of the Diocese of Ruteng in 2012. Preparation began in 2010 for this celebration with the instantiation of a Manggarai Mass on the third Sunday of every month so that, according to Pak Fransis, “we will start to be Manggarai again.” The Manggarai Mass on the third Sunday of the month continues through to this day in the Manggarai area of Eastern Flores. Personal communication with Dr. Fransiskus Borgias, February 2 and 9, 2018. Bandung, Indonesia.

<sup>248</sup> Personal communication with Dr. Fransiskus Borgias, February 2 and 9, 2018. Bandung, Indonesia.

<sup>249</sup> While the use of music by Catholics migrating to different parts of Indonesia is largely outside the purview of this project, there is a sense in which having access to your own hymn books—be it a local language hymn book from your home region or island, or the songs that your home community sung from “national” books like *Madah Bakti* or *Puji Syukur*—creates a sense of community and belonging for those in diaspora.

<sup>250</sup> A sister who is the head of kindergarten education (TK) for one of the Catholic schools in Ruteng explained to me that teaching pre-school and kindergarten aged children local-language songs is still a project of the Catholic school education system, when I visited her convent in 2018. I experienced this first-hand in Labuan Bajo on May 5, 2018 where I attended a Saturday Vigil Mass run by young school children, in which they sang what the sisters said is the most well-known song in Manggarai from *Dere Searni*, “*O Ende Maria Nggeluk*” frequently referenced by its opening lyrics, “*Nggeluk, nggeluk*,” the singing of which is enough to initiate the song among the Manggarai Catholics I spoke to and sung with.

community memory, recalled by ear after the utterance of just a few words; boisterously sung and strongly remembered.<sup>251</sup>

### 3.8.3.2 *Syukur Kepada Bapa and Yubilate*

In central Flores, other local song books were created in, largely in association with the S.V.D. order and frequently as a product of the S.V.D. seminary system. Of his 1967 visit to the S.V.D. Minor Seminary—*Semianri Menengah Berchmaninum*—Romo Prier remembers hearing only Western Church music like Mozart’s “Coronation Mass,” conducted by the famed and influential Pater Appie van der Heijden S.V.D. (Prier, 2008: 15). During that visit, at the same seminary, Romo Prier met the creators of two other local hymnals for that region of Flores: Pater Dos S.V.D., locally known as “Pustardos,” who compiled the song book “*Jubilate*” [*“Yubilate”*], and Pater Alex Beding SVD, who along with Pater van der Heijden was in the process of preparing a new song book under the title of “*Syukur Kepada Bapa*” (Prier, 2008: 15). While the merits of “*Yubilate*” and “*Syukur Kepada Bapa*” will be discussed below, significant to a discussion of the people behind the books is the role that Western/Western-trained musicians (often Priests) played in producing and performing songs from Catholic song books throughout Flores.<sup>252</sup> As will next be discussed, not all of the producers of song books in Flores were European-born missionaries, however the norm for music education throughout Flores—and even more so in the Indonesian

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<sup>251</sup> It is here important to mention that I acknowledge the existence of the other local hymnals for Catholics in Indonesia which, because of their limited geographic scope, fall outside of the purview of this study. Such is the case with the *Laudate* hymnal, made for a use primarily in Nias, Eastern Indonesia. My choice in not adding it to this study is mainly in an effort to focus on hymnals used more in Flores and North Sumatra. For mention of the use of the *Laudete* hymnal, see Karel Steenbrink, 2015. *Catholics in Independent Indonesia: 1945-2010*. Leiden, Netherlands. Page 458.

<sup>252</sup> I am using performance here in line with a ritual studies understanding of ritual performance, using it both socially and musically as a way of creating a way of being. At the same time, I am aware that for most of my interlocutors, Church music is a service [*“pelayanan”*] rendered to Church and God, as opposed to a paid performance, which could carry more overly secular and even overtly monied, or at least non-Church/emic religious, connotations.

Catholic school and Seminary school education system—was, and I would argue largely still is, based in Western harmony and Western music ideas of choral music. This presence and perseverance of Western music pedagogical methods is due in large part to the roles which Dutch and German S.V.D. missionary Priests played in Seminary music education. I attest to this not only through the continued prevalence of Western choral anthems I heard while traveling the length of Flores in 2018—especially, as it was Easter, a number of instances of various pieces from Handel’s *Messiah*—but also by glimpsing instances of music education at the same Minor Seminary in Mataloko, Central Flores that Romo Prier visited in 1967. There, not only were the high school aged seminarians practicing Gregorian chant tones on the stoop in front of the music classroom, but in the storage area behind the classroom space, the instruments being stored underscored an idea of music grounded in a Western paradigm. Guitars, marching band equipment, a drum kit, and a lack of any of the many local instruments suggested that still at *Semianri Menengah Berchmaninum*, the legacy of Western music education from foreign-born missionary priests was still strong and largely reflected in the two song books produced by Priests there.

The legacy of Western choral harmony persists in the Indonesian-produced song books found in other parts of Flores. One song book which capitalized off of the idea of harmony and choral singing for Church is Bapak Ferdy Levi’s 1997 *Exultate* song book. Arranger and composer Ferdy Levi—an ex-S.V.D. Seminarian, retired high school English teacher, and famed director of the Seraphim choir—was the progenitor of this hymnal in the 1990s, which has since expanded into two editions and multiple printings. With most songs in Indonesian (and a few in Latin), this is not meant to be a local-language song book, although some songs note the original language of texts translated into Indonesian. Similarly, while basically all of the songs are in a “Western”

hymnic style and diatonic tuning (rendered in cipher or number notation), some include reference to being created with local “motif.”<sup>253</sup> The musicality of this work has been questioned by professionally trained church musicians. When I mentioned *Exultate* to PML staff members, this and related local sources were effectively dismissed as a good try. However, its most unique quality is one that seems to endear it to local communities, namely that every single song is written in four voice (often SATB) harmony. A common legendary stereotype that many in Flores are good at performing harmony often spontaneously, proved true in the communities I visited and became codified by Pak Ferdy in the *Exultate* hymnal. At the same time, this insistence on nothing but harmony has localized the book to Flores, a move overtly made in the book’s opening page, which claims it as a collection of Church Liturgical songs “Composed by Ferdy Levi and Florenese Composers.”<sup>254</sup>

While the music, lyrics, or arrangements of other Church composers also made it into this book—including the work of Father Karl-Edmund Prier—it stands that *Exultate* was created out of, theoretically by, and unapologetically for local use. That does not, however, mean that its influence has been stagnated by its particularity. To the contrary, the work of Pak Ferdy—who insisted in a 2018 interview with me that the purpose of writing this hymnal was to be of service to the Church, particularly Catholic Church communities in Flores—undermines or at least challenges the work of more prominent, professionally trained Church musicians and the products

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<sup>253</sup> For example, for the Processional [“*Pembukaan*”] of a Requiem Mass setting in this book by P. Alfons Maja, it is in “*motif Ngada*” or the motif of the Ngada ethnic group (*Exultate*, 2015: 493). Ferdy Levi and Florenese Composers. 2002 (2015, Ninth Printing). “*Exultate: Kumpulan Lagu Liturgi Gereja. Gubahan Ferdy Levi dan Komponis-Komponis Flores*” [“Rejoice: Compilation of Church Liturgical Songs. Compositions and Arrangements of Ferdy Levi and Florenese Composers”]. Ende, Flores, Indonesia: Nusa Indah Publishing.

<sup>254</sup> In Indonesian, “*Gubahan Ferdy Levi dan Komponis-Komponis Flores.*” Ferdy Levi and Florenese Composers, 2002 (2015, Ninth Printing). “*Exultate: Kumpulan Lagu Liturgi Gereja. Gubahan Ferdy Levi dan Komponis-Komponis Flores*” [“Rejoice: Compilation of Church Liturgical Songs. Compositions and Arrangements of Ferdy Levi and Florenese Composers”]. Ende, Flores, Indonesia: Nusa Indah Publishing.

they have produced, especially on the national level. I am not saying that *Exultate* challenges the economic success or popularity of books like *Madah Bakti* (which is by far the most popular book in Flores) or *Puji Syukur*. Rather, it is the fact that for the past 100+ years, communities in Flores have responded to the musical needs of their parishes, orders, and parishioners, producing music and music material which speaks to the power of proximity to and demand of large Catholic populations, despite a reality of economic want.<sup>255</sup> As I have and will argue throughout this dissertation (particularly in chapter one), there is power in proximity, where demand and production serve to re-center power dynamics and often provided both the market and material for each variety of hymnal type. The ultimate irony here is that nationally, the “market” for Catholic hymnals is in the peripheries, where the majority of the country’s Catholic population reside. Consequently, the diversity of hymn books in these supposedly peripheral places in its own way shows the power of proximity which the demand of larger populations can produce.

### 3.9 Printing Presses and Publishing Companies

As introduced above, in his work on imagined communities, Benedict Anderson explains that one of the technological turning points in imagining nations was the advent of the printing press and the effect of affordable, mass-produced printing, which he terms “print-capitalism.”<sup>256</sup> As a ready way to create and then disseminate ideas, printing presses have been employed since

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<sup>255</sup> For more on the role of seminary education and “output” in creating Church music in Flores as a response to the needs of local communities, see Prier, 2008: 15.

<sup>256</sup> As Anderson explains, in reference to 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century Western Europe, “print-capitalism...made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways” (Anderson, 2006: 36). Benedict Richard O’Gorman Anderson, 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections On the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. E-book, Second Edition. London, UK: Verso.

the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century in often propagandistic projects for the sake of Church and eventually state.<sup>257</sup>

In the case of the history of printing presses in Indonesia, the Church served the state in a tangle of politics surrounding Indonesian independence.<sup>258</sup>

### 3.9.1 On Flores: *Percetakan Arnoldus* Press and *Nusa Indah* Publishing Company

The first and oldest printing press in Indonesia—the Arnoldus printing press [*Percetakan Arnoldus*—was founded by Pater Petrus Noyen, S.V.D., in 1926 in Ende, southcentral Flores. With a machine imported from Germany, the press was first used to print a prayer book in Malay titled “*Sende Aus*,” or, in Indonesian “*Utuslah*” [“Sent Out”].<sup>259</sup> <sup>260</sup> Founded and supported by the S.V.D. order—and thus, aptly named after their founder, St. Arnold Janssen—the printing press, and *Nusa Indah* publishing company [*Penerbit Nusa Indah*] which sprung from it, “initially [printed] translated foreign books about spirituality to meet the needs of [Catholic] clergy and seminaries.”<sup>261</sup> Started in 1970, *Nusa Indah* Publishers began by publishing spiritual books and eventually expanded its scope to include books about “agriculture, literature, language, novels and

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<sup>257</sup> For the use of the printing press, the book, and mass-produced media during the Protestant Reformation, see: Andrew Pettegree, 2005. *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>258</sup> For an overview on the role of printing presses as a vehicle of “Christian Media” in Indonesia, see: Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink (Eds.), 2008. *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*. Vol. 35, Leiden, Netherlands: Brill. Particularly of interest here is chapter 21, on “Christian Media” (pp. 951-976), including discussions on “The Catholic press, media and magazines 1890–1942” (pp. 958-60), “Catholic press, media and journals 1945–1990 (pp. 963-4), and “The Catholic Kanisius, the Protestant BPK Gunung Mulia and other publishers” (pp. 965-9).

<sup>259</sup> For more on the Arnoldus Printing Press from *Nusa Indah* Publishing Company, see *Nusa Indah*’s About Us” [“Tentang Kami”] page at “Tentang Kami” [“About Us”]. *Nusa Indah* Penerbit [Publishing]. <https://nusaindah.id/tentang-kami/>. Last accessed February 12, 2020.

<sup>260</sup> For more on the Arnoldus printing press as the oldest in Indonesia, see: “Percetakan Tertua Itu Masih Menderu” [“The Oldest Printing Press is Still Roaring”]. August 29, 2016. In *Kompas*. <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2016/08/29/07331101/percetakan.tertua.itu.masih.menderu?page=all>.

<sup>261</sup> In Indonesian, “awalnya menerjemahkan buku-buku asing dalam bidang kerohanian untuk memenuhi kebutuhan rohaniawan dan seminari.” From “Tentang Kami” [“About Us”]. *Nusa Indah* Penerbit [Publishing]. <https://nusaindah.id/tentang-kami/>. Last accessed February 12, 2020.



dictionaries.”<sup>262</sup> Taking pride in their role in national history, both *Nusa Indah* Publishing and more directly the Arnoldus printing press claim an association with the first president of Indonesia—Sukarno—who, during his exile to Ende in the 1930s (1934-38), spent much time with S.V.D. missionary priests discussing what would become the philosophical foundations of Indonesia.<sup>263</sup> The press, once used to print the paraphernalia of a burgeoning nation, has now been coopted for other nation-building projects, like the printing of highly regulated nation-wide high school graduation exams. Referencing on their website the legacy of an unforgettable golden age of printing in East Nusa Tenggara, *Penerbit Nusa Indah* has national aims, to market books of a religious or socio-cultural nature from and for East Indonesia for a national audience.<sup>264</sup> In addition to publishing spiritual reading, literature, and dictionaries, *Nusa Indah* also publishes some of the oldest and most enduring Catholic hymn books in Indonesia, produced by and for communities (and ethnic groups) throughout Flores. The press also has multiple stores which sell their printed material and religious paraphernalia island-wide. While *Nusa Indah* now prints material beyond their island bounds—with some of what they make and sell being produced on Java and elsewhere in Indonesia—it stands as an important site for the production of local printed material for audiences throughout East Nusa Tenggara.

Founded in 1970 by Father Alex Beding S.V.D., co-compiler of *Syukur Kepada Bapa*, *Nusa Indah* publishes the slew of local hymnals above discussed, including *Yubilate* and *Exultate*, and soon to be discussed local language song books. In addition to selling what the press produces,

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<sup>262</sup> In Indonesian, “pertanian, sastra, bahasa, novel, dan kamus.” From “Tentang Kami” [“About Us”]. *Nusa Indah Penerbit* [Publishing]. <https://nusaindah.id/tentang-kami/>. Last accessed February 12, 2020.

<sup>263</sup> This philosophical foundation became known as *Pancasila*, the five tenets of the Indonesian nation-state, a principle which will be discussed—in relation to music and Catholicism—in chapter four, “*Pancasila* Politics: Music, Nationalism, and Catholicism in Java.”

<sup>264</sup> From “Tentang Kami” [“About Us”]. *Nusa Indah Penerbit* [Publishing]. <https://nusaindah.id/tentang-kami/>. Last accessed February 12, 2020.

*Nusa Indah* bookstore also sell a plethora of local and national hymn books, including material from both the KWI and PML. This plurality of music material—what Romo Prier refers to as “*Musik Gereja Indonesia yang pluriform*” or “Indonesian Church Music that which is pluriform”—underlines a central reality for the printing, publishing, and production of music material by and for Catholics in Indonesia (Prier, 2008: 93). Namely, in places that are proximate to larger populations of Catholics—of which East Nusa Tenggara holds the highest percentage of Catholics of any province in Indonesia—there is both the potential to use “national” or “localized national” music material, in addition to “local” song books. While Flores exemplifies the power of proximity to bigger Catholic populations, its islanders also have to grapple with the economic disenfranchisement of what is nationally considered part of “*daerah terpencil*” or a [“remote area”] that is in various ways marginalized from other areas of the Indonesian nation. The antagonism between the ready access of funds for Catholic communities, publishing companies, and printing presses on islands like Java is augmented in islands like Flores and North Sumatra by a kind of cultural currency. Exchanging a richness of music material at their disposal with the resources—of both money and training—of Java, the Florenese Catholics and musical leader I spoke with during my fieldwork know they possess a breadth of music materials which are not as readily accessible further from the Florenese institutions like *Nusa Indah* publishing company and its constituents.

### **3.9.2 On Java: the *Pusat Musik Liturgi* and *Obor***

Conversely, on Java, two publishing companies produced the national and localized national hymn books also found on Flores and in Medan.

### 3.9.2.1 *Pusat Musik Liturgi and Toko Puskat*

In addition to the task of training church musicians from around Indonesia, the PML functions as a publishing company, publishing “traditional music and church music” in various forms, including “(books, CDs, DVDs).”<sup>265</sup> Having published and then printed the 1980 edition of the *Madah Bakti* hymnal independently, the PML now publishes hundreds of titles, encompassing everything from Indonesian and Javanese hymnals to song books about folk music, inculturation, and Gregorian chant books. The twelve broad catalogue themes [“*tema besar*”] of the PML production line also include books on music theory, music history, songs for “Mary and Children” [“*Maria+Anak-anak*”], inculturation, instrumental music books, and song books for different life events, like weddings or funerals.<sup>266</sup> These products, among other Church-related books and items, are sold at the “*Toko Puskat Yogyakarta*,” a bookstore and gift shop located down the hall from the PML offices in the *Pusat Kateketik* building, now the Catechetical campus for Jesuit *Sanata Dharma* university. While the book store has a wider range of products than just PML produced material—including Bibles, spiritual and liturgical books, liturgical garb, religious paintings and hosts—PML products visually dominate the store, the walls lined with PML CDs, DVDs, and books, not to mention the musical instruments for sale which are frequently displayed in the shop’s windows.<sup>267</sup> Furthermore, there is significant staff overlap, as *Toko Puskat* employees are often involved in PML activities and in the physical production and shipment of PML products. While *Toko Puskat* in many ways functions as both store and showroom, they also

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<sup>265</sup> In Indonesian, “PENERBITAN musik tradisional maupun musik gereja (buku, CD, DVD).” Pusat Musik Liturgi Website. Pusat Musik Liturgi. <https://www.pml-yk.org/kami.html>. Last accessed January 6, 2020.

<sup>266</sup> For all 12 themes and corresponding pictures and links, see Pusat Musik Liturgi Website. Pusat Musik Liturgi. <https://www.pml-yk.org/kami.html>. Last accessed January 6, 2020.

<sup>267</sup> For a more complete picture of the offerings of the *Toko Puskat*, see: *Toko Puskat Yogyakarta* Website. Yayasan Pusat Kateketik. <http://www.tokopuskat.pml-yk.org/profil.htm>. Last accessed January 6, 2020.

serve to fulfill online or mail order requests, sending boxes of PML-produced books—often hymnals ordered in bulk by a Church—around the country and world. Being in the *Toko Puskat* can feel like entering a room full of staged multiculturalism; the products of PML *lokakarya* from around the country surrounding you in the midst of the historic central Javanese city of Yogyakarta, all the whilst often economically or logistically less- or in-accessible to people in the places from whence the inculturated material was made.

The role of the PML publishing company also has an economic reality. When asking about some sales graphs at the PML one day in 2018, I heard about the ramifications of the publication of *Puji Syukur* in relation to a dip in *Madah Bakti* sales in the early 1990s.<sup>268</sup> However, post-2000, with the advent of *Madah Bakti* 2000, including the allure of roughly 300 inculturated songs, sales skyrocketed again. The PML’s goal, I was told, was to continually increase yearly sales, selling more and more copies of *Madah Bakti* every year. While this includes new versions of the book in the form of “localized national” hymn books for specific Diocese, there is a challenge in providing the same book to a limited audience. Once the market is saturated—with many who need or want it already having a copy of some version of *Madah Bakti*—it is hard to increase sales. While many of the staff members I spoke to at the PML consider their work service (again, here, using the word “*pelayanan*”), there is inevitably an evident element of *bisnis* necessary to supporting their mission. Furthermore, while it is not the official liturgical book in Indonesia, *Madah Bakti* is the best-selling, as former head of the KWI liturgical commission Archbishop Emeritus Sinaga told me in an interview in Medan in September 2018.<sup>269</sup> <sup>270</sup> Despite the

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<sup>268</sup> For pictures of these graphs, see Appendix A3, Figures 1 and 2.

<sup>269</sup> Personal Communication with Archbishop Anicetus B. Antonius Sinaga. October 3, 2018. Medan, North Sumatra, Indonesia.

<sup>270</sup> For table of sales figures for both *Madah Bakti* and *Puji Syukur*, see Appendix A.3 Figures 11-13.

comparative success of *Madah Bakti*, the one book or series of materials you will not find for sale at *Toko Puskat* is the Jakarta-produced *Puji Syukur* hymnal.

### 3.9.2.2 *Obor*

Created under the auspices of the KWI, *Puji Syukur* is published by the Conference of Indonesian Bishop's own publishing company, *Obor* (meaning torch), which functions as both publishing company and spiritual store. Founded in 1949, in 2019 *Obor* celebrated its 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary with the motto “MILIK KWI – MILIK GEREJA KATOLIK INDONESIA – MILIK KITA BERSAMA” or “Owned by the KWI – Owned by the Indonesian Catholic Church – Own by all of us together.” Taking pride and power from their connection to the KWI and official capacity as the one publisher for the ruling ecclesiastical body for the Catholic Church in Indonesia, *Obor* claims on their website:

*OBOR* is an organization under the auspices of the KWI (Indonesian Catholic Bishops' Conference), which is engaged in the act of preaching through the publication of Catholic spiritual books and the procurement / sale of various medium for devotion and Catholic Church liturgy of the Catholic Church... Thus *OBOR* is the only official Spiritual Publishing & Shop institution owned by KWI.<sup>271</sup>

Furthermore, *Obor* is part of the “*Link Penerbit SEKSAMA (Sekretaria Bersama)*,” a consortium of select Catholic publishing companies throughout the country, which includes the likes of *Kanisius* Publishing Company (Jesuit owned and run in Yogyakarta), *Nusa Indah* in

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<sup>271</sup> In Indonesian, “...*OBOR* adalah sebuah lembaga yang bernaung di bawah KWI (Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia), yang bergerak di bidang pewartaan melalui penerbitan buku rohani Katolik dan pengadaan/penjualan aneka sarana devosi dan liturgi Gereja Katolik... Dengan demikian *OBOR* adalah satu-satunya lembaga resmi Penerbitan & Toko Rohani milik KWI.” “Sejarah *Obor*” [“History of *Obor*”]. *Obor* Publishing Company Website. <https://obormedia.com/about-us/>. Last accessed February 20, 2020.

Flores, and *Bina Media* in Medan, North Sumatra.<sup>272</sup> Conspicuously missing from this list is any mention of the *Toko PusKat* or PML.

Unlike in the *Toko Puskat*, one can find *Madah Bakti* for sale at the *Obor* showroom in Jakarta. One interesting element at *Obor*, as with the offering at the *Toko Puskat*, is that while Java-based music material is accessible at this store, sources produced independently by local musicians on Flores were not found. In this way, the focus on Java feels like not just a nationalistic reduction, but a lack of representative material diversity. In looking at the offerings—both in terms of publishing and production, and in terms of what is sold at or through each publishing company—the plurality of Catholic Church music material in Indonesia is not equitably distributed. Examining the power in proximity to sources of creative production, printing presses, and sizable populations, it becomes evident that *Nusa Indah* and communities in Flores, and other “peripheral” island with large Catholic populations, are at an advantage. There, in what many Indonesianist scholars have long considered the peripheral outer islands, is growth, opportunity, ingenuity, and history not completely captured in the two national or various localized national hymnals. By looking into the mere offerings of music material by and at each publishing company and press, a re-centering occurs where the most projects, the most material, the “center” of the production of the most titles of music material is not on Java, but rather in the places with greater direct access to larger Catholic populations, despite the limited bandwidths of geographic isolation and a comparative lack of financial resources.

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<sup>272</sup> For more on SEKSAMA, see RD. Kamilus Pantus, 2017. “Kerasula Media Penerbit Catholic Indonesia” <http://www.mirifica.net/2017/10/26/kerasulan-media-penerbit-katolik-indonesia/>.

### 3.9.3 In North Sumatra: *Bina Media*

A final additional piece of this printing press and publishing company puzzle—as pertains to a study of Catholic communities in Flores, Java (Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Bandung), and North Sumatra—is the publishing company of *Bina Media*, located in Medan, North Sumatra. Owned and operated by the O.F.M. Capuchin order, *Bina Media* and its series of book shops throughout the island, produce a number of local language song books, in addition to selling both *Madah Bakti* and *Puji Syukur* (Medan edition). Of these local books, one in particular has a long and involved history. *Buku Ende dohot Tangiang Katolik* (or BETK) has been in use since the 1950s as one of several local-language books published in and for use in North Sumatra, in this case for use by the Toba Batak community, with Christian and Catholic editions. While originally Batak Toba translations of western hymns, the 2005 edition of BETK includes inculturated songs. Many of these localized songs were produced at a series of PML workshops in North Sumatra in the mid-1980s to early 1990s and are now being published and performed with local language texts. This extra step of localization for liturgical practice in local Batak languages is an ongoing project, and one that is being embraced on behalf of the other three main ethnic groups in the area: Batak Karo, Batak Simalungun, and Batak Pakpak. Produced by *Bina Media*—which is, like many schools and parishes in the area, run by the Capuchin (Order of Friars Minor or O.F.M. Cap.) religious order—BETK stands in localized contrast to the PML’s *Madah Batki* hymnal as a local-language option. And yet, at the same time, parts of these two books share the same genesis through inculturated material created, often originally in local languages, at the hymn-writing workshops run by Romo Prier and Pak Paul Widyawan in Siantar, North Sumatra.

Local compiling, printing, and publishing of Catholic music material, when looked at through the lens of a social poetics, can illuminate the mapping of places and power through print.

The *bisnis* of print-capitalism is not just in the power to persuade, but in the areas of access, the potential for use, the power, so to speak, of proximity, and the consumer base of a common print-language.<sup>273</sup> Looking at a plurality of music materials for Catholics in Indonesia, this power is not necessarily just in reference to money or range of influence, rather I argue that the power is, was, and in many ways will continue to be centered in the supposedly peripheral outer islands.

### 3.10 *Puji Syukur, Madah Bakti, and Java-Centrism*

Just like the work and history of printing presses and publishing companies can shed light on the ways music material shows the power of outer island Catholic communities, the reception of national or localized national song books in the centrally important peripheries can also illuminate some of the challenges of trying to create standardized, national music material for the Catholic church in Indonesia. While *Puji Syukur* is declared to be “the official handbook for the implementation of the liturgy in Indonesian,” in many parts of the country, it is not the only or even primary source text, and in many places not used at all (*Puji Syukur*, 1992).<sup>274</sup> One such island where use and presence of *Puji Syukur* is rare is the majority-Catholic island of Flores. With *Puji Syukur* broadly considered a Jvanized text and unrelated to the musical experience of Florenese Catholics, *Madah Bakti* is generally the “national” hymnal of choice there.

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<sup>273</sup> Again, see Anderson, 2006: 40.

<sup>274</sup> “As a publication of the KWI Liturgical Commission, *Puji Syukur* is the official handbook for the implementation of the liturgy in Indonesian, and at the same time is an *editio typica* (reference edition) in the compilation of similar books for the diocese region or parish around Indonesia.” In Indonesian, “*Sebagai terbitan Komisi Liturgi KWI, puji syukur merupakan buku pegangan resmi untuk pelaksanaan liturgi dalam bahasa Indonesia, dan sekaligus merupakan editio typica (edisi acuan) dalam menyusun buku-buku serupa untuk lingkup keuskupan atau paroki di seluruh Indonesia.*” Monsignor Blasius Pujaraharja, 1992. “Pengantar” [“Introduction”] to *Puji Syukur* [Praise and Thanksgiving]. *Komisi Liturgi Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia* [The Indonesian Bishops Council Liturgical Commission]. Jakarta, Indonesia.



### 3.10.1 The Reality of Musical Difference Between *Puji Syukur* and *Madah Bakti*

Musically, deciphering between *Puji Syukur* and *Madah Bakti* is not as easy as the divide between their respective constituents would make it seem. The fact of the matter is that, in general, they are both drawing from the same core material: hymns passed down from missionaries, translated (and sometimes, especially in the case of *Puji Syukur*, re-translated) into Indonesian. Whether from German or Gregorian Catholic repertoire or already published in another hymnbook from Indonesia, the musical discrepancies in *Madah Bakti* and *Puji Syukur* (excepting *lagu inkulturasi*, in certain instances) seem to have most often taken place in the editing room, where revisions to translations or lyrics still maintained the musical integrity of the source pieces.<sup>275</sup> Where these two books significantly diverge—especially *Madah Bakti* 2000—is in the inclusion of *lagu inkulturasi* from PML *lokakarya* around the country. The musical difference can be mostly attributed to the processes which created these inculturated songs, themselves making up the minority of each book (although significantly more appear in either *Madah Bakti* than *Puji Syukur*). While the KWI held workshops for the creation of *lagu inkulturasi* for inclusion in *Puji Syukur*, and some of the *Puji Syukur* compilers composed songs evoking different localized styles, in general their approaches were different than the PML’s efforts at not just creating and using *musik inkulturasi* from *lokakarya* workshops, but making *musik inkulturasi* “from the grass

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<sup>275</sup> One example of this borrowing and revising is #532 “*Yesus Ternagkat Ke Surga*” [“*Jesus Lifted Up to Heaven*”] taken from the Jubilate hymnal (1970) and revised by Tim [team] *Puji Syukur* in 1991. This was the Communion hymn for Ascension Sunday, 10 May 2018 at *Paroki Hati Santa Perawan Maria Tak Bercela* [the Parish of the Immaculate Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary]—locally referred to as Kumetiran Church, after the street on which it is located—where I regularly attended Mass as a worshiper during the months of 2018 when I was in Yogyakarta. In addition to using music from both *Puji Syukur* and *Madah Bakti* hymnals in a regular and conscientious rotation, my experience attending Kumetiran Church and getting to know their clergy and choir members allowed me to see how they “mined” each book for liturgically appropriate hymns.

roots.”<sup>276</sup> Using methodology from comparative musicology—such as tone measurement, rhythmic dictation, and melodic transcription—differences in musical form and text differentiate many of the *lagu inkulturasi* in *Madah Bakti* from those in *Puji Syukur*. Rhythm and structure are key foci of the PML’s methods, which translate into rhythmically distinct songs (particularly, those associated with musical traditions considered more rhythmic, like in Flores or North Sumatra, such as MB #701 “*Tinggallah Dalam Hati*” [“Stay in [my/your] heart”]) or structurally intricate melody parts (such as with some of the Javanese settings or hymns, such as the “Our Father” or “*Bapak Kami*” in *Gaya Jawa* [Javanese Style], MB #679).<sup>277</sup>

Accordingly, I argue that a broad musical analysis of representative pieces in *Madah Bakti* and *Puji Syukur* is here unhelpful to show the differences between these two pieces, as it would (again, excepting certain *lagu inkulturasi*) show a common core of “Western” hymn form, with lyrics variably translated into Indonesian. Instead, examination of the hymn preparation process and the salient musical characteristics of the traditional music it is based upon, or the language choice or local-language linguistic or poetic structures which participants have rendered into Indonesian, would shed much more light on the PML’s process of making *musik inkulturasi* than an analysis of each song in its own right.<sup>278</sup> Furthermore, this PML process was then critiqued through the editing of PML-produced *lagu inkulturasi* and similar songs for *Puji Syukur*. What is significant here is how minor musical differences—again, mostly confined to *lagu inkulturasi* and

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<sup>276</sup> Again, with “From the grass roots” being how the PML refers to their “inculturation program” on their English-language website. *Pusat Musik Liturgi* English-Language Website. *Pusat Musik Liturgi*. <http://pml-yk.org/english.html>. Last accessed May 11, 2019.

<sup>277</sup> MB #701 “*Tinggallah Dalam Hati*” [“Stay in [my/your] heart”] was the recessional song at *Gereja Kumetiran* or *Kumetiran Church* in Yogyakarta on 11 March 2018. According to *Madah Bakti*, it was written at a PML *lokakarya* in Siantar, North Sumatra and is in the Toba Batak style [“*Gaya Batak Toba*”].

<sup>278</sup> An example of discrepancies in language choices between musically identical hymns in *Madah Bakti* and *Puji Syukur* will be detailed below, in a discussion of the use of language in “*Semua Kembang Bernyanyi*” [“All the Flowers Sing”] (from *Puji Syukur*, number 703) and “*Tuhan Sumber Gembiraku*” [“God the Source of my Joy”] (*Madah Bakti*, number 477). See section 3.10.2, “A Linguistic Comparison—Whose Indonesian?.”

then mostly due to the PML *lokakarya* process—have become mobilized in the search for distinctions between *Madah Bakti* and *Puji Syukur*. This is not to underplay the important distinction that *lagu inkulturasi* adds—particularly to *Madah Bakti*—but to suggest that the deciding drastic differences are not musical so much as ideological, process-oriented, and person-oriented (in terms of who creates the musics and whom those musics are thus considered to represent).

To the point of representation through musical form, one significant perceived difference between *Madah Bakti* and *Puji Syukur* musically has to do with the connection between music and dance. Many of my interlocutors, particularly those on the “outer islands” in North Sumatra and Flores explained to me the importance of trying to create *lagu inkulturasi* which have the rhythm features of their home community. PML *lokakarya* methods frequently included both a study of local instruments—to ascertain rhythmic and melodic features, in addition to musical form—and accompanying traditional dances, which often were adapted for liturgical use in the opening procession and closing recessional, at the beginning and end of the Mass. In fact, *Madah Bakti* 2000 has a section of “Nyanyian Pembuka” or Opening/Processional songs, some of which assumedly would be accompanied by dance, particularly for special celebratory Masses.<sup>279</sup> Again, going into the musical distinctions of *Madah Bakti* would be parsing pieces created by individual communities instead of focusing on the product. However, the overarching process of creating *musik inkulturasi* “as we do it” at the PML, has been understood by outsiders (particularly ethnomusicologists) to have salient musical features, such as a high frequency of imitative counterpoint (especially the choral arrangements done by Pak Paul Widiyawan) and in general a

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<sup>279</sup> This subsection falls under the heading VIII. of “Nyanyian Tabahan/Inkulturatif” [Additional/Incultured Songs]. “Madah Bakti: Edisi 2000 sesuai TPE Baru.” 2000 (128<sup>th</sup> Printing, 2011). Disusun oleh: Pusat Musik Liturgi Yogyakarta [Compiled by Pusat Musik Liturgi Yogyakarta]. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pusat Musik Liturgi.

Western hymnic structure.<sup>280 281</sup> Tuning, like with *Madah Baki*, is almost always in meantone temperament and generally diatonic, with occasional pentatonic structures used to express local musical scales (like the Javanese *pelog* scale).<sup>282</sup> The heart of the matter, according to my interlocutors—particularly those on the outer islands—is that for music to enter their hearts, no matter who creates it or what book it is published in, they need to be able to relate, musically and linguistically. One composer on Flores even told me that Javanese music simply does not touch his heart, pointing to his chest. Instead, I frequently heard that PML *lokakarya*-produced which tried to evoke traditional musics of different ethnic groups in Flores, captivated minds and hearts, particularly when created and performed in local languages.

### 3.10.2 A Linguistic Comparison—Whose Indonesian?

While both *Puji Syukur* and *Madah Bakti* are written in Indonesian, the kind of Indonesian used and choice of words employed often came up as a point of contention. Historically “Indonesian” was adopted as the title for a national language in 1928, declared in a now famous speech during The Congress of Indonesian Youth held in Jakarta in October 1928. The highlight

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<sup>280</sup> Again, “Inculturation as we do it every day here” was a phrase Father Prier used to speak of the work at the PML written to me during email correspondence October 23, 2015.

<sup>281</sup> For scholarship on the tension between localization or use of traditional music and Western hymnic structure in the PML’s process of making *musik inkulturasi*, see Poplawska, 2008: 302-22. Here Poplawska discusses the role of the PML in Flores, stating, “Although western methods are generally accepted, most of the local people are aware that in certain instances they [the western musical methods of the PML] are in conflict with local musical aesthetics and practices” (Poplawska, 2008: 302). Yoshiko Okazaki echoes this tension in her 1998 article on “Liturgical Music among the Toba Batak People of North Sumatra: The Creation of a New Tradition,” describing the PML *lokakarya*-produced *musik inkulturasi* as “something like Toba Batak ingredients marinated in Western principles” (Okazaki, 1998: 64).

<sup>282</sup> To this point, Romo Prier explained in a class on “*Iringan Inkulturasi*” or Inculturated Accompaniment (for the third and highest level organ students) during the PML *Penataran* [Workshop] in 2018, that as regards Javanese songs for church, while there are pieces in the slendro tuning, 90% are in *pelog*. My understanding of this discrepancy, from attending that class, is that *pelog* tuning worked better or easier with Western instruments, such as organ.

of the speech—known as the “*Sumpah Pemuda*” [“Youth Pledge”]—comprised of a “threefold declaration of unity of nation, homeland and language” and “was most likely the first public appearance of the term Bahasa Indonesia to describe Malay as the language of Indonesian unity” (Folcher, 2000: 377-8).<sup>283</sup> However, as Keith Folcher explains in his article on “*Sumpah Pemuda: The Making and Meaning of a Symbol of Indonesian Nationhood*,” in a related youth meeting in 1929:

A tension between what were to become the “national” and “regional” dimensions of Indonesian culture begins to make itself felt here, as the cultural expression of Indonesian nationalism moves from the fluid possibilities of pre-1928 into the more self-conscious generation of a unitary national culture in the 1930s (Folcher, 2000: 383).

Socially, as it did historically, this tension and cultural negotiation took primary stage through discussion and use of language, for, as Lauren Zentz explains in her article, ““Love” the Local, “Use” the National, “Study” the Foreign: Shifting Javanese Language Ecologies in (Post-)Modernity, Postcoloniality, and Globalization”:

Language, in this “nonmodern” ideology, is embodied performance, and when a speaker speaks, s/he is seen to be enacting a socially regimented persona; not just using a language. Furthermore, when individuals claim to know a language to a greater or lesser degree, as we will see below, their statements reveal more about access they have had over time to resources in that language than any real measurement of their linguistic proficiency (Zentz, 2014: 341-2).<sup>284</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> Keith Folcher, 2000. ““*Sumpah Pemuda: The Making and Meaning of a Symbol of Indonesian Nationhood*,” *Asian Studies Review*. Vol. 24, Num. 3. September 2000.

<sup>284</sup> Lauren Zentz, 2014. “Love” the Local, “Use” the National, “Study” the Foreign: Shifting Javanese Language Ecologies in (Post-)Modernity, Postcoloniality, and Globalization.” In the *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*. Here Zentz cites Blommaert and Backus 2011, 2012.

As much as “Bahasa Indonesia” or “Indonesian language” can be seen as a way to perform nationalism—and relatedly, to connect to far spread out places and peoples to the idea of national political centers, such as the seat of the government in Jakarta or on Java—it can be used to create insider and/or outsider status. This exclusion can be practiced through the use and/or dis-use of a national language, which can then be connected to hierarchies of values and complex identity politics. As linguist Joseph Errington explains, in reference to role of language in the nation-building of the New Order regime (1965-1998/9):

Every aspect of the New Order’s ‘development’ of Indonesia has been subserved by the Indonesian language. As the language of state, Indonesian is infrastructural for institutional development; as the language of the nation, it effaces differences between citizens who live in antecedent, ethnolinguistically distinct communities (Errington, 1998: 2).<sup>285</sup>

Furthermore, language-use and knowledge are intimately connected not just to nationalism and identity formation, but also to access to economic opportunity and education. I have even heard a prominent educator on the island of South Sulawesi, Indonesia use the idea of linguistic difference as a way of denoting a backwoods otherness, the idea that over there they are so different, so rural that they speak a different language.<sup>286</sup> The power plays that are thus possible through language point to the bigger issues of identity politics, proper piety, and cultural dominance.<sup>287</sup> While a plurality of Catholic music material—in Indonesian and local languages—

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<sup>285</sup> Joseph Errington (Ed.), 1998. *Shifting Languages—Interaction and Identity in Javanese Indonesia*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>286</sup> This occurred in Sidrap (Sidenreng Rappang Regency), South Sulawesi, during the 2011-12 school year, when I lived and taught at the Pondok Pesantren Al-Urwatul Wutsqa as a Fulbright English Teaching Assistant.

<sup>287</sup> For example, an idea of Java as a political and economic center can be reinforced or perceived as privileged through the prevalence of Javanese words used in someone’s Indonesian, a criticism which I frequently heard leveled at the language of lyrics in *Puji Syukur*, particularly by Catholics beyond Java.

in Flores and North Sumatra provides useful options for local communities, in those communities many carry strong and committed opinions about the kind of language used in national hymnals, and thus the projects each book is taken to represent.

In conversations with Catholics in Flores and Medan, Javanization became a central issue in the language choices made for *Madah Bakti* versus *Puji Syukur*. Most of my interlocutors agreed that, in general, the language of *Puji Syukur* was more formal or higher and that of *Madah Bakti* more every day and colloquial (and thus easier to understand outside of Java). These broad differences were often used as or tied to further critiques: that the songs and lyrics of *Madah Bakti* are like child's play.<sup>288</sup> Or, in reference to *Puji Syukur*, that the “*rasa bahasa*” or the flavor of the language is peppered with language more prevalent in Java, making the song texts hard to understand and say/sing for people outside of Java.<sup>289</sup> These accusations—while made about books and through people—are further examples of the interactional or social assertion of essentialism, again resonating with the concept of playful social “combat” which Herzfeld theorizes in his social poetics.

Furthermore, in some areas, linguistic association carried history and memory in favorable ways, even if the language was currently unspoken or not understood semantically by many in the area, such as with the use of Latin Mass parts in Larantuka, Eastern Flores. In the end, linguistic choices for musical lyrics became connected to ideas of appropriate musical piety. The larger, liturgical question was nothing less than what language and music is best for worshipping God. For the members of the KWI liturgical commission who played a large role in the creation of *Puji*

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<sup>288</sup> Personal Conversation with Romo Eduardus (Eduard) Jebarus, PR. March 21, 2018. Larantuka, Flores, Indonesia.

<sup>289</sup> Informal with Pater Eman Weroh and other priests during coffee hour at the St. Paul S.V.D. Major Seminary (S.V.D. Seminari Tinggi St. Paulus) in Ledalero, Flores, April 4, 2018.

*Syukur*—chief among them being Bapak Ernest Mariyanto and Romo Soetanta—God requires the highest, most formal language, more often than not this includes language, melodies, and lyrical content that has a heavy Javanese influence, regardless of if these texts could be well understood beyond Java. For *Madah Bakti*, lyrics in colloquial language were written by and for Catholics at the grass roots level, perhaps privileging the experience and language of the laity at times over poetry or level of language.

In addition to linguistic accessibility, issues of musical accent and linguistic rhythm had musical and stylistic implications for the lyrics used in *Puji Syukur* and *Madah Bakti*. One common example of this difference was the frequent comparison I heard, particularly in Medan, between the following two songs: “*Semua Kembang Bernyanyi*” [“All the Flowers Sing”] (from *Puji Syukur*, number 703) and “*Tuhan Sumber Gembiraku*” [“God the Source of my Joy”] (*Madah Bakti*, number 477). While the tunes and structure are almost exactly the same, it is language that becomes the decisive point between these two songs, an argument which implicates nothing less than both poetics and Java-centrism. Looking at the way in which musical rhythm fits with linguistic cadence, the poetry of “*Semua kembang bernyanyi senang*,” has the emphasized syllable of every word in the opening stanza falling according to the spoken linguistic emphasis. Conversely, the opening line of *Madah Bakti*’s “*Tuhan Sumber Gembiraku*,” the lyrics “*Semua bunga ikut bernyanyi*,” [“All of the flowers join in singing”] rhythmically emphasizes the last syllables of the words “*ikut*” and “*bernyanyi*,” resulting in an awkward and unusual linguistic cadence. While *kembang* is more common among Javanese speakers of Indonesian, Pastor Eman, head of the liturgical commission for the Archdiocese of Medan, explained to me that it fits the



musical phrase[“*kalimat musik*”] better.<sup>290</sup> Whether the text setting of one is “better” than the other is less my concern than why my interlocutors passionately defended one word choice over the other. For Father Eman—trained in liturgy and with a background in Catholic sacred music—*kembang* is more musically appropriate and thus a better fit for liturgical use.

However, many of the Franciscan sisters and lay Catholics I spoke to in Medan, took great offense at the audacity of changing the lyric from *bunga* to *kembang*. Accused of being an erudite Javanism, *kembang* seemed like an offense to the many Catholics who knew the song as “*Semua bunga ikut bernyanyi.*” In addition to being most familiar and attached to the song according to the original lyrics, as they appear in *Madah Bakti*, the absence of *bunga* in the *Puji Syukur* text was received by many I talked to as a negation of the common, usual language for the more poetic preference of language most used on Java. This song and its lyrics exhibit a broader divide between *Puji Syukur* and *Madah Bakti*, namely, the above-mentioned question of what kind of language is best for the worship of God.

Thus, at its most extreme, privileging musical accent and poetics over common parlance is not just a stylistic choice, but I argue has been received as a broader assertion of what and thus who is allowed to worship God in Catholic liturgical practice, the erudite or the ordinary.<sup>291</sup> This song too becomes an example of the assertion or assumption of Java-centrism in the KWI-produced *Puji Syukur*, and the privileged choice of preferencing poetry over more colloquial (and nationally resonate or understandable) terms. Beyond linguistic familiarity and sing-ability, the *bisnis* between *Madah Bakti* and *Puji Syukur* implicates who has the right to proclaim and profit

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<sup>290</sup> Personal Communication with Romo Emmanuel Sembiring, O.F.M. Cap., October 8, 2018. Siantar, North Sumatra, Indonesia.

<sup>291</sup> For more on the idea of the liturgy wars—and particularly its history as a term, starting in the U.S.—see Peter Jeffery, Obl.S.B., 2014. “Can Catholic Social Teaching Bring Peace to the “Liturgy Wars”?” In *Theological Studies*. Vol. 75(2). Pp. 350–375. For history of this term, see page 351, especially footnote 2.

off of liturgical music and resources for Catholics in Indonesia, and, at a national level, who and what that includes. Be it the forever time of *Puji Syukur* or the contextualization of inculturated songs in *Madah Bakti*, I would argue that the productive tension between these two “national” books has encouraged, challenged, and spurred on creativity and production on many levels for Catholics in Indonesia. Despite personal preferences for one book over the other, the existence of multiple sources is generally seen as a good thing by many of the parishioners I spoke to, suggesting that competition has added to the richness of the resources at the disposal of Indonesian Catholics, despite the differences and division this plurality has also produced.

### **3.10.3 Differences in Scope Between *Madah Bakti* and *Puji Syukur***

Linguistic differences between *Puji Syukur* and *Madah Bakti* also point to a fundamental difference between the project or scope of both books. Writing about this difference in 2008, Romo Prier points out that:

As usual in life, not all developments proceed in a straightforward manner. Not even the history of Indonesian Church music. If *Madah Bakti* is a direction towards the 'east', in the case of inculturation, it is not surprising that it was followed by a move to the 'west' back to the Gregorian tradition and European songs from past centuries (Prier, 2008: 93).<sup>292</sup>

This “change of wind,” as Romo Prier calls it, began in 1983 with criticism from an Indonesian priest, Romo Siswoto, newly returned to Indonesia from studying liturgy in Rome

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<sup>292</sup> In Indonesian, “*Seperti biasa dalam hidup, tidak semua perkembangan berjalan dengan lurus. Sejarah musik Gereja Indonesia pun tidak. Kalau Madah Bakti merupakan suatu langkah kearah ‘timur’, ke arah inkulturasi, maka tidak mengherankan bahwa disusul dengan langkah ke ‘barat’ kembali ke tradisi Gergorian dan lagu-lagu Eropa dar abad-abad yang lalu.*” (Prier, 2008: 93)

(Prier, 2008: 93). Criticism of the *Madah Bakti* hymnal—including lack of poetry and issues with song selection—were brought to the attention to the Liturgical Commission of the Indonesian Bishops Council (KWI) and ended up in the formation of two camps. One group which became associated with Yogyakarta (and the PML) argued for changing *Madah Bakti* as little as possible due to way in which songs have already become embodied, and often memorized, by local communities. The other camp, associated with Jakarta (and the KWI), was for total change and if necessary a new book which would “‘draw from the tradition of the Church,’ implicating the addition of Gregorian songs and European Church songs from centuries ago,” with inculturated songs considered as best “‘for local importance only’” and not appropriate for a national song book (Prier, 2008: 93).<sup>293</sup> This geographic and ideological divide mapped onto the perception and role of Jakarta as ‘center’ as opposed to and with influence over the inclusion (or not) of area or ethnic expressions at a national level (Prier, 2008: 93-4).

In his article on “*Madah Bakti: an Experiment in the Inculturation of Liturgical Music*,” Archbishop Sinaga affirmed some of these negative comments, that *Madah Bakti* “does not satisfy everyone,” due to substandard melodies and the use of local popular tunes instead of songs that hold a “‘classical quality’” (Sinaga, 1993: 144). Burying the punch line, Archbishop Sinaga states at the end of his article “Therefore, we have decided to start a new song book,” meaning *Puji Syukur* (Sinaga, 1993:144). Accordingly, Romo Prier “left the committee and stopped the collaboration between PML and KomLit KWI for this project,” in 1990 (Prier, 2008: 94).<sup>294</sup> Criticisms of *Puji Syukur* also abound, that an attempt to render lyrics in “correct Indonesian

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<sup>293</sup> In Indonesian, “‘*menimba dari tradisi Gereja*, artinya dengan ditambah lagu Gregorian dan lagu Gereja Eropa dari abad-abad yl.,’” and “‘*untuk kepentingan lokal saja*’” (Prier, 2008: 93).

<sup>294</sup> In Indonesian, “‘*penulis keluar dari panitia ini dan berhentilah kerjasama PML dan KomLit KWI dalam proyek ini*’” (Prier, 2008: 94).

language,” meant that, according to Romo Prier, “the beauty of the poetry was disturbed and thus less pleasant to sing” (Prier, 2008: 94).<sup>295</sup> Even more so, there are suggestions that “the poetry had only been changed so that the KWI Liturgical Commission could declare ‘Copyright’” (Prier, 2008: 94).<sup>296</sup> A further criticism of *Puji Syukur* stems from the Western orientation of the song selections, with “dozens of songs from past centuries, especially from the German and Dutch Protestant traditions” (Prier, 2008: 94).<sup>297</sup> From his insider position, Father Prier contends that “Obviously, the spirit of the PS compilers did not connect with the spirit that motivated the *Liturgi* KWI Section in the late 1970s to publish the book *Madah Bakti* as the identity of the Catholic Church in Indonesia” (Prier, 2008: 94).<sup>298</sup> With the allure of the “new,” *Puji Syukur* was “Inaugurated [in 1992] as a 'new' book (meaning PS) to replace 'old book' (meaning MB)” (Prier, 2008: 94).<sup>299</sup> Some, like Romo Soetanto, considered the publishing of *Puji Syukur* as an Indonesian-lead and thus anti-colonial project; however, even the *bisnis* behind the distribution of this book harkened to colonial connections.

Attributing the immediate success of *Puji Syukur* to an economic “trick” [*trik*], Romo Prier explained that the Liturgical Commission of the KWI received support from the Diocese of Koeln, Germany for 2,500 copies of this new and official liturgical book to be gifted to each diocese in Indonesia (Prier, 2008: 94). The idea was that once the diocese received these books,

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<sup>295</sup> In Indonesian, “*bahasa Indonesia yang benar*” and “*keindahan puisi terganggu dan dengan demikian kurang enak dinyanyikan*” (Prier, 2008: 94).

<sup>296</sup> In Indonesian, “*syair hanya dirubah supaya KomLit KWI dapat mendeklarasikan ‘Copyright’*” (Prier, 2008: 94).

<sup>297</sup> In Indonesian, “*teradapt puluhan lagu dari abad-abad yang lalu, terutama dari tradisi Protestan Jerman dan Belanda*” (Prier, 2008: 94).

<sup>298</sup> In Indonesian, “Obviously, the spirit of the PS compilers did not connect with the spirit that motivated the KWI Liturgy Section in the late 1970s to publish the book *Madah Bakti* as the identity of the Catholic Church in Indonesia” (Prier, 2008: 94).

<sup>299</sup> In Indonesian, “*Diresmikan sebagai buku ‘baru’ (maksudnya PS) untuk menggantikan ‘buku lama’ (maksudnya MB)*” (Prier, 2008: 94).

orders for more would come, and they did. However, this allure of the new and the official wore off and was short lived. While there are dioceses that have and continue to use *Puji Syukur*, there is no doubt that *Madah Bakti* was and is the most prevalent and still the highest selling song book—yearly and in total—for Catholics in Indonesia (and for Indonesian Catholics in diaspora). As Archbishop Sinaga explained to me when I first met him, *Puji Syukur* might be official, but *Madah Bakti* is still the best seller.

Another trick or ploy exhibits the influence of the official over the popular. While *Madah Bakti* is highly accessible and available for sale, only *Puji Syukur* has entered into “secular” markets, appear beside Bibles and religious self-help books in the national bookstore chain *Gramedia*. While executives at the KWI’s publishing company Obor—which prints and publishes official KWI-associated books, including *Puji Syukur*—explained that *Puji Syukur* is available for less at Obor or church-associated book stores, its entrance into *Gramedia*’s mainstream was a combination of *bisnis* and evangelization which was attributed to the influence of a powerful insider connection.<sup>300</sup> However, more so than boosting sales, it is the presence of *Puji Syukur* on the national stage through its incorporation into *Gramedia* that I would argue lends to its prestige and credibility, even if not producing corresponding success in sales or use.

While the discussions surrounding the creation of *Puji Syukur* carry a dimension of interpersonal politics, there were also *bisnis* ramifications to this division. When looking at a graph of the history of *Madah Bakti* sales one day in 2018 with a PML staff member, I questioned the low bars at the beginning of the 1990s.<sup>301</sup> This, I was told, was due to the appearance of *Puji Syukur* on the national Catholic scene. However, the PML had a rebuttal which sent their sales

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<sup>300</sup> Personal communication with Yon Leseq, F.X. Sutanta, and Tri Prasetyo. September 4, 2018. Jakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>301</sup> For a picture of this chart, see Appendix A.3 Figure 11.

skyrocketing once again.<sup>302</sup> In 2000 the revised edition of *Madah Bakti* appeared, with around 300 new songs, many of which were composed at the then almost 40 *lokakarya* workshops around the country. With special sections for inculturated music, thematically organized prayers, and in vogue devotional para-liturgical songs (like *Taize* songs), the sales of *Madah Batki* again soared and to this day are still significantly higher than its official counterpart, *Puji Syukur*. Furthermore, when asked about another edition of *Puji Syukur*, key agents engaged with *Obor* and the KWI smiled and explained that *Puji Syukur* will stand as it is from now until the end of time. While the PML has created *Madah Bakti* as something in and with time—embedded from the grass roots in the milieu of many cultural contexts—the aim of *Puji Syukur* seems from this perspective to be categorically different. It is, I would argue, an attempt by the Indonesian Bishops Council to create something timeless.<sup>303</sup>

Understood by some as a rebuttal to colonial power—ironically using music material from Germany and Holland now considered outdated and no longer in use there—*Puji Syukur* can be understood a reclaiming of power, from the colonial Church to the local, national Church. At the same time, the way this colonial power is being reclaim, can seem to forget or ignore the ethnic, cultural, and socio-linguistic diversity of Indonesian Catholics. While a grass roots approach was not the aim of *Puji Syukur*, insisting on a narrowly defined classic or classical quality as the only music appropriate for a national audience marginalizes the hundreds of communities where folk music reigns supreme. Instead, *Madah Bakti*, following a contextualizing missional example, and in answer to the edicts of the Second Vatican Council, presents creative work from communities

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<sup>302</sup> See Appendix A.3, Figure 12.

<sup>303</sup> Again, see Peter Jeffery, *Obl.S.B.*, 2014. “Can Catholic Social Teaching Bring Peace to the “Liturgy Wars?”” In *Theological Studies*. Vol. 75(2). Pp. 350–375. Of particular resonance is Jeffery’s discussion on “Liturgy in Time,” and the different approaches to ritual time held and practiced by different sides in the liturgy wars (pages 358 to 360).

historically considered on the geographic, social, and economic periphery of Indonesia. This use of cultural currency, I would then argue, affirms the central role of Catholic communities beyond Java, both as key producers and consumers of Catholic music material. Combined with the plethora of locally produced music material for Catholic communities, the presence and popularity of *Madah Bakti* shows that at the end of the day, the official and the new did not silence the power and centrality of the so-called peripheries.

### 3.11 Back to *Bisnis*

But what role does *bisnis* play, beyond the interpersonal and institutional drama of creating and publishing song books?<sup>304</sup> I would argue that an ethnographic examination of the role of *bisnis* in Catholic musical material in Indonesia sheds light on the dynamics of institutions, actors, economics, and independent community agency. In so doing, the *bisnis* of Catholic hymnals in Indonesia shows the power of proximity to larger Catholic populations, both in terms of creative potential and as the primary consumers and customers of national material. Like a tension bridge needs a solid base and foundation, the majority of Indonesia's Catholic population—living on the geographic, economic, and political periphery of Indonesia—have great power in their position as the places of the Catholic majority and places in which a plurality of music material lend an agency which undermines the potential allusion of hegemony of national hymn books. At the same time,

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<sup>304</sup> Regarding the *bisnis* of *Puji Syukur*, Father Prier does mention that: “Unfortunately, corruption is not absent from this case either: officially the Torch Publishing was assigned to distribute PS, but a number of wild printing companies printed the book. So that the KWI KomLit finally got dizzy” (Prier, 2008: 94). In Indonesian, “*Sayang, korupsi pun tidak absen dari kasus ini: secara resmi Penerbitan Obor ditugaskan untuk mengedarkan PS, namun sejumlah percetakan liar mencetak juba buku tsb. Sehingga KomLit KWI pun akhirnya pusing*” (Prier, 2008: 94).

a culturally intimate examination of the social poetics of creating liturgical books, particularly on the national level, belies the stereotypes—at times reified, at times dealt with—of who and what is liturgically appropriate for Catholic communities throughout Indonesia.<sup>305</sup> Representing different projects and systems of power, the KWI and PML and their respective books are doing important work to construct, however imperfect, a system for signing, playing, and praying liturgically in Indonesia with the imagined and intended potential for cross-ethnic, cross-cultural, and cross-island continuity.

At the same time, following the flow of material and money, particularly in the less monied, less accessible parts of the country shows that local music material is both made possible by proximity to printing presses and missional orders (even if just in legacy), while at the same time confined by a limit or lack of economic resources and training. The *bisnis* of Catholic music material in Indonesia, in the end, is personal; related to economics, yes, but created and fueled by people. As one Priest in Medan explained to me, the privilege (and power) of having someone trained in Church music in your diocese is not something afforded to every community or island.<sup>306</sup> In some places, like in Medan, such a lack has been addressed in part by bringing in Romo Prier, Pak Paul, and the PML, an act which can come with its own kind of process and commitments. Despite a lack of trained- and training- charismatic liturgical music leaders, there is a sense of freedom and plurality which such distance can provide, for as then head of the KAM liturgical

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<sup>305</sup> Again, “The agents of powerful state entities and the humblest of local social actors engage in the strategy of essentialism to an equal degree, if not always with the same visibility or impact. Social poetics can be precisely defined as the analysis of essentialism in everyday life. The essentializing strategies of state legislators and ordinary citizens alike depend on a semiotic illusion: by making sure that all the outward signs of identity are as consistent as possible, they literally create, or constitute, homogeneity.” (Herzfeld, 2005: 32).

<sup>306</sup> I heard this sentiment in communication with Pastor Benyamin Purba, who lamented not having any key figures in Church music to train talented or aspiring musicians in/from Medan. He explained, “In Java, they have two bosses, this PML and Antonius Tanto...That is very different, here don’t, because we don’t have specialized people in music here...So this is why the result is different, the result is different, you see that.” Personal communication with Pastor Benyamin A.C. Purba, OFM Cap. 3 October 2018.



commission explained to me, “Because we are far from Jakarta, we are far from their problems.”<sup>307</sup> Similarly, in Larantuka, Eastern Flores, the lack of money to pay for visits by trained professionals is augmented by an independence and confidence in local, self-taught training.<sup>308</sup> On Java, camps have formed around the personalities, institutions, and books that have been made—on both national and local levels—to support Catholic liturgical practice in Indonesia. If understandings of power are ethnographically re-centered through studies the stuff which musical pursuits require—and the *bisnis* behind that production—then other powerful means of recognizing creativity and ability can emerge, particularly in communities who illustrate the potential of the supposed peripheries. This agency and power, it turns out, is instrumental and like with music material, an examination of instruments used can shed its own light on issues of identity politics, power, and the ingenuity of individual and collective ability.

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<sup>307</sup> Personal Communication with Romo Emmanuel Sembiring, O.F.M. Cap., October 8, 2018. Siantar, North Sumatra, Indonesia.

<sup>308</sup> This issue, while frequently mentioned during my fieldwork throughout Flores, was discussed at length with Pak Yosef, that locally-trained and even self-trained musicians as better equipped to serve local Church music needs than educators from the PML or Java. Personal communication with Pak Yosef Uran, Jr. March 27, 2018. Larantuka, Flores, Indonesia.

#### 4.0 Chapter 3—“Instrumental and Material Matters: Orgel and the Plague of the Rhythm Box”

“Have a blessed Good Friday” Pak Yosef’s red-trimmed black polo shirt reads when we met at his home during Holy Week, 2018, an embroidered nod to the liturgical, musical, and touristic importance of this week for his hometown of Larantuka, Eastern Flores. A local high school music teacher, Pak Yosef is well known as an accomplished self-trained multi-instrumentalist and choir conductor. Having sought me out with an invitation to his Church choir practice at Larantuaka’s Cathedral, Pak Yosef became known to me as a key figure in the Church music scene in the diocese of Larantuka, with many of my interlocutors checking to make sure I had met with Pak Yosef Uran. Serving on the diocesan liturgical committee, running church musician training workshops, conducting his neighborhood *lingkungan* choir, and often accompanying other area choirs on organ or keyboard, Pak Yosef humbly explained the musical roles he played in his community. Proud of never receiving formal training, Pak Yosef detailed his self-acquired musical ability on a variety of instruments, saying: “There is a rhythmic instrument, for example percussion, drums; harmonic musical instrument, for example guitar, piano; melodic musical instrument, for example there are traditional flutes, western transverse flutes, viola/violins” and a local instrument named “juk” which is similar, he said, to a ukulele or small guitar.<sup>309</sup> Our one-on-one conversation on Pak Yosef’s porch quickly turned into a concert and family affair. After playing a short tune on a diatonically-tuned locally-made transverse flute-- his son resting on his knee while his wife

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<sup>309</sup> In Indonesian, “Ada alat musik ritmis, misalnya perkusi, gendang; alat musik harmonis, misalnya gitar, piano; alat musik melodis, misalnya ada suling, flute, biola.” Details from for this ethno-sketch are all based on personal conversation with Pak Yosef Uran, Jr. on March 27, 2018. In Larantuka, East Flores, Indonesia

bustled by providing tea and J.CO doughnuts from her recent trip to Kupang—friends starting showing up, from the head of his neighborhood Catholic community to Pak Alyosis, a fellow musician and frequent collaborator in diocesan musician training workshops. A sense of pride and passionate ownership undergirded the rest of our conversation, as theories about inculturation and what instruments were appropriate for musical worship dove into community controversy. Extolling the "beautiful" [*indah*], "magnificent" [*magna*] and "glorious" [*semarak*] sound of the organ, Pak Yosef explained that pipe organ—impractical in price and the upkeep required in such a humid tropical climate—has now ceded to the accessible popularity of Yamaha. Be it small electric organs or electric keyboards with an organ button, Pak Yosef made it clear that the organ sound had become prevalent in all levels of Catholic communities in Indonesia, from grand Cathedrals to small rural village stations [*stasi*]. However, with such accessibility also comes responsibility, and controversy. Known as rhythm box, drum box, or "*ritme otomatis*" ["automatic rhythm"], the opportunities brought by electronic keyboard instruments also presented challenges for liturgical use. The potential for stylistic crossover with "pop" music—not to mention the ways in which automated rhythm restricts the artistic potential of a conductor, to change tempo and mold musical time- has resulted in the virtual outlawing of this electronic keyboard and organ function in the Diocese of Larantuka. Intrigue lies in the reality that it is still frequently used, even at the area Cathedral.

From the illicit use of forbidden sounds to the prevalence of organ/organ-sound as a Catholic signifier, it quickly became clear that instruments are used to do a great deal of often dramatic socio-cultural and political work for Catholics in Indonesia, work which ultimately spoke to greater issues of identity politics. Accordingly, this chapter will highlight the importance of

music-making materials—from various instruments, to the technology of flash drives, to the sustaining work of back-up generators—in relation to narratives of piety and power for Indonesian Catholics. In so doing, I will connect narratives surrounding these instrumental loci of power—such as with the use of organ in Catholic churches, or the use of “traditional” instruments in liturgical practice—to broader narratives of the localization of colonial knowledge production, economics, and community ingenuity. Ultimately, this chapter will show how, as with hymnals, organology and music-making material matter, often collecting the politically and powerfully charged stories of communities trying to assert a sense of collective self within or sometime despite long histories of being “other.”

Accordingly, after introducing this chapter’s keywords of *orgel* and rhythm box, I will present a ritual studies approach to the study of instrumental symbols and technologies, before discussing hegemonic power, as related to ideas of habitus and hexis. After this theoretical introduction, I will examine the history and economics of musical instruments used in Catholic worship in Indonesia, with specific focus on electric organ, electric piano, and a function of each often referred to as the rhythm box. Next, I will introduce the “other instruments” permitted in Catholic liturgical practice in Indonesia with particular focus on the instrumentation for *musik inkulturasi* and the role the PML plays in providing and curating the use of Indonesian traditional musical instruments in the Mass. Finally, I will parse what a friend dubbed the four-part liturgy war in Indonesia, discussing the different “camps” of music for Catholics through instrumentation and permissible genres. Ultimately, this chapter will explore the role that a history of both economics and colonial musical legacies have played in the crafting of a distinct sound of Catholicity in Indonesia, a legacy held in tension with the musicians and communities whose experiences differ from hegemonic KWI- and PML-held norms.

#### 4.1 Defining the Keywords of *Orgel* and *Rhythm Box*

In his 2009 “Music Dictionary” [*Kamus Musik*], Romo Prier’s entry for organ is telling for both the foreignness and localization of organ which has happened in Indonesia. Reaffirming the instrument’s colonial channels into Indonesia, Father Prier defines “organ” as follows: “Organ (Yun. *organon*; Per. *orgue*; Jer. Bld. *orgel*; It. Spa. *organo*) = Alat. [Instrument]” (Prier, 2009: 142). There seems to be no equivalent Indonesian word for, rather we are provided with the translations of organ from a variety of colonial or missional conquerors. It is telling then that this keyword, “orgel” is actually a German or Dutch loanword. Furthermore, while making a ready distinction between pipe organ [“organ pipa”] and electric organ [“Organ (*Electone* / ‘organ listrik’)”], Romo Prier explains that the electric organ is much more well-known in Indonesian, while also much different from its pre-electric progenitor (Prier, 2009: 142). In fact, “*Electone*” itself is a make of electric organ produced by Yamaha and prevalent in Indonesia.<sup>310</sup> Words tell stories and the use of “*Electone*,” and even more “organ” or “orgel” tells of ways in which these musical instruments have enabled Catholic communities in Indonesia to use the organ as a Catholic aural and visual signifier despite economic barriers and inclement pipe organ conditions.

Specific to my field work, the Dutch/German “*orgel*” was the word I heard most commonly used by my interlocutors, with “*organis*” as the appropriated translation of organist. “Organ” as

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<sup>310</sup> In his book, *Dangdut Stories: A Social and Musical History of Indonesia’s Most Popular Music*, Andrew N. Weintraub defines electone as “trademark used for electronic keyboard instruments produced by Yamaha” (Weintraub, 2010: 235). Weintraub explicates the prevalence of the electone or *organ tunggal* used by *dangdut* groups to consolidate larger *dangdut* ensembles into smaller performing forces in the wake of the 1997 Asian Economic Crisis (known in Indonesian as *krisis moneter* or *Kismon*) (Weintraub, 2010: 204). The electone allow the groups to downsize, requiring less musicians for live performance while also lending the flexibility of different instrument sounds which could be used to play and capitalize off of music from a variety of genres (Weintraub, 204-5). Andrew N. Weintraub. 2010. *Dangdut Stories: A Social and Musical History of Indonesia’s Most Popular Music*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

it appears in the well-known Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings Indonesian-English dictionary, has little to do with Catholicism or music, opting instead to define this term as “1 organ (of the body)...2 organ, i.e., magazine or newspaper used to express the opinions of an organization, party, etc.” (Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings, 2004: 683). Organ or *orgel*, as I came to know it, was thus a Catholic signifier, providing entrance into narratives about how instrument and genre specificity can be used to define a minority community, both for insiders and by outsiders.

Conversely, rhythm box or *ritme otomatis* is missing from both Romo Prier’s *Music Dictionary* and that of Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings.<sup>311</sup> Brought up in conversations or trainings as a forbidden function of the electric organ or keyboard, or at least an unhelpful nuisance, *ritme otomatis*, or rhythm/drum box are terms I heard used throughout Indonesia for the automatic rhythm or drum kit function on electric keyboards. The “boom” of a base and “shaw” of the snares in regular rhythmic succession, unvarying, set and kept by the wielder of the keyboard buttons was easy enough to pick out at Church or in pop-songs. The later is why, coupled with the limited musicality of a set and unchangeable rhythm, many of my interlocutors made such a passionate fuss over this word. It turns out the automated rhythm not only made the role of the conductor obsolete or at least limited their ability to every change tempo, but also indexed a kind of music, and the activities which accompanied it, which smacked of secularity, and in some regions even of promiscuity. The way the rhythm box evoked tensions between liturgical music and pop tunes or Church worship and a secular lounge scene made this key term a convenient entry point into discussions of piety, liturgical appropriateness, access, and the even precarious, powerful, and often-imagined divide between ideas of sacred and secular sound.

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<sup>311</sup> While not included as an entry in his *Kamus Musik* or *Music Dictionary*, Romo Prier does mention the word “rhythm box” and “*bas otomatis*” or automatic bass in his 2008 *Perjalanan* book in a discussion on “7. *Organ dan Organis*” or “7. Organ and Organist” (Prier, 2008: 103).

## 4.2 Theoretical Tensions—Technologies, Instrumental Symbols, and Hegemonic Power

In a chapter titled “Ethnic Musics/Religious Identities: Toward a Historiography of German-American Sacred Music,” musicologist Philip Bohlman asserts that “fundamental to the processes of modern music history is a tension that resolves itself over time in unexpected, even contradictory ways” (Bohlman in Bohlman and Holzapfel, 2002: 138).<sup>312</sup> Bohlman goes on to explain that, “this tension might arise from the encounter of one musical tradition with another, say, through cultural contact, colonialism, or class conflict,” and that “the tension may intensify because of the skewing of power relations or the political economy of musical traditions” (Bohlman and Holzapfel, 2002: 138). Much like the role of music in the German-American Jewish communities Bohlman studied, music for Catholics throughout Indonesia has epitomized these tensions, often due to the above mentioned conditions of “cultural contact, colonialism, or class conflict.” While Bohlman uses hymnals and hymn books as his object of study, I argue that these tensions similarly play out in another concrete vehicle for music-making: that of musical instruments. Long an issue for religious communities, the use of musical instruments in liturgical practices are often a sticking point for communities of faith due to resonance with issues of colonialism, community and individual identity, and authoritative power. Add to that the challenges of economic access, and instruments, like hymnals and song books, become the site around which articulations of Catholicism are worked out. In performance as much as in their presence, the use of organ, keyboard, and traditional musical instruments in Catholic Masses throughout Indonesia evokes the larger conversations related to the subjects which undergird this

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<sup>312</sup> Philip V. Bohlman and Otto Holzapfel (Eds.). 2002. *Land without Nightingales: Music in the Making of German-America*. Madison, WI: Studies of the Max Kate Institute for German American Studies.

dissertation, including center-periphery power dynamics, identity politics, and economic access. Taken together, instruments can become symbols of these broader social struggles, mobilized by musical and liturgical leaders to support various needs and agendas, power which can also be musically subverted through instrumentation, style, and genre.

#### 4.2.1 Technologies

Work in ritual studies affirms the instrumental role of symbols used in the liturgy. In his work on *Liturgy and the Social Sciences*, Nathan D. Mitchell cites the work of both Talal Asad and Michel Foucault on the role that technology/technologies play in religious rituals. Asad, Mitchell explains, argues that in Western monasticism, particularly medieval Benedictine monachism, “ritual was not primarily a symbol system aimed at the production of meaning but a *technology*—an acquired aptitude or embodied skill—aimed at the production of a ‘virtuous self,’ i.e., of a person who is obedient, humble, chaste, charitable, compassionate, hospitable, and wise” (Mitchell, 1999: 64).<sup>313</sup> In as much as ritual can be understood as a technology through which the gathered faithful embodied desired virtues, I then argue that the stuff of ritual—here primarily thinking of music-materials, including hymnal and particularly musical instruments—serves as the vehicles through which the “technology” of ritual becomes embodied by the faithful. In an interesting next move, Mitchell then connects Asad’s take on “ritual technology” to Foucault’s four techniques or technologies which human beings use in the pursuit of self-understanding (Mitchell, 1999: 64-65). These technologies include that of production, sign systems, power, and the self, the later of which includes “both the ‘rites’ practiced by individuals and the ‘ritual

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<sup>313</sup> Nathan D. Mitchell. 1999. *Liturgy and the Social Sciences*. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press.



construction' of the whole social order" (Mitchell, 199: 65).<sup>314</sup> Far from abstract signifying or self-contained ritual, both "rites" and "ritual construction" become arenas for the articulation of both self and society. In such a way, the stuff of rites—here the instruments used in a Catholic liturgy—are employed in both the negotiation of the self and the structures which guide or inhibit such soundings. Citing the work of ritual theorist Catherine Bell, Mitchell further explains that while "traditionally...ritual is seen as an *instrumental* agent, as a way to impose social control by celebrating canons of correct belief and behavior (*lex orandi, lex credendi*) and by transmitting tradition (meanings and values)," contemporary understanding highlights the constitutive role of ritual as actuating power in performance (Mitchell, 1999: 87-88). Bell herself, in her work on *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, goes on to explain that, "ritualization is first and foremost a strategy for the construction of certain types of power relationships effective within particular social organizations" (Bell, 2009: 197).<sup>315</sup> Beyond "the view that ritual is a functional mechanism or expressive medium in the service of social solidarity and control," Bell suggests that "ritual practices are themselves the very production and negotiation of power relations...as a strategic mode of practice produces nuanced relationships of power, relationships characterized by acceptance and resistance, negotiated appropriation, and redemptive reinterpretation of the hegemonic order" (Bell, 2009: 196).

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<sup>314</sup> Here Mitchell cites Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, and Patrick H. Hutton, eds., 1988. *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*. Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press. Page 18. (Mitchell, 1999: 64-65).

<sup>315</sup> Catherine Bell. 2009. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

## 4.2.2 Instrumental Symbols

As much as ritual can point to transcendence and at the same time do powerful social work, it follows that it requires things which are used to wield a certain kind of power, both as symbol and in performance. Referred to by Victor Turner as “instrumental symbols,” I argue that for Catholics in Indonesia, musical instruments such as organ, keyboard, and flute have become one of the vehicles used in liturgical practice to attain the teleological goals of the ritual rite (Turner, 1967 in Bradshaw and Melloh, 2007: 89).<sup>316</sup> Perhaps it seems an over emphasis to say that musical instruments are or have become efficacious “instrumental symbols,” the “means to the main end of the ritual,” when the source and summit of a Eucharistic celebration in Roman Catholicism has always been and remains the trans-substantiation the Paschal Mystery.<sup>317</sup> But it is because of the seeming tangentiality and contemporary precarity of music and music instruments in the Catholic Mass that I argue for the centrality of instruments as sites of power plays.<sup>318</sup> Theologically, this idea of musical instruments as an efficacious instrumental symbol holds with the purpose of liturgy—being to praise God, in vertical alignment to Divine transcendence—occurring through music; being embodied, so to speak, through hearing, singing, and playing.

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<sup>316</sup> Paul Bradshaw and John Melloh (Eds.). 2007. *Foundations in Ritual Studies: A Reader for Students of Christian Worship*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.

<sup>317</sup> The Paschal Mystery refers to Christ’s salvific Sacrifice made manifest in the Eucharist through the transubstantiation of elements of bread and wine. According to the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, “The altar of the New Covenant is the Lord’s Cross, from which the sacraments of the Paschal mystery flow. On the altar, which is the center of the church, the sacrifice of the Cross is made present under sacramental signs. the altar is also the table of the Lord, to which the People of God are invited.” *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. 1993. Part Two, Section One, Chapter Two, Article One: IV. Point number 1182. [http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/\\_P3A.HTM](http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_P3A.HTM). Last accessed September 5, 2019.

<sup>318</sup> Here I am getting the idea of connecting instruments to “Power Plays” from Andrew Weintraub’s 2004 book, *Power Plays: Wayang Golek Puppet Theater of West Java*, particularly chapter 5, on “The Spectacle of Sound,” where he discusses “power [as] a social relation among people that is mediated by the language of instruments” (Weintraub, 2004: 129). See Andrew Weintraub. 2004. *Power Plays: Wayang Golek Puppet Theater of West Java*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Research in International Studies Southeast Asia Series No. 110. Especially chapter 5, pages 128-162.

Furthermore, the resonance of musical instruments as used in worship is a much more accessible, active, and, since the Second Vatican Council, changeable agent in the liturgy. In this sense, while organ is still a privileged and in some communities preferred instrument for worship, the symbolic and actual role played by musical instruments—both in terms of the musical capacity of the instrument itself and the repertory played on it—becomes a source of discussions surrounding what it should sound like to be Catholic in Indonesia.<sup>319</sup> In this sense, musical instruments as instrumental symbols resonate with the negotiation of identity politics both in the instrument’s presence and use in performance, and in its absence, evoking the larger theoretical power plays of hegemony, while becoming sites of both a community’s habitus and hexis.

#### 4.2.3 Hegemonic Power

According to Benedetto Fontana in his 1995 text on *Hegemony and Power...*, “hegemony is defined by Gramsci as intellectual and moral leadership (*direzione*) whose principal constituting elements are consent and persuasion” (Fontana, 1993: 140).<sup>320</sup> The exercise of hegemony by the dominant group “gives rise to a particular division of labour and therefore to a whole hierarchy of qualifications in some of which there is no apparent attribution of directive or organizational functions” (Gramsci, 1971: 12-13).<sup>321</sup> Hegemonic power—such as that exercised in Indonesian Catholic musical circles by the PML, KWI, and local Dioceses—then “articulates and proliferates

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<sup>319</sup> The preference for organ, as I will later offer, is grounded in three aspects of what it has come to index in Indonesia, first a distinctive Catholicity (particularly as against music permitted and performed in Christian services), second a doctrinal and at times traditionalist preference for organ as an instrument historically used in Catholic liturgies (at least in the West), and finally as an economic and social status symbol of sorts.

<sup>320</sup> Fontana Benedetto. 1993. *Hegemony and Power: On the Relation between Gramsci and Machiavelli*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

<sup>321</sup> Antonio Gramsci. 1971. 1999 Printing. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, ed., trans. New York: International Publishers.

throughout society cultural and ideological belief systems whose teachings are accepted as universally valid by the general population...” (Fontana, 1993: 140). Hegemonic power is used to dictate what instruments and repertoire are allowed in Catholic liturgy. This is true broadly in the Catholic church, largely through ecclesiastical edicts coming from Rome, and more specifically in Indonesia through the just mentioned institutions.

However, hegemony—as articulated through musical practice—is not an end game. While Catholic musical and liturgical specialists often exercise a certain degree of authoritative power, unique to instruments in musical worship is the autonomy of both the instrumentalist and the congregation. Thus, orientation to instruments and the instruments’ shaping of the congregation plays a role in either adhering to or at times undermining hegemonic edicts of what is and is not considered permissible. In this sense, Bourdieu’s understanding of habitus and hexis can help shed light of the agentic orientation of people who make and consume this liturgical and para-liturgical music, despite occasional tension with centers of power regarding how and what musical instruments should be employed for Catholic liturgical practice in Indonesia. Furthermore, while examining the way in which instruments becomes sites of power for Catholics in Indonesia, again, I take seriously Stephen Greenblatt exhortation in his mobility studies manifesto where he explains that “*mobility must be taken in a highly literal sense... [that only then] will it be possible fully to understand the metaphorical movement: between [ideas like] center and periphery...[and] shed light on hidden as well as conspicuous movements of peoples, objects, images, texts, and ideas*” (Greenblatt, 2010: 250). Coupled with Bourdieu’s sense of relationship between persons and things—in terms of disposition and posture—Catholics’ use of stuff, here musical instruments, in Indonesia, and its mobility or lack of mobility therein, tell power-filled economic, missional, and social stories.

### 4.3 A History of the Organ in Indonesia and its Socio-cultural Implications

In his book on the relatively recent history of Catholic Church music in Indonesia—*Perjalanan Musik Gereja Katolik Indonesia Tahun 1957-2007*—Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, S.J. presented a concise account of various forms of the organ in Indonesia. The way this national introduction to the organ in Indonesia intersected such issues as its colonial and missional histories, changing economics, and the practice of music pedagogy deserves examination in relation to the broader issues of access and power. Asserting Indonesia’s historical reality as a mission territory, Romo Prier explained that “until the middle of the 20th century singing (in the Catholic Church and Protestant) was accompanied by harmonium as an alternative to pipe organs” (Prier, 2008: 102).<sup>322</sup> While pipe organs did technically exist in Indonesia, as Romo Prier explains, they “can be counted on the fingers of two hands,” not to mention prohibitive price tags and the difficult efforts required to keep up with a pipe organ in a tropical climate (Prier, 2008: 102).<sup>323</sup> <sup>324</sup> The harmonium, used to accompany hymn singing in many mission-territories, was an imperfect solution; too quiet and too slow to accompany signing to be well heard and used by a Church congregation.<sup>325</sup> The start to a usable organ in Indonesia came in the 1960s, with the arrival of the electric organ, first Hammond and then the “*Philicorda*,” “an electric organ made in the Netherlands (Philips brand) which was created specifically for use in the church as a substitute for

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<sup>322</sup> In Indonesian, “*Maka sampai pertengahan abad ke-20 nyanyian (dalam Gereja Katolik maupun Protestan) diiringi dengan harmonium sebagai cadangan organ pipa*” (Prier, 2008: 102).

<sup>323</sup> In Indonesian, “*Organ pipa yang terdapat di Indonesia dapat dihitung dengan jari dua tangan*” “[Pipe organs that are in Indonesia can be counted on the fingers of two hands”] (Prier, 2008: 102).

<sup>324</sup> While outside of the purview of this project, formal research on the existence and history of pipe organs in Indonesia—particularly those which utilized colonial trade connections, sources about which could exist in Dutch colonial archives—would help to complete the story to which Prier here informally alludes.

<sup>325</sup> The use of harmonium in missional territories also has economic access and tuning implications elsewhere, as exhibited through ethnomusicologist Zoe Sherinian’s work “Musical Style and the Changing Social Identity of Tamil Christians.” 2007. *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (Spring/Summer, 2007), pp. 238-280. Especially pages 247, 267, 269.

harmonium” (Prier, 2008: 102).<sup>326</sup> Already two distinctions prove insightful to the role of electric organs in Church music in Indonesia. First, the Hammond organ, as it was used in Indonesia, “was made to accompany silent films at the movies,” situating the first non-harmonium option for church music accompaniment squarely in the public sphere of the secular entertainment industry (Prier, 2008: 102).<sup>327</sup> Second, the “*Philicorda*,” while being overtly made for church use, affirmed connections between Indonesia and the Netherlands, in a kind of continuance of colonial dependency. By the 1960s the relationship between Indonesia and the Netherlands was no longer one of colonial political control, yet musical and church-related trade still occurred in some kind of dependent instrumental relationship.

The *Philicorda* stopped being produced in the 1970s, creating a void which presented both opportunity and challenge for church musicians in Indonesia. While the “*Philicorda*,” according to Romo Prier, was made specifically to accompany church music, other electric organs became available in Indonesia starting in the 1970s which filled the “*Philicorda*” gap. The Yamaha *Electone* and the *Solina* from Eminent were electronic organ options with base foot pedals; both, again according to Romo Prier, were Dutch products imported to Indonesia (Prier, 2008: 102). However, both were also not made specifically for church use, tricked out with “color registers and especially “*Spielhilfen*” / auxiliary facilities in those organs like rhythm box, automatic chords and bass are intended to create entertainment music” (Prier, 2008: 103).<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>326</sup> In Indonesian, “*sebuah organ listrik buatan Belanda (merk Philips) yang diciptakan khusus untuk dipakai di gereja sebagai pengganti harmonium*” (Prier, 2008: 102).

<sup>327</sup> In Indonesian, “*dibuat untuk mengiringi film bisu di bioskop*” (Prier, 2008: 102).

<sup>328</sup> In Indonesian, “*warna register dan terutama ‘Spielhilfen’ / sarana pembantu pada organ-organ tsb. seperti rhythm box, akor dan bas otomatis dimaksudkan untuk menciptakan musik hiburan tanpa merepotkan sang organis*” (Prier, 2008: 103).

The resistance against the technology for playing pop-styled songs on electric organs in church has implications for style and repertoire, as will be discussed later in this chapter. However, it also suggests an instrumental divide of intentions, between musical instruments used in and for church and those used in and for popular music. It is the later which played a large role in the vehemence I found in Larantuka—mentioned in the vignette which began this chapter. History lines up with practice in this case, as Romo Prier’s sadness that the potential for pop “color” or aesthetics of the *Solina* or *Electone* was magnified in Larantuka, not just because of stylistic resonance but because of the associated behaviors such styles of pop music elicited. In a coastal port, like Larantuka, part of the plague of the rhythm box, was not just that it aurally indexed a pop sound, but that that sound and way of playing further suggested other scenes in the town where rhythm box music was prevalent. Thus, just as Church musical leaders in Larantuka did not want congregants to hear on Sunday morning evocations of the kind of music which emanated from sailor bars the night before, similarly Romo Prier’s lament of an electric organ made for church points to the problem of how to instrumentally and musically voice a Catholic liturgical sound as different from sounds associated with contradicting behaviors or value systems.

This anti-pop music polemic exposes a divide here between the preferences and convictions of central, influential leaders, preferring a certain style of play and commensurate instrumentation, and what they perceive to be the “pop-music loving Masses.” Romo Prier’s viewpoint on the fitness of a pop aesthetic in liturgical music is shared by many of the Church music leaders I spoke with throughout Indonesia, both on national and local or parochial levels. Yet, the tension present—between dictated theories of appropriate liturgical music and the often-popular playing styles of daily or weekly community musical practice—highlights both a

hierarchical stylistic or preferential disjuncture and the power of the people actually playing the music, despite the influence of central leaders.

By preserving an aural disjuncture between the liturgical and the popular, Catholic musical leaders are differentiating and classifying categories of Catholic sound and music by vehemently asserting what each genre is not. Ideas of the “liturgical” include linguistic and musical attributes. Perhaps even more so, however, Catholic musical and theological leadership has defined the boundaries of liturgical music through a negating ontology: no pop lyrics, aesthetic, instrumentation, or sound allowed. This defensive stance in itself betrays the fact that musicians in local parishes may not be accepting the musical boundaries decreed by influential central leaders, resulting in this seeping of the popular into the liturgical, and a reactionary push amongst leadership to fight back. Beyond the idea of popular music indexing a sense of secularity—with the sacred and secular being a false binary which is questioned in religious practice and more broadly in the frequent inseparable coming together of these categories in the cultural arts in Indonesia—a popular musical aesthetic has become the harbinger of everything non-Catholic (Christian music, lounge music, radio pop music). Conversely, being Catholic is musically constituted by this hierarchically desired absence of a popular musical aesthetic.

Another reality implicated by the history of the organ in Indonesia is that of centers of ecclesiastical and economic power. During a conversation in October 2018, Romo Prier further explained to me the implications of the 1970s and 80s electric organ trade in Indonesia. While his 2008 book on the history of Catholicism and music in Indonesia attributed the advent of the *Solina* and *Electone* organs in Indonesia to the 1970s, Romo Prier clarified in our 2018 conversation that the electric organ began to be used by “us” (here assumedly meaning Christian/Catholic Church



musicians) in the 1980s.<sup>329</sup> The *Solina* was described as “*dari Belanda*” or imported “from the Netherlands.” Romo Prier further explained this chain of economic connection, saying, “It was imported by someone in Jakarta, a store in Jakarta and was brought/kept here, and indeed we bought it in the beginning and used it.”<sup>330</sup> But, around the same time—in the 1970s, according to *Perjalanan*—another option came on the scene (Prier, 2008: 103). Produced by Yamaha in Japan the EL series (*Electone*) electric organ quickly became more popular than any other imported option. Romo Prier also lamented this shift from the Eminent-produced *Solina*—which in our conversation he described as “made for the church...imitating the pipe organ register”—to Yamaha (*Electone*) EL, which according to Romo Prier was “oriented towards entertainment/recreational music.”<sup>331</sup> While the Yamaha *Electone* organ was and is the cheaper electric organ option, a kind of resignation was evident in Romo Prier’s explanation that, at Yamaha, “they don’t care for the needs of church music, and therefore we are forced to use Yamaha product that they import into Indonesia.”<sup>332</sup>

Shifting from the colonial connection of electric organs produced in the Netherlands and Germany to the cheaper and more accessible option of the Yamaha *Electone* produced in Japan re-centered the economic flow of trade in electric organs. An Asia-based producer and market not only made Yamaha organs more accessible and cheaper but allowed Indonesian church musicians

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<sup>329</sup> Personal Communication with Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, October 20, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia. In Indonesian, he said, “*Ya kami mulai memakai organ listrik tahun 80an, dengan merek Solina Eminent dari dari Belanda,*” “Yes we started using electric organs in the 80s, under the brand name Solina Eminent from the Netherlands.”

<sup>330</sup> In Indonesian, “*Diimport oleh seorang di Jakarta, toko di Jakarta dan dititipkan di sini, dan kita memang mula-mula membeli juga dan [uh] memakainya.*” Personal Communication with Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, SJ. October 20, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>331</sup> In Indonesian, “*Karena Solina itu dibuat khusus untuk gereja...menirukan register pipe organ,*” and “*sedangkan Yamaha berorientasi pada musik hiburan.*” Personal Communication with Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, SJ. October 20, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>332</sup> In Indonesian, “*mereka tidak peduli untuk kebutuhan musik gereja, dan maka dari itu terpaksa kita memakai produk Yamaha yang mereka import ke Indonesia.*” Personal Communication with Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, SJ. October 20, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

to effectively eschew colonial ties, if only by economic necessity or prudence. At the same time, Romo Prier referred to the role real (non-electric) pipe organs still played in Indonesia. Limited to the handful of pipe organs attained and afforded by centers of ecclesiastical power, like the Catholic cathedrals in Jakarta, Bandung, and Surabaya the pipe organ still affirms colonial and political legacies of economic power and control. Thus, the role of musical instrument in affirming centers of power—both in terms of the sheer presence of certain instruments in certain places, and often the reality of having the resources to care for instruments like pipe organ—affirmed a Java- and city-centric economic and symbolic ecclesiastic power distribution.

Through the relative affordability of the Yamaha organ or keyboard, issues of power and authority were also true in a de-centering reverse, as hegemonic control of what instruments are used in worship gets complicated by what Romo Prier referred to as the “entertainment” potential of the Yamaha electric organ which the PML has always and still uses.<sup>333</sup> “Unfortunately,” Romo Prier explained, “most Church organists in Indonesia (up to now) do not know / do not realize that *Electone* and similar organs found in churches and chapels in Indonesia are not Church organs” (Prier, 2008: 103).<sup>334</sup> The issue, Romo Prier goes on to explain, is that for most Church organists in Indonesia, the *Electone* became conflated with a pop style due to the assumption that “organists had long used a pop style to accompany worship songs” (Prier, 2008: 103).<sup>335</sup> The story which Romo Prier uses to illustrate this disjuncture provides insight into the challenges prompted by instrument use and playing technique for Catholic throughout Indonesia. During a PML training

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<sup>333</sup> Here, Romo Prier refers to entertainment in Indonesian as “*hiburan*.” Personal Communication with Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, S.J.. October 20, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>334</sup> In Indonesian, “*Sayang bahwa kebanyakan organis Gereja di Indonesia (sampai sekarang) tidak tahu / tidak menyadari bahwa Electone dan organ serupa yang terdapat dalam gereja dan kapel di Indonesia bukanlah organ Gereja*” (Prier, 2008: 103).

<sup>335</sup> In Indonesian, “*sejak dulu organis memakai gaya pop untuk mengiringi nyanyian ibadat*” (Prier, 2008: 103).

for organists and choir conductors in the diocese of Padang, West Sumatra, in the early 1990s, Romo Prier asked the participants, “ ‘How do you (all) accompany the singing at Mass?’ they answered ‘with rhythm [here meaning the rhythm box]’” (Prier, 2008: 103).<sup>336</sup> When he interrogated this answer, asking if they have ever thought to not use the automatic rhythm function during Mass, the response was that if they “do not use a pop style in the Mass, [their] friends will say: If you do not entertain us, we do not want to go to church” (Prier, 2008: 103).<sup>337</sup> While Romo Prier admits that not every organist plays music for Mass in a pop music style, the way this mode of playing has become a default playing style and congregant expectation in many communities is significant.

There are three main issues brought up in Romo Prier’s story from the 1992 PML training in West Sumatra which relate to issues of economics, pedagogy or experience, and stylistic acceptability. First, amateur church—usually unpaid and un- or under-trained—musicians is the general norm for the Catholic church in Indonesia. Rarely are musicians paid to play at Masses, the occasional exception to this being if someone from another religious community—typically Protestant—were to substitute for a Mass. Part of this has to do with church community structures in Indonesia. Adopting a cellular model known as *lingkungan*, a parish—which can range greatly in size from a few hundred to thousands of parishioners—will have its own choir, responsible for singing at the Masses which their community group leads a few times a month.<sup>338</sup> Each community is also responsible for finding a choral conductor and organist for the Masses given to their care. Conductors are often a bit easier to attain and can still be effective despite varying skill levels.

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<sup>336</sup> In Indonesian, “*Bagaimana kalian mengiringi nyanyian misa?’ jawabannya ‘dengan ritem’.*” (Prier, 2008: 103).

<sup>337</sup> In Indonesian, “ ‘*Kalau saya tidak pakai gaya pop dalam misa, teman-temanku akan berkata: Kalau kau tidak menghibur kami, kami tidak mau pergi ke gereja.*’” (Prier, 2008: 103).

<sup>338</sup> Again, see Steenbrink, 2015: 75-76 and Poplawska, 2008: 107, for more on *lingkungan* and choirs.

Organists on the other hand are often harder to come by, and often need to have some kind of training in order to be at the level of accompanying the singing at Mass. Usually a handful of trained organists at each church are willing to go on rota to fill in for the community groups who cannot boast a trained organist in their neighborhood or acquaintance. However, the issue persists of how to use and train willing organists for a system in which they do not receive financial support or are not required to have professional training.

Relatedly, the second issue brought up by Romo Prier's above sketch about the prevalence of pop-style of playing for Mass is one of training and pedagogy. While a number of organ and church-music training schools have been set up throughout the country, locational access—not to mention the resources of time and money to attend courses or training—is often an issue. Occasionally these schools will be institutionalized, like with the PML, or associated with a key church music figure or choir, like Romo Tanto in Jakarta; occasionally professional music schools are used for training, like Yamaha-run courses. More often, however, it is a senior organist/pianist who is hired or commissioned (or just asked) to participate in the training of junior organists at the local community level.<sup>339</sup> While the PML has addressed this lacuna—and particularly the discrepancy of access to church music training in the outer islands—through their long-distance radio and now online training programs, the issue according to Romo Prier is more base.<sup>340</sup> Implying that accompaniment in the style of classical Church music is more technically difficult than pop style accompaniment, Romo Prier's key to shifting liturgical playing style away from a more pop-music aesthetic is, “ ‘Why don't you study notes?’”<sup>341</sup>

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<sup>339</sup> Such is the case with Pak Yosef Uran in Larantuka; and one of my young organist friends in Yogyakarta.

<sup>340</sup> The long distance learning program or “*Kursus Organ Gereja Jarak Jauh*” (KOGJJ) started in 1990 using books, videos, homework, recordings, and culminating in a yearly intensive weeklong in-person training at the PML in Yogyakarta (Prier, 2008: 106).

<sup>341</sup> In Indonesian, “*Mengapa Anda tidak belajar not balok*” (Prier, 2008: 103)

While this might seem like an obvious starting place for musicians trained in Western music education, for most Catholic musicians in Indonesia access to this kind musical knowledge is not taken for granted. With many traditional musics being aurally transmitted and notation, if used, occurring in mutable cipher or numbers—mutable for different tuning systems and movable to any starting pitch or “do”—“*not balok*” or staff notation is not common. With the implicit acknowledgement that most organists improvised during the liturgy, playing by ear or based off of cipher notated melodies, it is not surprising that Romo Prier’s response to learning how to play in a style other than pop—particularly in that of classical or more traditional European-derived hymn accompaniments—was rooted in notational knowledge which would allow greater access to Western Church music and pedagogy (Prier, 2008: 103).

Part of the PML’s solution to this gap in organ-playing knowledge has been the twin pillars of direct education and material production. In addition to teaching an organ course for church musicians (starting in 1966), the PML produced three organ books for organ accompaniment for *Madah Bakti* hymns in the early 1980s (Prier, 2008: 103). Accordingly, the *Menjadi Organist [To Become an Organist]* series was written by Romo Prier in an effort to make an organ book specifically for Indonesian Catholic musicians, “not only to be used in Yogyakarta, but also in other places,” throughout the country (Prier, 2008: 32).<sup>342</sup> More recently, *Menjadi Organist IIIB*, first published in 2008, includes organ accompaniment for different inculturated styles—often broken down by ethnic group—with educational information about the musical characteristics of each instrument and community. In the introduction to *Menjadi Organist IIIB*, Romo Prier puts forth that this work will “examine the ‘secrets’ about traditional music from a number of regions of Indonesia,” combining instruction in organ accompaniment for *lagu inkulturasi* with training

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<sup>342</sup> In Indonesian, “*tidak hanya dipakai di Yogyakarta, tetapi juga di tempat lain*” (Prier, 2008: 32).

about Indonesian traditional music and theory from various islands and ethnic groups (Prier, 2012: 3).<sup>343</sup> <sup>344</sup> Furthermore, this particular book shows the PML's attempts to make the stylistic transition from evoking traditional instrument sounds to organ playing more accessible. For example, on the back cover of *Menjadi Organist IIIB*, there is an illustrated list of sorts of traditional musical instruments, including the area/ethnic group associated with them and the register on the Yamaha EL-100 organ which can be used to evoke that instrument.<sup>345</sup> The issue of a knowledge gap, of the dissonance between what local Catholic organists or pianists know and the ways in which centers like the PML and KWI notate music, particularly for organ, has created a kind of hegemonic monopoly, not just of notation but of the kinds of repertoire and styles which Western music notation often connotes and privileges. At the same time, creative subversion can be seen in musician's response to the challenges of reading "not balok," often translating Western staff notation to numbers mid-rehearsal or creating local resources for learning how to read notation in various forms.<sup>346</sup> <sup>347</sup>

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<sup>343</sup> In Indonesian, "*membahas "rahasai-rahasia" tentang musik tradisional dari sejumlah daerah Indonesia,"*" (Prier, 2012: 3). Karl-Edmund Prier, S.J.. 2012. *Menjadi Organist II [To Become an Organist II]*. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: *Pusat Musik Liturgi*. PML A-78.

<sup>344</sup> Romo Prier also explained that while *Menjadi Organist II* contained section on the Pelog and Slendro scales (most associated with Javanese and Balinese gamelan music), this was not sufficient [*"tidak cukup"*] (Prier, 2012: 3).

<sup>345</sup> For example, different end-blown flutes can be played through the pan flue, flute recorder, and oboe/harmonic registers. Harpsichord is associated with various plucked zithers, including the "kecapi" from West Java and the "Sasandu/Sasando" from Rote ethnic group in East Nusa Tenggara. Vibraphone is used for different struck ideophone (both bamboo and wood), piano for the Javanese Saron, and Mandolin for the Yangqin, associated with the ethnically Chinese Tionghoa community (Prier, 2012: Back Cover).

<sup>346</sup> At a rehearsal on 4 June 2018 in Bandung at St. Peter's Cathedral with St. Peter's choir I noticed that they were changing or translating "not balok" into cipher notation, writing numbers in pen above the notes on the staff. Then, in a conversation with a St. Peter's choir member, composer, and occasional conductor, Alvin, on 8 November 2018, he told me that the choir member's translation is common and the technique referred to as "batik" or "not batik," changing (or ornamenting) staff notation by adding number notation on time (like with batik was added to fabric to create a design). Personal communication with Alvin Gunawan. November 8, 2018. Bandung, Indonesia.

<sup>347</sup> Thinking here for the book by Bapak Ferdy Levi, a composer, conductor, and teacher in Ende, Flores who produced a book titled "[How] To Teach to Read Number Notation" [*"Mengajar Membaca Notasi Angka"*], a pedagogical book teaching number notation in relation to diatonic tuning (with both solfeggio and piano references) largely aimed at the teaching of Florenese public school children in a singing or choir setting. Ferdy Levi. 2013.

The third issue underlying Romo Prier’s response to pop music accompaniment at the 1992 workshop in Padang resonates with larger issues of style and appropriate repertoire for Catholic liturgical practice. While the issue of genre in Mass will be discussed at length below—in particular in relation to *musik liturgi* versus spiritual pop music (*musik pop rohani*), and the four prong liturgy wars which are now at play in Indonesia—I instead want to focus specifically on issues of style—in relation to the rhythm box.<sup>348</sup>

#### 4.4 The Plague and Potential of the Rhythm Box

“*Tidak boleh,*” or “You cannot,”—with a strong overtone of not allowed or forbiddenness—was what I most often heard from Catholic musical specialists in regards to the use of the automatic rhythm or “rhythm box” which is part of most electric organs and keyboards. The frequently vehemence with which this restriction was uttered, most often by Catholic liturgical and musical specialists throughout my travels in Indonesia, speaks to three things: the ease of using the drum box, the prevalence of its use in amongst Catholic congregations throughout the country, and the conflicting ideas behind why it is and yet should not be used in liturgical worship. Ultimately, controversy surrounding the use of the rhythm box reaches at fundamental issues of

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“*Mengajar Membaca Notasi Angka*” [“[How]To Teach to Read Number Notation”]. Ende, Flores, Indonesia: Penerbit Nusa Indah.

<sup>348</sup> In his Music Dictionary [*Kamus Musik*], under the entry for “*Musik Gereja Klasik*” or “Classic Church Music,” in addition to mentioning the works of Haydn and Mozart, Romo Prier gives ethical and theological import to these aesthetic choices, saying: “During the classical [musical] era, faith was open to the world. So all the elements that can show this open attitude were incorporated into Church music like that. This is why classical Church music has become something with a strong 'glow' and 'devotion'[al quality].” In Indonesian “*Pada zaman klasik, iman terbuka untuk dunia. Maka seuma unsur yang dapat memperlihatkan sikap terbuka ini diangkat ke dalam musik Gereja begitu saja. Inilah sebabnya mengapa musik Gereja klasik memiliki suatu 'cahaya' dan 'devosi' yang kuat*” (Prier, 2014: 90).

identity politics for Indonesian Catholics, interrogating the sanctity of liturgical practice, separation of popular versus liturgical musics, and the role of governing ecclesiastical bodies which often futilely tried to impose Church bans upon the popular use of the rhythm box.

Referencing Romo Prier's above story from the 1992 workshop in West Sumatra, two reasons for using the rhythm box become evident: one, it allows organists to play in a style which they think parishioners will expect or enjoy; and two, it is easy. Covering a multitude of missed notes, providing a consistent tempo, and adding a constant rhythmic element to the players melody or chords, automated rhythm has the potential to spice up even the most dull hymn signing or basic playing. By simply pressing a button above the keyboard console and setting a tempo, an organist at an electric organ or keyboard—particularly those made by Yamaha for entertainment or popular, non-church use—can easily turn their keyboard into an automated and automatic drum kit. The appeal, beyond style or repertoire, of filling in sound, of electronically capitalizing off of limited talent or melodic simplicity makes sense. However, when issues of liturgical appropriateness and definitions of liturgical music are factored in, the ease of the rhythm box gets cast into a sea of opinions on nothing less than what sounds are best for worshiping God, and who has the power and authority to say.

Returning to the vignette which began this chapter—of the forbidden use of *ritme otomatis* in Larantuka, Flores—in some Dioceses in Indonesia, the plague of the rhythm box has become an issue of ecclesiastical authority and even vehement prohibition or re-education by local musical leaders. Such is the case in much of Flores, where a combination of many Catholic churches and a general lack of funding make electric organs and even more so Yamaha keyboards a common liturgical accompaniment during Mass. Known for characteristically rhythmic music and multi-part harmonic singing, the appeal of the rhythm box for communities in Flores fits. At the same



time, as explained above, the way an automatic rhythm can evoke a pop music style—not unlike the music heard at night in sailor bars along the coast—can index scenes and behaviors which are thought to be incompatible or morally antithetical to the aims of observant Catholics. At the very least, it is easy to see how those with ecclesiastical and moral authority would bristle at the idea of their congregants enjoying the same musical style on Sunday morning which indexed the accompaniment of scenes of dissolution other day/nights of the week. This base social analysis, however, was not how the musical leaders I talked to throughout Flores wanted to address their manifold issues with the rhythm box, rather, it was the very definition of “liturgical,” coupled with the role of the choir conductor, which concerned most.

Nowhere did the opposition against *ritme otomatis* seem so strong as throughout the island of Flores, where prevalence of its use and strong voices against it were frequent and strong. This was particularly true in Larantuka, East Flores, where the diocese had actually formally forbidden the use of the rhythm box in the Cathedral Parish in 2003. In a conversation with Pak Yosef—member of the diocesan liturgical committee and famed area organist/choir conductor—he asserted that “Automatic rhythm is actually forbidden, for liturgical music it is not allowed.”<sup>349</sup> Pak Yosef went on to explain his role in educating and in a way policing against the use of automatic rhythm:

I happen to often go down to small parishes here for the purpose of socializing [or teaching] about the prohibition on using automatic rhythms on organs...and it turns out that at Mass just last Sunday, I heard...there were reports coming in questioning why they were using, why they were using electrified automatic rhythm music...and that was

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<sup>349</sup> In Indonesian, “Ritme otomatis itu yang sebenarnya dilarang, secara musik liturgi itu tidak boleh.” Personal communication with Pak Yosef Uran. March 27, 2018. Larantuka, Flores, Indonesia.

forbidden.<sup>350</sup>

This situation of hierarchical censure versus on-the-ground subversion (or ignoring of Diocesan or Parochial edicts) was something I experienced myself in Larantuka, were at an early morning Mass on Palm Sunday, the automated rhythm boomed loud and clear. While sharing this with Pak Yosef and his colleague Pak Alyosis caused some controversy and another round of assertions that that is not allowed, it became clear to me that part of what fueled the plague of the rhythm box was exactly this tension of diocesan edicts being ignored.

Beyond the above reasons of why organists would want to use the automated rhythm system on an electric organ or keyboard, I think there is also a subtle but pertinent argument for why Pak Yosef would be so against it. In his capacity as a member of the diocesan liturgical committee, he, along with his friend Pak Alyosis, have authority which is rooted at the local (parochial/Diocesan) level. This kind of power exists for them in a way as an alternative from of (or I would even say against) other hegemonic centers of musical instruction and knowledge, such as the PML or KWI. While Pak Yosef is proud of his status as a self-trained musicians and now high school music teacher, being able to police use of the rhythm box and encourage less popular musical playing styles is a way to exercise his local authority. At the same time, his reasons for why the rhythm box is not allowed echoes some of the concerns voiced by the PML and their constituents surrounding this issue, as will be discussed below.

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<sup>350</sup> In Indonesian, “*saya disini kebetulan sering turun ke paroki-paroki kecil dalam rangka sosialisasi larangan menggunakan ritme otomatis dari organ...dan ternyata baru-baru hari Minggu kemarin Misa itu, saya dengar,... ada laporan masuk bahwa kenapa mereka menggunakan, kenapa mereka menggunakan musik elektrik ritme otomatis...dan itu dilarang.*”

#### 4.5 Liturgical Appropriateness and Instrument Use

In the end, the animating issues of this localized debate in Larantuka relate to the larger questions of what is appropriate liturgical music and how such understanding should affect the way music is performed and conducted. Touching upon both of those points, Pak Yosef outlined:

This is related to music, liturgical music...so the prohibition on using automatic rhythm, why not? Because of the liturgical celebration; it has a certain sacred weight and we cannot equate it with big parties outside [of Church auspices], secular parties or public parties, that's different. This is a liturgical celebration. Then, the second [reason]: why is it prohibited to use [automatic] rhythm? Because if we already use rhythm, it means that the tempo and dynamics of the song are no longer used. The tempo and dynamics of an automatic [rhythm] song are not going to come through/be evident. The smoothness of the song; the slow speed of the song...The song has dynamics, smoothness, strength and weakness, but if we use an [automated] rhythm system, the song's tempo and dynamics are automatically no longer valid [or changeable]. The third [reason] is when you use [automatic] rhythm, you do not need a conductor.<sup>351</sup>

The first point of Pak Yosef's threefold explanation deals directly with a central issue in the use of musical instruments in Catholic Mass. As "*liturgi*" or "liturgy," the Rite being

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<sup>351</sup> In Indonesian, "*Ini terkait musik, musik liturgi...sehingga larangan menggunakan ritme otomatis itu, kenapa tidak boleh? Karena perayaan liturgi itu; itu memiliki bobot kudus tertentu dan tidak bisa kita samakan dengan pesta-pesta besar di luar, pesta-pesta sekuler atau pesta-pesta rakyat, itu berbeda ya. Ini ini perayaan liturgi. Kemudian yang kedua: Kenapa dilarang menggunakan ritme? Karena kalau kita sudah menggunakan ritme, berarti tempo dan dinamika lagu sudah tidak dipakai lagi. Tempo dan dinamika lagu otomatis dengan sendirinya pasti tidak akan muncul. Halus kasarnya lagu; cepat lambatnya lagu...Lagu itu kan ada dinamika, halus kasarnya, kuat lemahnya, tapi kalau kita dengan sistem ritme, otomatis bahwa sudah tidak berlaku lagi itu tempo dan dinamika. Yang ketiga kalau sudah gunakan ritme, dirijen sebaiknya tidak usah.*" It should be noted that I added a more nuanced sentence structure to both the transcription and translation of this passage; only punctuation has been added or altered. Personal communication with Pak Yosef Uran. March 27, 2018. Larantuka, Flores, Indonesia.

celebrated comes imbued with centuries of sanctity, including edicts of what can and cannot be used for liturgical practice. While often localized and sometimes rendered a bit more flexible through the malleable realities of ritual performance, the overarching structure and canonical rubrics of the Roman Catholic liturgy are quite uniform and set. In this sense, liturgical music is a vehicle which supports worship according to the Church's stipulations on what that can look and sound like. When liturgy breaks with the mold set out by the church, it is often understood as a serious, subversive matter, particularly in places where magisterial control is stronger. Accordingly, one's understanding and definition of liturgical music speaks directly to issues of both a sense of transcendent sanctity and the practical presence of hierarchical instruction, thus related to a combination of Pontifical decree, global ecclesiastical influence, and local Church history.

Second, liturgical music as it is practiced in the Catholic church in Indonesia almost always includes a conductor. Automated rhythm sets a steady, unchanging beat which inhibits any shifts in tempo. Furthermore, as Pak Yosef mentioned in his tripartite reasons against rhythm box, setting an automated rhythm—especially if broadcasted at a loud volume, which it often was throughout my experiences witnessing the use of electronic amplification in Indonesia—can make it difficult to change dynamics. Ultimately, automated rhythm makes it harder to present a more nuanced musical performance, with such elements as tempo and dynamics subject to the amplified aural and rhythmic tyranny of the drum box. In so doing, automated rhythm effectively makes the role of the conductor obsolete, Pak Yosef's third point. With no ability to change tempo and limited dexterity in terms of dynamics, the conductor becomes purely ornamental, shifting from a creative role to one in which the conductor's presentation is effectively robbed of its musical function. It is this issue that Father Prier commented on in a question and answer session at the

PML's yearly training for organists and choir conductors—who participate in the PML's long distance “*Kursus Organ Gereja Jarak Jauh*” (KOGJJ) training program—in July, 2018. With rhythm box, Romo Prier explained, there is no spirit, no musical arc to the line. Advocating for participants to “just play simply with spirit,” rhythm box was portrayed not only as a monotonous, non-musical cop out, but something that would literally cause musicality to die.<sup>352 353</sup>

PML-trained musicians in Flores concurred with Romo Prier's objections to the rhythm box. Pater Yosef Kursi and Pater Eman Weroh, S.V.D. priests at the Divine Word Missionary's Saint Paul Major Seminary in Ledalero, Flores, agreed that rhythm box made the role of the conductor obsolete and was not allowed in Church. Pater Yosef went so far as to give minutes worth of an apology against the use of automatic rhythm or midi-files, explaining that this function of electric organ or keyboards does not fit with the feeling [*“perasaan”*] of the liturgy, that any musical exuberance at Mass “has to come from the heart of the people,” not the rhythm box.<sup>354</sup> Similarly, as head of the *Sanggar Musik Arnoldus*, located on the grounds of the Major Seminary, Pater Eman—who is known as a locally famed spiritual pop singer and composer—expressed that automated rhythm is not appropriate for liturgical accompaniment. However, throughout my week there, rhythm box was a frequently used when the seminarians provided music for Mass. Here too, at the center of training and scholarship for the most prevalent religious order in Flores, theory ceded to practice; here too, the rhythm box won.

And yet, use of the rhythm box still seems to be grounded more in the practical than the political. The most measured response I encountered regarding the use of automated rhythm for

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<sup>352</sup> From my notes at the PML 2018 *Penataran*, Romo Prier said, in Indonesian, “*“mein sederhana saja dengan jiwa.”*”

<sup>353</sup> Again, said by Romo Prier, in Indonesian, “*“lalu mati musik.”*”

<sup>354</sup> In Indonesian, “*“semangat harus datang dari hati manusia.”*” Personal communication with Pater Yosef Kusi Pakaenoni. April 6, 2018. Ledalero, Flores, Indonesia.

music in the liturgy was also in Flores, in the small coastal town of Boba. A farming village now flowing with rice fields—thanks to an irrigation project initiated some decades before by a local missionary priest—the residents of Boba just received national electricity, that last year (2017). In Boba, like much of Flores, the parish Church has functioned historically as both a religious and social welfare institution, providing for practical as well as spiritual needs. I traveled through Boba and its surrounding environs with a locally-famed Florenese priest and choir conductor named Pater John Ghono, S.V.D.. He had a friend we had come to meet, a friend whose reputation humbly preceded him. Trained at the PML and on angklung in Yogyakarta, Bapak Johny Oja is the product of multiple levels of missionary training. Bapak Johny had worked and taught at the S.V.D. Minor Seminary in Mataloko, Flores—particularly under the tutelage of Pater van Appie van der Heijden S.V.D.—and his home was decorated with this history, a picture of his mentor hanging alongside the portrait of Divine Mercy and a huge decorative Rosary.<sup>355</sup>

While Bapak Johny wrote and taught music, his adult son, he claimed, was considered the active musician (pianist/organist) in the house. Be it humility or reality, when our conversation turned to the oft mentioned rhythm box, Bapak Johny delivered a measured response clearly grounded in practice. Pater John, echoing other Florenese and PML-related Catholic musical specialists, was against the use of automated rhythm, citing many of the above-mentioned objections, including the inability to change tempo. Such objections were considered from another angle in Bapak Johny’s response, in which the use of automatic rhythm was dependent on context, type of rhythm used, and situation of the playing. Explaining that different genres required different approaches to the use of rhythm—the prime example being “pop”—Bapak Johny suggested that while the use of automated rhythm can help create a certain kind of atmosphere,

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<sup>355</sup> See Appendix A.1 Figure 5 for this picture.

volume and tempo must be taken into account. In the end, “it can be used,” Bapak Johny explained, speaking from the practical experience of a trained and practicing Church musician and parishioner, who it seemed had listened to his fair share of “pok, pak, pok, pak” automatic rhythm.<sup>356</sup>

Bapak Johny’s qualified “yes” to using the rhythm box for music in the liturgy provided insight into the practice side of the automatic rhythm debate. Why use something that is forbidden? For many Catholic Church musicians in Indonesia, the ease of use, rhythmic quality, and popular aesthetic or appeal of the rhythm box seemed like enough reason to keep using it despite parochial or diocesan decrees to the contrary. Conversely, why would Catholic musical specialists go on crusade against something so useful? Some of the same reasons which made the use of automatic rhythm appealing for some made it odious to others. Chief among these polarizing qualities seemed to be the indexed aesthetic of the rhythm box and whether something that sounds like popular music has a place in the Mass. In addition to suggesting that organ/organ sound is a Catholic signifier in Indonesia, this debate over the use of automatic rhythm is also an attempt to further distinguish ritual sound through the prescribed categories of liturgical versus popular musical aesthetics. While these categories are constructed—in the case of the Catholic Church in Indonesia, emically and ecclesiastically—there is still evident tension as to what is liturgically appropriate music through which to articulate a Catholic sound.

At the same time, there is opportunity presented by the electric organ’s technology which can either exacerbate or provide an alternative to the rhythm box issue. As Pater John Ghono and

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<sup>356</sup> Personal conversation with Pak Johny Oja, 25 April 2018. Boba, Flores, Indonesia. Transcribed by Vini Alfarina. “Pok, pak, pok, pak,” are the sounds that Pak Johny used to describe the automatic rhythm sound as occasionally used in church, suggesting that it was used but not always while taking into consideration his above-mentioned conditions.

I were driving out to Boba to meet Pak Johnny, we fell into an interesting conversation with our driver, Pak David. Himself a practicing Catholic from Boba, Pak David now works as a driver and odd-job-doer at the famed SVD-run retreat house [*Rumah Retret*], Kemah Tabor, in Mataloko, central Flores, less than two hours from Boba's coastline. Passing through rice fields on the right and ocean on the left, I asked David about the music he was playing for us over the car sound system, pop tunes with crooning lyrics about Jesus, and lots of rhythm box. He explained to me that locally produced spiritual pop music is recorded in home studios and distributed through grassroots local networks. All he had to do, he explained, is show up to one of these studios or a friend whose computer functioned as a distribution point, bring a flash drive, maybe pay a bit, and hundreds of local songs—along with whatever other genres/musics the listener fancied—were uploaded onto his thumb drive and literally at his fingertips. This access, while providing a cheap and local alternative for both producers and consumers, simultaneously poses a potential problem. Pater John Ghono jumped into the conversation at this point with a caution: this was how spiritual pop songs and pop aesthetic get into the liturgy, he explained. Congregants listen to this Christian pop music on their own, and then when it comes time to pick the music for Sunday Mass, they desire to hear or perform the same tunes they listened to throughout the week. Combined with the CCM/CWM influence of Christian spiritual pop or rock music from local Protestant churches—most of which originated with CCM/CWM artists in Australia or the US—the ability to play this pop repertoire in worship is also made infinitely easier due to the zip drive portal on many electric organs and keyboards. Just plug in your flash disk, and the music you have listened to at home can be actualized—perhaps with photocopied melody and text—for Sunday liturgical worship, even if the repertoire and instrumentation is ecclesiastically forbidden.



The above explanation demonstrates a rift which I often perceived between liturgical specialists and the worshipping congregation. Trying to preserve the sanctity, history, and hierarchy of liturgical music has fallen to the few, the few who by virtue of skill, training, or particular social-cultural position had the opportunity to exercise hegemonic power over what should and should not be played in Catholic liturgies throughout Indonesia. The congregational masses, however, often lived a much more polyvocal liturgical musical reality. From the vantage point of those in the pews, popular music aesthetics and repertoire were played to appeal to the masses themselves, despite and sometime in spite of the attempted exercise of various levels of centralized ecclesiastical control.<sup>357</sup> This struggle for control—of church authority versus mass-desired popular aesthetics—was played out through electric organs and keyboards, epitomized in the plague or pleasure of the use of the rhythm box. At the same time, the technology of electric organs and keyboards presented opportunity for the creative performance of *musik inkulturasi*, allowing musicians to plug in alternate stop sounds, turning their piano into a vehicle equipped to evoke a variety of instruments. In this sense, the same kinds of technology which seeded tense discussions around the rhythm box also allowed for the potential indexing of traditional instruments from across the archipelago; it is to the use of these instruments and instrument-evoking sounds which we now turn.

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<sup>357</sup> In conversation with various Priests throughout the diocese of Ende and Maumere in April 2018, I was told that there was now a practice of diocesan control over music for certain big liturgical celebrations, such as Easter and Christmas. For these high holy days, the dioceses would choose songs ahead of time and then send the proscribed song selections to each parish as the songs which they should sing at Mass on those days. This was an attempt to eschew the programing and singing of songs considered by liturgical commissions in each diocese to be not liturgically appropriate.

#### 4.6 “Other Instruments” and Inculturation

As discussed in chapter one, inculturation in Indonesia—particularly that which occurred post-Vatican II and through the PML—is taught as being a transformative process through which the “old” [“*budaya lama*” or “*Budaya asli*”] and the new [“*budaya baru*,” ie. Christian or Catholic] “cultural” practices are transformed into something new.<sup>358</sup> Yet, which instruments are allowed to be used for worship and how, remains a process of negotiation. Beyond creating *lagu inkulturasi* based upon the playing or tuning of different instruments, the quality of the instrument itself and what it is taken to represent have become paramount concerns for many Catholics in Indonesia. As detailed above, local instruments are not required for playing *lagu inkulturasi* as created by the PML and published in their *Madah Bakti* hymn book. Any keyboard or organ can play accompaniment to these localized tunes or be enhanced with different instrument-evoking “stops” through a sound file on a zip drive. This concern with traditional musical instruments in Church or for Mass not only evokes questions of appropriate instrumentation for liturgical use, like with discussions surrounding the rhythm box, but takes this issue one step farther. In many communities throughout the country, the use of various traditional instruments as related to pre-Christian traditional or animistic religious practice is a not-so-distant memory. While many Protestant missionaries would not even entertain the idea of local, traditional instruments for worship, in church, or even outside of church by their community members, Catholics have

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<sup>358</sup> From Romo Karl-Edmund Prier’s 1999 *Inkulturası Musik Liturgi I* text, “now there is an interactive process in which the old [original] culture and the new culture [Christianity / Catholicism] undergo a transformation ... Liturgical inculturation is a reciprocal process between the local culture and the Church’s “culture” in the form of preaching and expressing faith in worship “. In Indonesian, “*kini terjadi suatu interaksi sedemikian hingga budaya lama [asli] maupun budaya baru [Christianity/Catholicism] mengalami suatu transformasi...Inkulturası liturgi adalah suatu proses timpal balik antara budaya setempat dengan “budaya” Gereja berupa pewartaan dan ungkapan iman dalam ibadat*” (Prier, 2014: 7). Karl-Edmund Prier, S.J.. 2014. *Inkulturası Musik Liturgi I (Edisi Revisi)* [*The Inculturation of Liturgical Music I (Revised Edition)*]. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pusat Musik Liturgi. PML A-84.

historically been more open to incorporating and even encouraging traditional musical instruments, dance, clothing, and linguistic practices in the Liturgy.<sup>359</sup> While ecclesiastically approved contextualized liturgical practice became formally advocated for through the documents of the Second Vatican Council during the 1960s, and then actualized in Indonesia through different inculturation programs starting in the 1970s, instrument use was and remains a sticking point.

Examples of this tension surrounding the use of traditional instruments in Catholic communities in North Sumatra abound in the work of ethnomusicologist Yoshiko Okazaki. Arguing that “a new local tradition in religious music is developing,” in response to post-Vatican II localizing efforts, Okazaki notes that “the complex nature of religious change is revealed as the symbolic meanings of non-Christian instrumental music are recalled and revaluated in the context of Catholicism” (Okazaki, 1998: 55).<sup>360</sup> Conversely, the complex nature of musical change is also revealed, as instruments traditionally used to accompany *adat*—“detailed set of customary laws of ritual and conduct”—become re-grouped for liturgical use (Okazaki, 1998: 57).<sup>361</sup> Such is the case with the *gondang sabangunan* and *gondang hasapi* ensembles, which consist of varying instruments, including drums, gongs, shawm or clarinets or flutes, percussive metal plates, plucked lutes, and a xylophone. The instrumentation changes depending on the kind of *gondang*, the event, and the repertoire played, but its pre-Christian association with calling spirits and ancestral worship is still remembered as a contentious history (Okazaki, 1998: 57-58). As Okazaki explains, “During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, during the rapid Christianization of Toba

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<sup>359</sup> For more on Protestant opposition to *gondang sabangunan* in North Sumatra, see Mauly Purba’s 1998 dissertation on “Music and Functional Change in the *Gondang Sabangunan* Tradition of the Protestant Toba Batak 1860s-1990s, with Particular Reference to the 1980s-1990s.” Doctor of Philosophy, Music Department. Monash University. Australia.

<sup>360</sup> Okazaki, Yoshiko. 1998. "Liturgical Music among the Toba Batak People of North Sumatra: The Creation of a New Tradition." *Crossroads: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 12 (2). Pages 55-74.

<sup>361</sup> For more on “*adat*,” see Okazaki, 1998: 55, especially footnote 6.

Batak society by German Lutheran missionaries, *gondang* performance was perceived as dangerous because of its close connection with spirit beliefs and ancestor worship” (Okazaki, 1998: 58). This perception has since shifted, with focus placed on the cultural and social entertainment nature of this musical practice. However, even the contemporary motto of ““*gondang* as Toba Batak traditional culture, not as religion,” articulates the Toba Batak Protestant clergy's current policy towards *gondang*” and suggests a persevering need to distance *gondang* playing from *adat* or traditional religious practices (Okazaki, 1998: 60). Into this restrictive environment, a post-Vatican II push for inculturative liturgical practices has resulted in “various kinds of experimentation,” including the incorporation of Batak musical instruments and ceremonial practices into the liturgy (Okazaki, 1998: 60). Furthermore, after the composition of *lagu inkulturasi* in North Sumatra through the PML-lead *lokakarya* workshops in Siantar from the mid-1980s to mid-1990s (discussed at length in chapter 2), using *gondang* to accompany hymn singing became a priority amongst Toba Batak Catholic communities. However, challenges ensued in trying to match the *lokakarya*-produced hymns—which Okazaki poignantly describes as “something like Toba Batak ingredients marinated in Western principles”—with traditional *gondang* instrumentation (Okazaki, 1998: 64). What prevailed was a combination of parts of the *gondang* ensembles, at times with organ and guitar, in an attempt to both symbolize Toba Batak identity while also accommodating Western hymnic conventions of harmony, melody, and form. Another challenge, however, was this persisting connection or fear of connection between traditional instruments in the liturgy and the *adat* rituals with which *gondang* were originally associated. Referencing a 1991 Easter Vigil Mass in Samosir, North Sumatra, Okazaki details that, “the tuned drums representative of *gondang sabangunan* were incorporated into the service...instead of the entire set of five drums, only three were used” (Okazaki, 1998: 66). “The

likely reason, according to the officiating priest, Father Josue,” Okazaki explains, “was to avoid the association of the drums with trance ceremonies” (Okazaki, 1998: 66). While various parts of the *gondang* have been embraced for incorporation into Catholic liturgical celebration, the prevailing uneasiness of using musical instruments once or still associated with traditional *adat* practices is a prevailing concern in communities where these fears are either reinforced or not.

Okazaki’s work in the 1990s came during a pivotal point for both the Christian and Catholic churches, and politically for Indonesia. According to the Christian (Protestant) musicians I spoke with in or from North Sumatra in 2018, certain Protestant denominations have now begun to incorporate traditional Batak instruments in liturgy, albeit slowly, as a cultural element or part of a special occasion service or celebration. The tentative incorporation—while resonating with years of trepidation or wholesale forbiddance of by Batak Christians toward the *gondang* traditions and what they represented—is also, according to Dr. Krismus Purba, due to a lack of what he referred to as “stake holders” or influential leaders who are entrusted with incorporating local musics into liturgical practice within an authoritative structure, such as with the Catholic Church.<sup>362</sup> This absence of “stake holders” is exacerbated by both denominational difference and lack of one hierarchical, ecclesiastical structure of Indonesian Protestants. For Indonesian Catholics—starting in the late 1950s, but particularly since the Second Vatican Council—the push towards localization through inculturation has been facilitated through centers and “stake holders” who exist within an ecclesiastical (and economic) structure which carries resources, authority, and credibility. Such a unified channel for change is not experienced by Indonesian Protestants; Protestant musical change, if it is going to happen at all, happens slowly, I was told.

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<sup>362</sup> Personal communication with Dr. Krismus Purba. July 4, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

Furthermore, specific to a Toba Batak reality, one challenge faced in incorporating traditional music in whatever form into liturgical practice is ideas of professionalism and, ultimately, money. Bapak Suwarsono, head of the *Sanggar Seni Bale Marojahan* and well-known traditional dance instructor in Medan, explained that the experience needed to play *gondang* music makes it prohibitive to learn and necessary to hire trained musicians.<sup>363</sup> As a Javanese Catholic living in and learning the traditional arts of the Toba Batak community in North Sumatra, Pak Suwarsono made a compelling comparison between instrumental inculturation with gamelan versus with the instruments of the *gondang* ensembles. While there are highly specialized gamelan instruments, it is possible to teach beginner or community volunteers the basic techniques and parts in order to perform. Conversely, with *gondang*, it takes years of study to learn to play the instruments integral to the instrument's musical identity, particularly drums or winds. As a result, community *gondang* groups cannot exist in the same way that parish gamelan groups are able to, avidly incorporating and teaching amateur musicians. As a result, playing *gondang* requires trained, paid musicians. The price tag on this kind of traditional performance puts it at a premium for Christian and Catholic communities alike, limited to extra-liturgical events or special celebrations.<sup>364</sup> Ultimately, the use of traditional instruments in Catholic liturgical practice throughout Indonesia is a contested issue, one that is being navigated by Catholic musicians dedicated to post-conciliar ideas of inculturation and occasionally fought by Catholics preferring a different musical aesthetic in Mass (as will be articulated later on in this chapter, in a discussion on the four-prong liturgy wars in Indonesia). The idea of creative incorporation of traditional

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<sup>363</sup> Personal Communication with Pak Suwarsono September 19, 2018 Medan, North Sumatra.

<sup>364</sup> One example being at the "Ground Breaking" Mass at St. Fransiskus Xaverius Church in Paroki Simaingka [Simaingka Parish] in Medan, North Sumatra, which I attended on 16 September 2018 and saw the *gondang sabangunan* instruments on an outdoor stage for celebratory playing and partying after the celebration of the Mass and the ground breaking civic ceremony.

instruments, of cultural representation and inculturation as a Catholic initiative, resonated with many of the musicians I spoke with throughout Indonesia, and has become a stance which is embraced and in their own way perfected through the inculturation program at the PML, particularly in reference to musical instruments.

#### 4.7 PML and Traditional Musical Instruments

While originally established in 1971 to “address Church music professionally and to compose new Indonesian liturgical songs in accordance with the ideals of the new liturgy from the Second Vatican Council,” the purpose of the PML has grown over its nearly fifty years to embrace both the teaching of organ and choral conducting, and the researching, creating, and teaching of their version of “*lagu inkulturasi*” or inculturated songs (Pasaribu, 2015: 84).<sup>365</sup> The later is a process which has been refined by Romo Prier, Pak Paul, and their staff over the decades, and has become one of the chief focuses of PML publications, time, and space. “Experiments” in creating *lagu inkulturasi* are grounded in the process of “collecting and studying scores, traditional instruments and recordings of indigenous music.”<sup>366</sup> This “field research”—carried out primarily through the *lokakarya* composition workshops—is aimed at “study[ing] the rhythms and melodies of local traditional music together with local people.”<sup>367</sup> Studying the performance and cultural context of traditional music of course involves studying the use of traditional musical instruments.

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<sup>365</sup> In Indonesian, “*untuk menangani musik Gereja secara profesional dan menciptakan lagu-lagu liturgi baru khas Indonesia sesuai dengan cita-cita liturgi baru dari Konsili Vatikan II*” (Pasaribu, 2015: 84).

<sup>366</sup> Pusat Musik Liturgi English-Language Website. Pusat Musik Liturgi. <http://pml-yk.org/english.html>. Last accessed May 11, 2019.

<sup>367</sup> Pusat Musik Liturgi English-Language Website. Pusat Musik Liturgi. <http://pml-yk.org/english.html>. Last accessed May 11, 2019.

Many of the traditional songs encountered during these beginning of or pre-*lokakarya* fieldwork sessions are then transcribed (often into Western Staff notation) by PML staff members and are on file in the PML library. Furthermore, Romo Prier has compiled many of these songs into a series of folk song books called “*Nusantara Bernyanyi*” or “The Archipelago Signing.” With a notated melody in both Western staff notation [*not balok*] and number notation [*not angka*], the folk songs are grouped geographically and identified by either location (“*Lagu daerah Sumatera Timur*” [“East Timor folk song”]) or ethnic group (ex: “*Lagu daerah Batak Toba*” [“Toba Batak folk song”]) (Prier, 1997: 41, 83). Furthermore, unlike the songs in the *Madah Bakti* hymn book, these lyrics occur in their original or local language, with text translations provided. Occasional notes contextualizing the cultural use of the song occur, in addition to pictures of local musicians playing traditional instruments and line drawings illustrating cultural elements specific to that area. With nine books in all, the “*Nusantara Bernyanyi*” series highlight folk songs literally from Sumatera to Papua (or, again, from far eastern to far western Indonesia) and is sold alongside Pak Paul’s choral arrangements of “*lagu daerah*” or traditional regional songs.<sup>368</sup>

The presence of song books focused on traditional music repertoire goes hand in hand with the extensive audio and video footage the PML has of traditional music from their *lokakarya* “field research.” It is important to specify that this fieldwork data is not yet considered inculturated. Rather, as explained above, the PML’s research process which informs the creation of *lagu*

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<sup>368</sup> Of the nine volumes in the “*Nusantara Bernyanyi*” series, the following regions are highlighted (in volume number order): Sumatera, Kalimantan, Jawa Barat [West Java], Jawa Tengah [Central Java], Jawa Timur-Bali [East Java-Bali], Flores, NTT selain Flores [East Nusa Tenggara other than Flores], Sulawesi, Maluku-Papua. For more see Toko Puskat Yogyakarta Website. Yayasan Pusat Kateketik. “BUKU NYANYIAN SERI LAGU DAERAH” [“Singing Book Traditional Song Series”]. [http://www.tokopuskat.pml-yk.org/BUKU%20NYANYIAN%20SERI%20lagu\\_daerah.htm](http://www.tokopuskat.pml-yk.org/BUKU%20NYANYIAN%20SERI%20lagu_daerah.htm). Last accessed January 28, 2020.



*inkulturasi* is itself more musico-/ethnomusicological than theological or Catholic. In her description of a *lokakarya* process in North Sumatra, Okazaki explains that:

First, typical Batak songs and *gondang* tunes are collected and gleaned for common motifs; second, the characteristics of those motifs are studied to identify typical melodic and rhythmic shapes; third, new songs are created by arranging the melodic and rhythmic formulas inherent in Toba Batak music; and fourth, the lyrics from the hymn text are adapted to the tune (Okazaki, 1998: 63).

Of the above-described steps, the first two are explicit to the work of a musicological/ethnomusicological fieldworker, gathering “tunes” and identifying “typical melodic and rhythm shapes.” In the application of their analysis, however, the PML goes one step further. As Marzana Poplawska explains in her 2008 dissertation on “Christian music and inculturation in Indonesia,” traditional songs from different ethnic groups are attributed with different emotional characteristics which are then attributed to different parts of the Catholic liturgical celebration. Quoting from an interview with Romo Prier, Poplawska relays his explanation of the role of representation through *lagu inkulturasi* in the liturgy of the Mass, saying, “To become calm we use a song from an ethnic group that is famous because of calmness, like Javanese here. And for a moment, where we would like to be enthusiastic/animated, we use a song from an ethnic group that is enthusiastic—like Batak, like Flores, Timor, etc.” (Poplawska, 2008: 94).

This paring of emotive characteristics with different ethnic groups is something I heard frequently discussed during my months at the PML in 2017-18, studying in their library and getting to know their staff and methods. While certainly stereotypes, these characteristics seem to resonate—with both emic and etic application—with many of the Indonesians I spoke with

there.<sup>369</sup> Performative or emotional characteristics also came with musical assumptions: enthusiastic Florenese music was expected to be highly rhythm and harmonized; calm Javanese music was often cyclic with lilting pentatonic melodies. These stereotypes too were classified or leveled, with gamelan being considered a high art form, comparable to Western Classical high art, and other instruments of lesser lineage and prestige.<sup>370</sup> In my experience, such characteristic assumptions were performed both ideologically and musically, affirming the histories which created and perpetuate such static imaginings of ethnic group identities. These musical associations with ethnic stereotypes highlight fields of power in which instruments, emotions, and ethnic groups are considered unified, codified entities while at the same time negating the potential for group variation. At worst, these assumptions can facilitate the creation of a hierarchical system in which stereotypes associated with music are used to ethically venerate or, at worst, denigrate ethnic groups. This is the powerful work which can be done by musical instruments. I need to qualify again, that I am not accusing any person or institution of doing negative work here; if anything, I am affirming the ways in which I have seen and heard these assumptions practiced. Instead, I am pointing out the ways in which musical instrument use can be connected to broader national and cultural stereotypes which, put to either constructive or negative use, can wield a great deal of social power.

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<sup>369</sup> These emotive stereotypes were also used in negative reversal, as with Catholics in Flores who said Javanese music was foreign to them because it lacked the rhythmic and enthusiastic quality of Florenese songs. At the same time, such stereotypes, while often predicated on common musical and cultural characteristics of their associated places or ethnic groups of origin, reinforce ethnic (and, I believe one could argue, at times racial) characteristics which are used to typify (in its worst, hierarchically) cultural expressions, musical performance and instruments, and whole ethnic groups or regional traits. This is epitomized in the Indonesian theme park *Taman Mini* which literally capitalizes off of regional and ethnic stereotypes. For more, see John Pemberton 1994 "Recollections from "Beautiful Indonesia" (Somewhere Beyond the Postmodern)." In *Public Culture* 6: 24 1-262.

<sup>370</sup> For a comparison of "East and West Music" or "Musik Barat dan Timur," see Karl-Edmund Prier, 2014 *Inkulturasasi Musik Liturgi I* (Edisi Revisi) [*The Inculturation of Liturgical Music I* (Revised Edition)]. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pusat Musik Liturgi. Page 14. Furthermore, for a discussion of shared characteristics of Indonesian traditional music, see Prier, 2014: 15; for a discussion of the "*Inkulturasasi Musik Gamelan Jawa*," or the ["Inculturation of Javanese Gamelan Music"], see pages 20-26.

While a study of traditional musical styles and instruments can provide a window into the navigating of social and cultural stereotypes, it can also shed light on another instrument-related economic element for Indonesian Catholics. In an interview with Romo Prier in October, 2018, he explained to me the research-centric approach he sees as the PML's potential for the future. More than traveling around the country holding *lokakarya* composition workshops for the creation of new *lagu inkulturasi* and new books, he shared a vision where people come to the PML to learn their refined techniques of organ playing, choral conducting, and *musik inkulturasi*. This vision includes the collection and teaching of traditional musical instruments from around the country, with the PML as a support center for providing quality instruments and instruction for local and regional traditional musics. While this is currently now an aspect of part of the PML's Church music training program—particularly the *Con Brio* program, where middle school and high school youth are taught gamelan, alongside organ or conducting, and music theory—this vision resonates with preservationist inclinations. For the PML, this continuation of practicing the process and performance of inculturation includes instruments, as Romo Prier explained:

But what I think is important is that PML uses these songs. In a sense, yes, trying to learn about the culture we (inclusive) have from the recordings and information, documentation, so that we are closer to trying to use that pattern. This means that we here must carry out inculturation in the form of music studies from the region with, ya, not only studies but by trying with the musical instruments that we have, making accompaniments that are more distinctive, in accordance with the music in the book from the region concerned. Of course not just playing here but to use it, for education,

courses... (Prier, 20 October 2018).<sup>371</sup>

Thus, musical instruments play a key role in Romo Prier vision for the future, allowing for the continuation of *lagu inkulturasi* in situ through the PML's theoretical study of regional musics. This socio-cultural and musical study, as Romo Prier mentioned, is made possible in part through the documentation—recordings, videos, photos, and scores—from *lokakarya* workshops throughout the country. Complementing their library of various media pertaining to the existence and practice of various regional traditional musics, the PML has another key resource on the third level of their building, a room of musical instruments from around the country.

With small plaques notating the region and/or ethnic group each instrument is associated with, the music room “upstairs” (on the third floor) strikes me as museum meets music classroom. While most of the instruments are there to be played—easily accessible and often used by PML staff members for their daily pre-work morning worship (from 7-7:30 every morning)—the sheer diversity of instruments in that room speak to Romo Prier's vision not only of representing the “Unity in Diversity” of Indonesian Catholics through hymns, but relatedly through musical instruments.<sup>372</sup> While the later is rather more difficult to do, with many of the local instruments at the PML requiring specialized musical knowledge, to acquire and share that knowledge is exactly

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<sup>371</sup> In Indonesian, “*Tetapi yang saya kira penting bahwa PML memakai lagu-lagu itu. Dalam arti ya mencoba mempelajari budaya yang kita punya dari rekamannya dan informasi, dokumentasi, bahwa kita lebih dekat dengan mencoba men[pause] memakai pola itu. Artinya kita s di sini harus melaksanakan inkulturasi dalam wujud studi musik dari daerah dengan ya tidak hanya studi tapi dengan mencoba dengan alat musik yang kita punya, membuat iringan yang makin khas, sesuai dengan musik yang di buku yang da dari daerah yang bersangkutan. Tentu tidak hanya main-main di sini tetapi untuk men memakai itu, untuk pendidikan, kursus-kursus.*” Personal Communication with Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, SJ. October 20, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>372</sup> Again, for more on this idea of music creating a sense of “*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*,” or “Unity in Diversity” through inculturated music (as it is done at the PML) for Indonesian Catholics see Poplawska, 2008: 94, where Romo Prier is quoted as saying, “‘If we want to look for meditation/reflection, perhaps there is a region of Kalimantan that is suitable to fulfill [this] function in the Liturgy. Therefore later our service becomes also *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, in the positive sense; not as a mixture of everything, but appropriately to the aim” (Poplawska, 2008: 94). This idea of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* and the adoption or use of Indonesian national philosophies or phrases for Catholic musical or liturgical projects will be discussed at length in the following, fifth section, chapter four, on *Pancasila*.

what Romo Prier's refined vision would look like. For now, this transmission of traditional musical instrument-playing at the PML revolves around their staff, with each member expected to sing and/or play at events throughout the year. The yearly *penataran* training session for long distance trained organists and choir conductor students is one activity where Romo Prier's vision of practicing the use of traditional musical instruments in worship comes to fruition, and the PML fulltime staff members who play an integral role in accompanying the singing of *Madah Bakti* hymns from around the country with instruments from the room upstairs.

One common experience which was shared by all the PML staffers I spoke with was the need to be willing to learn traditional musical instruments with little to no previous study or background. While some of the staff at the PML are life-long gamelan players, and many are accomplished singers or organists, they consider it part of their job description to be willing to try to learn different musical instruments as the need arises. The self- or amateur-taught mentality is different from the professionalism or lifelong training and learning often acquired by traditional musicians. That being said, Pak Ardi, a retired PML teacher, is known for his ability to play and teach a variety of traditional instruments and is often called into the PML, out of retirement, to teach alongside PML staff members. Furthermore, if virtuosity is necessary for a performance or instrument, the PML is well connected to Yogyakarta area arts Universities, which often can supply traditional music players from regions the PML is interested in.<sup>373</sup> While some of the PML staff has more of an aptitude for playing traditional instruments, virtuosity and perfection are not

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<sup>373</sup> Such with the case for the PML's participating in Asian Youth Day in 2018, when they asked a professor of North Sumatran Batak music from ISI Yogyakarta to play traditional instruments from that region—including the tuned drums of the *gondang sabangunan*—for the event's closing Mass in Yogyakarta. While a PML staff member played the tuned drums for a few of the rehearsals leading up to this event, there was excitement and awe expressed when the locally trained musician started playing at a very high skill level.

the goal—willingness to sound instruments which represent communities throughout the country seems more important than perfect playing for now.

At the same time, improving both the knowledge base and skill level of PML teachers and staff as pertains to traditional instruments seems to be exactly what Romo Prier hopes for the future. Anticipating the reality of a time when an older generation of traditional musicians die out, and thus are no longer able to transmit the knowledge of their traditions in their home region, Father Prier joked that then, because of the documentation of local musics which the PML has amassed, people could just come to the PML to learn the region's musics, and musics from around the archipelago. Referring to the aforementioned Pak Ardi, the guru so to speak of traditional music instrument playing at the PML, Romo Prier explained that “we continue to encourage the perfection of regional musical instruments, and therefore we are still want to...help to send, to order those instruments. That way they can have a basis because the traditional musical instruments that are there occasionally are in disrepair, ya. They don't sound anymore or are already broken.”<sup>374</sup> The desire to be a supplier of traditional musical instruments—while in line with the PML's original mission to professionalize church music and embrace inculturation—equates professionalism with economic access, albeit in a potentially prohibitive way.<sup>375</sup> Furthermore, while I have seen a limited of selection of musical instruments for sale at the *Toko Puskat*—including a *rebab* (or spiked fiddle), *kecapi* (plucked zithers), *suling* (traditional flutes), and *kendang* (traditional drums)—the only instruments highlighted on the *Toko Puskat* website

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<sup>374</sup> In Indonesian, ““kita tetap mendorong supaya alat musik di daerah disempurnakan, dan dengan demikian kita tetap mau...membantu untuk mengirim, memesan alat-alat itu. [uh] supaya mereka bisa mempunyai dasar karena alat musik tradisional kadang-kadang dalam keadaan buruk ya. Tidak bunyi lagi atau sudah rusak.” Personal communication with Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, SJ.. October 20, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>375</sup> As explained and quoted above, the PML was originally established in 1971 to “address Church music professionally and to compose new Indonesian liturgical songs in accordance with the ideals of the new liturgy from the Second Vatican Council,” In Indonesian, “untuk menangani musik Gereja secara profesional dan menciptakan lagu-lagu liturgi baru khas Indonesia sesuai dengan cita-cita liturgi baru dari Konsili Vatikan II” (Pasaribu, 2015: 84).

are diatonically tuned instruments which index compatibility with Western musical forms and tuning.<sup>376</sup> Taken together, while Romo Prier’s desire to retrench and refine the *inkulturasi* process based on the data and experienced amassed at and through the PML, a question of how accessible this knowledge and training will be, particularly for outer island Catholics, remains.

#### 4.8 A Four-prong Liturgy War and the Role of Instruments

As alluded to in the above discussions on the use of organ vs. keyboard (and rhythm box) vs. traditional musical instruments, while the actual instrumental medium for the music making matters—such as with certain drums of the *gondang sabangunan* ensemble used in liturgy in North Sumatra—repertoire is a significant factor in the debates over instrumentation and musical style for Catholic liturgical music in Indonesia. Accordingly, a sort of four-prong liturgy war has emerged within the Indonesian Catholic musical scene, each with staunch convictions as to appropriate instrumentation and repertoire for liturgical use.<sup>377</sup> As a friend who is a PML-trained

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<sup>376</sup> For more, see: Toko Puskat Yogyakarta Website. Yayasan Pusat Kateketik. “*Alat Musik*” or [“Musical Instrument”]. [http://www.tokopuskat.pml-yk.org/alat%20musik\\_20.htm](http://www.tokopuskat.pml-yk.org/alat%20musik_20.htm). Last accessed January 28, 2020.

<sup>377</sup> For a concise explanation of the creation and use of the term “liturgy wars,” see Peter Jeffery’s 2014 article, “Can Catholic Social Teaching Bring Peace to the “Liturgy Wars”?” *Theological Studies*, Vol. 75(2) 350–375., where he explains the origins and use of the term as follows, “As an expression of journalistic origin, the phrase “liturgy wars” emphasizes the element of conflict, while giving us no real information about the issues. It has been in use since at least 2002,[^]2 but it may owe something to the phrase “worship wars,” which has been used since 1999 to describe similar controversies taking place in American Protestant churches.[^]3 Both, in turn, are indebted to the label “culture wars,” used since at least 1990 to describe recent political realignments in American society and academia that often ignore or transcend traditional political and religious boundaries by pitting liberals and conservatives against each other even within the same religious denomination or political party.[^]4” (Jeffery, 2014: 351-2). While this is a term created in and for socio-religious realities in the US, I think that globalizing and Westernizing musical and liturgical trends connect it to and align with its potential use for describing the liturgical “battles” contemporarily faced by the Catholic Church in Indonesia. I should also note that while I call and mean for this to be considered a kind of “liturgy war,” for the sake of this dissertation, I will only be discussing the musical elements therein, while aware that liturgy includes and implies a lot more than just music, such as the liturgical elements of procession, dress, language, preaching, presiding, and reading or proclamation.

organist explained this “battle” to me, the divisions are largely instrument. The most “traditional” group is enchanted by Latin (or more accurately, the melodies of “Gregorian” chant)—even though the Latin Mass is a rare occurrence in Indonesia according to my interlocutors—and prefers organ music and Gregorian chant. The second camp, so to speak, is okay with older missional hymns, translations of 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Dutch and German hymns into Indonesian, with organ or piano/keyboard. Members of group number three, the *inkulturasi* group, are strong proponents of keyboard/organ, especially as it can be used to accompany *lagu inkulturasi*, and advocates of traditional musical instruments or musical idioms to be used in Mass. Finally, the last group is an amalgam of more contemporary, popular musics in liturgical practice, including *lagu pop rohani* or spiritual pop songs, often accompanied by keyboard with effects like the rhythm box, and occasionally the worship band instrumentation of keyboard, guitar, and/or drum kit.<sup>378</sup> While the last category has been recognized by many as appropriate for para-liturgical worship, especially for community events, processions, or youth gatherings, using musical repertoire and instruments which index popular music in the Mass is still a highly contested issue among musical and liturgical leadership throughout Indonesia. Although I am relaying these groups in a highly categorical and codified way here for the sake of comparison, in reality, cross over of people and practice is definitely more porous than bounded. However, it is significant to discuss the convictions of each camp in order to understand how and why such vehement debates about instrument-use occur. Yet, in many ways, organ and/or keyboard are the winners of this war, serving as the instruments capable of crossing over from group to group, repurposed by repertoire and playing/signing style to suit each camp.

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<sup>378</sup> In my experience from fieldwork, spiritual pop songs or *lagu pop rohani* can range from local compositions (of religiously inspired texts set to a pop music accompaniment) to translations of various kinds of Contemporary Christian Music/Contemporary Worship Music (CCM/CWM).



#### 4.8.1 Gregorian

During my fieldwork, the traditional or organ-only camp was epitomized by a common proclivity to one kind of repertoire, namely what they referred to as “Gregorian” or Gregorian Chant.<sup>379</sup> While this kind of repertory—often sung in Latin, although commonly translated into vernacular languages as well, including Indonesian—has a long history of association with Catholic practice and particularly the Latin Tridentine Rite of the Mass, I argue that it has come to include sacred polyphony in Indonesia. In this way, it is less of a choice of liturgical Rite or preference and more, as I see it, about access to a certain kind of musical repertoire and commensurate playing style. In some parts of the country—as in Larantuka—the singing of Gregorian Chant is a missional legacy which has been preserved and revived through community practice.<sup>380</sup> In other areas, Catholic musicians are reverting to more traditional musical convictions. A key agent of reversion is the return of various Indonesian Catholic priests trained in Europe—often Rome or the Netherlands—at more musically and liturgically conservative

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<sup>379</sup> It is important to clarify that the use of the term traditionalist here does not connote Latin Mass. In most diocese in Indonesia the Latin Mass in Extraordinary Form (or, Tridentine Rite) is no longer practiced by any community, and in some diocese, like in Jakarta, discouraged or even forbidden. Accordingly, my use of traditionalist here as a category is in reference to the musical preference for Gregorian chant/sacred polyphony and what could be characterized as a more solemn approach to the liturgy with vestments, candles, incense, and the like.

<sup>380</sup> In conversation with Romo Edu (Edward Jebarus), liturgical specialists and historian for the Diocese of Larantuka, he attributed the monthly Mass in Latin at the Larantuka Cathedral to traditionalist fervor. Personal Conversation with Romo Edward Jebarus. March 21, 2018. Larantuka, Flores, Indonesia. However, in her explanation of this musical heritage, one Cathedral *lingkunan* choir member cited chant as what makes their community a beacon of Catholicism in Indonesia, saying that Larantuka is to Rome what Aceh is to Mecca. Aceh is an area of West Sumatra under Sharia law. For more on Sharia law in Aceh, see: “Q&A: What you need to know about sharia in Aceh” March 4, 2018. Jakarta Post. Accessed 9/10/19. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/03/04/qa-what-you-need-to-know-about-acehs-sharia-law.html>. Aceh is referred to as “Mecca’s Veranda,” both for its proximity and trade connections to the Middle East and for its commensurate more traditionalist practice of Islam. For academic use of this term, see Daniel Andrew Birchok, 2013. “Sojourning on Mecca’s Verandah: Place, Temporality, and Islam in an Indonesian Province.” PhD Dissertation. University of Michigan.

institutions.<sup>381</sup> As an organist friend in Bandung, West Java, explained to me, although she had been taught to play keyboard and organ in a more popular style, once she met a Priest trained in liturgical theology she was convicted to play in a more traditional style and has embraced organ-accompanied Gregorian chant and sacred polyphony.<sup>382</sup> I would argue here that access—be it through a missional legacy or because of leaders with contemporary, more traditional liturgical training—and exposure is key to entrance into this camp. Accordingly, the performance of “Gregorian” either requires the continuation of historical use (as in Larantuka) or the commitment of key figures at the parochial and Diocesan levels who are committed to indexing sacred time and Catholic tradition in this way, with Gregorian chant, sacred polyphony, and a conservative organ sound and style.

#### 4.8.2 Dutch and German Hymns

The second camp crosses over with the first in terms of instrumentation and advocates. Represented by the hymn book *Puji Syukur*—discussed in chapter two—those committed to arranging, translating, and promoting older German and Dutch hymns are also accessing missional legacy and a pre-Indonesian Independence and pre-Vatican II way of indexing Catholicism. Of the proponents of this style, Romo Tanto—a key agent in the production of *Puji Syukur*—played a significant role in not only making this repertoire accessible but in advocating for its liturgical

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<sup>381</sup> For priests trained in Rome, those who attended the Benedictine Pontifical Atheneum of St. Anselm tended to espouse more traditional and magisterial views of liturgical and musical practice, whereas those trained at The Pontifical Gregorian University, a Jesuit institution, were often more open to greater liturgical and musical leeway and creativity. These divisions are not surprising considering the stance towards Catholic Church Tradition espoused by both orders, with Benedictines generally being more Tradition-oriented and Jesuits known for being more open to contemporary application of Catholic faith.

<sup>382</sup> I would describe this more traditional style as including organ stops, straighter rhythms, and certainly nothing that would index popular music or a worship band, like rhythm box, guitar, or drums.

spirit, a spirit expressed, as with the previous group, through more conservative organ arrangements and playing styles. As mentioned above, songs that do not have the proper “liturgical spirit” include those which represent what Romo Tanto refers to touristic understanding of traditional music.<sup>383</sup> During our conversation at his parish in the outskirts of Jakarta, he showed me his room full of organs—most of which he fixed himself and now uses to teach organ classes to children—and extensive library of European sacred polyphony musical scores. It became clear that for Romo Tanto, an appropriate liturgical spirit and repertoire was predicated upon the missional history which brought many of the Dutch and German hymns to Indonesia and became entrenched in the liturgical practice of some as ways of being and sounding Catholic. Accordingly, I understand Romo Tanto’s affinity for organ accompaniment and older, missional repertoire to be another way to articulate an older form and association of Catholicity in Indonesia. While Romo Tanto is known to be a non-proponent of other repertoire—particularly the PML’s *Madah Bakti* hymnal and what Romo Tanto considers as their touristic appropriation of Indonesian traditional musics for *lagu inkulturasi*—looking at preferred instrumentation and style here is significant. Romo Tanto’s proclivity for older European hymns represents one project or way of being Catholic. In fact, these hymns—while European in derivation—have now become part of the musical history and canon of Indonesian Catholics, as overseen and practiced by Indonesian Priests and musicians—and concretized through the KWI’s *Puji Syukur* hymnal—and stands independent against Gregorian musical-traditionalists and those committed to promoting *musik inkulturasi*.<sup>384</sup>

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<sup>383</sup> Romo Tanto referred to “liturgical spirit” in Indonesian as “*jiwa liturgi*.” Personal communication with Romo Antonius Soetanto S.J., 8 August 2018. Jakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>384</sup> Here, by those committed to promoting *musik inkulturasi*,” I am thinking specifically of the galvanizing work of foreign missionaries in this process, particularly as Romo Prier states in his *Perjalanan* book that “Strangely, this practical effort more or less was initiated by a missionary person who was from another [foreign] country.” In Indonesian, “*Anehnya, praktis usaha ini sedikit banyak berinisiatip dari seorang misionaris yang berasal dari luar negeri*” (Prier, 2008: 16). It is further significant that foreign missionaries typically do not grow up with the same musical associations between traditional musical and pre-Christian practices as Indonesian-born Catholics did or do,

### 4.8.3 Musik Inkulturasi

The *musik inkulturasi* camp is also full of cross overs. Many of the PML-trained organists and staff members I worked with are fluent in playing German chorales and accompanying Gregorian chant, while also trained to play inculturated accompaniment on organ. In fact, some of the German hymns which appear in both *Madah Bakti* and *Puji Syukur* are either translated or arranged by Romo Prier himself. What is significant in this repertoire group is the bringing together of different genre repertoires: G.F. Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus" and PML-produced *lagu inkulturasi*, both of which can be played on organ. While an openness to multiple repertoires aligns adherents of the *musik inkulturasi* camp a bit more closely to the Dutch and German hymn camp, a key difference lies in the PML encouraged incorporation of traditional musical instruments in the liturgy. This preference for the local—be it through creative use of organ stops and midi-files or indigenous musical instruments—is a dividing factor between this camp and the two previously explained, in part due to associations with *musik inkulturasi* as indexing an educated yet outsider take on Indonesian traditional music and in part due to a more conservative preference for magisterial teachings on appropriate liturgical musics, one which can often hold in question the process of inculturation itself. At the same time, however, the *musik inkulturasi* camp is probably among the most vocal groups against the last camp in this liturgy war, that which veers musically too close to popular music.

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and that frequently missionaries were coming from communities where a greater breadth of musical material was becoming more widely embraced for liturgical use, particularly after Vatican II; thus their enthusiasm with and for *musik inkulturasi* in Indonesia would be coming from a background or space of different musical, liturgical, and social experience before arriving in Indonesia, which would then inform how they perceive music and liturgical practice in their Indonesian mission field.

#### 4.8.4 Pop Aesthetic or *Musik Pop Rohani*

Ironically, the pop-aesthetic camp is plagued by more vocal dissent from members of the other three groups than support from those actually advocating for admission of popular musical choices into liturgical musical repertoire. As a result, my data for identifying instrumentation, playing style, and repertoire elements is largely from the opposing teams of the PML and in conversation with musical leaders who are dissenters, in different Dioceses. At the end of his 2008 *Perjalanan* book, on the recent (1957-2007) history of music in the Catholic Church in Indonesia, Romo Prier presents a number of genres which he explains may not be appropriate for use in the Mass. While extolling the para- or extra-liturgical virtues of categories like *Taize* Chant and *Musik Pop Rohani*, the theo-spiritual orientation of these and related song categories make them dubious for liturgical use in Romo Prier's schema. This includes the popular "*Lagu Karismatik*," songs known for short, simple musical phrases; straight forward lyrics, often focusing on the Holy Spirit; and vocal harmony and instrumentation which evoke a pop aesthetic, often with the presence of a guitar. For example, in his argument against "*Lagu Karismatik*" or Charismatic songs, while Romo Prier commended the use of Charismatic songs and worship for prayer meetings, healing, and community building, he argued that the emphasis was on the horizontal relationship, between believers, insinuating that it was thus unfit for a liturgical celebration which instead required songs affirming the vertical relationship between believers and God (Prier, 2008: 98-99). Furthermore, many of these Charismatic songs—emanating from the Charismatic renewals, an ecumenical initiative starting in Pittsburgh in the mid-1970s—were US-based, indexing a similar use of American-produced worship music in Indonesian Protestant services (Prier, 2008: 98). When the songs were composed in Indonesian, the musical idioms were often borrowed for the US or

Western popular music forms, “of course with rhythmic accompaniment played through keyboard or band” (Prier, 2008: 98).<sup>385</sup>

Accordingly, Romo Prier’s concern with Charismatic music was not so much that it existed as what it indexed and when it should and should not be used. Similarly, although perhaps even more vehemently, argument against “*Lagu Pop Rohani*” or “Spiritual Pop Songs,” also allows for use outside of the liturgy, such as in “shared devotional / individual, meetings, performances, entertainment, meditation, catechesis etc.” (Prier, 2008: 99).<sup>386</sup> However, with lyrical emphasis on the individual, little use of Biblically-based texts, and music mimicking popular, entertainment musical idioms, Romo Prier declares the crux of the matter, that “pop songs are not liturgical songs” (Prier, 2008: 99).<sup>387</sup> Instrumentation mimicking a worship band and popular entertainment caps off the opposition-proclaimed ills of *lagu pop rohani*, however, such vehement opposition begs the question of whether the issue is spiritual pop music itself that is the opponent. Rather, like in Larantuka, I must wonder if it is the need to assert the sound of a Catholic identity in Indonesia—a liturgical, organ or organ-sounding centric sound—that is the real cause of this four-prong liturgy war.

The idea of musical instruments being used to assert a certain degree of political, economic, and at times subversive power is neither novel nor new.<sup>388</sup> Rather, the mere presence of musical instruments at Church and used in liturgical and extra-liturgical practices provides for and in a way

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<sup>385</sup> In Indonesian, “*tentu saja dengan iringan ritmis melalui keyboard atau band*” (Prier, 2008: 98).

<sup>386</sup> In Indonesian, “*devosi bersama / perorang, pertemuan, pentas, hiburan, meditasi, katekese dll.*” (Prier, 2008: 99).

<sup>387</sup> In Indonesian, “*lagu pop bukan lagu liturgi*” (Prier, 2008: 99).

<sup>388</sup> Again, see Weintraub’s 2004 *Power Plays* where he discusses how, in the 1980s, “musical instruments were visual and sonic signifiers, as well as means of production...” (Weintraub, 2004: 129). See also Francesca Carnevali, Lucy Newton, 2013. “Pianos for the People: From Producer to Consumer in Britain, 1851–1914.” In *Enterprise & Society*, Volume 14, Number 1, March 2013, pp. 37-70, for another example of how use and ownership of musical instruments can index economic, class, and social change.

conditions the habitus and hexis of Indonesian Catholics, affecting both disposition towards (habitus), and actions and thoughts about (hexis) how being Catholic in Indonesia should musically look and sound. While there is a great deal of power exercised through what and how music should be played—particularly for the Catholic Liturgy—hegemonic control of not just repertoire (as discussed in chapter 2) but also of instrumentation and affect, which is exercised by musico-liturgical leaders, is often challenged or subverted in practice. The fact that issues like what music may be used in Mass and how have become such contentious questions for Catholics in Indonesia suggests that musical instruments, organ and keyboard in particular, serve as contested instrumental symbols, signaling different camps, suggesting different repertoires, and intoning local, national, and missional histories for Catholics throughout the country. Just as instruments have become sites of power in Indonesian Catholic music scene, so too have politics been articulated musically in both liturgical and extra-liturgical practices; it is to this practice of musicking with Pancasila politics which we next turn.<sup>389</sup>

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<sup>389</sup> Here I am using Christopher Small's term "musicking"—which he describes as the gerund of "to music," being "to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing" (Small, 1998: 9)—To imply all of the music and music-related things that *Pancasila* is connected to by and for Catholics in Indonesia. Small goes on to explain that "We might at times even extend its ["to music's"] meaning to what the person is doing who takes the tickets at the door of the hefty men who shift the piano and the drums or the roadings who set up the instrument sand carry out the sound checks or the cleaners who clean up after everyone else has gone. They, too, are all contributing to the nature of the event that is a musical performance" (Small, 1998: 9). For more, see Christopher Small. 1998. *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

## 5.0 Pancasila Politics: Music, Nationalism, and Catholicism in Java”

On August 6, 2017, at the Indonesian Airforce Academy on the outskirts of Yogyakarta, Indonesia, former Indonesia’s Got Talent finalist, Hudson, and the Yogyakarta *Dearah Istemewa* Choir performed an arrangement by Catholic composer and musician Bapak Tonie Widyarto of the Indonesian patriotic song "Indonesia Jaya.” Following the closing Mass of 7<sup>th</sup> Catholic Asian Youth Day (AYD), this performance served as a kind of pivot point between the Eucharistic celebration and preparation for the political speeches which followed. Half way through the song, during an instrumental interlude, choir members together shouted “*Saya Indonesia; Saya Pancasila!*,” waving mini-Indonesian flags affixed to plastic drinking straws.<sup>390</sup> Echoing the exact words of President Joko Widodo’s slogan in honor of *Pancasila* Day—celebrated on June 1, 2017—the performance of this choir of more than 500 Indonesian Catholic youth is just one example of the recent re-voicing of the famed Indonesian political philosophy of *Pancasila* that has been produced by Catholic communities in Indonesia in recent years.

That same summer (June 2017), in Yogyakarta, composer Paul Widyawan—conductor of the *Vocalista Sonora* choir—published a songbook titled “Pancasila” with the *Pusat Musik Liturgi* (Center for Liturgical Music or PML). The book’s cover pictures a *garuda* bird superimposed over the Indonesian flag and boasts of 32 choral arrangements of national songs. The opening song, “*Pancasila*,” is in “5/4” meter and arranged for five voices, with a beat and voice-part for each of the five principles of this political philosophy. Detailing his aspirations for this particular song at the end of his preface to this book—dated June 1, 2017, the first annual “*Hari Lahir*

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<sup>390</sup> For a picture of this moment, see Appendix A. 3 Figure 17.



*Pancasila*” [The Birthday of Pancasila]—Pak Paul wrote that “hopefully [the song “*Pancasila*”] will be useful to realize the contents of the lyrics as the base foundation of our country” (Widyawan, 2017).<sup>391</sup> In fact, the lyrics are word per word the five tenets of *Pancasila* itself. Similar to how the AYD youth choir chanted their embodiment of *Pancasila* in the middle of their performance of “Indonesia Jaya,” this publication is yet another way Indonesian Catholics, particularly those on Java, have artistically mobilized the political idea of *Pancasila* to promote religious plurality during a decade of decline in religious freedoms.

Despite the fact that *Pancasila* and its accompanying mottos and symbols have been used and re-used throughout Indonesia’s history, I argue that Catholic musicians and leaders throughout the country have recently begun re-appropriating and mobilizing this ideology to serve an acutely politicized identity politics. At the same time, the employment of a Hindu-Buddhist symbol and its accompanying Javanese phrase *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* [Unity in Diversity], is perceived as doing very different work in Java than on islands further away from Indonesia’s political and economic center. This geographic disjuncture in understanding and use of *Pancasila* provides valuable insight into the differing identity politics for Catholic leaders in different parts of the country, while also showing how music in Catholic contexts is being used to address inter-religious tension and the need for the protection of religious pluralism. Accordingly, after an introduction of the key word “*Pancasila*” and a brief related history, I will present a regional study on creative Catholic responses to this political ideology and the values it is taken to espouse on Java and Flores. By presenting foils of Catholic-produced *Pancasila*-related music and arts—particularly in Jakarta and Yogyakarta on Java, and Ende on Flores—I will compare differing narratives which

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<sup>391</sup> . In Indonesian, “Semoga bermanfaat untuk menghayati isi syair sebagai dasar negara kita” (Widyawan, 2017: “Kata Pengantar”).

respectively connect and disassociate Indonesian Catholic communities with Indonesian national politics. At the same time, Catholic responses to *Pancasila* ironically both reaffirm the centralized ecclesiastical power of institutions like the KWI and PML, while also being a space for subversive understandings or distancing from centralized power in outer island locations. Finally, I will end with an examination of how music in Catholic contexts is being used to address inter-religious tension, moving beyond a simply symbolic use of *Pancasila* to actually acting out the values it purports. In the end, how Catholics throughout Indonesia engage with *Pancasila* will be seen to have a new application as a national political philosophy examined and re-tooled for the needs of a Catholic religious minority in the country with the largest Islamic population in the world.

### 5.1 Keyword: *Pancasila*

Harkening back to a Hindu-Buddhist mythic past, the word *Pancasila* is a composite of two words in Sanskrit, “panca” meaning five, and “sila” meaning principles.<sup>392 393</sup> Like its name suggests, this five-point political ideology—integral to the formation of an independent Indonesian nation-state—consists of five principles intended to create national unity. While the process and politics behind each of these points will be discussed below, in addition to what this collective

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<sup>392</sup> “*Pancasila*” on the “National Symbols” page of the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Washington D.C.’s website. Last accessed 9/16/19. <https://www.embassyofindonesia.org/index.php/national-symbols/>.

<sup>393</sup> According to Benjamin Fleming Intan, the term *Pancasila* is derived from both Sanskrit and Pali, with “sila” not meaning “‘foundation,’ ‘base,’ ‘pillar,’ ‘guideline’” (Intan, 2006: 72—footnote 71). Here Intan quotes from J. Verkuyl, 1987. *Contemporary Mission: An Introduction*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans. 383. Benjamin Fleming Intan, 2006. *“Public Religion” and the Pancasila-Based State of Indonesia: An Ethical and Sociological Analysis*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

ideology was used to do under different political regimes, a current definition of *Pancasila* is as follows:

“[1] Belief in the one and only God

[2] Just and civilized humanity

[3] The unity of Indonesia

[4] Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives

[5] Social justice for the whole of the people of Indonesia”<sup>394</sup> <sup>395</sup>

According to resources from the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Washington, D.C., the five points “are often generalized to refer to religious devotion, humanitarianism, nationalism, consultative democracy, and social justice.”<sup>396</sup>

Before delving into greater historical detail and political analysis, there are three key issues concerning the form or language of “*Pancasila*” which require discussion. First, in its genesis, the term upon which this national ruling ideology rests upon is itself Java-centric. Harkening back to the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Java and Bali, the use of a Sanskrit term as a national ideological foundation privileges places where that history and mythology is found. Furthermore, this history is one where a charismatic ruler king exerts centralized power upon a kingdom whose peripheral power fades in importance with distance from the center, not unlike traditional studies of

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<sup>394</sup> “*Pancasila*” on the “National Symbols” page of the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Washington D.C.’s website. Last accessed 9/16/19. <https://www.embassyofindonesia.org/index.php/national-symbols/>. I added numbering here in order to make each point clear and all five identifiable.

<sup>395</sup> In Indonesian, “[1] Ketuhanan yang maha esa; [2] Kemanusiaan yang adil dan berabad; [3] Persatuan Indonesia; [4] Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmat kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan/perwakilan; [5] Keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia.” From <https://www.dictio.id/t/bagaimana-fungsi-dan-kedudukan-pancasila-di-indonesia/109501>. Last accessed 10 October, 2019.

<sup>396</sup> “*Pancasila*” on the “National Symbols” page of the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Washington D.C.’s website. <https://www.embassyofindonesia.org/index.php/national-symbols/>. Last accessed September 16, 2019.

Indonesian politics, even those post-independence.<sup>397</sup> A combination of privileging language, history, and central power from Java affirms a sense of Java-centrism which privileges not just the practical political and economic power of Java, but related cultural associations of language, arts, and music. While a twin ruling ideology of “*bhinneka tunggal ika*,” a Javanese phrase often translated as “unity in diversity,” accompanied the idea of *Pancasila* during the founding of Indonesia, there is no way to get away from a Java-centric power dynamic; one harnessed in Java and often adversely felt on islands beyond, particularly in the country’s outer island periphery.

A second issue with the text of *Pancasila*, which upon reading of the five points probably becomes self-evident, is the malleability or openness to interpretation of each statement. The ways in which *Pancasila* can be lived out—including questions over how to pursue a “just and civilized humanity,” the role of democracy, the enforcement of social justice for all Indonesians, not to mention national unity and the belief in one God—can be molded to fit various points of view, making *Pancasila* a convenient container for different agendas, ideologies, and programs throughout Indonesian history. Finally, as a third point, *Pancasila* itself is and has become a symbol for these morphing uses. Incorporated into Indonesia’s official coat of arms—as five symbols on a shield adorning the breast of a *garuda* bird—*Pancasila* has become a literal visual symbol, an oft-changing ideological buzz word, and an at times amorphous ideal of what Indonesia should, and in many cases has yet to, look like.<sup>398</sup> As will be described below, the meaning and

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<sup>397</sup> For a theory behind charismatic ruling centers in Bali, see Clifford Geertz. 1980. *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. For more on traditional center-periphery political understanding in Indonesia, see: Benedict Anderson. 1990. *Language and power: exploring political cultures in Indonesia*. Cornell, NY: Cornell University Press.

<sup>398</sup> The *garuda* is a mythical bird known to be common to Hindu Epics. Compared to a bald eagle, the *garuda* is also a site of much state symbolism, as explained also under “National Symbols” the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Washington D.C.’s website: “Its principal color, gold, symbolizes the greatness of the nation. The black color represents nature. There are 17 feathers on each wing, 8 on the tail and 45 on the neck. These numbers stand for the date Indonesia proclaimed its independence: 17 August 1945. The shield symbolizes self-defense and protection in struggle. The five symbols on the shield represent the state philosophy of *Pancasila*. The motto *Bhinneka Tunggal*

use of *Pancasila*—despite concrete wording of its five idealistic points—is frequently in the hands and mind of whoever is using it to do nationalizing work, work which often implicates political affiliation, economic power, religion, and central control.

Throughout my research in Java—and particularly among Catholics—there was a sense of “*Pancasila* as protection,” in which Priests, Bishops, and musicians alike were using *Pancasila* to advocate for the continuation of religious tolerance, pluralism, and peace in Indonesia. In so-called outer island areas—specifically Flores—*Pancasila* rang empty, as the promises it proclaimed and the programs it was used to promote were often rarely seen or felt in these islands. Accordingly, *Pancasila* was a common Keyword throughout my fieldwork and provided an opportunity to listen to the anxieties and aspirations for Catholics, often connected to their perceived plight of minority religious and ethnic communities throughout the country. The ways *Pancasila* was set to music and expressed in art—or not—opened a door to these larger, often politically and religiously changed conversations. In the end, this mutability of *Pancasila* and the varied ways that Indonesian Catholics employed it as a symbol became, for this study, its recursive strength.

## 5.2 The Use of *Pancasila* in Indonesian National History

To speak about the significance and social importance of *Pancasila* in Indonesian national history is itself a book, many of which already exist.<sup>399</sup> For the sake of this project, understanding

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*Ika* (“Unity in Diversity”) is enshrined on a banner held in the eagle’s talons, signifying the unity of the Indonesian people despite their diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds.” the “National Symbols” page of the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Washington D.C.’s website. Last accessed 9/16/19. <https://www.embassyofindonesia.org/index.php/national-symbols/>.

<sup>399</sup> For English-language books on the religious, socio-cultural, and political import of *Pancasila*, see Suhadi, 2014. “*I Come from a Pancasila Family*’: *A Discursive Study on Muslim-Christian Identity Transformation in*

*Pancasila* as it relates to music and Catholicism in Indonesia, three key historical figures and commensurate historical moments become significant to highlight, namely: Sukarno, Indonesia's first president and the 1945 creator of *Pancasila*; Suharto, Indonesia's second president and authoritarian dictator of over thirty years (from 1967-1998); and Joko Widodo (colloquially referred to as Jokowi), Indonesia current president and the initiator of the "Birth of *Pancasila* Day" [*"Hari Lahir Pancasila"*], first celebrated on June 1, 2017. In tracking these highlights of how *Pancasila* was created and then use, and re-used, the precarious role of religion and politics, a precarity keenly felt by many of my interlocutors, becomes clear.

### **5.2.1 Under Sukarno: *Pancasila* and Nation-building**

*Pancasila* was first declared on June 1, 1945 by Sukarno—who would become the emergent nation's first president—at the end of the first meeting of "The Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work Indonesian Independence" or "*Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia*" (BPUPKI). Disagreement between secular nationalists and Muslim Nationalists around to the role of Islam as the basis of the state had reached an impasse and a palatable compromise was needed. In his now famous speech, Sukarno laid out his five principles of *Pancasila* as follows: "(1) nationalism (*kebangsaan*); (2) internationalism or humanitarianism (*internasionalisme atau peri-kemanusiaan*); (3) deliberation or democracy (*mufakat atau demokrasi*); (4) social justice or social welfare (*kesejahteraan sosial*); and (5) Lordship

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*Indonesian Post-Reformasi Era*. Berlin, Germany: LIT Verlag; Benyamin Fleming Intan, 2006. "*Public Religion*" and the *Pancasila*-Based State of Indonesia: An Ethical and Sociological Analysis. New York, NY: Peter Lang; Eka Darmaputera, 1988. *Pancasila and the Search for Identity and Modernity in Indonesian Society*. New York, NY: E.J. Brill.

(*ketuhanan*)” (Intan, 2006: 40).<sup>400</sup> <sup>401</sup> These principals could be further distilled into three points or “*tri sila*”—“Socio-nationalism (embracing Nationalism and Internationalism), Socio-democracy (including the principles of Democracy and Social Welfare), and Lordship”—or one ruling principle “*eka sila*,” “gotong-royong” or mutual cooperation” (Intan, 2006: 40). While Sukarno’s proposition of *Pancasila* was celebrated as a solution to the day’s deadlock, what followed within the next month was a reformulation of this principle, with focus towards refining the central role that religion would play in the fledgling nation. A “gentlemen’s agreement” was arrived at on June 22, 1945 in which “ ‘the ordering’ and ‘the formulation’ ” of the principles were altered so that, as Benjamin Fleming Intan explains in his book 2006 “*Public Religion*” and the *Pancasila-Based State of Indonesia: An Ethical and Sociological Analysis*,” “Sukarno’s fifth principle, the principle of Lordship (*ketuhanan*), was placed as the first principle and was extended by a clause which read “with the obligation to carry out the Islamic law (*Shari’ah*) for its adherents”” (Intan, 2006:40-1).<sup>402</sup> While this last point of adherence to *Shari’ah* law for all Muslims was taken out of the formulation for *Pancasila* in the 1945 constitution—with the first point changed to “the Principle of One Lordship” (*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*), previously fifth—a hierarchical prioritization of monotheistic religiosity was asserted. This parsing of the codification of principles of *Pancasila* throughout 1945 shows how tension between ideas of a

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<sup>400</sup> What is less frequently discussed is where Sukarno developed his ideology of *Pancasila* and the role of Dutch missionary Priests in the process, a contemporarily disenchanting reality which will be discussed at length below in relation to the central Flores city of Ende, ironically known as “*Pancasila City*” [“*Kota Pancasila*”].

<sup>401</sup> Benyamin Fleming Intan. 2006. “*Public Religion*” and the *Pancasila-Based State of Indonesia: An Ethical and Sociological Analysis*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

<sup>402</sup> This point of forced adherence to *Shari’ah* law for all Indonesian Muslims—while a further compromise between Muslim and secular nationalists—incited much backlash both from secular nationalists, particularly Christians. Under threat that “If this phrase remained, Christian living predominantly in the eastern parts of Indonesia would not join the Republic” Muhammad Hatta, first Vice President of Indonesia, called together a meeting on August 18, 1945 in which the clause of *Shari’ah* law was removed, an assertion of monotheism as “the principle of *One Lordship*”) (*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*),” was added (Intan, 2006: 42-3).

religious state, secular state, and Islamic state has been always been present in Indonesia, since its inception.

Under Sukarno's rule, religion—particularly the role of Islam as expressed through Muslim nationalists—continued to be a point of political contention. On January 3, 1946, to compensate the Muslim nationalists for their legislative concession in the final Constitutional version of *Pancasila* (1945), Sukarno developed a Ministry of Religion, intended to support and give a state apparatus for the national Islamic community. Decried by secular nationalists as excessive and “an outpost for an Islamic state,” Intan explains that with the ministry's creation, “although the idea of an Islamic state was rejected, Islam's special place and role in the new republic could not be denied” (Intan, 2006: 44).<sup>403</sup> While the ministry of religion was expanded to include sections for the other state religions—namely “Protestant, Catholic, and Hindu-Buddhist” communities—fear of Indonesia becoming an Islamic state in which religious minorities were relegated to minority status persisted and grew (Intan, 2006: 44, 47). Under Sukarno's “Guided Democracy” or “*Demokrasi Terpimpin*” (1959), *Pancasila* became a tool in religiously-inflected political disputes: criticized by Muslim nationalists as ““obscure, colorless, and ‘pure concept’” and defended by Catholic and Christian political parties (specifically the *Partai Katholik* and *Partai Kristen* Indonesia) as an ideal alternative to having Islam as the ideological basis of the state (Intan, 2006: 46, 47).<sup>404</sup> <sup>405</sup> By the time of Sukarno's decline in power in 1965, perpetuated by the

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<sup>403</sup> Here Intan quotes Catholic writer J.W.M. Bakker, S.J., J.W.M. Bakker, 1956. “*De Godsdienstvrijheid in De Indonesische Grondwetten*,” *Het Missiewerk* no. 4. 215. Quoted in Boland, *The Struggle of Islam*. 106. (Intan, 2006: 74).

<sup>404</sup> Here, for the idea of Pancasila as ““pure concept,”” Intan cites Muhammad Natsir, 1970. “The Dangers of Secularism,” in *Indonesian Political Thinking 1945-1965*, ed. Herbert Feith and Lance Castles. Ithaca and London: Cornell University press, 218. (Intan, 2006: 75, footnote 114).

<sup>405</sup> Sukarno's Guided Democracy was initiated by Presidential Decree on July 5, 1959, in the face of a standoff between secular and Muslim nationalists in the 1959 Constituent Assembly to ratify a new constitution in 1959. Returning to the 1945 Constitution, Sukarno “gained powerful executive control of the state...becoming the Great Leader of the Indonesian Revolution and the Highest Commander of the Indonesian Armed Forces,” dissolving



“abortive coup” known as G30Sor the September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement, *Pancasila* was a malleable political compromise which had been through the ringer of different political agendas, often subjected to interpretation and yet still credited as a workable state solution over other potential state-foundations, such as Islam.<sup>406</sup>

### 5.2.2 Under Suharto: Authoritarian Uses of *Pancasila*

Under Suharto’s New Order regime, the central government’s use of *Pancasila* grew to serve his authoritarian agenda. In 1971, with the New Order’s first general election, the power of political parties and political Islam was severely contracted, with all government-sponsorship funneled into the government sponsored *Golkar* organization (Intan, 2006: 52). The following decade saw increased societal discontent, with continued fear and restriction placed on religious minorities and an increase in sectarian violence.<sup>407</sup> As a result, in 1982 Suharto delivered a speech

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the Constituent Assembly and disbanding opposing political parties, like *Masyumi*, the largest Islamic party at the time (Intan, 2006: 48). As Intan explains “Since the promulgation of this decree [on July 5, 1959, thus returning the 1945 Constitution in 1959], Pancasila has been permanently and effectively applied as the ideological basis of the state up to present” (Intan, 2006: 47).

<sup>406</sup> Intan’s concise explanation of G30S is a concise overview of this event and its direct political implications: “The implementation of Sukarno’s Guided Democracy strengthened the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) which later launched a bloody abortive coup on September 30, 1965, known as *Gerakan Tiga Puluh September/PKI* (*Gestapu/PKI* or G30S/PKI, September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement of the Indonesian Communist Party) affair. Following the G30S/PKI abortive coup, Sukarno in turn fell from power, providing the opportunity for the emergence of the New Order government in 1966 in Indonesia” (Intan, 2006: 49).

<sup>407</sup> Two instances of state restriction of religious expansion—and effectively the rights of religious minorities—in Indonesia in the late 1960s and 1970s including edicts which restricted the building of houses of worship and bans on proselytizing for conversion. Regarding the former, September 13, 1969, the New Order government produced “a joint decision of the Ministers of Religion and the Minister for Home Affairs No.01/BER/MDN-MAG/1969 regarding the building of houses of worship with purposes not only of guaranteeing religious freedom, but also of maintaining national unity and stability” (Intan, 2006: 52). Requiring religious communities to procure a permit before being allowed to build a formal house of worship, this edict was seen as a concession to Islamic groups by the New Order government, and, like Intan says, was an effort to secure “national unity and stability,” despite the ways it did and still does effectively place disproportionate limitations on religious minority communities (Intan, 2006: 52). Regarding the later, decrees were issued under Ministerial Decision no 70/1978 and no. 77/1978 which limited religious evangelism and ““Foreign Aid to Religious Institution in Indonesia,”” respectively (Intan, 2006: 54). Also banning foreign missionaries, the later edict particularly affected Christian and

in which he “proposed a piece of legislation which stipulated that all political parties and social organization must adopt *Pancasila* as their *only basis (satu-satunya asas)* ideologically and philosophically in the life of society, nation and state” (Intan, 2006: 55). As Intan explains, “The government’s main intention was to maintain *Pancasila* as the state’s national ideology and to socialize it continuously in the life of nation...believ[ing] that it would be able to eliminate the ideological antagonism among the parties” (Intan, 2006: 55-56). Intense opposition grew from Muslims and Christians groups alike, with fear that adopting *Pancasila* as their sole ideology would not only conflict with the ideological convictions of their world religion, but could lead to the dangerous beginning of what would become an all-encompassing secular state ideology. Suharto’s plan for the totalizing use of *Pancasila* became law in 1985 as Law no. 3/1985 required that all political parties adopt *Pancasila* as their sole ideology. Law no. 9/1985 followed a few months later, declaring that “all social or mass organizations including voluntary religious organizations must accept *Pancasila* as their only basis” (Intan, 2006: 58). Thus, using *Pancasila* to political socio-religious work was consistent through the decades of Sukarno and then Suharto’s rule. As Intan explains:

Suharto, like Sukarno, utilized *Pancasila* as an ideological tool for delegitimizing political Islam. Suharto’s use of *Pancasila* for political purposes culminated in the formulation of *Pancasila* as the *only basis*. At this point, indeed *Pancasila* could easily be manipulated. With the government as the sole interpreter of *Pancasila*, any perceived opponents could simply be labeled as ‘*anti-Pancasila*,’ and thus be banned” (Intan, 2006:

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Catholic communities, with many Catholic missionaries becoming Indonesian citizens to get around this restriction (Intan, 2006: 54).

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This use of *Pancasila* by the government was both ideological and socially pervasive, with the famed 100 hours of *Pancasila* education required for all civil servants under the Suharto regime.<sup>409</sup> <sup>410</sup> History would eventually repeat itself with echoes of Suharto's authoritarian past, as we will see with current re-elected president Joko Widodo's use of *Pancasila* in recent years. However, Suharto's brand of *Pancasila* is significant in not just being used to unify and bolster an integralist state, like it was under Sukarno, but in the New Order's appropriation of this political philosophy as a legal and controlling state stricture.<sup>411</sup>

### 5.2.3 Under Joko Widodo: A Return to *Pancasila*

A question persists as to what decades worth of decades old history on the use of *Pancasila* under presidents Sukarno and then Suharto has to do with relative present day, and why Indonesian Catholics in some parts of the country have recently returned to invoking *Pancasila*. To unravel both the contemporary relevance and the historical resonance of recent uses of *Pancasila* since 2107 in Indonesia, the socio-political climate and commensurate political action need to be taken into account. The first catalyst of a *Pancasila* political "Renaissance" came at the beginning of

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<sup>408</sup> Here Intan does use the word and spelling "delegitimizing," which I read as meaning or the same as "delegitimizing." However, I have left Intan's spelling as printed to honor his text and work.

<sup>409</sup> For more on this use of *Pancasila* under Suharto, see Michael Morfit, 1981. "Pancasila: The Indonesian State Ideology According to the New Order Government." *Asian Survey*, Vol. 21 No. 8. Aug., 1981. Pp. 838-851. And Donald E. Weatherbee, 1985. Indonesia in 1984: Pancasila, Politics, and Power. *Asian Survey*. Vol. 25, No. 2. February 1985. Pp. 187-197.

<sup>410</sup> Policy analyst Sidney Jones confirms this reality and memory of Suharto's use of *Pancasila*, saying "And what some people remember is, that, the way it was used under President Suharto which was forcing people into policy with training programs where they were forced to accept the way that the Suharto government defined it. But...what it was, was a tool to curb dissent." Personal Communication with Sidney Jones. August 16, 2018. Jakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>411</sup> For more on the role of *Pancasila* politics and an integralist state (*negara integralistik*) under Sukarno and Suharto, see Intan, 2006, Chapter 2, "'Public Religion' in Indonesia," pages 31-80, specifically pages 58-59.

May 2017, when then governor of Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, locally known as Ahok, was unanimously convicted of blasphemy and sentenced to two years in prison. As an Al Jazeera article published on that day—May 9, 2017—explains, Ahok was “the Indonesian capital's first Christian and ethnic Chinese governor since the 1960s,” and taken to court by a number of conservative Islamic groups who criticized his use of a verse of the Quran in a re-election video.<sup>412</sup>

<sup>413</sup> While posited by many as re-election rival politics, this use of the blasphemy law against religious minorities in Indonesia has been of increasing concern and prevalence since 2012.<sup>414</sup> In an article published hours after the verdict, “associate professor of Indonesian politics at the Australian National University, Greg Fealy, told CNN. ‘The blasphemy law has really been a blight on the rule of law and democracy in Indonesia for decades,’ he said, adding that ‘the fact that Ahok was charged at all was really a product of massive street demonstrations that frightened the government into acting.’”<sup>415</sup>

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<sup>412</sup> “Ahok: Indonesia's religious tolerance on trial? Jakarta's governor on Indonesia at a crossroads between a multi-religious state or a nation ruled by Islamic principles.” Posted on May 9, 2017. Al Jazeera Online. Last Accessed September 19, 2019. <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/talktojazeera/2017/01/ahok-indonesia-religious-tolerance-trial-170128084747099.html>

<sup>413</sup> Specifically, again according to the above mentioned Al Jazeera article, “Ahok quoted the Quranic verse Al Maidah 51 while introducing an economic programme in a village - his concern lay in his political opponents using this very verse to discourage people to accept his leadership as a non-Muslim. The message was seen as Ahok criticizing the verse itself, as opposed to those who may misuse it to undermine his political aspirations.” “Ahok: Indonesia's religious tolerance on trial? Jakarta's governor on Indonesia at a crossroads between a multi-religious state or a nation ruled by Islamic principles.” Posted on May 9, 2017. Al Jazeera Online. Last Accessed September 19, 2019. <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/talktojazeera/2017/01/ahok-indonesia-religious-tolerance-trial-170128084747099.html>.

<sup>414</sup> Here, the Al Jazeera article cites two examples where the blasphemy law was used against religious minority or religious minority viewpoints in Indonesia, including the following: “In 2012, a public servant in Sumatra was jailed for 2.5 years after declaring himself an atheist on Facebook. A Muslim scholar received a two-year prison sentence for preaching Shia teachings.” “Ahok: Indonesia's religious tolerance on trial? Jakarta's governor on Indonesia at a crossroads between a multi-religious state or a nation ruled by Islamic principles.” Posted on May 9, 2017. Al Jazeera Online. Last Accessed September 19, 2019. <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/talktojazeera/2017/01/ahok-indonesia-religious-tolerance-trial-170128084747099.html>.

<sup>415</sup> Ben Westcott, 10 May 2017 (updated). “Jakarta governor Ahok found guilty in landmark Indonesian blasphemy trial” CCN (World: Asia). Last accessed September 20, 2019. <https://www.cnn.com/2017/05/09/asia/ahok-trial-verdict/index.html>.

Ahok's role as governor of Jakarta and his charge, trial, and conviction had captured the hope and then fears of many religious moderates, especially members of minority religions, desiring religious pluralism in Indonesia. As stated in a BBC article from February 2017, "Governor Purmana's rise to one of the country's most prominent positions was seen as an example of Indonesia's commitment to religious tolerance. Now his trial is testing Indonesia's multi-ethnic and pluralist society in a way it hasn't been for years."<sup>416</sup> Historical echoes of the October 1990 "Monitor Affair"—where newspaper editor Arswendo Atmowiloto was convicted of blasphemy (April 1991) for running a poll that "severely insulted the Islamic community"—under Suharto's regime are hard to ignore (Intan, 2006: 64).<sup>417</sup> However, like the "Monitor Affair," Ahok's trial, conviction, and recent release highlights the politics and precarity of *Pancasila* as a ruling state ideology working towards religious pluralism and not just authoritarian control.<sup>418</sup>

In July 2017, a few months after Ahok's was sentenced, President Widodo signed a presidential decree forcibly disbanding any organizations in conflict with *Pancasila*. Aimed at conservative Islamist groups like *Hizb-ut Tahrir Indonesia* (HIT)—a group fighting for the establishment of an Islamic caliphate—the edict was supposedly targeting groups committing acts of religiously-fundamentalist violence, in an effort to protect national unity and religious pluralism in Indonesia. Decried by human rights activists, this exercise of government power would allow the president to disband a group without warning or due court process, and in so doing, "harks back to the era of authoritarian ruler Suharto, who demanded loyalty to *Pancasila* and took

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<sup>416</sup>"Ahok trial: The blasphemy case testing Indonesian identity." 14 February 2017. BBC News Online (World: Asia). Last accessed September 20, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-38902960>.

<sup>417</sup> For more on the "Monitor Affair" and its socio-religious implications, see Intan, 2006: 64-5.

<sup>418</sup> Hannah Beech, January 23, 2019. "Christian Politician in Indonesia Is Freed After Blasphemy Prison Term." The New York Times (Asia Pacific). Last accessed September 20, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/23/world/asia/basuki-tjahaja-purnama-ahok-indonesia-jakarta.html>.

repressive measures against some opponents.”<sup>419</sup> The ban became law in October of that same year, in a way reactivating *Pancasila* as a political apparatus through which the central government could exercise complete control.

Finally, in June 2017, the first “*Hari Lahir Pancasila*” or the “Birth of *Pancasila* Day” was celebrated. Signed into existence by a Presidential decree in 2016, this act was seen as yet another centralizing political responses that the Indonesian government made to a rise in sectarian violence, what one television news reporter described as “many acts of intolerance which have occurred in country.”<sup>420</sup> With the introduction of yet additional holiday in honor of *Pancasila*, and the pervasive popularity of its accompanying catch phrase “*Saya Indonesia. Saya Pancasila*” or “I am Indonesia. I am *Pancasila*”—printed on everything from billboards to bottles of water—President Jokowi’s call to embody *Pancasila* as the essence of the Indonesia nation echoes, albeit moderately, the use of this political ideology during the first decades of the country’s life. Contemporary uses of *Pancasila* are both bolstering the power of the centralized government, like it was used to do under Suharto, while also attempting to moderate religiously motivated sectarian and extremist violence. Just as the government is reusing *Pancasila*, rife with echoes of the moves of presidents past, Catholics too are returning to *Pancasila* as a tool to both align themselves with a religiously plural Indonesian nation-state while also voicing an accountable reminder that the democratic enactment of this ruling principle is necessary for the freedom of all Indonesians, particularly those who identify as religious minorities.

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<sup>419</sup> Julie Chernov Hwang, July 19, 2017. “Why banning ‘extremist groups’ is dangerous for Indonesia.” The Washington Post (Monkey Cage: Analysis). Last accessed September 20, 2019. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/07/19/why-banning-extremist-groups-is-dangerous-for-indonesia/>.

<sup>420</sup> “Video Jokowi: Saya Indonesia, Saya Pancasila.” May 30, 2017. *YouTube*. Uploaded by BeritaSatu. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FQDh3xBig5A>. Last accessed October 16, 2019.

#### 5.2.4 *Pancasila* and Catholicism in Indonesia

As what historian Karel Steenbrink refers to as a “Self Confident Minority” in Indonesia, Catholics historically have been strong and important proponents of *Pancasila* as a founding state philosophy.<sup>421</sup> Probably the most famous Catholic to align himself with an independent Indonesia is Monsignor Albertus Soegijapranata (Soegija)—first ‘native-born’ Indonesian bishop and ardent pro-nationalist—who during his speech at the 1954 All-Indonesia Catholic Congress, proclaimed:

“If we feel like good Christians, therefore we should also become good patriots. Because of that, we feel that we are 100% patriotic because we also feel 100% Catholic. Therefore, according to the Fourth Commandment from the 10 Commandments of God, as it is written in the Catechism, we must love the Catholic Church, and therefore also love our country with all our heart.”<sup>422 423 424</sup>

In its original context, the motto called for ardent patriotism despite the Dutch and German missionary attachment that the Catholic church had originally been associated with in Indonesia.<sup>425</sup>

Speaking to members of a newly independent Indonesian nation, the quote underscores Soegija’s

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<sup>421</sup> Here referencing Steenbrink’s title to the second volume of his history of the Catholic Church in Indonesia. Steenbrink, Karel. 2007. *Catholics in Indonesia, 1808-1942. A Documented History. Volume 2: The Spectacular Growth of a Self Confident Minority, 1903-1942*. Leiden, Netherlands and Boston, US: Brill.

<sup>422</sup> The above English translation is my translation of text from Mgr. Soegijapranata’s speech as quote in Subanar, 2005. In Indonesian: “*Jika kita merasa sebagai orang Kristen yang baik, kita semestinya juga menjadi seorang patriot yang baik. Karenanya, kita merasa bahwa kita 100% patriotic sebab kita juga merasa 100% Katolik. Malahan, menurut perintah keempat dari Sepuluh Perintah Allah, sebagaimana tertulis di dalam Katekismus, kita harus mengasihi Gerja Katolik, dan dengan demikian juga mengasihi negara dengan segenap hati*” (Subanar, 2005: 82).

<sup>423</sup> Here it is significant that the word love is *mengasihi* which also means to be attached to, suggesting that love of the Church is a simultaneous identification with or attachment to it.

<sup>424</sup> See G. Budi Subanar’s 2005 book *Menuju Gereja Mandiri: Sejarah Keuskupan Agung Semarang di Bawah Dua Uskup (1940–1981) [Towards an Independent Church: History of the Archdiocese of Semarang Under Two Archbishops (1940–1981)]* (in Indonesian). Yogyakarta: Sanata Dharma University Press. 134.

<sup>425</sup> For more on Soegija’s early pro-nationalist stance, see Karl Steenbrink, 2015. *Catholics in independent Indonesia, 1945-2010*. Boston, MA: Brill. Specifically of interest is the reference to Soegijapranata’s desire to “eliminate the reproach that the Catholic community was a creation of colonialism and continued to protect its promoter [the Dutch and German colonial powers]” (Steenbrink, 2015: 10).

trustworthiness—won in part through his mid-1940s political and military efforts against the Japanese and international efforts on behalf of national independence and civic order—and affirms his allegiance to an independent Indonesian nation-state. While clearly a pro-nationalistic political maneuver, the causal relationship of being a good Catholic and therefore a good patriot aligns Soegija, on behalf of all Indonesian Catholics, with an idea of a globally applicable Catholic ideology which transcends Dutch and German missional control.

The connection of being a good patriot with being a good Catholic was eventually formally embraced by many foreign-born missionaries themselves who, in the late 1970s—when Suharto’s law no. 77/1978 banned foreign missionaries and “Foreign Aid to Religious Institutions in Indonesia”—chose Indonesian citizenship over expulsion, continuing their role as an integral part of the fabric political, religious, and educational life in-country. The history continues of key Catholic (largely Jesuit) missionaries—like Nicholas Driyarkara S.J. (who advised Sukarno), Joop Beek S.J. (who secretly advised Suharto), and Franz Magnis-Suseno S.J. (who spoke and still speaks openly against Suharto’s use of *Pancasila* and was close friends with the fourth President of Indonesia, Abdurrahman Wahid, known as Gus Dur) —serving Indonesian politics in key ways while often questioning the use and potential of ideologies like *Pancasila*.<sup>426</sup> A recent revival of a Catholic re-examination of *Pancasila* as compatible with Catholic Church teaching can be seen in the plethora of Indonesian-language books by and for Catholics arguing precisely for this kind of connection and compatibility.<sup>427</sup> Yet the ideals of *Pancasila* and Catholic social teaching are

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<sup>426</sup> For more on the role of prominent Jesuits in the Indonesian public and political sphere, see Michael VanZandt Collins’ 2016 review of “Catholics in Independent Indonesia: 1945–2010, written by Karel Steenbrink.” In *Journal of Jesuit Studies*. Vol. 3. Issue 1. Last accessed September 21, 2019. [https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/3/1/article-p143\\_23.xml?lang=en](https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/3/1/article-p143_23.xml?lang=en).

<sup>427</sup> Books by and for Indonesian Catholics examining the compatibility between Catholicism and the ideology of *Pancasila* include: Petrus Danan Widharsana. 2018. *Mengamalkan Pancasila dalam terang Iman Katolik*. [Living *Pancasila* in light of the Catholic Faith] Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Penerbit [Publisher] PT Kanisius; and Albertus Istiarto and Martinus Suharsono. 2017. *Pendidikan Pancasila: Memanusiakan Manusia Menjadi Lebih Manusiawi*



not consumptive—with one overtaking or subsuming the other—but seen as complimentary. As my friend and former PML staff member, Bernadeth Diaz, told me, “We are *Pancasila*; we are unity...everyone is different but one. The church will be like that.”<sup>428</sup>

In the 1940s and 50s, Indonesian Catholics needed to prove they were loyal to an independent Indonesia and not mere colonial puppets of the countries which once provided missionaries and often still provide missional support. Leaders in the Indonesian Catholic Church used slogans like “100% Indonesian and 100% Catholic” to do the political work of expressing this alignment. Contemporarily, I contend that Indonesian Catholics are using *Pancasila* again to align themselves with a certain understanding of the Indonesian nation state. This time the question is not if Catholics are “100% Indonesian and 100% Catholic,” but rather if the nation-state of Indonesia and those who govern it are going to be committed to the religious plurality that allows Indonesian Catholics to peaceably and freely exist. The desire for the protection of religious pluralism—with *Pancasila* as the basis of a religious, instead of Islamic, state—is what *Pancasila* first represented, a beacon of hoped for unity offered by Sukarno during the political stalemates between Muslim and secular nationalists in 1945. Beyond a history of *Pancasila* as Sukarno’s persuasive compromise and Suharto’s exercise of absolute, indoctrinating power, *Pancasila* has now become re-tooled by Indonesian Catholics, wielded through song, symbol, and art as a voice of accountability to a country whose history knows both the precarity and promise that *Pancasila* can bring.

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[*Pancasila* Education: Humanizing Humans to Become More Human] Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Penerbit [Publisher] PT Kanisius. These resources are further complemented by the ability most Catholics I talked with exhibited of being able, off the top of their heads, to explain “*sila*” by “*sila*” or point by point how *Pancasila* and Catholicism were ideologically aligned.

<sup>428</sup> Personal communication with Bernadeth Diaz, March 13 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia. In Indonesian, In Indonesian: “Kita Pancasila; kita bhinneka...bhinneka tunggal ika; semua yang berbeda-beda tetap satu. Gereja akan ‘gitu.’”

### 5.3 Artistic Expressions of *Pancasila* by Catholics in Jakarta

In light of the sectarian religious violence in the mid-2010s and Jokowi’s politically *Pancasila*-packed year in 2017, it follows that in seeking a way to respond to their perceived threat of religious pluralism, Indonesian Roman Catholics sought symbols to turn to. The cultural capital of something like *Pancasila*—particularly in its use by a moderate president committed to religious pluralism—became a convenient vehicle for certain populations of Indonesian Catholics, particularly those in the nation’s capital, to express an alignment with and accountability for a religiously plural nation state. Accordingly, in 2016, the Archdiocese of Jakarta [*Keuskupan Agung Jakarta* (KAJ)] launched a five-year campaign (2016-2020) titled “*Amalkan Pancasila*” or “Practice *Pancasila*.” Each year would have a different theme based on each of the different tenets of *Pancasila* itself.<sup>429</sup> As a symbol of this celebration, various area churches, including Jakarta Cathedral, erected statues of the *garuda* bird in their church courtyards, a symbol of the state being assumed into church space.<sup>430</sup> Diocesan Priest, Romo Yost Kokoh, explained to me the impetus for KAJ’s five-year campaign of *Pancasila* in an interview in July 2018:

Because it is considered [that] we as a nation have a historical identity crisis... There are many fundamentalist groups who want to replace [the] ideology [of *Pancasila*] with the ideology of the *Khilafah*, with a typical ideology of the Middle East and radical Islam. So

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<sup>429</sup> The phrases for each year have included: “Kerahkan Allah Memerdekakan” [“God’s Mercy Sets [us] Free”] (2016), “Makin Adil, Makin Beradab” [“More Just, More Civilized”] (2017), “*Kita Bhinneka, Kita Indonesia*” [“We are Diversity, We are Indonesia”] (2018), “*Kita Berhikmat, Bangsa Bermartabat*” [“We are Wise, the Nation is Dignified”] (2019), and “*Kita Adil, Bangsa Sejahtera*” [“We are Fair, the Nation Prospers”] (2020).

<sup>430</sup> In addition to the *garuda* statue in Jakarta, I saw at least one other courtyard *garuda* outside of St. Laruensius church in Tangerang, a suburb of Jakarta.

we need to return to a more, more universal basis, the *Pancasila* base.”<sup>431</sup> <sup>432</sup>

In a way this crisis—while manifested decades later and with different political and religious actors—is no different that the division of a secular versus Islamic basis for the nation state for which Sukarno created *Pancasila* to begin with.

I first encountered the KAJ’s *Pancasila* celebration in 2018 during the months of my fieldwork which brought me to the country’s capital and particularly to Jakarta’s grand neo-gothic Catholic Cathedral. *Gereja Santa Perawan Maria Diangkat Ke Suraga* [Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Assumption (literally “taken to Haven”)]—home to *Paroki Katedral* Jakarta or Jakarta Cathedral Parish—is situated right across the street from Indonesia’s national *Masjid Istiqlal*, a peculiar confluence of traditions past, present, and future. While under construction to create a museum and meeting spaces that will accommodate the overwhelming influx of both worshipers and tourists, its neo-gothic church building stands as a monumental testimony to the missional and colonial roots of the Roman Catholic Church in Indonesia. Inside its stone wall, the buttressed ceiling resonates with music as pluriform as the complex history that Catholicism in Indonesia represents, in support of a minority religious community whose members are simultaneously part of a missional and colonial Roman Catholic Church and citizens of a multi-faith, majority Islamic, nation-state.

Yet, how are Indonesian Catholics here at the capital’s Cathedral using cultural capital—expressed through symbols in art and music—to assert their right to belong as fully Indonesian

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<sup>431</sup> Personal communication with Father Jost Kokoh. July 26, 2018. *Wisma Samadi*, Klender, Jakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>432</sup> In Indonesian, “*Karena dianggap, kami itu sebagai bangsa sejarahnya krisis identitas...Ada banyak kelompok yang fundamentalis yang ingin mengganti ideologi dengan ideologi khilafah. Dengan ideologi yang khas Timur Tengah dan Islam radikal. Sehingga kami butuh untuk kembali ke basis yang lebih, lebih universal, basis Pancasila.*”

citizens despite their status as a religious minority and the political uncertainty of the continued tolerance of religious pluralism in country? Walking into the Cathedral Church complex to attend a Mass on a Sunday mid-morning in June 2018, the Archdiocese of Jakarta's answer to this question met my sight. A larger than life *garuda* statue was nestled into lower left corner of the church's cruciform exterior, a striking national symbol associated with *Pancasila* itself.<sup>433</sup> Throughout Mass, my eye kept catching the newly installed statue of *Bunda Maria Segala Suku*, of the Virgin Mary of all Races, with a *garuda* bird pinned to her chest.<sup>434</sup> At the end of Mass my suspicion of a continuing and pervasive KAJ Catholic celebration of *Pancasila* was confirmed, as the electric organ—a frequent accompaniment to music at Mass despite the newly restored pipe organ resting in the transept loft above—played the last few bars of a newly composed hymn celebrating Indonesia's national motto. "*Kita Bhinneka Kita Indonesia*," we sang, the tones of this cheery diatonic tune intoning words evoking an oft repeated Javanese phrase for unity in diversity.

### 5.3.1 "*Kita Bhinneka Kita Indonesia*" Hymn

The hymn itself was printed in the back of the monthly Mass books and according to all of my interlocutors was supposed to be sung at the end of every Mass at every Church in the Archdiocese. While a hymn has been created and disseminated for each year of the KAJ's five-

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<sup>433</sup> For more on the *garuda* statue outside of Jakarta Cathedral, see Yoga Sukmana, Aprillia Ika (Ed.). December 24, 2017. "Membungkus Pancasila di Gereja Katedral Jakarta" ["Enveloping Pancasila at Jakarta Cathedral Church"]. *Kompas*. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/12/24/21000061/membungkus-pancasila-di-gereja-katedral-jakarta-?page=all>. Last accessed January 9, 2020. and Jessi Carina, Erlangga Djumena (Ed.). December 24, 2017. "Burung Garuda Jadi Dekorasi Natal di Gereja Katedral" ["The Garuda Bird as a Christmas Decoration at the Cathedral Church"]. *Kompas*. <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2017/12/24/11261641/burung-garuda-jadi-dekorasi-natal-di-gereja-katedral>. Last accessed January 9, 2020.

<sup>434</sup> For a picture of the *Bunda Maria Segala Suku* Statue installed in Jakarta Cathedral, see Appendix A.3 Figure 20.

year “Practice *Pancasila*” campaign, this particular hymn seemed to have a strong pull amongst the young adult and youth populations.<sup>435</sup> To an upbeat tempo in 4/4 time, this song sings like a cross between a processional hymn and patriotic anthem, rendered into cipher notation for accessible congregational and choral singing. The impetus of the hymn—its lyricist, composer, and arranger, diocesan priest Romo Reynaldo Antoni Haryanto (or Romo Aldo, as I heard him called), explained to me via email at the end of October, 2018—stems from the idea of diversity within unity, elements of 2018 year’s KAJ *Pancasila* theme of “*Persatuan*” or “Unity/Oneness.”<sup>436</sup> This ideal is a reality, Romo Aldo explained, which resonated with his own personal concerns over how “each person is born unique and different from one another, but that does not then become a source of problems or division.”<sup>437</sup> Whereas his lyrics were composed around the harmonizing idea that “Difference becomes a source of wealth and unity,” musically, Romo Aldo explained, he only had one goal: sing-ability.<sup>438</sup> After producing a “song whose notes are simple, easy to sing, easy to memorize, and can be sung by all groups ranging from small children to old people,” the hymn was sent to the Archbishop of Jakarta where it was reviewed by committee and underwent revisions.<sup>439</sup> Ultimately, Romo Aldo’s aims were not popularity or even approval by committee, rather, his intent was decidedly more pastoral, to “help all people from all walks of life to appreciate and live a very diverse life in Indonesia,” through the song he was asked to compose. In fact, it is significant to note that the hymn is not overly Catholic or even Christian. The unison beginning of the first verse seems to assert this multi-faith potential, saying, “The Lord created us

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<sup>435</sup> I even heard a rock band version of this hymn at a Catholic Youth Event put on by the Archdiocese of Jakarta called “JoyFest” on September 11, 2018 in Tangerang, right outside of Jakarta.

<sup>436</sup> Personal electronic communication with Romo Reynaldo Antoni Haryanto, via email, October 30, 2018.

<sup>437</sup> In Indonesian, “*setiap orang dilahirkan unik dan berbeda satu sama lain, tetapi hal itu lantas bukan menjadi sumber persoalan atau perpecahan.*”

<sup>438</sup> In Indonesian, “*Perbedaan justru menjadi sumber kekayaan dan persatuan.*”

<sup>439</sup> In Indonesian, “*lagu yang notasinya sederhana, mudah dinyanyikan, mudah dihapal, dan bisa dinyanyikan oleh segala kalangan mulai dari anak kecil sampai orang-orang tua.*”

unique and different. Diverse tribes, races, religions and cultures to become one united in respect.”

<sup>440</sup> Opting for the more neutral term of “*Tuhan*,” Lord, instead of “Allah,” God, there is no mention of Jesus or Mary in this hymn.<sup>441</sup> In a way, Romo Aldo’s lyrics project a *Pancasila* vision, harmonizing the ideas of religious identity and plurality with national belonging, encouraging all Indonesians to together practice *Pancasila* for the sake of national oneness.

### 5.3.2 “*Konser Rendang Kebhinekaan Anak*” or “Children’s Diversity Concert”

I soon learned that this newly composed hymn was just one musical instance from the Archdiocese of Jakarta’s five-year campaign celebrating the Indonesian political philosophy of *Pancasila*. In addition to the above discussed hymn, KAJ’s 2018 celebration of the third tenant of *Pancasila* through their “*Tahun Persatuan*” or year of unity/oneness—under the slogan “*Kita Bhinneka, Kita Indonesia*”—included two concerts during the month of August which highlight how pervasive national symbols have become in the KAJ pursuit of pluralism.<sup>442</sup> The first concert occurred at Jakarta Cathedral on the morning of August 4, 2018 when over 400 children representing churches from throughout the archdiocese, came together for what I was told was the *Konser Rendang Kebhinekaan Anak* or Children’s Diversity Concert, 2018.<sup>443</sup> The children marched in around 9am to a recording of the Indonesian national anthem. Once all inside the

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<sup>440</sup> In Indonesian, “*Tuhan menciptakan kita unik dan berbeda beda. B’ragam suku, ras, agama, dan budaya untuk bersatu menghargai sesama.*”

<sup>441</sup> In my experience, employing the term “Allah” for God is common among Catholics in Indonesia. At the same time, this use of “Allah” for a Christian or Catholic God is a contested issue in other Southeast Asian majority-Islamic nations—particularly in Malaysia—but, again, it is still permitted and used colloquially and liturgically by Catholics in Indonesia.

<sup>442</sup> August was significant for the parish, I was told, for being the month during which both Indonesian independence and the feast of Our Lady of the Assumption, the patroness of Jakarta Cathedral.

<sup>443</sup> For the KAJ’s notice of this event, and a list of participating choirs, see “Dendang Kebhinekaan Anak.” August 19, 2018. Paroki Katedral Jakarta. <http://www.katedraljakarta.or.id/index.php/2018/08/19/dendang-kebhinekaan-anak/>. Last accessed January 8, 2020.

cavernous Church with introductions done and opening prayers said, all in attendance were invited to stand as for the singing of the “*Indonesia Raya*,” accompanied by organ. Dressed in costumes ranging from all black with batik or woven sashes to traditional clothes representative of various ethnic groups, each of the 15 children’s choirs was to perform three pieces: one Indonesian patriotic song about national duty, one *lagu daerah* or traditional song from the different provinces of Indonesia, and one inculturated church music song, many of which had been composed by the famed Pak Paul Widyanan and produced by the PML. With the set list parameters producing performances of curated Catholic nationalism—at its best an attempt at representing regional diversity, at its most problematic a performance of assumptions and stereotypes—this plan emically avoided the tangle of touristic performance (being by and for Indonesians rather than by and for tourists), while still portraying a very Java-centric way of representing Indonesia.

What followed during this concert was like a combination of children’s dance performance—with parents reaching up cell phones to record their kids on camera—and Indonesian school flag ceremony, in which the recitation of *Pancasila* figures heavily. In fact, at one point a member of the “Voice of Anthony” choir from St. Anthony of Padua church stepped out from amongst her peers and recited this entire political ideology while the choir sang a song titled “*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*,” or “Unity in Diversity,” the famed Indonesian national motto. In the end, this concert—intended for an insider Catholic audience, while upholding the archdiocese’s outward-looking nationalistic view—felt more “Indonesian” to me than “Catholic.” The costumes, song choice, and performance practices seemed more appropriate for a school courtyard during a morning flag ceremony than the ornate neo-gothic nave of Jakarta Cathedral. Accordingly, it became clear to me through this performance that the Archdiocese of Jakarta was consciously performing its Indonesianness to promote—and indoctrinate in their youth—the potential of being,

in the oft repeated, abovementioned words of famous Archbishop Monsignor Albertus Soegijapranata (Soegija) “100% Indonesian and 100% Catholic.”<sup>444</sup>

### **5.3.3 “*Simfoni keberagaman*” or “Symphony of Religious Diversity” Concert**

Later that same month, on the night of August 11, 2018, the Jakarta Cathedral held another concert related to the archdiocesan theme of “*Tahun Persatuan*” or “Year of Unity/Oneness.” The annual *Cantate Domino* concert had been renamed “*Simfoni keberagaman*” or “Symphony of Religious Diversity,” in line with this larger 2018 theme and the motto “*Kita Bhinneka, Kita Indonesia*,” or “We are Diversity, We are Indonesia.” Occurring in the Cathedral’s large meeting hall, shortly after the release of the Saturday evening Mass, this event was decidedly more inclusive. Unlike the children’s concert in which the participants were exclusively Catholic, here there were choirs representing a plethora of religious backgrounds, including Catholicism, Buddhism, and Islam. The pieces seemed chosen by each group to reflect the religious nature of the participants, with the Buddhist group’s first song titled “100 mantras” and the Islamic group beginning with the intoning of Bismillah that segued into a piece in Arabic, aurally translated into Indonesian by a group member. The Catholic choirs, like with the children’s repertoire, seemed to pick songs which highlighted a Catholic identity cast in a multi-ethnic light, with songs representing or evoking musical styles of different Indonesian ethnic groups often centered around Catholic texts and prayers like the “Ave Maria” or “Magnificat.” Closing by surrounding the half-full auditorium and together singing the Archdiocese’s 2018 theme song “*Kita Bhinneka Kita*

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<sup>444</sup> Again, as explained above, this popular phrase of Archbishop Monsignor Albertus Soegijapranata is rooted in his 1954 speech at the All-Indonesia Catholic Congress where he argues the compatibility of Catholicism and patriotism.



*Indonesia*,” this concert seemed more for the participants than the audience members. The contentious multi-faith nature of the event, despite it occurring under the auspices and on the premises of the Jakarta cathedral, was evident. Instead of Catholic children trying to perform diversity—as with the Children’s Unity Concert at the beginning of the month—here religious diversity was being voiced in a performance of state religious unity. Even the hall’s decorations—with the Indonesian flag up front and a picture of the *Pancasila*-associated *garuda* bird adorning a banner along the hall’s right side—echoed this unifying, nationalistic glance. “*Dibawah Pancasila Kita Berada*,” “We exist under *Pancasila*,” this diversity of choirs—and many audience members—sang at the end of the night, enacting through song a unity in religious diversity that was becoming increasingly precarious in an Indonesian political sphere.

#### **5.3.4 *Bunda Maria Segala Suku* [Our Lady of All Ethnicities] Statue**

The nuances of nationalism in programing at Cathedral Jakarta, the Jakarta Archdiocese, and the KWI or Indonesian Bishops’ Council ring out visually as well and tell a similar harmonizing and localizing story. *Bunda Maria Segala Suku* [Our Lady of All Ethnicities] or *Bunda Maria Segala Bangsa* [Our Lady of all Nations] is a diocesan transplant, began in 2014 as a project in the Central Java diocese of Semarang and then transferred to Jakarta after the death of the project’s leader. As Romo Jost Kokoh explained to me in an interview in July, 2018, there was an initiative to render Mary, Mother of God, as Indonesian, created different “*wajah*” or faces for the Madonna according to the different ethnic groups in Indonesia.<sup>445</sup> After the death of the

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<sup>445</sup> Personal communication with Father Jost Kokoh. July 26, 2018. *Wisma Samadi*, Jakarta (Klender), Indonesia. Father Kokoh mentioned three different ethnic instantiations of “faces” of Maria that were planned, including Java, Sumatera, and Papua. However, as far as I can tell, the project has petered out and ended with this instantiation of Maria as Javanese, pictured with representatives of different ethnic communities in traditional dress

Bishop who was leading the project, the initiative was transferred to the Archdiocese of Jakarta, where it resonated—in large part due to the incorporation of the *Garuda* symbol and red and white Patriotic colors, he said—with their five-year *Pancasila* initiative. A large statue of this Javanese *Bunda Maria*, intended as a localized alternative to largely Western images of Mary, was created and installed in the left transept of Jakarta Cathedral in May 2018, with the production of small figurines to follow.<sup>446</sup>

### 5.3.5 Praying the “*Rosario Merah Putih*” or “Red and White Rosary” for Indonesia

Relatedly, yet somewhat broader in scope, an initiative from the archbishop of Jakarta—emanating from the Cathedral and spreading to the KWI—took national symbolism one step further, from rhetoric to potential action. Holding up a red and white rosary bead chain at a 2017 Christmas Press conference at Jakarta Cathedral, Archbishop Mgr. Ignatius Suharyo advocated for the use of these beads, in the colors of the Indonesian flag, as a way of praying for national unity and peace, again in line with the KAJ’s years of *Pancasila* celebration. It is significant to note that this did not occur in August as some kind of independence day stint, rather, at Christmas time, when the eyes of the nation are turned towards Christians and Catholics with bated breath that another iteration of religious holy days goes by without violence. Accordingly, a press conference

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holding up a rosary around her feet. It would seem that, again, despite best intentions, Java is the focus of representation over other communities or ethnic expressions.

<sup>446</sup> Our Lady of Fatima has garnered particular prevalence and devotion in Catholic communities throughout Indonesia, I have found. In 2016 a statue of our Lady of Fatima—pink and white clothed with porcelain skin and light blue eyes—was even brought on an ecclesiastical tour to various churches in Indonesia by a confraternity in Portugal, including where I “met” her that summer, in Malang, East Java. There are of course exceptions to this, including the inculturated grandeur of the church and statues at *Gereja Hati Kudus Tuhan Yesu Ganguran* [the Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus] in Yogyakarta, but a friend who is from that area lamented that despite efforts for inculturation and localization of Mary, the prevalence of Western-derived or modeled Marian statues is still the strong norm.

was held to announce this new beaded vehicle for praying for national oneness.<sup>447</sup> The “*Rosario Merah Putih*” or “Red and White Rosary” can be bought at the Cathedral bookstore, where it comes with a brochure explaining the purpose of this patriotic sacramental as follows:

It is hoped that the Red and White Rosary will build our awareness in this pilgrimage to pray along with Our Lady for the salvation of the Nation and State. [It] reminds us to be 100% Catholic [and] 100% Indonesian. Praying the Red and White Rosary has also become one of the expressions of the love of the faithful to the motherland and a sign of our concern to continuously practice *Pancasila* in the United State of the Republic of Indonesia.<sup>448</sup>

In addition, there are groups of Catholic devotees making red and white Rosary beads to send to mission fields in Eastern Indonesia, including a man I met at the Cathedral canteen making these prayer beads to send to a community in Papua. This initiative is even more significant for the position Irian Jaya has held in both being on the far eastern stretches of Indonesia and being home to various separatist movements. Taken together, *Bunda Maria Segala Suku* and the *Rosario Merah Putih* augment the aural instances of voicing *Pancasila* throughout the Jakarta Archdiocese in the past half-decade. In response to sectarian violence, fear of religious and ethnic persecution, and growing national division, Catholics in Jakarta have been encouraged to pray, sing, and

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<sup>447</sup>For more, see Jessi Carina’s 2017 article “Di Balik Rosario Merah Putih Uskup Agung Jakarta...,” [“The Archbishop of Jakarta to have Turned to the Red and White Rosary”]. *Kompas* Newspaper. <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2017/12/25/14190611/di-balik-rosario-merah-putih-uskup-agung-jakarta>. Last accessed 30 September 2019.

<sup>448</sup> In Indonesian, “*Diharapkan Rosario Merah Putih mampu membangun kesadaran kita di dalam peziarahan ini untuk berdoa bersama Bunda Maria bagi keselamatan Bangsa dan Negara. Mengingatkan kita untuk semakin 100% Katolik 100% Indonesia. Berdoa Rosario Merah Putih juga menjadi salah satu ungkapan cinta umat beriman kepada tanah air dan tanda kepedulian kita untuk terus-menerus amalkan Pancasila dalam Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia.*” From the Archdiocese of Jakarta’s website: <http://www.kaj.or.id/read/2016/04/11/9412/download-file-leaflet-rosario-merah-putih.php>. Last accessed 28 September 2019.

visualize *Pancasila* for the sake of national unity, religious plurality, and, ultimately, peace. At the same time, this is a precarious peace and in other parts of the country, a peace not represented through state symbols such as *Pancasila*. With the Archdiocese of Jakarta focused on *Pancasila* as a way to hope for national unity and religious freedom, other communities on Java were jumping on the *Pancasila* train in the face of violence and a reemergence of both fear and community resilience.

## **5.4 *Pancasila* in Yogyakarta**

### **5.4.1 Asian Youth Day—“*Saya Indonesia, Saya Pancasila!*”**

The KAJ did not hold an exclusive monopoly for musically mobilizing *Pancasila* among Indonesian Catholics in recent years. A few hours away in the central Java city of Yogyakarta, on August 6, 2017, at the Indonesian Airforce Academy on the outskirts of Yogyakarta, Indonesia, former Indonesia’s Got Talent finalist, Hudson, and the Roman Catholic Yogyakarta *Dearah Istemewa* Choir performed an arrangement by Bapak Tonie Widyarto of the Indonesian patriotic song “Indonesia Jaya.” Following the closing Mass of 7<sup>th</sup> Catholic Asian Youth Day (AYD), this performance served as a kind of pivot point between the Eucharistic celebration and preparation for the political speeches which followed. Half way through the song, during an instrumental interlude, choir members together shouted “*Saya Indonesia, Saya Pancasila!*,” waving mini-Indonesian flags affixed to plastic drinking straws.<sup>449</sup> Echoing the exact words of President Joko

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<sup>449</sup> For picture of Picture of Asian Youth Day 2017 choir waving flags during their performance of “Indonesia Jaya” after the Closing Mass of Asian Youth Day 2017, see Appendix A.3 Figure 14.

Widodo’s slogan in honor of the Birth of *Pancasila* Day 2017, the performance of this choir of more than 500 Indonesian Catholic youth is just one example of the contemporary re-focus on *Pancasila* that had been produced by the Catholic community in Yogyakarta in recent years.

#### 5.4.2 The “*Pancasila*” Songbook

That same summer in Yogyakarta, in June 2017, composer Paul Widyawan—conductor of the *Vocalista Sonora* choir—published a songbook titled “*Pancasila*” with the PML. The book’s cover pictures a *garuda* bird superimposed over the Indonesian flag and boasts of 32 choral arrangements of national songs. The opening song, “*Pancasila*,” is in “5/4” meter and arranged for five voices, with a beat and voice-part for each of the five principles of this political philosophy. Detailing his aspirations for this particular song, towards the end of his preface to this book—dated June 1, 2017, the first annual “*Hari Lahir Pancasila*” [The Birthday of *Pancasila*]—Pak Paul wrote that “hopefully [the song “*Pancasila*”] will be useful to realize the contents of the lyrics as the base foundation of our country” (Widyawan, 2017).<sup>450</sup> <sup>451</sup> Similar to how the AYD youth choir chanted their embodiment of *Pancasila* in the middle of their performance of “Indonesia Jaya,” I read this publication is one of the pragmatic ways the PML is aligning with President Widodo’s recent reemphasis on *Pancasila* politics. I am not suggesting here that the PML is making a partisan statement, rather, the alignment of intention is significant in light of the political potential to side with Islam over *Pancasila*. Again, as it was in 1945, the issue is not just what *Pancasila* means and is used to justify or do, but rather what the basis of the Indonesian state is going to be.

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<sup>450</sup> Paul Widyawan. 2017. “*Pancasila: Lag-lagu Nasional and Perjuangan. Arransemn Paduan Suara.*” Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pusat Musik Liturgi.

<sup>451</sup> In fact, the lyrics are word per word the five tenets of *Pancasila* itself.

In an interview with PML staff member Bapak Yohanes Wahyudi in March 2018, Pak Wahyudi told me that Pak Paul's "*Pancasila*" song was significant in that "no one has ever made a *Pancasila* song, so [this] song was the first time it had been made in Indonesia."<sup>452</sup> <sup>453</sup> Pak Wahyudi clarified that what there had been songs created about *Pancasila*, a song with *Pancasila* as the subject, title, and lyrics, according to him, was something new. The way *Pancasila* was put into musical form through Pak Paul's arrangement is more than just patriotic novelty; rather, this musical move gains import in a socio-political light. As Pak Wahyudi explains,

that *Pancasila* ideology, it's already final. For Indonesia it is set, there is no bargaining over it. There are no more [']bargaining positions['] to change *Pancasila*....So, uh, Pak Paul saw that Indonesia must, we also must contribute to Indonesia by creating a *Pancasila* song.<sup>454</sup>

By putting *Pancasila* to song in the face of some of the same extremes—of religion, of politics—which prompted Indonesia's founding Father Sukarno to proclaim this political ideology, Pak Wahyudi framed Pak Paul's "*Pancasila*" song as both a way of being fully Indonesian and of asserting for Indonesia the need to choose a ruling ideology through which religious minorities will continue being full and free Indonesian citizens.

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<sup>452</sup> Personal communication with Pak Yohanes Wahyudi, March 6, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>453</sup> In Indonesian, "*belum pernah ada yang buat lagu Pancasila, ya jadi lagu pertama kali dibuat di Indonesia.*"

<sup>454</sup> In Indonesian, "*ideologi Pancasila itu, itu sudah final. Untuk Indonesia itu sudah tidak ada tawar menawar lagi. Sudah tidak ada [']bargaining position['] lagi untuk uh merubah Pancasila...Nah sehingga, uh Pak Paul melihat bahwa ini Indonesia harus, kita juga harus menyumbang kepada Indonesia dengan menciptakan lagu Pancasila.*"

### 5.4.3 *Pancasila* and Experiencing Religious Plurality

The Jokowi-era return to *Pancasila* as a politization of religious tension was also alluded to in my conversation with another PML staffer in February 2018. When I asked Pak Sugeng—an organist and PML staff person—about the role of music in promoting religious harmony locally, he answered in the positive, while pointing to politics as the real culprit. “Actually there already is collaborative music between Catholics and Muslims,” Pak Sugeng explained, “Religious conflicts are really only tools of group or personal interest, actually just politics. In the lower classes there is actually no religious conflict.”<sup>455</sup> <sup>456</sup> While admitting that there are small number of areas where there is religious conflict, he argued that there is little presentation of that kind of extreme tension in most communities, suggesting a fundamental divide between the political and media-produced rhetoric over religious division in Indonesia and an everyday, community-based experience of religious plurality. In fact, citing universities, choirs, and families where religious plurality is a norm, Pak Sugeng’s argument stood out for what it called out: politics, and relatedly politicians, were responsibility for the politicization and mediatization of religious tension. My own experiences living in religious communities in Indonesia affirms Pak Sugeng’s account and I have heard many other people share similar experiences of religious plurality on a local, community-based level in Indonesia. At the same time, however, I think there are threats to the practice of religious freedom through the growing power of fundamentalist groups which have limited the extent to which religious plurality can be celebrated, even on a community or local

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<sup>455</sup> Conversation with Bapak Sugeng Wahono <Johannes Paschalis Baylon> with Pak Sugeng. Yogyakarta, Indonesia. March 9, 2018.

<sup>456</sup> In Indonesian, “*Sebenarnya sudah ada, musik-musik kolaborasi antara Katolik dan Muslim. Konflik-konflik agama itu sebenarnya hanya peralatan dari kepentingan kelompok atau pribadi, politik saja sebenarnya. Kalau di kalangan bawah itu sebenarnya tidak ada, konflik-konflik agama itu.*”

basis. On the ground, with ordinary citizens—at least according to Pak Sugeng’s experience, in Yogyakarta—Indonesians lived a much more inter-religious existence, eating, drinking, and working together.<sup>457</sup> While Pak Sugeng’s experience does not negate the places and experience of great religious tension in certain parts of Eastern and Western Indonesia, and even certain more rural areas of central Java, it does speak to an important lived reality of the very kinds of harmonizing values *Pancasila* is purported to represent. In a way, *Pancasila* is lived and made real not in its politicization, but in the experience of citizen’s like Pak Sugeng, who can see that while political *Pancasila* might ring hollow, values like humanism, social justice, and religious plurality are and need to continue to be practiced in local and everyday ways. It is from this lived, experiential basis that Pak Paul and relatedly the PML published the *Pancasila* song book, by knowing and living *Pancasila* and hoping that the Indonesian government will do the same.

#### **5.4.4 Practicing the Politics of Religious Harmony Through *Pancasila***

Whereas *Pancasila* was serving a very political purpose in Jakarta—particularly in relation to programs and practices at the Catholic Cathedral and promoted by the Archbishop and Archdiocese—in Yogyakarta, I argue that the application of this political ideology is more experiential but none the less felt as acutely necessary in a local Catholic sphere. This social performance became clear on a community day, sponsored as an Asian Youth Day activity on August 4, 2017, when Catholic youth were invited to sites around Yogyakarta and surrounding

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<sup>457</sup> Another example of this idea of religious plurality, and even more so of the economics of piety in Indonesia, is the presence of carts along Jalan Malioboro in Yogyakarta’s Daerah Istimewa (Special Region) that see religious paintings appealing to a variety of religious backgrounds. For a picture of this, see Appendix A.2 Figure 6.



areas to encounter and discuss different harmonizing community efforts in the city.<sup>458</sup> Through the *Gusdurian* network—an inter-religious organization formed in the legacy and teaching of Indonesia’s fourth president, Abdurrahman Wahid, commonly referred to as Gus Dur and known as a champion of religious pluralism and dialogue in Indonesia—each group was assigned a few Islamic students to accompany the otherwise exclusively Catholic groups.<sup>459</sup> One such group was invited to the PML. In addition to programming of a concert of inculturated music with traditional instrumentation, put on by the PML staff, an opportunity to hear about the PML’s mission, discuss the localizing efforts of *musik inkulturasi*, and then see and play some of the traditional instruments in the upstairs musical instrument room, various social performances took place. Shortly before the youth arrived, the police came—picture taking with some of the PML staffers commenced; after the youth arrived the police were treated to lunch with the group. Beyond the physical presence of the officers inside the building and the police car in the parking lot—in addition to their clear enthusiasm to be involved in and document the event—the presence of police at this event seemed ornamental, there to see and be seen more than actually protect and defend. When I asked Romo Prier the next day about the police presence at the event he smiled and shrugged, giving me the sense that the added security measures were more social protocol than safety precaution. Similarly, the Islamic students sent to the PML spent the event huddled together with what I read as a look of awkwardness or apathy at being present with a group of Asian Catholic

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<sup>458</sup> For more on the participation of the *Gusdurian* network members in the August 4 “exposure” days in Yogyakarta, see: Benedicta Fcl. August 4, 2017. “The 7<sup>th</sup> Asian Youth Day: Rekan Muslim Muda Gusdurian untuk AYD7” [“Gusdurian Young Muslim Fellows for AYD7”]. DOKPEN KWI: Departemen Dokumentasi dan Penerangan Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia [Indonesian Bishops’ Conference Department for Documentation and Information] Website. <https://www.dokpenkwi.org/2017/08/04/the-7th-asian-youth-day-rekan-muslim-muda-gusdurian-untuk-ayd7/>.

<sup>459</sup> For more, see “Young Catholics and Muslims celebrate together Asian Youth Day.” 5 August 2017. On *Agenzia Fides*. Last accessed October 16, 2019. [http://www.fides.org/en/news/62761-ASIA\\_INDONESIA\\_Young\\_Catholics\\_and\\_Muslims\\_celebrate\\_together\\_Asian\\_Youth\\_Day](http://www.fides.org/en/news/62761-ASIA_INDONESIA_Young_Catholics_and_Muslims_celebrate_together_Asian_Youth_Day).

youth at the PML, almost like being there was not necessarily their idea or desire. While I tell this story to not underplay the importance of these social performances of social and religious harmony in Yogyakarta—the intent of which became all the more significant at the PML after the attack on Romo Prier in February, 2018—I put them forth as different ways of performing the values that *Pancasila* purports to purport. However, at the same time, performative displays can ring hollow if just for show; in the publishing of Pak Paul’s *Pancasila* songbook, I see a pragmatic hope, the recognition that *Pancasila* could be used to provide security and freedom to all Indonesians, especially religious minorities, provided that it rings true to its potential of protecting pluralism. In writing a *Pancasila* song, Pak Paul and by extension the PML, were making *Pancasila* matter, setting to music the high stakes of nothing less than the freedom of religious minorities to be full citizens of their nation-state.

### **5.5 *Pancasila* in *Pancasila* City—Ende, Flores**

The musical intoning by Catholics in Java of national cultural capital like *Pancasila* is one way to assert a minority religious identity in a time of religious strife and political uncertainty. However, on the majority Catholic island of Flores, thoughts on *Pancasila* and Eastern Indonesia’s relationship to the state is noted in the very absence of soundings of this political ideology. Ende, a sizeable coastal city in Southcentral Flores, was once the temporary home of Sukarno, exiled to the region of East Nusa Tenggara in the 1930s (1934-38). Beyond “civilized Java and Bali,” as an airplane magazine described it, this part of eastern Indonesia is known for being economically and politically disenfranchised. The irony is that within the supposed hinterlands of eastern Indonesia, the city of Ende is acclaimed for being the place where Sukarno thought up the political philosophy

of *Pancasila* which would eventually become the enduring (if hallow or mutable) ideological foundation of an independent Indonesian nation.

Ende, like much of Flores, also has a history of strong missionary presence, as one of the S.V.D. brothers explained that it was the Dutch Divine Word Missionary (S.V.D.) Catholic priests at the St. Joseph community in Ende who first recognized the presidential potential of young, exiled Sukarno. Priests and political exile alike talked philosophy, slowly defining the principles which would become *Pancasila* in what is now the community's rec room, a good place for conversation or ping pong. Down the hill from this historic site of discussions is the Arnoldus printing press, the first and oldest printing press in Indonesia. Once used to print paraphernalia of a burgeoning nation—like Indonesia's first stamp—St. Arnoldus, in existence since the mid-1920s, has now been co-opted for other nation-building projects, like the printing of highly regulated nation-wide high school graduation exams. In front of these S.V.D.-sponsored complexes stands Ende's Catholic Cathedral of Christ the King. A grand space, inside it boasts walls luridly painted pink and lime green, with missing chunks of simple stained-glass windows letting in the stilted air of a perpetually hot place. The glass needed to make these repairs, an S.V.D. brother who lives at St. Joseph's explained, had to be imported from Java, requiring money and access which the local community lacked.

About the Cathedral stood a complex of sturdy colonial buildings, still the home to the S.V.D. Saint Joseph community, now stood in majestic disrepair. They were well constructed by resourced Dutch missionaries, I was told, implying that the current reality of the Diocese of Ende, their local S.V.D. community, and arguably of Flores in general was one of economic lack. Ende, I found, was rife with indications of being forgotten: by religious communities, the country, the Church. This city seemed to have fallen from its historic prestige, existing in the oft dismissed

peripheral shadows of an Indonesia still economically and politically centered on the island of Java. Yet, under the surface of disrepair, a combination of creative resilience and productive discontent kept musicians and Priests in the city of Ende producing alternative narratives and alternative music and books which represented both a history and presence of the riches of Catholic cultural and musical practice in *Pancasila* city and island-wide.

The engine behind much of the production of local Catholic musical and literary material is the historic *Nusa Indah* Publishing company, overseen since 2013 by anthropologist Pater Hendrik Kerans, S.V.D.. When asked about the political ideology of *Pancasila*, Pater Hendrik leaned back, took a deep breath, and made a sobering comparison: *Pancasila* was for him good in theory by hallow in practice.<sup>460</sup> He was not moral because of *Pancasila*, he explained, but rather because of the ethnical tenets taught to him by his mother, his family and community. “It [the value of *Pancasila*] is already in society,” Pater Hendrik explained; thus, the *values* of *Pancasila* are what is important, not the politicization of it.<sup>461</sup> In fact, the practice of the underlying values of *Pancasila*—purporting a commitment to religious pluralism (belief in one God), nationalism, humanism, and democracy—Pater Hendrik contended, break once they enter the political arena.<sup>462</sup>

In *Pancasila* city, the famed political ideology had lost currency; years of being forgotten or worse marginalized by the national government had left a patina of skepticism upon the founding father’s philosophy. In the shadows, under the surface, individuals were creating their own ways of asserting who they were, using music, language, and faith to print alternative centers of power and identity formation for their local Florenese communities. I argue that the musical

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<sup>460</sup> Personal communication with P. Hendrik Kerans, SVD. April 16, 2018. Ende, Flores, Indonesia.

<sup>461</sup> “Sudah ada di dalam masyarakat,” from personal communication with P. Hendrik Kerans, SVD. 16 April, 2018.

<sup>462</sup> “Masuk politik...rusak,” from personal communication with P. Hendrik Kerans, SVD. April 16, 2018.

void of *Pancasila*-themed songs in Flores is filled with a differently directed devotion, not to the nation state but rather to something or someone beyond: namely, to Mary, as to be discussed in the next chapter on *lagu-lagu Maria* or Marian songs. However, I think the opting out of voicing *Pancasila*—and opting instead for the Rosary and Marian devotion as the pietistic option available to Florenese for the over 200 years when Priests and missionaries alike were no longer permitted in their lands—underscores the independence and ingenuity of Catholics on this Eastern Indonesian island. Instead of intoning the maxim of a nation-state in which they are more often than not ignored, they have an alternate route, petitioning God through His Mother herself.

### **5.6 *Pancasila* and Re-centering Power**

In his previously mentioned work on cultural intimacy, Michael Herzfeld explains his concept of social poetics as “the analysis of essentialism in everyday life” (Herzfeld, 2005: 32). Herzfeld goes on to explain that “The essentializing strategies of state legislators and ordinary citizens alike depend on a semiotic illusion: by making sure that all the outward signs of identity are as consistent as possible, they literally create, or constitute, homogeneity” (Herzfeld, 2005: 32). By listening for the uses of *Pancasila* in the music of Catholic communities on Java and its relative absence in Flores, I argue that the semiotic illusion *Pancasila* is used to create is reified in the former location and defied in the later. This insight in turn, re-centers outer island agency while at the same time laying bare the void of essentialism and fear of instability that *Pancasila* is often rhetorically and politically called upon to fill. In Jakarta and Yogyakarta, *Pancasila* is being used to advocate for government accountability in a time of religious and political strife, while at the same time mobilized as the cultural capital through which Catholics in Java can align

themselves with a religiously plural nation-state. This Java-based adoption of *Pancasila*, I contend, has currency to it. Following Pierre Bourdieu's "Forms of Capital," I see it as serving as a form of both objectified and embodied cultural capital, as accumulated labor is used to "appropriate social energy" in the form of labor; Roman Catholics in Indonesia are making *Pancasila* work for them, through music, in both the presence and absence of this political ideology (Bourdieu, 1986: 241).<sup>463</sup> Conversely, in Flores, locally produced liturgical music and Marian hymns, devoid of any mention of *Pancasila*, are the chosen subject, capital and intermediators for communities effectively disenfranchised by the central government. Both in its presence and its absence, I contend that these Catholic communities throughout the country are musically mobilizing ideas surrounding *Pancasila* to become powerful centers on their own terms despite political uncertainty, wielding *Pancasila* or not to assert and align the desperate needs of their own communities on their own terms and to their own music.

It then follows that *Pancasila*—in both its voiced presence and its silent absence—can be used to make political and often agentive moves, by those in and near power, and those not. Choosing to harness the power of a political symbol by expressing it musically is one way Catholic communities on Java are making *Pancasila* work for them, as a way to assert a nationalistic Catholic identity. At the same time, I contend, a Catholic use of *Pancasila* on Java can be read as holding government officials accountable to preserving the religious plurality that a nation founded on *Pancasila*—versus an Islamic state—is taken by many to represent. At the same time, not using *Pancasila* throughout an island like Flores, and particularly in a city like Ende (which Indonesia claims for Sukarno and *Pancasila*), is also an agentive move. While national rhetoric encourages

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<sup>463</sup> The former, objectified cultural capital, leading to the later, embodied cultural capital, in this case. Pierre Bourdieu, 1986. "The forms of capital." In J. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York, NY: Greenwood. 241-258.

the choosing and celebrating of *Pancasila*, Florenese Catholics are choosing to celebrate something, or someone else, musically turning to Mary, as we will next see, instead of a political philosophy like *Pancasila*. By opting for the voicing of Marian intercession instead of *Pancasila*, Catholics throughout Flores, and in outer island or beyond Java regions more broadly, are choosing to circumvent national symbolism for alternative Catholic signifiers, for alternative and often localized ways of being Catholic in Indonesia. In the end, I contend that both “uses” of *Pancasila* are employments of cultural capital, with the choice to use *Pancasila*, or not, affirming its currency in the national social sphere; thus, the power of communities through *Pancasila* is expressed in its musical presence as much as in its topical absence.

Ultimately, as put forth by Sidney Jones, director of the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict in Jakarta, *Pancasila* is only as helpful as what it is filled with, what it is used to do. In a conversation with me in 2018, Jones explained that “it's not enough to say we should be promoting *Pancasila* which after all is pretty empty, you know, when you look at those five principles.”<sup>464</sup> Instead, she argues, it needs to be operationalized, incorporating into public education the idea that all Indonesians are equally citizens despite their religious identity, not just as minorities but with the full rights citizenship and thus fully protected by the Indonesian constitution. Defining *Pancasila* is the problem, as Jones asserts, “if in this day and age *Pancasila* is to be the alternative to hardline Islamism then it's gotta be clear what it is you're actually talking about.” *Pancasila* as an all or nothing ideology—oversaturated with import or a meaningless vacuum—this is the precarity of *Pancasila*. Yet, at the same time, uses of *Pancasila*, particularly by minority communities, need to account for what it represents for an Islamic majority, especially those in

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<sup>464</sup> Personal communication with Sidney Jones. August 18, 2018. Jakarta, Indonesia.

favor of the idea of Indonesia as an Islamic state. In a conversation with professor, Priest, and informal political advisor Franz Magnis-Suseno, S.J., Romo Franz explained that:

Uh Christians always bring *Pancasila* up. And it is important to do it not too strongly so that *Pancasila* doesn't get identified with the, the interests of minorities...I tell our people sometimes it's easy for you to be pro-*Pancasila* because we are profiting from *Pancasila*, without *Pancasila* it would be difficult. Different from Muslims! They are recognizing that Indonesia does not primarily belong to Islam. This is much more than is demanded from us.<sup>465</sup>

The spirit of idolizing *Pancasila* is what Romo Franz cautioned against, while acknowledging its role as a compromise to an Islamic state and as an alternative political ideology which required concession from Islamic nationalists. Ultimately, I argue, this very precarity and promise of *Pancasila* has been politically promoted due to fear, be it fear of losing political power or fear of losing equal rights to citizenship. There is much less reason to assert an ideology if there is no work for that ideology to do, or no hope—as in Flores—that the ideology has a beneficial power for your community. Hope through the tenets of *Pancasila* is exactly the kind of work it is being used to do on Java; a commensurate lack of hope is what I have seen it represent on Flores.

If *Pancasila* is only as good as how you use it, then perhaps action, instead of rhetoric, will show the ways in which *Pancasila* is used to maintain religious plurality and national unity into Indonesia's future. One manner in which *Pancasila* has recently been put into action, although at times not overtly labeled as such, is in the musical efforts which affirm religious plurality and solidarity in the direct face of fundamentalism and violence. One such event around which this kind of musical response happened, occurred on the morning of February 11, 2018, at a small

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<sup>465</sup> Personal communication with Romo Franz Magnis-Suseno, SJ. September 5, 2018. Jakarta, Indonesia.



parish Church in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, when Father Karl-Edmund Prier—director of the Center for Liturgical Music (PML)—was attacked by sword while saying Mass. While the media first depicted the attack as a random act of violence, it quickly became clear that it was act of Islamist radicalism, and, effect, an attack on the rights of Indonesian Catholics to assert their constitutionally given right to religious freedom. While I had heard *Pancasila* brought up frequently in Yogyakarta and at the PML that pervious summer (2017), that February (2018), *Pancasila* was not the voiced rhetoric, instead it was lived out in action. The tenets of *Pancasila*—to promote unity, humanism, social justice, and belief in one God—were questioned that February 2018 morning through an act of fundamentalist violence. What followed was community support which echoed much of what I then heard from PML colleagues in the months that followed, that while politicians feared radicalism, most Indonesians lived in a peaceful plurality in which religious diversity was the norm.

After the February 2018 attacked at *Gereja Bedog* [Bedog Church], in which Romo Prier and a number of other parishioners were injured, a group of local community members—both Catholic and Islamic, representing the local Catholic parish and the interfaith *Gusdurian* network—gathered to clean the Church. A few weeks later, an article on that event was published in the national Catholic magazine “*Hidup*,” titled “Tolerance in Bedog Church: the brotherhood between congregations of religious people must progress with the life of the church. Building/reviving the physical church, must also build the brotherhood.”<sup>466</sup> At the head of the article was a picture of *Gusdurian* network members and the Parish Priests posing for a photo-op under a wooden crucifix, with two members holding a red and white sign which reads “*Indonesia*

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<sup>466</sup> J. Bambang S. 25 February 2018. “Toleransi Di Gereja Bedog: persaudaraan antarumat beragama harus berjalan dengan kehidupan meggereja. Membangun fisik gereja, harus juga membangun persaudaraan.” In *Hidup: Minggu Katolik [Life: Catholic Weekly]*, Vol. 8, Year 72. Page 30.

*tidak takut*,” or “Indonesia is not scared.” The act of cleaning the Church—including repainting the blood-stained walls—was taken as a community affirmation of safety, security, and solidarity. Cast into this light, refurbishing *Gereja Bedog* after the February 2018 attacks, making it look better than it did before, was an enactment of the right of Catholics to belong to Yogyakarta, to Indonesia, to a multi-faith community. Community members of different faiths affirmed that connection, a relation which, as the *Hidup* article articulated, has always been open and active. The pinnacle of this coming together in solidarity and support was the *Misa di Bedog* or Mass held by church officials two weeks after the attack—with somewhere around 20 concelebrating Priests, including the Archbishop of Semarang, Mgr Robertus Rubiyatmoko, and Romo Prier—at the same Church in Bedog where Romo Prier had been attacked weeks before.<sup>467</sup> On a widely circulated television news clip of the event, a choir of Catholic and Islamic university students sang a song titled “Pesan Damai” or “To Ask for Peace,” in front of the Church’s alter, taken by many as a visual and aural statement of solidarity in the face of extremist violence.

Accordingly, I am arguing here for a multi-valent approach to seeing and hearing *Pancasila*, both as rhetoric and in action, through its presence and absence in music made by and for Catholic communities throughout Indonesia. In so doing, I assert that music can become a loci for the playing out of politics, national identification, and religious pluralism in Indonesia. By tracking the Catholic musical and visual uses of the national political ideology of *Pancasila*—and the lack thereof of these aural symbols on Flores—I see Catholic musicians and liturgical leaders using this national symbol to do religio-political work, be it holding politicians accountable to

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<sup>467</sup> For more, see article by H Bambang S., 4 March 2018. “Romo Karl-Edmund Prier SJ—Tidak Apa, Saya Maafkan: Ia menjadi salah satu korban penyerangan di Gereja St Lidwina bau-baru ini. Alih-alih mengutuk ia bersama para korban justru memaafkan sang pelaku.” “No worries, I forgive it: He was one of the victims of the recent attack on St. Lidwina Church. Instead of cursing, he and the victims forgive the perpetrator. ” In *Hidup: Minggu Katolik [Life: Catholic Weekly]*, Vol. 9, Year 72. Pages 40-41.

maintaining religious freedom in Indonesia, like in Java, or opting for other Catholic signifiers and intercessors, like on Flores. Examination of the resonance and disjuncture in the use of *Pancasila* provides valuable insight into multivalent negotiations of identity politics for Catholic leaders in different parts of the country. At the same time, the politicization of *Pancasila* in and of itself is augmented by an on-the-ground reality of lived religious pluralism in many parts of the country. Taken together, examining how Catholic musicians are contemporarily re-mobilizing *Pancasila* sheds a tempered light on how music can be used to address inter-religious tension, advocate for need for the protection of religious pluralism, or voice disenchantment with a the neglect of a centralized government, a dissent which we next turn to through its focus on Mary.

## 6.0 *Lagu Maria*: Music, Marian Devotion, and the Independent Power of the So-called Peripheries

On a hot, breezy Friday night at the end of March, 2018 I joined throngs of candle-wielding community members and pilgrims to march, in the dark, behind a statue of Mary.<sup>468</sup> The little town of Larantuka—a small coastal village in Eastern Flores, Indonesia—is famous for this procession. It occurs towards the close of Holy Week, after the end of a 40-day Lenten fast which culminates in the celebration of Easter Sunday. On this Good Friday, when their small town significantly increases its population with an influx of both international and domestic tourists, Indonesia’s national spotlight turns for a moment to highlight an area which, during the rest of the year, it politically and economically ignores.<sup>469</sup> The statue which we march behind, here known as *Tuan Ma*, is a small wooden image of Mary or Maria. While the statue’s arrival to Eastern Flores coincides with the arrival of Portuguese Dominican missionaries in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, local lore has it that *Tuan Ma* washed up on Larantuka’s shores, requiring neither missionary nor colonial powers to bestow their beloved patroness.<sup>470</sup> The procession begins shortly after sunset, at the end of a service of ceremonial singing in Larantuka’s cathedral, named after Mary, “Queen

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<sup>468</sup> For a picture of the 2018 Good Friday Procession in Larantuka, Flores, see Appendix A.3 Figure 15.

<sup>469</sup> For example, in the wake of the 2019 Indonesian Presidential elections, a story in The Jakarta Post highlighted the peaceful occurrence of the famed Holy Week devotional activities in Larantuka, saying “Millions in Indonesia peacefully celebrate Easter despite volatile politics.” In a way this article, published in Jakarta with reporting from Larantuka, affirms the way national and international media have spotlighted Larantuka for Holy Week while then ignoring it the rest of the year, or using it as an interesting story/symbol to then talk about a different or larger issue, in this case, inter-religious peace and politics. Hengky Ola Sura (Contributor). 2019. “Millions in Indonesia peacefully celebrate Easter despite volatile politics.” *The Jakarta Post*. April 21, 2019. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2019/04/21/millions-in-indonesia-peacefully-celebrate-easter-despite-volatile-politics.html>. Last accessed November 25, 2019.

<sup>470</sup> Again, for more on this story, see Steenbrink, 2015: 250 and story as detailed and analyzed below, in the discussion of localization of Marian devotion.

of the Rosary.”<sup>471</sup> While a male confraternity known as the “*Konferia*” perform and preside over much of the formal pomp of the evening’s para-liturgical events, it is significant that Priests are not the main engine powering this Marian devotion. The procession leaves the Cathedral grounds and begins to snake around the spectator-lined streets of Larantuka, making its way past various armada stops where more devotional events occur, including the periodic performance of the “*O Vos*” lament, a kind of keening melody with Latin text which brings many in my company to tears.<sup>472</sup> As we walk, sing, and pray late into the night it becomes clear that devotion to this patroness, and more broadly to the idea of the Weeping Mother, has become embodied in the people marching behind her. Hands crusted with dripping candle wax, we sing as we march, intoning songs to Mary in multiple languages and styles. These Marian songs and hymns—commonly referred to as *lagu-lagu Maria*—are sung acapella, with a member of each family group or band of pilgrims leading from memory. While a body of Portuguese-language prayers and hymns to Mary are still part of weekly devotions for many Catholics in Larantuka, the hymns sung this night form a greatest hits list, songs re-membered from the radio, from childhood, and from Church. In mostly Indonesian, with a smattering of Latin, this repertoire is at the service of the Lady draped in midnight blue, the recipient of the people’s piety put to song. The next morning—streets slick with day-old wax melting under a sweltering sun—most pilgrims and tourists will leave, returning to their home congregations to celebrate Easter with their families and communities. The infrastructure supporting them leaves too, as all too frequent power outages return with the reminder that Larantuka is a place where most people come to then leave. It is

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<sup>471</sup> Known locally in Indonesian/Portuguese as *Gereja Katedral Reinha Rosari*.

<sup>472</sup> “The most famous song still is the Latin *O Vos*, the beginning words of the song *O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus*, ‘All you who pass by, look around and see; is any suffering like my suffering?’ (Lamentations 1:12) (Steenbrink, 2015: 251).

fitting, then, that *Tuan Ma* is not an Easter Mary; before Easter Sunday celebrates the climax of the Christian story, Christ dies and Mary grieves. This is the Mary sung to in Larantuka, localizing Catholic extra-liturgical practice, Marian devotion, and a complex colonial and missional history through procession and song.

Focusing on narratives of agentive Marian music in Flores, North Sumatra, and Java, this chapter will examine how *lagu/lagu-lagu Maria* or Marian song/songs are used to aurally create and compliment a domestic devotional space that highlights the agency of the laity, and even more so, of women.<sup>473 474</sup> At the same time, these Marian narratives provide a way to re-center traditional center-periphery paradigms, as Mary becomes the center of para-liturgical devotion, re-appropriating sonic remembrance of missional histories through performative modalities such as procession, print/publishing music books, and Marian pilgrimage. Accordingly, after a brief explanation of this chapter's keyword—and overview of the role of Marian devotion, both broadly in the Roman Catholic Church and in Indonesia, more specifically—I will discuss how and why Marian devotion is musically mobilized by Indonesian Catholics as an often localized Catholic

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<sup>473</sup> Here I connect the idea of performative modalities to performativity following the influence and legacy of J. L. Austin and the more contemporary work of James Loxley. Accordingly, I consider the idea that “words do something in the world...[that] they are actions in themselves, actions of a distinctively linguistic kind,” producing or actualizing a different world (Loxley, 2007: 2). Taking this idea of the constitutive power of words—here I include song lyrics, and the symbols and actions which accompany ritual performance, more broadly—seriously, I, following Loxley and the work of Judith Butler, connect performativity to identity in the sense that “Our activities and practices...are not expressions of some prior identity, or the things done by an agent that is what it is prior to its actions, but the very means by which we come to be what we are” (Loxley, 2007: 118). James Loxley. 2007. *Performativity*. New York, NY: Routledge.

<sup>474</sup> Here I am defining procession as an “organized body of people advancing in formal or ceremonial manner as an element of Christian ritual or as a less official expression of popular piety,” according to the entry on “procession—religion” in Encyclopedia Britannica online. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/procession>. Last accessed August 30, 2019. Written by the “Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica,” this entry goes on to explain that “Other processions characteristic of certain localities, though not regulated so strictly by the church and considered nonliturgical, play an important part in the religious life of the people; in the United States, for example, May processions are sometimes conducted in honour of the Virgin Mary.” Such is the case with the Good Friday procession in Larantuka. The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. October 22, 2009. “Procession” in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/procession>. Last accessed January 6, 2020.

signifier, a re-appropriation of the Colonial, and an economic catalyst. I will then highlight instances of Marian devotion and music in Flores, Java, and North Sumatra respectively, looking especially at the structures which fuel this devotion in each locale.

Throughout this chapter, I am particularly privileging an ethnographic, grass-roots approach to the study of Marian devotion, following contextual methods familiar to the anthropology of Islam and ritual studies, in an effort to highlight experience over dogma. In this way, this chapter, as with the dissertation as a whole, is in line with Robert Orsi's scholarship on "lived religion" which "situates all religious creativity within culture and approaches all religion as lived experience" (Orsi, 2002: xix).<sup>475</sup> So doing will allow me, like Orsi, to embark on a study which "directs attention to institutions *and* persons, texts *and* rituals, practice *and* theology, things *and* ideas—all as media of making and unmaking worlds" (Orsi, 2002: xix). Furthermore, using Sherry Ortner's work on practice theory, I will show how Catholics throughout Indonesia use Marian music to re-center agentic power by performing who they are, creating themselves through devotion to Mary herself. Ultimately, this chapter will show how songs sung to Mary become sites for often subversive extra-/para-liturgical devotion and domestic piety. These Marian musical, material, and devotional moves can, in turn, provide insight into centuries of cross-cultural, cross- and intra-ethnic, and inter-generational identity politics, complicating and often subverting traditional Euro-centric and hegemonic narratives surrounding missional Catholicism in Southeast Asia.

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<sup>475</sup> Robert Orsi, 2002. *The Madonna of 115<sup>th</sup> Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950*. Second Edition. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

## 6.1 Keyword: *Lagu Maria*

*Lagu/lagu-lagu Maria* or Marian song/songs are a body of music defined by its subject; in this case the subject being the object of devotion, namely Mary, mother of Jesus of Nazareth. Revered in both Christianity/Catholicism and Islam, Mary—generally referred to as Maria instead of Mary in Indonesia, and elsewhere—is treated as a woman set apart, whether her role be as a historical holy woman (as in Islam), a Bible character (as in Protestantism), or, as a saint, intercessor, and the Mother of God (as in Catholicism). *Lagu-lagu Maria* or Marian songs in Indonesia have a similarly multi-faceted role, spanning a variety of musical genres from translated European hymns to traditional music, *lagu inkulturasi*, and particularly *musik pop rohani* or spiritual pop music. This genre flexibility is made possible in part because many of these devotional practices occur para-liturgically (beyond the boundaries of a liturgical event—namely the Mass) and often occur beyond direct oversight of Priests and Church officials (while at the same time frequently regulated by Church hierarchy).

Beyond a few concrete resources for Marian music—like Ferdy Levi’s *Ave Maria* songbook, to be discussed below—*lagu Maria* categorically allows for a fluidity in style and instrumentation that underscores the flexibility of Marian devotion itself. While liturgical music is often subject to restrictions on text, instrumentation, and musical style, the point of Marian music—and particularly locally created Marian music in Indonesia—is that it is not. This flexibility and freedom taken by the creators of *lagu Maria* echoes the independence and power that Marian devotion provides for Catholics as typically sanctioned para- or extra-liturgical practice. In the end, this malleability and un-structure/un-institutionalized nature of *lagu Maria* is what is significant here. There is not a Marian canon, so to speak, but a drive to find and produce Marian songs. Marian tropes serve as a creative muse in ways that the strictness of liturgical



setting of certain texts—like Mass parts—does not leave space for. In a conversation with a Catholic local-language lyricist, Bapak Yakobus Ari, in Ende, Flores, the moment our conversation turned to *lagu Maria* his eyes light up, and not because he has written many Marian songs.<sup>476</sup> Rather, one of Pak Kobus' greatest regrets, he told me, is that he has yet to pen lyrics in honor of Mary, a revered Holy Mother. This is the power of *lagu Maria*, not in an adherence to style or sound or genre, but in the fact that music for Marian devotion transcends these artificial boundaries while still engendering a fervor to creatively produce peons of musical praise in honor of this Holy Lady.

Furthermore, *lagu-lagu Maria* are often used to accompanying one of many kinds of Marian devotional practices, including (but not necessarily limited to) Marian processions and the praying of the Rosary, which can happen year round but are particularly popular surrounding Marian Feast Days and in the Marian months of October and May. The mobility of devotions at which there are *lagu-lagu Maria* thus highlights the laity-driven nature of this music, often occurring in the domestic or public sphere, unlike the typically Church-bound nature of traditional liturgical practices. Finally, the Marian focus of this keyword is significant. While with the term *lagu-lagu Maria*, Mary is connected to the Indonesian word for song/songs—and I would argue is often associated with a repertoire that is local, localized, and sung and known largely in Indonesia or by Indonesians—there is a robust Church history of Marian devotional practice and devotional music. In this way, *lagu-lagu Maria* allows Indonesian Catholics to look both inward (nationally and locally) and outward (globally, often historically), performing Marian devotion with all the complexity and diversity which being Roman Catholic in Indonesia can involve.

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<sup>476</sup> Personal Conversation with Bapak Yakobus Ari. April 17, 2018. Ende, Flores, Indonesia.

## 6.2 Literature on Marian Devotion and Its Role in Indonesia

With Marian devotion in Indonesia, both Roman Catholic principles and ways of doing religion and life locally and nationally throughout Indonesia come to play. A first, important distinction to make about the way Marian devotion functions in Roman Catholicism is its role as a paraliturgical devotion, which allows it to be both domestic and agentive in a way that is restricted in strictly liturgical practice. “Paraliturgical,” according to John L. McKenzie in the Encyclopedia Britannica’s entry on “Roman Catholicism,” are those forms of devotion which “lie outside the liturgy,” with liturgy defined as “the liturgy of the mass, the divine office, and the sacraments.”<sup>477</sup> As McKenzie further explains, these paraliturgical devotional practices “are accepted voluntarily and not from obligation,” unlike liturgical practice, and often occur around different figures in the cult of the saints, and chiefly to Mary. Speaking of these paraliturgical devotional practices as popular piety in his introduction to the *Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy: Principles and Guidelines A Commentary*, James Empeur, S.J. explains the complementary and causal role of these often localized and cultural practices as devotional expressions which point the faithful to the liturgy as the source and summit of their faith practice.<sup>478</sup> Relatedly, in his preface to that same commentary, theologian Peter Phan explains that

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<sup>477</sup> John L. McKenzie. 2019. “Paraliturgical Devotions” in “Roman Catholicism” on *Encyclopædia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Roman-Catholicism>. Last accessed November 23, 2019.

<sup>478</sup> Here Empeur cites the then-pope’s (Pope John Paul II, now Pope Saint John Paul the Great) definition of popular piety as “‘an expression of faith which avails of certain cultural elements proper to a specific environment which is capable of interpreting and questioning in a live and effective manner the sensibilities of those who live in that same environment’” (Empeur, 2005: 2). Empeur further defines and explains the primacy of liturgy, saying that “the directory [on Popular Piety and the Liturgy...] makes it clear that the liturgy is preeminent and always surpasses all forms of popular piety in efficacy and dignity. This is because each liturgical celebration is an action of Christ and his Body. Nothing can equal the liturgy in power; hence it is the summit of Christian spirituality.” (Empeur, 2005: 5). James Empeur, S.J., 2005. “Introduction. Popular Piety and the Liturgy: Principles and Guidelines.” In *Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy: Principles and Guidelines A Commentary*. Peter C. Phan (Ed.). Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press. Pps. 1-17.

popular piety and ecclesiastical attention have not always been commensurate, as during and after the meeting of the Second Vatican Council, popular piety was not focused on in a way that reflected its role in many Catholics day to day lives:

‘Popular’ was often derided as unsophisticated, superstitious, emotional, individualistic, reactionary, even antiliturgical. Meanwhile, popular devotions, despite being marginalized on the theological and liturgical scenes, did not die a quite death. On the contrary, for the many Christians whose emotional, cultural, esthetic, and spiritual needs are not met by the Roman liturgy...devotions have continued to be a ‘popular’—that is, well-loved—source of spiritual nourishment and in recent years have enjoyed a noticeable revival. (Phan, 2005: v).

These distinctions between liturgical, paraliturgical, and popular carry an innate tension, one which McKenzie articulates by saying that paraliturgical devotions do not just “lie outside the liturgy,” but, “in some cases contradict it” (McKenzie, 2019). George Stump teases out the historical sources of this tension between Roman Catholic hierarchy and a desire for uniform practice and the frequent on-the-ground reality of a plurality of practices by examining “The Contextuality of Religions” in his 2008 work on *The Geography of Religion: Faith, Place, and Space*.<sup>479</sup> As Stump explains:

In contrast to the Orthodox churches, Roman Catholicism remained institutionally unified under a single church hierarchy. Indeed, the centralization of religious authority represented one of the defining characteristics of the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic organization structure thus discouraged local or regional variations in

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<sup>479</sup> Roger W. Stump, 2008 *The Geography of Religion: Faith, Place, and Space*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. For his work on “Roman Catholicism,” see chapter three “The Contextuality of Religions,” pages 166-169.

belief and practice. Still, such variations did develop and in many contexts became an important part of the religious lives of adherents. (Stump, 2008: 166)

Devotions to Mary became similarly localized, ““often...linked to local manifestations, apparitions, or shrines,” particularly in times of extreme social upheaval, like battle, war, or plague (Stump, 2008: 166). With migration, missionization, and now globalization, it follows that multiple streams of Marian devotion can occur in a single location, often far from the site of original apparition or shrine. Such is very much the case in missional lands, where many strains of Marian devotion arrive with different missionary orders and influences—like our Lady of Mount Carmel—or upon the return of Indonesian pilgrims from pilgrimage abroad, particularly to Fatima or Lourdes. Furthermore, in some areas localization of Marian devotion was more organic and syncretic, like in the above mentioned example in Larantuka, Eastern Flores where a statue of Mary—their patroness *Tuan Ma*—is supposed to have washed up on the shore.<sup>480</sup> While many of the more well-known and well-resourced Marian apparitions and devotional practices are approved by Rome, not all are or can be, providing space and at times conflict between the due process of the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy and the creative imagination of local communities.

The practical potential of rogue or subversive devotion—which can often result in tension between Church hierarchy and members of the laity—is augmented by the general practice of paraliturgical popular piety beyond the time and space of a Church or parish buildings. When I arrived in Larantuka the week before Holy Week, 2018—while the whole community prepared for the Good Friday procession and influx of pilgrims to come—Marian devotion still permeated the town. In fact, I often encountered Marian devotion in the community without looking for it. For

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<sup>480</sup>Again, for more on the statue of *Tuan Ma*'s arrival to Larantuka, see Steenbrink, 2015: 250 and discussion below.

example, one night that week (pre-Holy Week) I was walking home from a late choir rehearsal at the Larantuka Cathedral when I became horribly lost. Wandering around a maze of uphill streets going the only direction I knew to be right—up, away from the shore—I wandered through dark neighborhood streets alone, until I knew I needed to ask for directions. One home ahead had their lights on and it looked like there were people inside, sitting in low chairs in a small front living room. Walking into the courtyard of this stranger’s home, I heard the comforting sounds of the Hail Mary (in Indonesian) and saw the shifting Rosary beads held in the hands of parents and grandparents alike. The family’s children sleepily milled around, accidental members of a neighborhood Rosary group. As I stumbled into the lighted room, I saw a small table amidst the prayers, topped with a small statue of Mary flanked by flickering candles. The group was local and familial, yet not exclusive, spanning age and gender, united quite literally around Mary. The story of my being lost on a Larantukan hillside ends well, as someone in that living room knew the home I was staying in and offered me a motorbike ride back to where I was going, complete with grandson in tow. Yet, my wandering also illuminated the pervasive and committed devotion to Mary not just shared but actually practiced by Catholics in Larantuka. On a weekday night, right before the busiest and holiest weeks of the community and Church year, this neighborhood Rosary group still took time to gather and pray, surrounding Mary with their time and care.

As shown in the above story, the domestic, often home- or neighborhood-based nature of paraliturgical devotion is readily expressed through material made or at least used extra-ecclesiastically. In her work on *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life*, Meredith B. McGuire refers to a Latino custom of *altarcitos*, or home shrines dedicated to a particular saint

around which domestic spiritual practices daily occur (McGuire, 2008: 52).<sup>481</sup> This devotion in the home, McGuire explains, is often created and carried out by women, as a way “for communicating with and trying to tap divine power to touch their everyday lives” (McGuire, 2008: 53). Furthermore, this material devotional practice, while personally curated to serve the needs of each specific woman or family, often invokes Marian imagery—in the case of the Mexican American communities McGuire worked with, often the Virgin of Guadalupe—as “an approachable and understanding yet very powerful, sacred figure [which] allows women to feel directly in touch with divine power that can affect their lives in ways that really matter” (McGuire, 2008: 52-3). Accordingly, paraliturgical devotion in the domestic sphere presents a place where members of the laity, and even more so women, can practice their faith in a way which neither requires nor is necessarily subject to the place of the Church or the presence of a Priest.

In almost every Catholic home or domestic space I entered in Indonesia, visual signifiers of paraliturgical devotions were evident and Mary was often one of the chief intercessors represented. Little home alters like the one above mentioned with devotional items—including holy cards, statues, Rosary beads, and candles—were common, some discreetly tucked away in a bedroom, and some grandly displayed with life-size images, items, or statue. In the coastal town of Larantuka, Eastern Flores, these domestic displays took on greater significance during their town’s above-mentioned Holy Week and Good Friday processions, during which home altars to Mary were brought out to the front yard of many homes on the processional route.<sup>482</sup> The maternal aspect of Marian devotion—one which many of my interlocutors claimed resonated with a proclivity in Indonesia to connect the emotional association of affection with one’s mother—was

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<sup>481</sup> Meredith McGuire, 2008. *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

<sup>482</sup> For a picture of a home altar in Larantuka, see Appendix A.3 Figure 16.

augmented by the fact that women were not only often the driving force behind Marian devotion, but frequently took a definite leadership role in domestic devotion, one that they might not so readily take in a Church setting.<sup>483 484</sup>

Furthermore, these paraliturgical devotional activities begot markers of a Catholic religiosity, while at the same time frequently evoking a broader sense of how to be religious in Indonesia. For example, in Ruteng, Western Flores, a local Catholic high school was decorated with shires hanging on their walls and often carrying a picture of the founder of the order with which the school was associated.<sup>485</sup> At the Wisma PTPM Catholic Jesuit-run boarding house in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, the secretary often burned incense—here in front of a Saint’s picture in her office—resonating with devotional practices carried out by both Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucian devotees in Indonesia. Finally, Catholics also participated in the ubiquitous presence of “dashboard piety”—representing symbols of different official religions in Indonesia, be in a small Buddha figure or a hanging ornament carrying words in Arabic— frequently highlighting Mary, either as a member of the Holy Family depicted in a small statue or hanging plaque, as an

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<sup>483</sup> One example of this was with in a conversation with Priest and Professor of Theology, Onesius Otenieli Daeli, OSC, Ph.D. (known locally as Pastor Ote) in Bandung, West Java, who, when I asked “What is it about Mary in Indonesia that has created this affinity? Is there a reason why the songs are about Mary?,” responded: “Because closer to our Mom. Yeah. Emotion...Because most of Indonesian culture are patriarchal. But personally we are closer our Mum. And that’s why the songs about Mary, it’s really close to us. Because, how try to honor our mother.” Personal communication with Pastor Onesius Otenieli Daeli O.S.C, Ph.D., February 6, 2018. Bandung, Indonesia. Similar sentiments about the maternal, feminine, and gentleness of Mary were expressed by Pater Hendrik Kerans, in Ende, Flores, when he explained a strong Florenese devotion to Mary by saying, “They need a mother figure who is gentle and all kinds.” In Indonesian, “*Mereka membutuhkan sosok ibu yang lembut dan segala macam.*” Personal communication with Pater Hendrik Kerans, SVD., April 16, 2018. Ende, Flores, Indonesia.

<sup>484</sup> For further resonance of material affinity between Mary and the role of the Ibu or mother in Indonesia, many of my interlocutors cited the fact that Indonesia has Mother’s day, but no Father’s day, in addition to a number of female national figures, known for their roles domestically as mothers of their children and nationally as mothers of their nation, like the popular national figure of Ibu Kartini.

<sup>485</sup> Here, the Saint pictured was Saint Arnoldus, founder of the SVD order, brother order of the SSPS order which ran the above-mentioned high school in Ruteng. For an image of this hallway shrine, see Appendix A.3 Figure 17.

image of Mary herself, or as the subject of devotion of certain prayers, represented for example by a set of Rosary beads.

It follows that paraliturgical devotion, particularly including veneration to Mary, has significance as a Catholic practice, while also resonating with broader ways of being religious in a certain community or country. Furthermore, popular piety has the inherent flexibility of being manifested temporally: in time—on feast days and in the Marian months of May and October—and in space: at shrines, through pictures and statuary, and in public and often domestic spaces, like schools or homes. This flexibility also presents tension and challenge, as discussed above, which at the same time providing opportunity for greater localization, especially in missionized areas.<sup>486</sup>

At the same time, Marian devotion has often and does often become the chosen site of recourse and solace for national struggles, with “veneration of local and national patron saints remain[ing] an important and widespread part of Roman Catholic practice” (Stump, 2008: 167). As Stump explicates, many saints were and continue to be venerated in association “with both the adoption of Christianity and the formation of national identity, such as St. Wenceslaus of Bohemia, St. Stephen of Hungary, and St. Stanislaus of Poland” (Stump, 2008: 167). Marian apparitions, too, hold this kind of import, “including Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico (1858) and Our Lady of Fatima in Portugal (1917), [who] have also acquired significance as national patrons” (Stump, 2008: 167). While each of these saints or Marian apparitions can be prayed to through meditative private prayer or simple paraliturgical devotion, it is in the materialization of these practices that

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<sup>486</sup> In her work on “On the Catholic Church and Indigenous Identities: Notes from Indonesian Borneo,” Anne Schiller argues that “the para-liturg[y] affords a unique point of access concerning how world religion may affect the formation of native peoples’ identities” (Schiller, 2009: 279). For more, see Anne Schiller, 2009. “On the Catholic Church and indigenous identities: Notes from Indonesian Borneo.” *Culture and Religion*, 10:3, 279-295.



nationally significant saints and patronesses enter homes in a more concrete manner. For example, one of the Roman Catholic Churches in my hometown on the outskirts of Boston, MA, boasts a stained-glass window of “Our Lady of the Americas,” with Mary’s arms outstretched over a sepia tone map of the continental United States.

Similarly, this nationalizing or country-specific localizing of Mary has occurred in Indonesia, most recently coinciding with the rise of sectarian violence throughout the country in the mid-20teens. One such manifestation is the newly created and installed *Bunda Maria Segala Suka/Bangsa* or Our Lady Uniter of All Races/Ethnicities who is situated in a side transept in Jakarta Cathedral in life-size statue form.<sup>487</sup> While originally began in the Archdiocese of Semarang in 2014, this Indonesian-specific, Javanized Mary coincided with the national scope of the Archdiocese of Jakarta’s 5-year campaigns (starting in 2016) to “Amalakan” or “Practice” Pancasila, Indonesia’s founding political philosophy. While there are important implications of the appearance and depictions of this *Bunda Maria*, as touched upon in the previous chapter on “Pancasila,” what is significant here is the materiality and mobility of this image, printed on everything from posters and prayer cards, and most recently made into miniature statues which can be purchased for use in private homes. Thus, Marian devotion—whether celebrating

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<sup>487</sup> A similar localized instantiation of Mary occurred in Malaysia around the same time, mid-20teens, as Shanthini Pillai explains in a 2015 article on “The Intertwining Vines of Liturgy, Ethnicity, and Nationhood: The Nativized Imaginary of the Malaysian Catholic Community.” *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture* 18(1), 94-112. “Although it is common to recognize honored titles such as Our Lady of Lourdes and Our Lady of Fatima,” Pillai explains, “there are also times when her image is presented in a nativized form. One example in Malaysia is the Our Lady of the Jubilee created by the Archdiocese of Penang to mark the celebration of the jubilee year of its formation in Malaysia...The statue of Our Lady of the Jubilee presents the Madonna in the traditional Malay attire of the baju kebaya. The garment is the Virgin’s signature color, blue, and the sleeves and bodice are adorned with hibiscus, the Malaysian national flower. Standing in front of her is the Child Jesus dressed in the traditional costume of the Malay male, the baju Melayu, and in his hands he holds the globe with a cross at its apex. (Pillai, 2015: 107-8). Pillai goes on to connect this imagery with national localizing of Marian imagery, saying that “The semiotic ensemble clearly shows the interweaving of nation and Church. It is a powerful reflection of the Malaysian identity in the Catholic Church in Malaysia, and it is just one of many such instances that attest to the creative strategies through which the Malaysian Catholic community reterritorializes Catholic experience into national culture-scapes, in sum, nativized cultural narratives or productions of Malaysian Catholic identity” (Pillai, 2015: 108).

connections to a global Church, interceding for the protection of state or nation, or asserting a supremely local narrative—provides an important view into the agentive paraliturgical, popular, and personal devotion of all Catholics, and particularly the laity.

In Ruteng, West Flores, I had the privilege to encounter Marian devotion and Marian music on the first day of the Marian month of May, one of the two months in the Roman Catholic calendar that is devoted to the celebration of Mary (the other being October). A local S.Sp.S. nun-friend had arranged for me to go on a road trip that day, May 1, 2018. Our driver, the sister's cousin and the security guard at the Catholic high school the sister ran, showed up at the school gate early afternoon, his jeep-like vehicle ready for the varied terrain we would encounter in the picturesque hillside to which we were headed. After running by his house in town to pick up his wife, we headed out of town past Ruteng's spacious Cathedral grounds. Ever a teacher, the sister leaned out the window as we passed, stopping some students who lived at their local boarding house to ask where they were going. Church, of course, they answered; dressed in their Sunday best, their destination was one of the many special services happening that evening to celebrate the opening of this Marian month. As we continued along, our car began to climb, stopping every so often to visit the various Churches, retreat houses, and religious communities nestled into the higher altitude outskirts of the city. After getting the car stuck and then thankfully unstuck along the switchback roads carved into the cliffs over which we traveled, the sun was setting, casting a glow on the dusty road and verdant lots we drove by. As we drove the direction of this setting sun, eager to get home and off rail-less roads by nightfall, we were stopped by in our tracks. A Marian procession was leaving a local church and proceeding down the mountainous slope. From out the car window I caught glimpses of song and the shuffle of feet, voices and bodies all oriented to the figure of the Lady on the makeshift platform behind which they marched. I do not know what

they were singing, beyond the assumption that it was Marian. What I remember instead of this roadside experience—disruption for our car yet devotion for those on foot—was the people carrying the statue. Women, smaller and perhaps younger than myself, deftly maneuvering dirt hillside slopes while carrying the decorated platform upon which their Mother Mary stood. Right before passing through the pilgrimage blockade, the local Catholic radio station to which we were listening, stopped playing music to chime in the six o'clock hour and lead those listening in the recitation of a Marian prayer known in Latin as the *Regina Coeli* or Queen of Heaven. On this day, the first of May, with Marian devotion occurring all around us, my companions and I prayed a sequence that is prayed in homes, Churches, and religious communities around the world, honoring the queenship of the Blessed Mother. Celebrating the beginning of this Marian month on the mountainous outskirts of Ruteng, I was struck by how natural yet informal our devotion felt, like a pulse or heartbeat, almost taken for granted. We did nothing special to celebrate Mary that day, and granted, a month full of celebrations and special devotions was just beginning. Rather, it was the ordinariness with which we encountered the services, processions, and prayers that suggested that while May was a special month for Mary, devotion to Her was expected and commonplace, enthroning the Mother of God as a special intercessor as an everyday habit, Her extra-ordinariness ensconced in the power of the ordinary devotions of ordinary people.<sup>488</sup>

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<sup>488</sup> The story of the commonplace and usual modalities of Marian devotion resonates with the John Pemberton's work on the extra-ordinary meanings of something considered expected and ordinary, such as the present by not listened to order of ritual gamelan music at a Central Javanese wedding, in John Pemberton,. 1987. "Musical Politics in Central Java (Or How Not to Listen to a Javanese Gamelan)" *Indonesia* Vol. 44. Pages 16-29.

### 6.3 Why Mary?

And yet, the question still stands, “Why Mary?” What particular socio-religious work is Marian devotion being used to do in Indonesia that makes this devotion so pervasive and passionate among so many Catholics throughout the country? What histories inform these practices, as evidenced in how Marian devotion has become manifested in different parts of Indonesia? And finally, what impact can or does Marian devotion have for the broader local community, in terms of both multi-faith community potential and economic advancement? I will address these questions—localizing this discussion of devotion to experience and history on Indonesian soil—in three parts: with Marian devotion as a Catholic signifier, Marian devotion as a re-appropriation and often localization of a colonial Catholic legacy, and the often multi-faith economics of Marian grottos.

#### 6.3.1 Marian Devotion as a Catholic Signifier

Often when I asked Indonesian Catholic musicians about the difference between Christian and Catholic music, while they mentioned issues of instrumentation and repertoire, they pointed to subject of the song as the decisive difference. As one famous Florenese composer, Bapak Ferdy Levi, put it: “they [Christians] have no Maria...just God and Jesus,” saying that he could tell by the lyrics whether or not a song was Catholic.<sup>489</sup> This association of Mary with Catholic is even seen in a simple google search of this chapter’s keyword, “*lagu-lagu Maria*.” What came up when I typed this term in Indonesia into my google search bar (in the US) included 10 YouTube

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<sup>489</sup> Personal communication with Bapak Ferdy Levi April 18, 2018. Ende, Flores, Indonesia.

links, 8 of which had “*Katolik*” in either the subject or title. The “Searches related to *lagu lagu maria*” menu at the bottom of the screen was also telling, suggesting I search subjects such as the song “*Ave Maria*,” songs with lyrics of the Rosary or Hail Mary prayers, songs to our Lady of Lourdes, and three suggestions to check out Catholic “*Lagu Rohani*” or spiritual songs (frequently in a pop-style). Accordingly, I argue that devotion to Mary—particularly as made manifest aurally in music or visually in devotional materiality—is seen as a Catholic signifier, not just different in terms of dogma, but in terms of the sonic and material signifiers of Marian devotion. Thus, in a country which officially divides *Kristen* (Protestant) and *Katolik* (Roman Catholic), the distinction between each practice is decided. One is not the other in Indonesia; the idea of being a Catholic kind of Christian—as in, Catholicism as under the umbrella of Christianity, along with Protestantism—does not hold. Instead, this politico-national distinction—as seen in the state’s designation of *Kristen* vs. *Katolik* as separate categories, and the reification of that distinction in the printing of one’s religious identity on state-issued identity cards—is reflected in on-the-ground distinctions between Protestant and Catholic piety, distinctions first made centuries ago by colonial conquerors and missionaries, with their own restrictions and practices. Thus, in Indonesia, Marian song becomes one way of sounding Catholic.

### **6.3.2 Re-appropriations and Localizations of a Catholic Colonial Legacy**

In his work on the missional history of Roman Catholicism in Indonesia, Karel Steenbrink details a period of time, from the 17<sup>th</sup> to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, during which the presence of Catholic

missionaries in what was is now Indonesia was outlawed (Steenbrink, 2003: 7).<sup>490</sup> Economically motivated to target the Dutch East India Company's (VOC) competitors, this expulsion of missionaries related to colonial trade meant that the Catholic communities which continued, largely in Eastern Indonesia, were left without Priestly support, and thus without recourse to any Church-sanctioned Sacramental celebrations.<sup>491</sup> While some Portuguese missionaries were still allowed to work on the Flores, until 1772, due to "the very small number of Portuguese missionaries, the absence of local priests, and poor communications with other areas, Catholic practices and doctrines were transmitted along with rituals and convictions of other religions" (Steenbrink, 2003: 7). This syncretic dynamic combined local beliefs with what the missionaries had left in their wake, chiefly paraliturgical devotion to Mary structured around prayer practices like the Rosary.

An important irony is here apparent, that a colonially initiated practice and legacy exists because of opposing colonial control and subsequent missional absence; it was in the void of missionary presence that the seeds of popular piety and paraliturgical devotion to Mary took root through the devotion and actions of the parishioners themselves. This practical, local devotion continued after reallowance of missionary Priests and religious orders in Indonesia, particularly in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, lay initiated devotional practices remained strong, due to necessity, structure, and habit. Even after the return of missionaries and the now prevalence of ordained Indonesian Priests, the Priest to parish ratio is still inadequate to facilitate weekly Masses at many

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<sup>490</sup> See Karel Steenbrink, 2003. *Catholics in Indonesia: A Documented History: Volume I—A Modest Recovery 1808–1903*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

<sup>491</sup> The Roman Catholic Church has seven Sacraments, which include: Baptism, Reconciliation or Penance, the Eucharist, Confirmation, Anointing of the Sick, Holy Order, and Matrimony.

far away stations church. Necessity for paraliturgical devotion, as Pater Henrik Kerans explained to me in a conversation in mid-April 2018, was a result of this reality, as he said:

Years ago, up until present day, there was only one pastor for one district. He visited each church once a year, so during that time we [the priests] said that they [the parishioners] should gather [independently], their worship was to pray together formulaic communal prayer. What was it? The Rosary. Just the Our Father and the Rosary, therefore, it is ingrained...and it was added to the psychology of Catholics here. <sup>492</sup> <sup>493</sup>

From historical necessity to ingrained practice, devotion to the Rosary and relatedly to Mary was also facilitated by contemporary parochial structure. In addition to the divisions of diocese and parish, each neighborhood has its own Catholic community or *lingkungan*, a kind of cellular structure adopted by the Indonesian Roman Catholic Church as a way of encouraging lay organization and participation in the wake of the Second Vatican Council.<sup>494</sup> This organizing principle fit well onto preexisting social structures, like neighborhood groups or family/clan distinction, and has been quickly subsumed into how Catholicism functions throughout the country. In addition to liturgical responsibilities, weekly group meetings are common, often occurring in member's homes, and often without the presence of a Priest. It is at these meetings

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<sup>492</sup> In Indonesian, “*Tahun dulu-dulu, sampai sekarang kan dulu itu kan pastor untuk satu kabupaten. Dia kunjung-kunjung gereja satu tahun satu kali, jadi selama itu kita mengatakan bahwa mereka berkumpul, ibadat mereka berdoa bersama rumusan doa bersama itu apa? Rosaria. Bapak kami juga Rosaria saja, makanya itu mendarah daging...dan itu tambah lagi psikologi orang Katolik disini.*” Personal Conversation with Pater Hendrik Kerans, SVD., April 16, 2018. Ende, Flores, Indonesia.

<sup>493</sup> This sense of using the Rosary for identity politics is resonate with Nathan Mitchell's work on *The Mystery of the Rosary: Marian Devotion and the Reinvention of Catholicism*, in which Mitchell argues that “the rosary survived and flourished because it was able to absorb the reframings of reform, representation, ritual, religious identity, and devotion that came to characterized early modern Catholicism and that have continued to shape Catholic piety and practice to the present day” (Mitchell, 2009: 3). For more of Mitchell's work on the role of the Rosary during the early modern period, see Nathan D. Mitchell, 2009. *The Mystery of the Rosary: Marian Devotion and the Reinvention of Catholicism*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

<sup>494</sup> Again, see Steenbrink, 2015: 75-76 and Poplawska, 2008: 107, for more on the *lingkungan* structure and how it relates to Catholic Church music in Indonesia.

that para-liturgical devotion—like saying the Rosary—continues to be strong. In some areas, like the Eastern Flores port town of Larantuka, there are even little chapels in each community at which the members can gather for devotional practices beyond their homes but without needing to go to a nearby Church or without the requirement of priestly presence. Thus, the implementation of the *lingkungan* structure supports both liturgical practice and the continuation of para-liturgical devotion.

### **6.3.3 Localization of Marian Devotion through Image and Music**

Perhaps the most striking example of appropriation and localization of a colonial legacy of Marian devotion is seen in Larantuka, Eastern Flores. Known for their Holy Week devotional activities, culminating in the above detailed Good Friday procession to the Sorrowful Mother, the story of how Larantuka received their beloved patroness, *Tuan Ma*, is one where colonial and missional presence is incidentally causal yet secondary to the appearance of this venerated statue. As historian Karel Steenbrink explains in his book on *Catholics in Independent Indonesia: 1945–2010*:

According to a modern local tradition the statue of Mary as a Weeping Mother or Mater Dolorosa was found on the beach of East Flores and brought into the *korke* or traditional sacred house of the village before the arrival of the first missionaries. Only after their arrival the missionaries recognised the image as an important Christian symbol. This story (not recorded before the Indonesian independence of 1945) underlines the dominant role of the lay people in this tradition (Steenbrink, 2015: 250).<sup>495</sup>

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<sup>495</sup> Steenbrink, Karel. 2015. *Catholics in Independent Indonesia: 1945-2010*. Leiden, Netherlands.



A key musical example of Larantukan's appropriated and localized ownership of Marian devotional practice comes in the form of centuries old devotional hymns, now sung to Mary at a local chapel on Sunday morning. As a Catholic community now almost exclusively run by Indonesians, the legacy of the Portuguese Dominican Priests who arrived in Larantuka through trade ships in the 16<sup>th</sup> century still echoes through now localized Portuguese language, related Marian devotional practices, and the community's strong devotion to the Rosary.<sup>496</sup> When I first arrived in Larantuka, at the end of March 2018—in the midst of the Holy Week preparations occurring around Palm Sundays—I was invited into the home of a family who was distant relative of the former king of Larantuka. Showing me a family-tree which detailed this royal line and their place in it, they also pulled out a small laminated book full of photocopied lyrics and prayers dedicated to Mary, with a snapshot of *Tuan Ma* on the curling cover.<sup>497</sup> This well-loved palm-sized book was in Portuguese, or a Larantukan version of Portuguese, passed down generationally. The language itself, however, is ever changing, due in part to the insistence of community members to have visiting Portuguese speakers from Europe adjust this these and related devotional texts. The pride of knowing and praying in localized Portuguese—still extant in Saturday morning Marian paraliturgical devotion at local chapels—is further linguistically localized through Larantukan devotion to *Tuan Ma*.

I personally encountered the perseverance of and Larantukan pride in Portuguese-language devotional practice on Holy Thursday [*Kamis Putih*], 2018. Starting then until the end of the Good Friday procession the next day, the statue of *Tuan Ma* was displayed at her chapel [*Kapela Tuan*

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<sup>496</sup> The devotion and veneration of the Rosary can be seen in statues around the town, and particularly at and in the Cathedral of Larantuka, appropriately name *Katedral Ratu Rosario Tersuci*, dedicated to Our Lady, Queen of the Most Holy Rosary, depicted at the front of the Church.

<sup>497</sup> For a picture of the cover of this devotional book, see Appendix A.3 Figure 18.

*Ma*] for veneration. Of the many songs sung to her honor, Portuguese, Indonesian, and Larantukan were employed, sung acapella by women in or connected to local family clans. Other, more local rites were also observed that Holy Thursday at the *Kapela Tuan Ma*—such as reverence to the relations of ruling families during the same veneration of *Tuan Ma*—or in preparation for and during the procession itself. For example, local families (starting with those related to the king’s lineage) are allowed to reverence the statue before out-of-town pilgrims and hold places of honor in the procession, closest to the statue. In fact, in the para-liturgical church service which precedes the procession on Good Friday, there is a whole section of Larantuka’s Cathedral sectioned off for local families. Confused enough to disrupt protocol yet connected and communicative enough to be told to stay, I found myself sitting through the service with one of those families, taking up a coveted place in their named pew. The pews were even labeled for which clan or family was allowed to sit where, designations which correlated to their social standing in Larantuka and practically, that Good Friday, to how close to the statue they would be allowed to get. In this section of the Cathedral, the localized practices of their Good Friday Procession mixed with the familial and familiar, as community members embraced their returned friends, back to celebrate Easter with their families in Larantuka. While the masses of visiting pilgrims sat patiently in the nave, this reserved side transept of the Church held the local community, with local customs of clan reverence and Catholicity preserved. Yet, the focus here too, was on women.

While the male *konferia*, with the assistance of a Priest, presided over the Good Friday service and procession, the most moving and talked about parts of the evening for the local community were centered around women and ultimately focused on Mary. The performance of Veronica’s lament—an honor for a local young woman to perform, chanting in Latin—brought tears to eyes of older women around me. Both the praying and documenting of the evening could

be seen carried out by the woman of the town that evening, be it with Rosary beads and on cell phones in Church or fanning incense along the processional route. Yet, as much as local women played pivotal roles and fueled the evening's ritual events, it was the local community's place of privilege—closet to *Tuan Ma* in both the church and procession—which highlighted the source of the prestige of Larantuka and its women; their power emanated from no other source than, Mary, Mother of God, Sorrowful Mother. Accordingly, while Marian paraliturgical practice might have first arrived in Larantuka with colonial trade and missionary priests, it persists through highly localized devotions in which the particular agency of Larantukans is the engine behind their performative displays to Mary, their creation of what it looks and sounds like to be Larantukan, Indonesian, and Catholic.

#### **6.3.4 Localizing a Colonial Legacy through Marian Devotion**

Moving beyond Java-centric and ecclesiastical barriers, sung Marian devotion allows Catholics in Flores the opportunity to reclaim a missional history first fueled by various colonial powers. When viewed through Sherry Ortner's work on practice theory, the agency of Florenese Catholics through embodied action becomes evident. As Ortner explains,

The importance of subjects (whether individual actors or social entities) lies not so much in who they are and how they are put together as in the projects that they construct and enact. For it is in the formulation and enactment of those projects that they both become and transform who they are, and that they sustain or transform their social and cultural

universe (Ortner, 2006: 58).<sup>498</sup>

Beyond a static or proscriptive sense of identity, here Ortner's emphasis on action as enactment, of projects being both constitutive and transformative, highlights the actors' power. Despite political and economic systems which fail them, and beyond patriarchal and Rome/Java-centered ecclesiastical hierarchies, Catholics throughout Flores have flocked to Maria, not just for intercession, but as a way to understand and then create and be who they are. At the same time, the above stories—both of the arrival of *Tuan Ma* to Larantuka and the devotional practices now performed to venerate this statue out of devotion to the Sorrowful Mother—evoke tension between pre-Christian belief systems and Catholic piety.

Related issues of inculturation versus magisterial teaching surrounded Romo Yance, a diocesan priest in Ende who has become known for his theological conservative views, censoring certain localizing musical practices which were considered not in line with Church liturgy.<sup>499</sup> Similarly, two priests I met with in the Manggarai speaking region of West Flores also espoused concerns about the prevalence and unruliness of Marian devotion, one Priest going so far as to fear that without proper theological correction, some congregants could veer into pantheism, worshipping Mary instead of understanding the Catholic distinction of her role as intercessor, yet not God.<sup>500</sup> Again, returning to Stephen Greenblatt's work in his "A mobility studies manifesto,"

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<sup>498</sup> Sherry B. Ortner. 2006. *Anthropology and Social Theory: Culture, Power, and the Acting Subject*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

<sup>499</sup> Such was the subject of his thesis in Sacred Liturgy from the Pontifical Atheneum of St. Anselm in Rome where, as he explained it to me in personal communication on 22 April, 2018, he analyses the text of a local lyricist in Ende, Flores, criticizing the way in which they do not adhere to required texts for Mass parts, such as the Kyrie or Gloria. Personal communication with Romo Fransiskus Yance Sengga (Romo Yance). April 22, 2018. Mataloko, Flores, Indonesia. Fransiskus Yance Sengga, 2016. "Il Canto Liturgico 'Gawi-Lio' Opportunita e Sfrida Dell'Inculturazione del Canto Liturgico Nell'azione Liturgica Dell'Arcidiocesi di Ende (Indonesia) alla Luce del Motu Proprio 'Tra le Sollecitudini' (1903) di Papa S. Pio X e di 'Sacrosanctum Concilium' (1963)." Thesis in Sacred Liturgy from the Pontifical Atheneum of St. Anselm in Rome, Italy.

<sup>500</sup> Personal communication with Pater Cletus Nenda, SVD. May 5, 2018. Labuan Bajo, Flores, Indonesia.

an understanding of mobility—of people, ideas, and things, should be taken in “*a highly literal sense,*” in order to “*account in new ways for the tension between individual agency and structural constraint*” (Greenblatt, 2010: 250-51). Localization of Marian devotion—in this case the local appropriation of Portuguese Dominican statuary—does exactly that, highlighting this tension while presenting the potential of popular piety.

## **6.4 Ways of Sounding Mary Through Music—Local Case Studies**

As Marian devotion is a way to study historically and culturally contextualized practices beyond the auspices of liturgical time and space, tracking the practice of Marian devotion and accompanying *lagu-lagu Maria* in and beyond Java provides insight into the lived religion of Catholic communities in Flores, North Sumatra, and Java, experiences which themselves often challenge the centrifugal power of Catholic hierarchy.

### **6.4.1 In Flores**

Beyond the auspices of church building and necessity of Priestly presence, Marian devotion and “*lagu Maria*” have provided a space for Florenese Catholics to reclaim missional narratives, printing and processing their own ways of being Catholic. Traveling from East to West across Flores—looking at the music and soundscapes of the above-mentioned Holy Week activities and procession in Larantuka, the printing of Marian music in Ende, and the creation of local language music and music videos in Ruteng—I will examine how aural, printed, and visually recorded *lagu-*

*lagu Maria* presents agentic narratives, re-centering power away from Java and focusing it instead of Eastern Indonesia, where a majority of the country's Catholics reside.

#### **6.4.1.1 Larantuka, East Flores**

In Larantuka, Eastern Flores, the Marian preparation for Holy Week—including the praying of the Rosary and Novena (or nine days of prayers to a particular patron saint)—happens at times and in places beyond the liturgical and temporal auspices of the Church. These preparations enter the domestic sphere, where home altars and handmade devotional books highlight the contemporary continuation of a missional legacy. When Marian devotion enters homes and local chapels, the power of the laity (or non-clergy/religious Catholics) becomes clear, particularly in preparation for Holy Week. As Good Friday approaches the statues emerge and veneration of *Tuan Ma* and related figurines begins. On Holy Thursday (March 29, 2018), I visited the *Kapela* or Chapel dedicated to *Tuan Ma* to pay my respects to this wooden statue of Mary, only revealed during these few days leading up to Easter. This was a women's space; a mother's space. Sweating, crying, and singing pilgrims waited in line and then approached this statue of Mary—veiled in midnight blue—on their knees. Kissing some part of the precipice on which she stood or shuffling off to the side to pray, the pilgrims were surrounded by women connected with clan families in Larantuka, echoes of kinship to Raja's past. Clad in black, these women seated in the chapel's periphery in a way presided over this event, singing devotional songs and clearing candle wax off of large tin platters. Devotion here keened; Mary's lament echoed by the women of Larantuka. Veneration was open to anyone willing to submit to waiting hours under the sun, but it was powered by women, appropriating missional Catholic influence into local practice and history. This is a visceral experience, allowing pilgrims to feel Mary's sorrow in sweat and tears.

When I went to pay my respects to *Tuan Ma* on Holy Thursday, 2018, I was overwhelmed by the sensorial atmosphere which surrounded me. Not knowing that I would need to check my bag at the entrance, I arrived at 11am and surrendered all of my belongings to the security desk at the gate. As a result, the next two hours found me waiting under what became a noon-day sun, bombarded by the directions and occasionally music projected over the chapels loudspeakers. I was not alone, waiting in this courtyard, and in these hours of anticipation heard stories of pilgrims—near me happened to be seminarians and young adults from around the country—who traveled to Larantuka specifically for these Holy Week events. During this time, I listened, and waited, and felt the pain of a growing sunburn and near heatstroke. As I approached the chapel entrance, my vision blurred, and I was encouraged to squat in the shadow of other women standing by to avoid fainting. Needless to say, once I reached my goal, the space and practice of devotional veneration of *Tuan Ma*, I was relieved that my wait was over. What prevailed instead was a feeling of different senses and different pain. As I kneeled on the blue carpet, directed by an assistant on how to approach the statue in a row of half a dozen other pilgrims, my relief turned to peace, which appropriately morphed to a sorrowful pain. Not only was I about to venerate a statue whose fame represents immense sadness, but I approached it surrounded by the sadness of a community of women who have found in Marian devotion a way, for one day, to express their own sorrow and their own pain, uniting it to the perfect pain of their Sorrowful Mother. Surrounded by the keening of Larantukan women, clad in black, I scooted forward. I did not know or understand the words to their songs, the mournful melodies joining an atmosphere rich with burning incense and framed by trays of flickering candles. Yet at that moment, lexical understandings of words and ritual etiquette ceded to the sensorial experience which united me, united us all, to Mary; whose ultimate pain we would remember on Good Friday, a pain acutely shared by all grieving mothers. After

kissing the hem of *Tuan Ma*'s midnight blue mantel, I shuffled off to the side of the chapel and collapsed on a bench in the whitewashed alleyway.

Going through this devotional practice as a pilgrim-ethnographer, many of my memories from that experience of venerating *Tuan Ma* swirled into a mix of wonder and confusion. What I do remember at the end of it all—still sitting in that small alleyway—was the unique ubiquity of it all. There I was, doing the very thing that so many Catholics throughout my travels in Indonesia had encouraged me to do: I had seen *Tuan Ma*, kissed the hem of her garments, felt and heard the sorrow of women sung. And at the very end, we took a selfie. Along with a few of the young women I had met while waiting, drenched in sweat, we smiled on a small wooden bench and snapped a photo on my iPhone. How absurdly mundane and simple it felt—in my relief, thirst, and physical exhaustion—to commemorate such an intense experience in that way. However, in retrospect, the merging of an everyday practice in Indonesia, like taking selfies with your friends, with the often everyday or frequent practice of Marian devotion for Indonesian Catholics, seemed fitting. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge the specific function of selfie-taking and sharing (on social media) in Indonesia as a way of participating in modernity, technologically localizing an experience as something contemporary that happened to you.<sup>501</sup> While veneration of *Tuan Ma* is certainly a special event—even for those who call Larantuka home—the domestic shrine, wearing of Rosary beads, praying of Marian prayers, these are the frequent practices that bring Mary into hearts and homes, a ready solace for those who call out to her, especially in all too common hardships or sorrows. It was fitting, then, to end my Holy Thursday veneration not with

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<sup>501</sup> This specificity of experience and participation in and through the contemporary technological of cell phones and social media is underscored in Indonesia by the idea that a cell phone can be the only or best piece of modern technology that someone individually owns, making it uniquely theirs and thus special in both form and function.



transcriptions, or interviews, but with a selfie, a reminder that the sorrow and devotion we entered into that day continues and as of Holy Thursday was not complete.

Similarly, the Good Friday procession resonated with women's voices, both in sound and song content. Marian hymns and the constant low hum of the Hail Mary in Indonesian permeated the procession route, creating an overlapping paean of praise, imploring a Mother who acutely knew what it was to suffer. This interplay of overlapping song and prayer continue throughout the night, for the 4+ hours of the procession celebration. Once outside of the Church building and courtyard, where the parish Priest and male confraternity begin the processional events, Mary leads and the devotional practices of pilgrims follow, accompanying her sorrowful journey in song. Because of my naïve audacity to sit with a Larantukan clan family in the service which proceeded the procession, and due to the kindness of a choir-friend who insisted that I walk with her family group, I proceeded along the processional route within privileged view of *Tuan Ma*. One of the last groups to exit the Cathedral, we walked through the courtyard crowded with visiting pilgrims, small flames flickering on their candles as they waited for permission to join the back of the procession. Volunteers dressed in traditional Indonesian Muslim attire made a chain with their bodies to hold back the masses as *Tuan Ma* and then our family group passed. The main light that night was candles: tied to bamboo poles holding spectators back along the processional route, carried in hands which quickly became encrusted in wax. The next day, post-procession, the streets would be slick with the melted wax, making walking treacherous as pilgrims found their way out of town. But that night, *Tuan Ma*'s candlelit vigil was more important than slick streets. While the pilgrimage route had stops or *armadas*—where the *O Vos* lament would be sung and certain Marian prayers said—there was an incredible amount of organization in each individual marching group. The choice of songs and prayers between the stops seemed spontaneous to me, yet I was

told that each group had a few leaders who would choose and start a certain song and all behind them in the group would join in, and to my amazement they did. The songs chosen seemed known by all in attendance, whether the lyrics were in Indonesian or Latin, or often a mix of the two. With styles ranging from pop to chant, the members of my family group not only joined in the singing—without notation or lyrics of any sort—they embraced it. A man a few paces in front of us, related to the *ibu* at my side, was so absorbed in the singing and praying, that he would frequently throw out his hands, palms up, eyes closed, and sing his heart out to Mary, all while miraculously not tripping or bumping into people as we proceeded along the processional route. Again, as with my experience of venerating *Tuan Ma* the day before, the levels of leadership taken by the laity—community members, pilgrims, and police enforcement alike—to create and enter into the ritual time and space of this evening was astounding. And yet, this willingness to enter into Marian devotion, and the insider knowledge required to sing and pray throughout this night, pointed to the pervasive yet important role Mary played in the life of these community members and pilgrims. They did not have to rehearse ways to be devoted to Mary in preparation for the procession, rather their participation in this ritual flowed from a faith rooted in devotion to Mary in their daily lives.

#### **6.4.1.2 Ende, Central Flores**

While the Good Friday procession in Larantuka is an aural instance of Marian devotion, in Ende, Central Flores, one musician has taken it upon himself to codify many of these Marian hymns. Bapak Ferdy Levi is a retired high school English teacher, organist, choral conductor, and, like many religious men in Flores, a former SVD seminarian. Known as the progenitor for the Exultate Catholic hymn books, Pak Ferdy has strong devotion to Mary, a piety which he shares

with many Catholics throughout Indonesia, but particularly in Flores.<sup>502</sup> Pater Hendrik Keran, S.V.D., head of the Ende-based *Nusa Indah* publishing company—a Catholic liturgical press specializing in producing books about and for Eastern Indonesians for a national audience—explained that “Here [in Flores] devotion towards Maria is very strong. People really love Maria.”<sup>503</sup> Referencing a history where lack of missional support—practically, from the 16<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> century—left Florenese Catholics without the traditional Catholic liturgical practices, Pater Hendrik explained that a strong devotion to the Rosary grew throughout the island and persists in para-liturgical devotion, including song.<sup>504</sup>

Published by *Nusah Indah*, Pak Ferdy Levi’s “Ave Maria,” first produced in 1994, contains a hodgepodge of Marian songs in cipher or number notation, similar to the layout and notation of hymn books like *Madah Bakti* and *Puji Syukur*; and like Levi’s own *Exultate* Hymnal, every song is arranged for four parts, SATB. While the majority of the songs fall under the category “*Varia Lagu Maria*” or a “Variety of Marian Song[s],” there is also a section of songs just from the local Eastern Indonesian songbook *Yubilate*, and over a dozen songs in Latin. From the first, variety section, most of the songs are arrangements by Ferdy Levi of songs that either he or other prominent figures in the Florenese Catholic music scene, such as the famed Pustardos, wrote. In his introduction to the revised edition (*Edisi Revisi*) of “Ave Maria” (printed in 2013), Pak Ferdy Levi himself asserts that “our congregation indeed are lovers of the Virgin Mary” (Levi, 2013:

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<sup>502</sup> The *Exultate* books—volumes one and two—are self-described by Levi as “*Kumpulan Lagu Liturgi Gereja Gubahan Ferdy Levi dan Komposnis-Komponis Flores*” or a [“Compilation of Liturgical Church Songs Composed by Ferdy Levi and Florenese Composers”].

<sup>503</sup>In Indonesian, “*Disini devosi terhadap Maria kuat sekali. Orang sangat mencintai Maria.*” Personal communication with Pr Hendrik Karen, SVD, 16 April 2018.

<sup>504</sup> One concrete example of this devotion in Flores to Mary through the Rosary is depicted on a Holy Card I encountered in Larantuka, East Flores, which depicts their Cathedral’s statue of Our Lady Queen of the Rosary, over a map of Flores. For a picture of this image, see Appendix A.3 Figure 21.

v).<sup>505</sup> Comprising over 100 *lagu-lagu Maria* in Indonesian, Latin, and a few local languages, this book stands as a tribute to and record of a history of Marian music in Flores. In fact, in addition to mentioning the presence of local language *lagu-lagu Maria* in the revised edition, Pak Ferdy acknowledge Flores-based musicians for the role they played in composing these songs, while also asserting a desire that more Marian songs are composed there in the future.<sup>506</sup> However, the reality remains that producing a Marian song book on an island where printed music material is second to photocopies—with many songs (including lyrics, melodies, and harmonies) quickly memorized by the congregation— seems rather superfluous. As a result, I found myself wondering: why commit time and money to printing something soon to enter the canon of community member’s memories? Accordingly, printing *lagu-lagu Maria*, I argue, codifies this Marian history, making concrete the embodied devotion of centuries of Catholics, on and beyond Flores, not unlike the missionary-initiated work of the first local language hymn book and Marian songs created in Indonesia through the songbook “*Dere Searni*.”

#### 6.4.1.3 Ruteng, West Flores

Traveling to the city of Ruteng, in the Manggarai region of West Flores, another song book with Marian devotion prevails. Originally created during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this localizing project was initiated by S.V.D. European missionaries with the help of local Catholic school teachers. The *Dere Searni* hymn book consists of cipher notated hymns in the local Manggarai language, many of which are devoted to intercessors and saints, and most of those being

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<sup>505</sup> In Indonesian, “umat kita memnag pencinta Bunda Maria” (Levi, 2013: v). Ferdy Levi. 2013. “Ave Maria: Edisi Revisi” [“Ave Maria: Revised Edition”]. Ende, Flores, Indonesia: Penerbit Nusa Indah [Nusa Indah Publishing Company].

<sup>506</sup> These musicians—both missionaries and native-born Indonesians—include: “P.C. Pustardos SVD, kM. Haller, Bapak Oscar Mandalangi, Bapak Matheus Weruin, Bapak Agustinus Amat” (Levi, 2013: vii).

for Mary. One such song, written in the 1920s by Pater Frans Dorn, SVD, is “*Mai Momang Maria*,” or [“Let us Love Mary”].<sup>507 508</sup> A translation of a Western Marian hymn, this song has persevered in popularity and, according to Manggarai professor and theologian Dr. Fransiskus Borgias, is now also frequently sung by Manggarai Catholics in diaspora.<sup>509</sup>

While the original songs in *Dere Searni* were translations of Dutch and German hymns, eventually localized hymns—*lagu inkulturasi* or inculturated songs—were composed and added, creating an amalgamation of songs reflecting both mission history and contemporary (post Vatican II) Church efforts at localized liturgical and para-liturgical practice. Creating devotional or liturgical songs individually, especially to Maria, is common enough in Flores for it to happen in most parish communities. Contemporary examples of the Manggarai-language Marian hymns are now accessible on YouTube as music videos, including a music video of the Manggarai-language song, “*Tabe Yo ende Maria*,” in which the lighted candles, swinging Rosary beads, and statuary all index various aspects of para-liturgical Marian devotion.

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<sup>507</sup> According to “ASEMOLAS,” author of “Ase Molas” blog, “It is said that Fr Frans Dorn, SVD who composed the song “Mai Momang Maria” meaning Loving Mary. The song “Mai Momang Maria” (Loving Maria) is the first song from the collection of Dere Serani songs. This song was made on May 13, 1922” (ASEMOLAS, 2016). In Indonesian, “Sebut saja Pater Frans Dorn, SVD yang menciptakan lagu “Mai Momang Maria” artinya Mengasihi Maria. Lagu “Mai Momang Maria” (Mengasihi Maria) merupakan lagu pertama dari kumpulan lagu dere serani. Lagu ini dibuat pada tanggal 13 Mei 1922.” (ASEMOLAS, 2016) Posted on Ase Molas blog under article title “Lagu Dere Serani” [“Dere Searni Song[s]”]. Posted by Molas on 10/23/2016. From <https://asemolas.blogspot.com/2016/10/lagu-dere-serani.html> Last accessed 30 August 2019. ASEMOLAS cites Bonefasius Jehandut’s 2012 book, *Uskup Wilhelmus van Bekkum & Dere Serani*. Nera Pustaka Press. Cengkareng, West Jakarta, Java, Indonesia. Of “Mai Momang Maria,” Jehandut writes, “Father Frans Dorn SVD on May 13, 1922, together with school children in Rutheng practiced singing Church or Christian songs in Manggarai for the first time. The song was titled Mai Momang Maria, meaning Love of Maria” (Jehandut, 2012: 42). “Pater Frans Dorn SVD pada tanggal 13 Mei 1922, bersama anak sekolah di Rutheng berlatih menyanyikan lagu Gereja atau Kristiani dalam bahasa Manggarai untuk pertama kalinya. Lagu itu berjudul Mai Momang Maria, artinya Mengasii Maria” (Jehandut, 2012: 42).

<sup>508</sup> Personal Communication with Dr. Fransiskus Borgias. February 9, 2018. Bandung, Indonesia.

<sup>509</sup> Pak Fransis referenced a monthly Manggarai meeting held in the town in West Java where he now resides, Bandung, in which songs from *Dere Searni* are frequently sung.

The video itself, rife with instances of Marian piety, opens with a shot of a statue of a pale Mary placed under a pergola in a lush grotto.<sup>510</sup> A group of young men—assumedly Manggarai-speakers and members of the local community—enter the grotto grounds wearing polos and blazers, with Rosary beads swinging in their hands. As the invisible electric keyboardist plays out a lilting introductory melody, complete with automated rhythm, the men in street clothes are joined by a half dozen other men wearing the white cassocks typical of seminarians in Flores. Together they approach the statue of Mary, lighting candles and fiercely clutching their swinging Rosary beads. As the singing commences, the visual image of a block of men becomes a block of sound, as they “step-touch” up the grotto steps, singing in robust two-part harmony. Throughout the video, the shot changes to capture different aspects of both the scenery and the practice of this devotion. What is striking is that for the majority of the song—especially as the different men clad in white take turns to sing the solo verses—they are somehow oriented to Mary, be it by actually singing directly to Mary’s statue or situated on the steps right in front of her, with their hands folded and occasionally eyes closed, as if in prayer. This is not a music video where the singers are taking center stage or even singing to the camera. Instead, the only shot we ever see of a single face is that of Maria, represented by the statue to which the young men sing.

Moving beyond Java-centric and ecclesiastical barriers, sung Marian devotion allows Catholics in Flores the opportunity to reclaim a missional history fueled by various colonial powers. In the sorrowful mother, Larantukan’s lament loss and hardship, while at the same time celebrating the history and community which fuel their town spirit and coffers. In Ende, Bapak Ferdy Levi has further created an aid and emblem of Marian devotion, paying homage both to the

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<sup>510</sup> To watch the video, see “Tabe Yo ende Maria” Video. Published Oct 17, 2017. *YouTube*. Uploaded by: “Fab JB.” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-5-QVpdEXxE>. Last accessed August 30, 2019.

local musical skills on Flores and the diversity of Marian song which globalization and a varied missional history has brought to his doorstep. In Ruteng, Maria has been the focus of both historical and contemporary linguistic localization, singing to the Blessed Mother in Manggarai as a way of musically being and creating who they are as Manggarai Catholics. Similarly, on the island of North Sumatra, Catholic Priests and musicians have found ways of connecting to a supremely local and simultaneously global and ecclesiastical Catholic identity through devotion to Mary, and use of the radio.

#### **6.4.2 North Sumatra—Radio Maria Indonesia**

While Marian devotion can be a locus for localized creation and musical practice, it can also provide sites in which global and local Catholic practices and hierarchies meet and are negotiated, with Mary as the emblem, if not the impetus. Such is the case with Radio Maria Indonesia, located in Medan, North Sumatra.<sup>511</sup> Radio Maria Indonesia, founded by Father Benyamin Purba, O.F.M.Cap., shows how global Catholic trends—of evangelism, connection to Marian devotion and the Rosary, and the growing role of lay Catholic leadership—can be manifested through local agency while at the same time dependent on traditional Rome-centered sources of leadership and particularly funding. In this sense, the local community of Radio Maria Indonesia got what they wanted and needed—a Catholic radio station in Indonesia—through the support and resources available to them from the Worldwide Family of Radio Maria, despite the Rome-centered economic and ecclesiastical power that such support and funding affirmed.

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<sup>511</sup> For an image of the sign in front of the Radio Maria Indonesia offices in Medan, North Sumatra, see Appendix A.3 Figure 19.

Accordingly, Radio Maria Indonesia highlights the complex mechanisms of agents in the periphery attempting to attain power and trying to re-define their relations with supposed centers, even if the process ends up affirming traditional center-periphery dynamics in the end.

While Radio Maria Indonesia began broadcasts in December, 2008, its history started over a decade prior, with Pastor Benyamin's desire to create a Catholic radio station in Indonesia. After sending out a number of proposals to different Catholic radio organizations, the World Family of Radio Maria (WFRM) responded. As explained in *Buku Kenangan Perayaan Sewindu Radio Maria Indonesia* [or *Book of Memories in Celebration of Radio Maria Indonesia*]<sup>512</sup>—published in 2016 in celebration of the 8<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Radio Maria Indonesia—a meeting at a train station in Rome in the mid-1990s between the World Family of Radio Maria secretary, Vittorio Vicardi, and Pastor Benyamin planted the informational seeds which would eventually grow into Radio Maria Indonesia.<sup>512</sup> After Vittorio Vicardi's visit to Medan in 2007, Radio Maria Indonesia was registered with the Indonesian government and began broadcasts in December of the following year.

A number of center-periphery dynamics stand out already in this story—the story of a local community interacting with a larger structure to get what they needed locally—both in terms of geography and in reference to dynamics of Catholic hierarchy. First, and most evident, is the relation Radio Maria Indonesia has with the Radio Maria umbrella organization in Italy. Created in 1987, Radio Maria started as a parish initiative between the laity and priests, and in five years grew into a national Catholic radio station in Italy, “to spread and instill the teachings and traditions

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<sup>512</sup> *Buku Kenangan Perayaan Sewindu Radio Maria Indonesia* [*Book of Memories in Celebration of Radio Maria Indonesia*]. Medan, North Sumatra, Indonesia: Radio Maria Indonesia, 2016.



of the Catholic Church.”<sup>513</sup> Inspired by messages related to the appearance of Mary in Fatima, Portugal—“to invite repentance all over the world”—Radio Maria Italia expanded into the World Family of Radio Maria in 1990 and now includes 77 stations in 58 countries around the world.<sup>514</sup> While the global reach of Radio Maria was inspired by now Pope Saint John Paul II’s call to evangelism, it is significant that it is not a Church-sponsored initiative as such, but rather listener-funded. At the same time, Catholic hierarchy of status is affirmed in Radio Maria’s structure itself, both in terms of the role of Priest-directors and in relation to the organization’s hierarchy itself proximate to the seat of the center of Roman Catholicism itself, at the Vatican and in Rome.

With the history of Radio Maria Indonesia, the coupled reality of a need for funding and the desire to have a Catholic Radio station ironically aligned Pastor Benyamin both with an organization centered in Italy, and with an organization whose patronage resonated with the popularity of Marian devotion in Indonesia. And yet, Pastor Benyamin explained to me in a conversation in Medan in October 2018 that this Marian connection was incidental; he was not looking for a way to propagate Marian devotion when sending out propositions for funding for a Catholic Radio station in Indonesia. Pastor Benyamin needed economic support for Catholic evangelism of the airwaves, this monetary need eventually connected him to Italy and to the patronage of Radio Maria and eventually their listeners. In this way, Mary was the emblem rather than direct intention of Radio Maria Indonesia.

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<sup>513</sup> In Indonesian, “*untuk menyebarkan serta menanamkan ajaran-ajaran dan tradisi Gereja Katolik.*” From “Sejarah Radio Maria Indonesia” [“The History of Radio Maria Indonesia”] in *Buku Kenangan Perayaan Sewindu Radio Maria Indonesia [Book of Memories in Celebration of Radio Maria Indonesia]*. Medan, North Sumatra, Indonesia: Radio Maria Indonesia, 2016.

<sup>514</sup> According to the “About Us” page on the Radio Maria website, the 77 stations of Radio Maria worldwide represent 65 languages, with 28 in Europe, 22 in America, 21 in Africa, and 6 in Asia and Oceania. From “Radio Maria in the World: About Us.” World Family of Radio Maria. <http://www.radiomaria.org/about-us/>. Accessed November 13, 2019.

Furthermore, there is a sense of irony in the playing out of access through Radio Maria Indonesia. Connecting Indonesian Catholics to the world and to Italy through the Radio Maria organization has been more effective than connecting Indonesian Catholics to each other, both within its operational location of North Sumatra and throughout the country. While it is now possible to listen to Radio Maria Indonesia online, the extension of Radio Maria in North Sumatra to towns beyond Medan has been a tricky process. The current Director of Radio Maria Indonesia, Pastor Redemptus Simamora O.F.M.Cap., was preparing to head to Italy for a meeting of the directors of Radio Maria when I met him, in October 2018; and still, not all of Indonesia has radio access to Radio Maria Indonesia yet. Accordingly, a radio station reflecting Marian devotion in its name and mission—initiated by laity and ordained Catholics alike, and sponsored by listeners—has connected Indonesian Catholics to an organization located in Italy, as an economic and administrative center, while at the same time functioning on a limited national scale to provide locally directed programming and content.

In light of its participation in a global network and simultaneous national focus, what Radio Maria Indonesia puts out over airwaves or gigabytes simultaneously reflects the personnel resources of a Medan-based radio studio, perceived needs of an Indonesian audience, and the content guidelines of the World Family of Radio Maria network. As Pastor Benyamin explained to me, the guidelines from Radio Maria encourages dividing programming content to cover four categories “thirty percent doctrine, thirty percent for liturgy, thirty percent for human doctrine...And then ten-percent music.”<sup>515</sup> <sup>516</sup> Pastor Benyamin also said that on Radio Maria

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<sup>515</sup> Personal conversation with Pastor Benyamin Purba, O.F.M.Cap. October 3, 2018.

<sup>516</sup> Here I would make a clarify what Pastor Benyamin calls “doctrine” and “human doctrine” as Roman Catholic Church doctrine and the Church’s social teachings, respectively, drawing from both the Radio Maria Indonesia Weekly schedule, available as a downloadable PDF on their website at <https://www.radiomaria.co.id/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/PROGRAM-SIARAN.pdf> and the “Radio Maria in the World: About Us” page, at

Indonesia, they say the Rosary three times a day—pre-recorded by volunteers, according to their weekly schedule—in addition to the Angelus Prayer (also a Marian Prayer, and also three times a day), and the Divine Mercy Chaplet, twice a day; all said in Indonesian, to appeal to a national audience. Thus, the relationship between Radio Maria and Radio Maria Indonesia is intended to be co-creative. As Pastor Benyamin explained:

I think we can enrich each other. I think so. So you see, it's very different, I don't know how they emphasize here now. But in my opinion they should still progress it... I think they should have another way how to introduce Catholic teachings, and then liturgy, something like that.”<sup>517</sup>

However, there is a kind of hierarchical relationship between Radio Maria in Italy and Radio Maria Indonesia, even a sort of sense of inferior status that becomes evident when Pastor Benyamin turns our discussion to music. Calling the spiritual pop songs that make up much of the musical programming for Radio Maria Indonesia as “too poor”—as in, with lyrics that are doctrinally shallow—for the standards of the Radio Maria leaders in Italy, Pastor Benyamin pointed to the ways in which the now ten-year old Radio Maria Indonesia is still growing, based in part on what the organization in Italy has desire for it to be.<sup>518</sup>

Pastor Benyamin's story of Radio Maria Indonesia's use of globalized, spiritualized pop music resonated with my experience at the Radio Maria station in Medan that morning (October 3, 2018), with their well-known staff member and famous disk jockey, Suster Richarda Bangun,

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<http://www.radiomaria.org/about-us/>, which mentions programs of “programs of human and social development.” Both websites were last accessed November 13, 2019.

<sup>517</sup> Personal communication with Pastor Benyamin Purba, O.F.M.Cap. October 3, 2018. Medan, North Sumatra, Indonesia. This quote is not a translation, here Pastor Benyamin was speaking to me in English.

<sup>518</sup> Personal communication with Pastor Benyamin Purba, O.F.M.Cap. October 3, 2018. Medan, North Sumatra, Indonesia.

S.F.D.. Showing me their pre-recorded lineup for that morning, my eyes searched through the music selections in cue. That morning's musical listening, if I remember correctly, included Christian inflected pop songs by the likes of international pop artists, like Josh Groban. The music accompanying Radio Maria Indonesia was even mentioned at the beginning of an article about the role of radio and media to spread peace in and between religions in Indonesia, in *Hidup*—a well-known national Catholic weekly magazine produced in Jakarta—which referenced Suster Richarda's role in one program called "Songs and Short Stories," saying: "Sister Richarda reads a number of stories while presenting spiritual songs for the listener."<sup>519</sup> While the "Songs and Short Stories" program, which occurs two or sometime three times daily, is one among the many Radio Maria Indonesia programs focused on encouraging and sharing about Marian devotion, the musical component aligns with both Pastor Benyamin's critique and my experience at the station. Beyond the façade of pop sounds and lyrics which according to Pastor Benyamin lacked strong doctrine, in my visit to Radio Maria Indonesia broadcasting station in Medan, I noticed that the spiritual songs in cue additionally lacked a sense of anything having to do with Indonesia. In fact, getting and playing more Indonesian-language Marian songs, Pastor Benyamin explained, was a challenge, despite the prevalence of material like *lagu inkulturasi*.<sup>520</sup> In the end, Radio Maria Indonesia—while baring a Marian symbol, name, and motto: "*Fiat voluntas tua*" or "Thy [God's] will be done"—is in many ways a dependent entity with an independent purpose. Listener supported and partially lay lead as it may be, there is still an orientation of Indonesia to Italy and

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<sup>519</sup> In Indonesian, "Sr. Richarda membacakan beberapa berita sekaligus menghadirkan lagu-lagu rohani bagi para pendengar." Yusti H. Wuarmanuk, with a report from Ananta Bangun (Medan), 13 May 2018. "'Voice of Peace' Lewat Katekese Udara [Catechesis Over the Airwaves]." *Hidup* Weekly Catholic Magazine, Issue 19, year 72. Pages 8-11.

<sup>520</sup> Personal communication with Pastor Benyamin Purba, OFMCap. October 3, 2018. Medan, North Sumatra, Indonesia.

Rome which overshadows the freedom of choice afforded to Radio Maria Indonesia. At the same time, there is a local need and ingenuity, as Radio Maria Indonesia leaders, staffers, and volunteers, themselves fuel the growth of what Pastor Benyamin referred to as Indonesia's only Catholic Radio Station, within or despite the strictures of Italian direction and support.<sup>521</sup>

This tenuous position—between dependence on Italian sponsors and local independence, in staffing and ultimately the carrying out of their radio station programming—does not go unrecognized by those involved by Radio Maria Indonesia. In their above-mentioned 2016 commemorative booklet, the then-Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Medan commended Radio Maria Indonesia for its work in fostering multi-faith understanding and broad-reaching evangelizing.<sup>522</sup> Two pages before this testimonial praise, in a letter from the President of Radio Maria, Bapak Dr. Mukdin Turnip, Dr. Turnip explained that Radio Maria was not yet able to fulfill the hopes of the Archbishop of Medan to expand to other North Sumatran cities, let alone to many of the other islands throughout the Indonesian archipelago.<sup>523</sup> Thus, the good Radio Maria Indonesia is doing is intermingled with the good it cannot yet do, due to a lack of sound

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<sup>521</sup> Personal communication with Pastor Benyamin Purba, O.F.M.Cap. October 3, 2018. Medan, North Sumatra, Indonesia.

<sup>522</sup> Archbishop Anicetus B. Sinaga O.F.M.Cap.'s words read: "I am also sure that even non-Catholic believers feel the meaning of Radio Maria's greetings every day. Not only there [in Indonesia], because of the fast progress of communication technology, Radio Maria can be accessed via the internet." In Indonesian, "*Saya yakin juga, umat beriman non Katolik pun merasakan makna sapaan Radio Maria setiap hari. Tak hanya sampai di situ, karena kemajuan teknologi komunikasi yang begistu ceapt ini, Radio Maria pun dapat diakses melalui internet.*" *Testimoni* [Testimony] from Mgr. Anicetus B. Sinaga O.F.M.Cap. 2016. In *Buku Kenangan Perayaan Sewindu Radio Maria Indonesia [Book of Memories in Celebration of Radio Maria Indonesia]*. Medan, North Sumatra, Indonesia: Radio Maria Indonesia.

<sup>523</sup> Dr. Turnip writes, "Radio Maria Indonesia has not yet been able to realize the request of His Excellency the Archbishop of Medan, so that Radio Maria can be heard in the Samosir and Tanpanuli regions. For this reason, we still hope for help and support from sir/madam/sibling/donors and listeners to Radio Maria." In Indonesian, "*Radio Maria Indonesia belum dapat mewujudkan permintaan Yang Mulia Uskup Agung Medan, agar Radio Maria dapat didengar di daerah Samosir dan Tanpanuli. Untuk itu kami masih mengharapkan bantuan dan dukungan dari bapak/ibu/saudara/ para donator dan pendengar Radio Maria.*" Mukdin M Turnip, 2016. "Sambutan Pengurus Perkumpulan Radio Maria Indonesia" ["Message from the Management of the Radio Maria Indonesia Association" in *Buku Kenangan Perayaan Sewindu Radio Maria Indonesia [Book of Memories in Celebration of Radio Maria Indonesia]*. Medan, North Sumatra, Indonesia: Radio Maria Indonesia.

infrastructure and economic support. Here, Marian devotion has connected a corporation in Italy to a community desirous of a national Catholic radio station in Indonesia. While occurring outside the formal hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, the power of laity and religious in Indonesia within the Radio Maria paradigm seems structurally and economically deferential to the power and dictates of the Italian Catholics running the organization. Although Radio Maria has presented a avenue through which Indonesian Catholics (and non-Catholics) can connect to and through Marian practices like the saying of the Rosary and other Marian prayers, Radio Maria Indonesia serves as just one of the many radio stations making Radio Maria international. Yet, ironically, radio access to Radio Maria Indonesia throughout the country is sorely limited, in a way promoting the global appeal of Radio Maria despite a persisting lack of national access.

While the story of Radio Maria Indonesia began not with Marian devotion, but with Pastor Benjamin's desire for a national Catholic radio station, there is still strong Marian devotion in Medan and North Sumatra with which Marian patronage resonates. Just as Radio Maria connects Catholics in Indonesia and Italy, *lagu-lagu Maria* in and around Medan connects Catholics in North Sumatra to the Netherlands through the history of Dutch O.F.M. Capuchin missionaries who began evangelizing the area in the late 1920s. They "introduced Marian songs just to make difference from the Protestants," Pastor Benjamin explained, connecting a prevalence of Marian songs to this early 20<sup>th</sup> century missionizing.<sup>524</sup> In fact, Pastor Benjamin went one step further, to suggest that the way in which Marian devotion is practiced in North Sumatra—through song but not as much through grottos, especially when compared to the prevalence of Marian grottos in other places in Indonesia, such as on Java—was predicated on these Dutch missional roots. In this

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<sup>524</sup> Personal communication with Pastor Benjamin Purba, O.F.M.Cap. October 3, 2018. Medan, North Sumatra, Indonesia.

way, the colonial influence of Dutch missionaries—while still very much alive in Medan—is now intermingled with the power dynamics of other sources of missional support, like the Italy-based radio Maria. Thus, Marian devotion and symbolism are intimately connected with both local and global identity politics and economic support, through radio and song in North Sumatra, and as we will next see, through the multi-faith community economics surrounding grottos and pilgrimage sites throughout Java.

### 6.4.3 Java—Marian Pilgrimage Sites

In addition to being sites of the re-appropriation or localization of colonial or missional narratives, as in both Flore and North Sumatra, Marian devotion also maps onto popular ways of engaging with world religions in Indonesia. One way this sense of popular piety has played out on the island of Java is through the practices of pilgrimage to holy places, specifically shrines. Religious pilgrimage and tourism in Indonesia have become an increasingly popular pastime throughout the country, as seen particularly in an increase of Halal or Islamic tourism and commensurate reactions to that popularity.<sup>525</sup> <sup>526</sup> This is simultaneously both a spiritual and

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<sup>525</sup> For example, for mention of this trend towards religious or halal tourism and a concise description of commensurate reactions in other (non-Islamic) communities, see Richard C Paddock, 2019. “Indonesia Wants ‘Halal Tourism.’ But Some Want to Wrestle Pigs.” NY Times: Asia Pacific. November 8, 2019. Last accessed November 25, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/08/world/asia/indonesia-lake-toba-pig-festival.html>. For a more academic perspective, see George Quinn, 2004. “Local Pilgrimage in Java and Madura: Why is it booming?” *IAS Newsletter*, 35. p. 16. and Nelly van Dorn-Harder and Kees de Jong, 2001. “The Pilgrimage to Tembayat: Tradition and Revival in Indonesian Islam,” *The Muslim World*, 91. pp. 325– 54.

<sup>526</sup> Also of import here is the work of Ismail Fajrie Alatas, particularly in his socio-historical analysis of the role of religious authority, community economics, and religious and national identity formation amongst Islamic groups in Indonesia and Yemen in and through pilgrimage to holy sites. For more, see: Ismail Fajrie Alatas. 2016. “The Poetics of Pilgrimage: Assembling Contemporary Indonesian Pilgrimage to Hadramawt, Yemen.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 58, No. 3; Ibid. 2016. “The Pangeran and the Saints: The Historical inflection of a mid-nineteenth century Hadrami Mausoleum in East Java.” *Indonesia and the Malay World*, Vol. 130; Ibid. 2014. “Pilgrimage and Network Formation in two Contemporary Ba ‘Alawi Hawl in Central Java.” *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol 25, No. 3; Ibid. 2011. “Becoming Indonesians: The Ba ‘Alawi in the Interstices of the Nation,” *Die Welt des Islams*, Vol. 51, No. 1.

material economy of sorts, connecting horizontally to others around activities oriented vertically towards the divine. This kind of sacral past time also has community benefits, with the local economy frequently profiting from local shrines, as pilgrims support holy sites directly through donations and indirectly through the purchase of ritual paraphernalia (like candles), souvenirs, and the concessions of food and drink.<sup>527</sup> In fact, beyond religious exclusivity, Marian grottos, as pilgrimage sites, have become a place where pilgrims and tourists from different religious backgrounds can congregate and benefit, as I will discuss below. Furthermore, economic advancement for community members from a variety of religious backgrounds can be attained by the making and selling of souvenirs, as the manager of *Obor* Catholic publishing company told me one afternoon in September 2018, at their Jakarta headquarters.<sup>528</sup> However, beyond employment opportunity or economic advancement, there is an appeal to Maria in particular that unites Catholic and Muslim beliefs and believers. Mary or Maryam (in transliterated Arabic) is the only woman mentioned by name in the Quran; and, as mother to a prophet, Jesus, is considered a very important woman.<sup>529</sup> <sup>530</sup> The reality that other official religions in Indonesia prioritize pilgrimage—that it is

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<sup>527</sup> This phenomenon also occurs at Churches, and Churches associated with shrines, such as the Marian Shrine outside of Jakarta Cathedral and the selling of religious items which informally takes place outside of the Church grounds at high traffic times, like after a Sunday Mass. For pictures of this see Appendix A.2 Figures 9 and 10.

<sup>528</sup> Again, as described early—see footnote 31—There is a phenomenon of Muslim making trinkets (like Rosary beads) to sell at Catholic Marian grottos and pilgrimage sites. Personal communication with Romo FX Sutanta, 4 September 2018. Jakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>529</sup> As Blase J. Cupich explains in his article on “How Mary can be a bridge between Christians and Muslims” in a 2019 issues of the Jesuit-run *America* Magazine: “Mary, the only woman mentioned by name in the Qur’an, has an entire chapter named after her (Sura 19, “Maryam”) and is honored by Muslims as the Virgin Mother of Jesus.” Blase J. Cupich, 2019. “How Mary can be a bridge between Christians and Muslims.” *America*. 220 Issue 12.

<sup>530</sup> For examples of the role Mary plays in Islamic and Christian/Catholic relations, see: Jennifer Green, 02/04/2007. “Virgin Mary links Muslims and Christians”. Winnipeg free press (0828-1785); for Mary and Islamic piety, see: Jusuf Salih, 2017. “Mary as a Paradigm of Muslim Piety.” In the *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*. Summer 2017, Vol. 52 Issue 3, pp. 440-458.; for Mary, pilgrimage, and gender, see in Christianity and Islam: Willy Jansen and Meike Kühn, 2008. “Shared Symbols: Muslims, Marian Pilgrimages and Gender.” In *European Journal of Women's Studies*, Volume: 15 issue: 3. Pages 295-311; and for a historical overview, see: By Rita George-Tvrtkovic, 2018. *Christians, Muslims, and Mary: A History*. New York: Paulist Press.



one of the ritual ways to be religious in Indonesia—I would argue works to normalize and popularize Catholic pilgrimage practice, and relatedly Marian devotion. Thus it is that, in her own way, Mary—and para-liturgical, often community initiated, engagement with Marian devotion, pilgrimage, and holy sites—becomes the potential locus of multi-faith reverence, often enriching both the spiritual and economic experiences of believers in Indonesia from various world religions.

Furthermore, Marian shrines, like the shrines of Islamic saints throughout the country, have become sites of pilgrimage, to which families can make day trips, incorporating devotional practices and religious tourism into their corporate outing. While every Marian shrine is focused ultimately on the one and only Mary, the particular Marian apparition or event honored can vary and speak to both global and local Catholic histories. Of the multiple manifestations of Maria, some of the more common shrines include: grottos in honor of famous foreign apparitions of Mary, such as Our Lady of Lourdes (France), Our Lady of Fatima (Portugal), Our Lady of Guadalupe (Mexico), or our Lady of Velangkanni (India) ; Mary as connected to specific religious orders, like Our Lady of Mount Carmel, associated with Carmelite Communities; Marian grottos at places which hold a significance in local religious history, like the grotto at Sendangsono, on the outskirts of Yogyakarta; and occasionally special inculturated projects of Marian statues, most famously with the Temple [Candi]/Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the Ganjuran parish, also near Yogyakarta.<sup>531</sup>

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<sup>531</sup> In his 2014 book on *Muslim and Catholic Pilgrimage Practices : Explorations Through Java*, Albertus Bagus Laksana mentions both this history of Sendangsono and the multi-faith popularity of Ganjuran, as follows: “Modeled on the famous shrine at Lourdes, the Sendangsono grotto is perhaps the most important as well as the oldest Marian shrine in Indonesia. Its foundation in 1929 commemorated the birth of the indigenous Catholic community in Java. For it was on this very site that in 1904 the first large group of the Javanese people (173 persons) received their baptisms into the faith through the hands of the Jesuit Father Franciscus van Lith” (Laksana, 2014: 8). Albertus Bagus Laksana, 2014. *Muslim and Catholic Pilgrimage Practices : Explorations Through Java*, London, UK: Routledge.

On the island of Java, the popularity of Marian devotion is evident in the prevalence of Marian grottos and shrines. In fact, in their book highlighting 85 *Marian Pilgrimage Sites in the Archipelago*, the writers at Yogyakarta based “Chivta Books” focused more than half the entries (43 of 85, to be exact), on Marian grottos throughout Java.<sup>532</sup> While the potential for a Java-centric bias from a Java-based publisher is certainly a possibility, the prevalence of Marian shrines throughout Java is a common trope I heard affirmed in many Catholic communities I visited, including throughout Flores and North Sumatra. Albertus Bagus Laksana also affirms this proclivity in his book on *Muslim and Catholic Pilgrimage Practices : Explorations Through Java*, saying that “In contemporary Java, pilgrimage is highly popular across religious boundaries,” and even more so, that “pilgrimage tradition or saint veneration as a communal practice that is popularly associated— in Java and elsewhere— equally with Catholicism and Islam” (Laksana, 2014: 2; 220).<sup>533</sup> Echoing Laksana’s assertion of a shared Catholic and Islamic propensity to pilgrimage, Herman Beck, in his recent (2018) article “Back to Sendangsono: A Marian Pilgrimage Site as a Lens on Central Javanese Cultural Values,” explains his interest in their particular Javanese Catholic shrine “because it was also visited by Muslims and other non-Catholic Javanese” (Beck, 2018: 246).<sup>534</sup> Going one step further with the multi-faith potential of pilgrimage on Java, Laksana explains, “there is a degree to which Islamic and Catholic traditions of pilgrimage have come together to form a religio-cultural common field of practice under the influence or in the larger context of the ambient Javanese culture” (Laksana, 2014: 223). Thus, the shared cultural

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<sup>532</sup> Tim [Team] Chivita Books, 2013. *85 Tempat Ziarah Gua Maria Se Nusantara [85 Marian Pilgrimage Sites in the Archipelago]*. Bantul, Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Penerbit Chivta Book [Chivta Book Publishing Company].

<sup>533</sup> Albertus Bagus Laksana. 2014. *Muslim and Catholic Pilgrimage Practices: Explorations Through Java*. London, UK: Routledge.

<sup>534</sup> Herman L. Beck. 2018. “Back to Sendangsono: A Marian Pilgrimage Site as a Lens on Central Javanese Cultural Values.” In *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*. Vol. 174, No. 2/3. Pages 244-263.

practice of pilgrimage through Java, resonates with both with Catholic Marian devotional practices and with “ideas in Islam with respect to Mary (in Arabic: Maryam)...[and] the Muslim reverence for Mary as the mother of Jesus,” putting Marian shrines in a unique multi-religious and cultural position on Java and, more broadly, throughout Indonesia (Beck, 2018: 252).

Music associated with Marian devotional sites is also varied and dependent on the visiting group or the event taking place. When I visited Marian shrines with friends and family throughout Java and North Sumatra in 2018, silence was generally the auditory environment of choice. After parking our car in a nearby dirt lot intended for visiting pilgrims, we would proceed to the grotto or statue, soaking in the atmosphere with a quiet reverence. Depending on the amenities of the places we visited, we wander the site, getting a lay of the land, before sitting to pray. There were almost always candles to light and often holy water from a local spring, which one of my friends enjoyed washing his face with, before his wife would siphon some off into an empty water bottle to take home. Occasionally if there was a school or church group present, we would hear the murmur of the Rosary being said, but rarely would there be singing or music playing. What we heard instead was the surrounding sounds of nature or the motor of a passing bike or car. As a result these shrines—often carrying in their inner sanctum an image or statue of Our Lady from as far away as France, Portugal, or India—sound tracked by the supremely local. In fact, one of my friends pointed out that despite the existence of localized or inculturated images of Mary, most of these shrines—and relatedly most Indonesian Catholics, she contended—privileged the images of foreign Marian apparitions over localized or inculturated depictions of Mary. What was often local, however—beyond the sounds of nature or traffic—was the choice of location, frequently picked for either historical import (such as the Marian grotto which has been built at Sendangsono in Java where thousands of Catholics were baptized in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century), or due to some local

importance (such as various miracles at that place, or the presence of a stream known to produce special holy water). This mixing of local place and a foreign face of Mary echoes the multivocality of a localized colonial or missional Roman Catholic history in Indonesia. While Marian devotion is frequently laity driven and often individualized, broader trends of how to perform devotion to Mary—in the form of prayer, image, and song—are often influenced by places where she has appeared or been venerated throughout the world, lending a global aspect to local practice.

As for the often silent soundscapes of these devotional spaces, special visits or events could alter this quiet, such as if a school group visited or when church groups and choirs made pilgrimages to Marian shrines, which often were scheduled during the Marian months of May or October. One friend in Yogyakarta relayed to me a trip her Church *kroncong* choir had made to a Marian shrine in the month of October, with such enjoyment and success that they were asked to do so again for another Church's pilgrimage later that year. This affinity between Marian devotion or *lagu-lagu Maria* and *kroncong* music in Java was affirmed by members of the Kumetiran Catholic *kroncong* choir who relayed that not only was Mary the subject of many of the songs written or arranged for their group by former choir director Bapak Toni Pakdhe, but that Muslim singers have frequently joined this and other Catholic choir groups, drawn both by repertoire and the devotional nature of Catholic choirs.<sup>535</sup> <sup>536</sup> As we will next see, not only music draws community members of various religions to places of Marian devotional practice, but also the potential for community-wide economic benefit.

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<sup>535</sup> Personal communication with members of the *Gereja Hati St Perawan Maria Tak Bercela Kumetiran* or Immaculate Heart of Mary Church Kroncong Choir, 23 October, 2018. Yogyakarta, Java, Indonesia.

<sup>536</sup> This phenomenon of a Muslim singer joining a predominately Catholic choir is something that has happened at the PML as well, as recently shown by the inclusion of a Muslim singer in their *Vocalista Sonora* choir, who herself was a Javanese *Sinden* and has even gone on tour with the *Vocalista Sonora* to Europe. Informal personal communication with *Vocalista Sonora* members and PML staff, 14 May, 2018.

#### 6.4.3.1 The Multi-faith Economies of Marian Grottos

At one Catholic shrine on the outskirts of Yogyakarta—the famed *Hati Kudus* [Sacred Heart] Roman Catholic Church in Ganjuran—a Javanese depictions of Mary sits in a pavilion in their outdoor courtyard. Famous for evoking the look and layout of a Hindu temple complex, like the nearby historic temples of Prambanan, Ganjuran is known for attracting community members of a variety of religious backgrounds. As a place of localization or inculturation it has become famous for its *pendopo* church building, Hindu-Buddhist image of Christ the king, and syncretic Javanese liturgical practice.<sup>537</sup> As a community place for the practice and ritual performance of world religion, it is known as a safe and welcoming place for quiet meditation and prayer. In fact, in the trailer to the film “THE HARMONY OF TOLERANCE”—about this church in Ganjuran and the religiously plural practices which take place there—one of their priests describes this phenomenon, saying “Whoever can come here, Protestants, Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims, open for everyone.”<sup>538</sup> And in my experience they do, not only during liturgical celebrations but in the many public traditional arts performances which occur there, performed by artists representing various religions. Frequently I heard about gamelan musicians from different religious backgrounds—particularly Islam—playing for Catholic liturgies at that Church and others in their area which employed *gamlean* from time to time. When I visited *Hati Kudus* Ganjuran for their celebration of the Feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in 2017 (which occurred on June 23, 2017 in

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<sup>537</sup> For more on the history and architecture of this Church complex, see Undi Gunawan. 2012. “Architecture as Embodied Culture; the Traditional as a Cultural Body in Ganjuran Church, Yogyakarta.” From proceedings of 2012 International Conference on Knowledge, Culture and Society (ICKCS 2012). South Korea, 29-30 June, 2012. And Adi Santosa. 2012. “TRANSFORMATION OF THE GANJURAN CHURCH COMPLEX: A TYPOLOGICAL STUDY.” *DIMENSI INTERIOR*, VOL. 10, NO. 1. Pages 42–52.

<sup>538</sup> In Indonesian, “*Siapa aja datang di sini, yang Protestan, yang Hindu, yang Buddha, yang Muslim, terbuka untuk semua.*” From ““THE HARMONY OF TOLERANCE: TRAILER...” Posted October 8, 2013. *YouTube*. Uploaded by Yuandawanda. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yd5ptD8f6F8>. Last accessed November 25, 2019.

the Church calendar), I witnessed this pluralism in action.<sup>539</sup> Among the people milling around during the three hour inculturated Javanese service, I saw two women clad in *jilbab* (or *hijab*, veiled) skirting the outdoor courtyard where I sat with my friend. While my personal observations are cursory, the frequency with which my Catholic interlocutors mentioned the presence of people from different religions at Catholic or Marian holy sites, and the welcoming community atmosphere which such places engendered, suggests that there is at least some truth to this in practice, and that for Catholics an open welcome to members of other faiths is important enough to mention.

Finally, there is a practical, economic benefit to Marian devotion, made possible in part due to the para-liturgical and public nature of these kinds of practices. By often occurring outside the actual time and place of the Church, there are different possibilities presented in terms of how the broader community can interact with the practice of Marian devotion. In fact, an alternative economy and corresponding set of devotional and economic practices often accompany devotion to Mary, particularly in surrounding grottos or Marian pilgrimage sites. This flexibility is due in part to the crossover of Mary as a holy woman in multiple official Indonesian faith traditions, including Islam. At the same time, a place like a Marian grotto—often outside and frequently a sparsely populated site of contemplative prayer and meditation—maps onto other world religion practices of meditating or sitting quietly in the presence of the Divine or messengers of the divine. As mentioned above, rituals like lighting incense and candles, often carried out as an intercessory practice to Mary, could be seen as resonating with shrine practices of Confucianism and

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<sup>539</sup> The celebration of the Feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus at *Ganjuran* Church was postponed by a few weeks that year so as not to conflict with local celebrations of the end of Ramadan, *Idul Fitri* (celebrated from the evening of June 24-25, 2017).

Buddhism.<sup>540</sup> Finally, as a place of pilgrimage, Marian shrines map onto other shrine and pilgrimage practices—particularly the idea of visiting the shrines of the *wali* or Islamic holy men—while also providing the opportunity for the local community to give and gain support.<sup>541</sup> The later was explained to me by a manager at the biggest Catholic publishing company, Obor, at their offices in Jakarta, where he explained that everyone in a community can benefit from the economy of a Marian shrine, not just Catholics.<sup>542</sup> The economic benefit of selling devotional items—like small statues, pendants, and rosary beads—and food to an influx of pilgrim tourists, and in general having a reason for people to come to your village, is an important positive local result of Marian shrines. In this sense, a Catholic shrine can economically and socially benefit the whole community, and not just those whose religion it most immediately or closely represents. In fact, according again to the men I spoke with at *Obor*, Indonesia is the country with the largest number of Marian shrines in the world, boasting sites of pilgrimage and prayer which benefit much more than just the Catholic community.

The idea that there is something about Mary and Marian devotional practices which resonates with the way religion is done in Indonesia—while drawing upon centuries of local and

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<sup>540</sup> For an image of the practice of lighting candles to Mary, see Appendix A.2 Figure 8. While this practice was central to shrines and pilgrimage sites, it also occurred in front of the states—to Mary and other saints or devotions, like St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart of Jesus—which stood inside Churches. In fact, this practice was so prevalent, that after a weekend Mass, the end of the service was marked with dozens of attendees flocking to these statues to light candles and pray.

<sup>541</sup> Again, for more on the historical, social, and devotional practices surrounding Islamic saint veneration in Indonesia, see the work of anthropologist Ismail Fajrie Alatas, especially the following: Ismail Fajrie Alatas, 2016. “The Pangeran and the saints.” *Indonesia & the Malay World*. Nov2016, Vol. 44 Issue 130, pp. 285-306.

<sup>542</sup> This phenomenon was spoken about by the attending Priest at the Obor Publishing company, Romo Sutanta, who said: “[The] economy also is automatically alive [comes to life] wherever people make [a Marian grotto] ‘let’s make a Marian grotto for pilgrims,’ ya, at the same time people can create additional economy...And a lot of those Catholic spiritual things are made by Muslim people...Rosary [beads] that is made by Muslim people.” [does this mean more than just “they get money from making things”?] In Indonesian, “*ekonomi juga hidup jadi otomatis di mana-mana orang membuat ‘Yuk kita buat Goa Maria untuk orang berziarah,’ ya sekaligus orang bisa mendapatkan tambahan ekonomi...Dan banyak benda-benda rohani Katolik itu yang membuat adalah orang-orang Muslim....Rosario itu yang membuat orang-orang Muslim*” Personal communication with Romo FX Sutanta and Obor Staff. 4 September 2018. Jakarta, Indonesia.

global Catholic theology and practice—correlates with how Marian devotion has become manifested in both local and historic Catholic musical practices. In a conversation with the director of *Nusa Indah* publishing company in Ende, Flores—one of the oldest and most prolific Catholic publishing companies in Indonesia, particularly for Eastern Indonesia—Pater Hendrik Kerans explained that strong devotion to Mary and to the Rosary goes hand in hand with the high production of Marian songs in Flores, saying, “There are a lot of Marian songs, therefore many in the congregation, most of them, have a strong devotion to Blessed Mary, therefore Marian song is very thick.”<sup>543</sup> Be it silent or sounded, Marian pilgrimage sites stand as places of multisided purpose, open to supporting the economic and devotional practices of all Indonesians with but beyond the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church.

### **6.5 Theorizing Marian Devotion and the Embodiment of Piety**

Whether it is in localized practices and processions, prayers and songs in domestic spaces, print in books or magazines, or saintly sponsorship of media broadcasted over the internet and airwaves, Marian devotional practices provide structures through which Catholic piety enters into the life of local communities through the energy of lay leaders. Often occurring in extra-liturgical time and space, such ritual and devotional Marian practices carry the potential to reflect and enact social power. As religious historian Robert Orsi discusses in the “Introduction to the Second

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<sup>543</sup> In Indonesian, “Kebanyakan lagu-lagu maria, jadi kebanyakan umat kebanyakan punya devosi kepada Bunda Maria sangat tinggi maka lagu Maria sangat kental.” Personal conversation with Pater Hendrik Kerans, SVD. 16 April 2018. Ende, Flores, Indonesia.



Edition” of his landmark book, *The Madonna of 115<sup>th</sup> Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950*:

Because religion is so completely enmeshed in the structures of culture, issues of power become crucial. Indeed, power is fundamental to the very meaning of practice, generally, and of religious practice in particular. By *power*, I mean not only the power of some over others (although I do certainly mean to include this) but also the power that circulates through, as it sustains and vivifies, cultural forms, for example, aesthetics, ethics, kinesthesia, and architecture...power that makes us know in our bodies that certain ways of being are the only appropriate ones for the world, as we are taught the world is (Orsi, 2002: xxi).<sup>544</sup>

A concept of embodied power through which ritual agents enact worlds resonates with Sherry Ortner’s work on practice theory, which she approaches as “a general theory of the production of social subjects through practice in the world, and of the production of the world itself through practice” (Ortner, 2006: 16).<sup>545</sup> Ortner’s explanation of this cultural and political world-making through the actions of “ordinary people” resonates with the worlds Catholic laity, and even more so, Catholic women create through their embodied devotion to Mary (Ortner, 2006: 16-17). Be it as a Catholic signifier, re-appropriation and/or localization of a colonial Catholic legacy, or presence of a multi-faith spiritual and monetary economy, Marian devotion and accompanying song are sites through which the power of the ritual agent in world-making for

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<sup>544</sup> Robert A. Orsi, 2002. *The Madonna of 115<sup>th</sup> Street: Faith and community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950*. Second Edition. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

<sup>545</sup> Sherry B. Ortner, 2006. *Anthropology and Social Theory: Culture, Power, and the Acting Subject*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

themselves and often their community becomes realized. Furthermore, as Sarah Weiss explains in her recent (2019) work on *Ritual Soundings: Women Performer and World Religions*:

Groups of empowered agents appropriate and condition experience, their own and that of others, deploying and manipulating basic schemes in ways that construct and articulate their communities as distinct yet connected to the world religion they practice (Weiss, 2019: 3).<sup>546</sup>

The musical, visual, and printed world-making carried out through *lagu-lagu Maria* and related Marian devotional practices creates an opportunity for Catholics throughout Indonesia to articulate their multifaceted identities through localized idioms which often reflect and connect them to an aspect of Catholic practice—devotion to Mary—carried out by faithful around the world. Catholics on the margins of direct or ordained leadership in relation to Roman Catholic liturgical practice—namely, the laity, and women—can mobilize Marian devotional idioms to become ritual agents in their own rights, creating and created by the power of ritual world-making. At the same time, the dominant hierarchal narratives within music and Catholicism in Indonesia often overlook the in-between and often marginalized spaces of para-liturgical practice and popular piety, instead focusing on both the Java- and Rome-centric narratives of Catholic musical production, both in Indonesia, and in the Church more broadly, as we will examine in the next chapter, on imagining Rome.

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<sup>546</sup> Here Weiss is drawing from ritualist Catherine Bell's idea that "individuals are empowered when they become ritualized agents" (Weiss, 2019: 3). Sarah Weiss, 2019. *Ritual Soundings: Women Performers and World Religions*. Urbana, IN: University of Illinois Press. In her book on *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, Bell defines a ritualized agent as an "actor with a form of ritual mastery, who embodies flexible sets of cultural schemes and can deploy them effectively in multiple situations so as to restructure those situations in practical ways (Bell, 1997: 81). For more, see Catherine Bell. 1997. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. When an actor becomes empowered as a ritualized agent—as I read Weiss's use of "empowered agent"—there is an power inferred through the person's ritual knowledge and ritual authority (as a ritualized agent) which lends an "inherent flexibility [based on] of the degree of ritualization invoked" (Bell, 1997: 81). This flexibility in turn empowers the ritualized agent, as with the power of the laity and of women in and through Marian devotion.

Here I am also drawing from Doreen's Massey's work with "power geometry," regarding the idea that the people doing the world of globalization don't always get to participate in the benefits of it. As Massey so deftly explains:

Now I want to make one simple point here, and that is about what one might call the power geometry of it all; the power geometry of time-space compression. For different social groups, and different individuals, are placed in very distinct ways in relation to these flows and interconnections. This point concerns not merely the issue of who moves and who doesn't, although that is an important element of it; it is also about power in relation to the flows and the movement. Different social groups have distinct relationships to this anyway differentiated mobility: some people are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving-end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it (Massey, 1994).<sup>547</sup>

By focusing on the history and practice of Marian devotion and Marian influence in Indonesia, we can re-center our attention on so-called peripheries of a hierarchical, gendered, and formerly missional, and now post-colonial, process of wielding power through music and ritual. In so doing, we can re-focus or re-tune our attention to the role of women and men who, through musical and ritual devotion to Mary, amplify the power of various peripheries—social, economic, gendered, and geographic—as an accurate antidote to ignoring the pivotal role the so-called peripheries play in fueling Catholic devotion.

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<sup>547</sup> Doreen Massey, 1994. *Space, Place and Gender*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

## 7.0 Conclusion: Imagining Rome

Throughout my research, I have often heard or read different Catholics claim that their home is the center of Catholicism in Indonesia, a Second Vatican so to speak.<sup>548</sup> However, when this comparison came to my attention in Larantuka, Flores in March 2018, the reasoning was drastically different than what I had heard in other places, more musical and in a way more agentive and compelling. Waiting outside for a Holy Week choir rehearsal to begin, in the twilight shadows of Larantuka's *Katedral Ratu Rosario Tersuci* [Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin Mary Queen of the Rosary] one enthusiastic choir member—a Catholic school kindergarten teacher and member of that neighborhood (*lingkungan*) choir—told me that Larantuka is like a Second Vatican in Indonesia because of chant.<sup>549</sup>

### 7.1 Rome in Larantuka

The history of “Gregorian” or “Gregorian chant” in Larantuka can be traced back to Portuguese Dominican missionary priests, who arrived through trade in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and were expelled by the Dutch VOC shortly thereafter, leaving behind them the Portuguese language, a strong devotion to the Rosary, and Gregorian Chant in Latin, now still sung during Holy week and Easter, and the first Sunday of every month. While some of my interlocutors in Larantuka took

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<sup>548</sup> I have heard this claim made about Yogyakarta, and Ledalero/Maumere, Flores, too, that they are both second Vatican in Indonesia, the former for being a center of Catholic learning, and the later for being a site of many religious orders.

<sup>549</sup> Informal personal communication with Larantuka Cathedral *lingkungan* choir member, March 19, 2018. Larantuka, Flores, Indonesia.

the practice of “Gregorian” as an indication of generational differences or traditionalism, I eventually saw exactly how alive and how local this tradition of chant has become for the community worshipping at the Catholic Cathedral in Larantuka.<sup>550</sup> The musicians I spoke with were fluent in psalm tones and could sing the melody associated with each number at will. One of the OMK (*Orang Muda Katolik* or Young Adult) choir members was chanting the “Exultate” from the Easter Vigil service (from cipher notation) in Latin while we stood next to ping pong tables in the rec area, waiting for choir practice to begin. According to Father Edu, a priest and historian who works at the diocese in Larantuka, monthly use of Latin is per request of the Bishop, Father Edu himself has personally edited the Latin for accuracy.<sup>551</sup> This living tradition and desire has become embodied in community memory and practice, a musical bridge through which some Catholics in a small port city in Indonesia have connected themselves to the “Center” of their faith, in Rome.

The way Gregorian chant was taken by my interlocutors to make Catholic practice in Larantuka, in the words of one choir member, “*Branda Vatican*” or “Vatican Brand” jumped over traditional centers of power in Indonesian music production—namely those on Java—to imaginatively and directly connect with the Center of their Catholic faith in Rome. At the same time, this localization of world religion was understood within an Indonesian context, with my Ibu teacher friend explaining that Larantuka was to Rome what Aceh is to Mecca, contextualizing the centrifugal pull of religious authority with an Indonesian-centric comparison.<sup>552</sup> In this way, I

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<sup>550</sup> This charge of traditionalism was leveled by diocesan priest and historian, Romo Edu, during a conversation we had at his office at the Diocese’s of Larantuka. Personal Communication with Romo Eduardus (Eduard) Jebarus, PR. (Diocesan Priest). March 21, 2018. Larantuka, Flores, Indonesia.

<sup>551</sup> Personal Communication with Romo Eduardus (Eduard) Jebarus, PR. (Diocesan Priest). March 21, 2018. Larantuka, Flores, Indonesia.

<sup>552</sup> Here referencing the oft repeated maximum that Banda Aceh is Mecca’s veranda, both in terms of being an east-most point in Indonesia and thus geographically closer to Mecca, and the cultural and political conservatism in this province, the only in Indonesia to be governed by Sharia or Islamic law.

argue, Indonesian Catholics are employing localized Catholic musical and cultural idioms to evoke the authority of distant centers of power—nationally on Java or internationally, such as with Rome—and in so doing, making themselves the bearers of that power of those associations, as powerful centers of those imaginings.

## 7.2 Re-centering Piety and Power Through Print

In this final move of ethnographic re-centering, I return to the work of Benedict Anderson and in particular the role of print and media in his work on imagined communities. Referencing the search for “ ‘discoveries’ ” in 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century Western Europe, he states that “Nothing perhaps more precipitated this search, nor made it more fruitful, than print-capitalism, which made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways” (Anderson, 2006: 36).<sup>553</sup> Precipitating a reality where ideas could be printed and disseminated broadly, affordably, and accessibly (in vernacular, languages), Anderson ties print-capitalism to both economics and religion, saying that “The coalition between Protestantism and print-capitalism, exploiting cheap popular editions, quickly created large new reading publics—not least among merchants and women, who typically knew little or no Latin – and simultaneously mobilized them for politico-religious purposes” (Anderson, 2006: 40). Furthermore, in his work on the role of the printed book and print media during the Protestant Reformation, Andrew Pettegree explains that:

the book looms large in all explanations of the appeal of the evangelical cause... There can

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<sup>553</sup> Benedict Richard O’Gorman Anderson. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections On the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. E-book, Second Edition. London, UK: Verso.

be little doubt that the book did much to shape the Reformation; it must also be acknowledged that the Reformation did much to reshape the book...the book did not function as an autonomous agency, but within the context created by the intermingling of a whole range of communication media (Pettegree, 2005: 128).<sup>554</sup>

In this sense, the printed book and related “communication media” were not only used to complement and craft the “Culture of Persuasion” of the Reformation, but were themselves changed and shaped. Thus, the printed book served as a vehicle for the very real work of creating and connecting worshipping communities, imagining Protestantism across and beyond national boundaries. This kind of imaging through the medium of print material and other vehicles used for the mass dissemination of knowledge is precisely, I argue, how Catholic musicians throughout Indonesia imagine Rome. I argue that Indonesian Catholics create their own centers of power and negotiate their own identity politics through the creation and use of music for their communities. This dynamic is also affirmed through the opposite, in how actors in these self-created centers imagine another center; namely, how they imagine—at times affirming and at times subverting—the pull and power of Rome, the Seat of the Roman Catholic Church.

As indicated in the above vignette regarding the role of Gregorian chant in Larantuka, imaging Rome through music for Catholics in Indonesia is both agentic and constrained. The practice of Gregorian chant becomes a site through which members of the Cathedral community in Larantuka can herald a history of Portuguese missions and Church tradition. At the same time, Gregorian chant serves as a reminder that Larantuka is not and will never be Rome. There is still an allure to copying Rome, and a power that comes from this association, power which itself has

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<sup>554</sup> Andrew Pettegree. 2005. *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

become localized in both historical and national resonance. By being able to continue the practice of Gregorian chant long since foreign-born missionaries have left Larantuka, this colonial and missional legacy has entered into a musical cannon owned and embodied by the almost exclusively Indonesian-lead Cathedral community in the Diocese of Larantuka. This ownership allows for another centering connection to be made, one conditioned in a way by the role that “centers” of religious practice play in other world religions in Indonesia, namely Islam; again, resulting in the Ibu’s comparison that Larantuka is to Rome what Banda Aceh is to Mecca.

What, then, happens conversely, when connection to Rome is not a source of consolation and connection, but rather a relation of lacking representation and ensuing frustration? The creative tension created by the ways in which different communities imagine Rome, based on their different positionalities, seemed most evident and in a way most challenged and productive, among the Catholic musicians I met in the “outer islands,” particularly on Flores. There, the idea of Rome became concrete through people and products, made flesh in the local Roman Catholic hierarchy, the role of Rome-trained liturgists, and the questions from Catholic musicians who wondered when the tables would be turned, when music from Catholic musicians in Flores would resonate in Rome.

### **7.3 Imagining Rome Locally—From Flores**

In his work on *Imagined Communities*, as detailed above, Benedict Anderson parses the ways in which people—individually and then as collectives and communities—imagine connections to a social apparatus, such as the nation-state. A chief vehicle for the sharing and in



a way indoctrinating of these imaginings, Anderson argues, begins with the mass-production of print material, what he terms, print-capitalism. While the logic of print-capitalism holds with imaging aspects of a Catholic identity through music in Indonesia, there is always present a tension between the agency of the creator and the requirements of the institution in which these materials are being created. Thus, I argue that when my interlocutors imagine Rome, they do so from their central role in a supposedly peripheral location. Furthermore, given the elaborately organized hierarchical nature of the Roman Catholic Church, the official authority of Pastors, Priests in Diocesan-wide leadership positions, and Bishops theoretically manifest the teachings of the magisterium on local soil. Thus, the practical issue becomes less about what Rome thinks about music made in Indonesia, and rather what local Priests and Bishops are willing to encourage and support; as a famous Catholic liturgical music composer in Ende explained to me in reference to inculturated music, “I think as far as the Bishop says okay, people say okay.”<sup>555</sup>

Within local instantiations of an ecclesiastical, Rome-centered hierarchy, authority develops its own scale and importance, as local bishops and liturgical committees wield the power to publish or to chastise musicians in their own parishes, Dioceses, and countries. The central role played by these local actors was dramatically evident in Ende, southcentral Flores, where the dynamics of creative musical freedom—at times at the expense of faithfulness to magisterial teaching—has created no small amount of interpersonal tension, particularly between a young priest and two well-established musicians. Such was the case between composer Pak Ferdy Levi, his friend and lyric-writing collaborator Pak Yakobus Ari, and the head of Ende’s liturgical commission, Romo Yance, newly returned to Ende from Rome.<sup>556</sup> In fact, as I was preparing to

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<sup>555</sup> Personal communication with Bapak Ferdinandus (Ferdy) Levi April 18, 2018. Ende, Flores, Indonesia.

<sup>556</sup> Romo Yance studied liturgical theology at the Pontifical Atheneum of St. Anslem, known by many of the priests I talked to for being a bastion of liturgical tradition and religious conservatism near Rome.

travel from the S.V.D. Major Seminary in Ledalero, Flores, to Ende, I was warned of this tension, encouraged by an interlocutor in Ledalero to be careful who I mentioned when meeting with musicians and Priests in Ende, as not all of them got along. The roots of this tension became clear when I learned that a young Priest in the Diocese, Romo Yance, had written his graduate thesis on the liturgical un-fitness of certain locally-composed texts for inculturated Mass settings.<sup>557</sup> The tension here between local practice and magisterial teaching was in print; different ways of imagining and enacting how to be Catholic—through less restricted local creativity, or through magisterially approved texts and influence—were causing rifts between a Church leader and a music lyrics creator. Even in conversations which never touched upon this fallout, Church musicians I spoke with in Ende echoed this tension, directing it to the authority of Rome. Composer Bapak Ferdy Levi even affirmed the importance of working with local Catholic hierarchy when he again explained his interactions with Bishop the in Ende, saying “Bishop said ‘Okay, if the text is all right, is already from Rome,’” regarding the process of composing a new Responsorial Psalm settings<sup>558</sup>

For Romo Yance, Rome is as real as his experience as a student and priest there. In a way, the magisterial teachings he was instructed in during his time at St. Anslem’s live on in his enthusiastic orientation towards the historical and ecclesiastical center of his faith. Accordingly, as a representative and in a way conduit of more conservative liturgical instructions, his presence represents on various levels the embodiment of a more traditional Roman Catholicism. And yet, given Rome’s geographical and in some ways ecclesiastical distance from Indonesia, and

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<sup>557</sup> Personal Communication with Romo Fransiskus Yance Sengga (Romo Yance), April 22, 2108. Mataloko, Flores, Indonesia.

<sup>558</sup> Personal communication with Bapak Ferdinandus (Ferdy) Levi April 18, 2018. Ende, Flores, Indonesia. Here Pak Ferdy was speaking to me in English.

particularly from the more remote or difficult to access outer island regions, such as Flores, Romo Yance becomes himself a vehicle through which Rome is imagined, both as he attempts to enforce magisterial instruction on liturgical practice, and in how local Catholics and musicians perceive what comes from Rome and the magisterium, felt as a far off force restricting their creative freedom.

With edicts coming from Rome both through persons and in print or in gigabits, the liturgical material produced and disseminated on Indonesian soil then constitutes or challenges the teachings of this hierarchical dissemination of knowledge. Thus, it is important to acknowledge that for some Catholic musicians in Indonesia, imagining Rome occurs in a disenchanting reversal, echoing questions like: when will Rome meet or hear us? That kind of questioning was leveled at me in the small town of Boba, central Flores, by well known Church music composer and teacher Bapak Yohanes Oja.<sup>559</sup> PML- and Java-trained, Pak Johny has been instrumental in creating and sharing inculturated music for the Catholic Church in Indonesia. Given this history, his question of when or how his music could be then heard in Rome, turned the tables on what Rome could be imagined to be. Beyond the edicts and teachings which trickled down from the Vatican to parish communities throughout the world, musical practice, as I have shown throughout this dissertation, can be incredibly pluriform, both throughout the country and often even within individual communities. When then will this musical plurality, this Church-sanctioned ingenuity reach Rome? Bapak Johny critically wondered; and so do I.

In a way, Bapak Johny's questioning highlighted a chief tension of the project of making music for Catholics in various communities throughout Indonesia: local musicians are their community's center, chief agents, music creators and makers, in a very literal and powerful sense.

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<sup>559</sup> Personal communication with Bapak Yohanes Oja, April 25, 2018. Boba, Flores, Indonesia.

At the same time, they are subjects of restriction and instruction from the authority of a person (ultimately the Pope) and place (here, the institution of the Roman Catholic Church as centered in Rome) which they will probably never meet or see.<sup>560</sup> By ethnographically re-centering their stories, their narratives, and ultimately their music, it becomes evident that they are the doers, the creators, at times the dissenters, and always the centers of what various liturgical leaders in Rome are advocating for. I argue that this recognition that Pak Johny so desired could work to repair the loop, bringing back to Rome what decades of Indonesian Catholics have been musically creating and worshiping with. Yet, at the same time, the incongruence of the economic and authoritative pull of Rome and the creative power of places like Flores remain a source of structural tension, indicative of power dynamics in the Catholic Church globally. As Doreen Massey explains in her work on the unequal distribution of power in a time of space-time compressed globalism, there is a power geometry to it all, one which privileges some at the expense of the many others who are doing the work of localizing and globalizing.<sup>561</sup>

#### **7.4 Imagining Rome Locally—From Java**

Conversely, in Java, Rome as a center of Catholic pilgrimage and learning is less of an unattainable imaginary and more of a concrete relationship with both place and knowledge base. With greater access to economic resources, there are Catholics on Java who can actually realize

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<sup>560</sup> The last papal visit to Indonesia was made by Pope Saint John Paul II, in 1989. In talking to PML staff members—who participated in the Papal Mass in Yogyakarta during that visit—by 2018, Pope Francis, while desirous of making a Papal visit to Indonesia, has deemed the security available insufficient to insure his safety, a reality with which my interlocutors agreed.

<sup>561</sup> Doreen Massey, 1994. “A Global Sense of Place.” From *Space, Place and Gender*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

the dream of going on pilgrimage to Rome. After Mass at the Cathedrals in Jakarta and Bandung, it was not uncommon to receive brochures from tour companies advertising pilgrimage to Rome and other foreign holy destinations.<sup>562</sup> Local Priest's visages would appear on larger than life, bamboo-supported posters advertising the pilgrimages you could take with them. Even the *Vocalista Sonora* choir—existing in conjunction with the *Pusat Musik Liturgi* (PML)—has been on multiple trips to Europe and Rome (chiefly in the 1980s and early 1990s), including meeting and singing for then-Pope John Paul II.<sup>563</sup> Imagining Rome among my interlocutors on Java was less a relationship of tension, dissent, unattainability, and lack of representation—as I would argue it often was considered to be by many Catholic musicians on Flores—but rather a distant yet attainable source of attraction.

This connection between Rome and Java is even present in Rome itself. Since 2014, an exhibit at the Vatican Museum titled “Indonesia. The Land of Harmony” has promoted just that, with images that conjure a Javanese imagination.<sup>564</sup> After touring the Sistine Chapel, you can go downstairs and walk through the a mini-Borobudur, see the inculturated shadow puppets from *Wayang Wahyu*, and hear about the marvel of unity within religious diversity that is Indonesia.<sup>565</sup>

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<sup>562</sup> These other destinations were either places of Marian apparition—such as Fatima, Portugal or Lourdes, France—or with significance in Christian/Catholic history, such as Jerusalem, Israel. Yet, chief among these destinations was Rome or other cities in Europe that share a missional history with Indonesia, such as Germany or the Netherlands.

<sup>563</sup> For more on the *Vocalista Sonora* tours of Europe, see Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, S.J. 2008. *Perjalanan Musik Gereja Katolik Indonesia Tahun 1957-2007*. [The Journey of Indonesian Catholic Church Music in Indonesia Year 1957-2007]. Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pusat Musik Liturgi.

<sup>564</sup> “Indonesia. The Land of Harmony.” Vatican Ethnological Museum Anima Mundi: Temporary exhibitions. Last Accessed December 4, 2019. <http://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/museo-etnologico/mostre-temporanee/indonesia--il-paese-dell-armonia.html> See also Vincent Lingga. June 24, 2014. “Vatican shows Indonesia’s rich cultures, diverse religions and artifacts. *The Jakarta Post*. Last accessed December 5, 2019. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2014/06/24/vatican-shows-indonesia-s-rich-cultures-diverse-religions-and-artifacts.html>.

<sup>565</sup> For more on the Borobudur garden at the Vatican Museums, see: “Vatican Museums set to host Borobudur Garden,” November 21, 2016. *The Jakarta Post*. Last Accessed December 4, 2019. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/life/2016/11/21/vatican-museums-set-to-host-borobudur-garden.html>.

<sup>566</sup> A joint project of both the Roman Catholic Church/Vatican and the Indonesian state, this exhibit, while clearly promoting a Javanized view of Indonesia, in a way brings part of the periphery (Indonesia) to the center (Rome). At the same time, the way Indonesia is here rendered—with Java depicted in its ancient Hindu-Buddhist glory and every other area and people group as “indigenous”—suggests that it is only representative for some, while under or misrepresenting the many Indonesians, and majority of Catholics, from the still “othered” outer islands. Similarly, the presence of a small but strong Indonesian community in Rome—largely, but not exclusively, made up of Catholic Religious—becomes another such center for Indonesians studying or working far from their Indonesian homeland. In Rome, imagining Indonesia has become concrete and plastic, significant for the presence of an exhibit exclusively about Indonesia in the Vatican Museums, and yet still conspicuously relegated as “other” through its placement their Ethnological Museum which focuses on missional lands.

In Rome, Indonesia is still the periphery. Yet, this bleak picture of a continuing marginalization of missional lands is not the end of the story. Imagination combined with creativity is a wonderful tool. When viewed from Indonesia, imagining Rome becomes localized through the people and media that connect Indonesian to it, or not. Be it a relationship of frustration or representation, imagining Rome from Indonesian soil re-centers the agency and experience of Indonesian Catholics on their own abilities and the reality of commensurate restrictions.<sup>567</sup> At the same time, imagining Rome is ultimately Catholic, giving agency to communities far from a Roman center—distant in terms of geography, history, and economics—

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<sup>566</sup> *Wayang Wahyu* being a Catholic shadow puppet tradition started and primarily practiced on Java. For more, see: Marzanna Poplawska, 2004. "Wayang Wahyu" as an Example of Christian Forms of Shadow Theatre." In *Asian Theatre Journal*, 10/2004, Volume 21, Issue 2 (Fall 2004). Pages 194-202.

<sup>567</sup> Here I am referring to the restrictions of economics, access to training/education/knowledge production, and at times conflicts with the teachings of the Church.

to claim the authority of the historic Center of their Catholic faith, on their own terms and for their own needs. Imagining Rome in Indonesia allows chant to connect a small seaport in Larantuka, Flores, to the authority and historical tradition of musical practice in Rome. Imaging Rome also allows a highly respected musician in Boba, central Flores, to point out the unequal power dynamics at play in this religio-cultural transaction, by asking when his music is going to be heard in Rome. As supremely summed up by the famed teacher, musician, and composer, Pater John Ghono, during our conversation together with Pak Johny in Boba, “All of us in Indonesia, us Catholics, we do not feel that we are small, a minority—no, we have rights and dignity which are the same as others, ah.”<sup>568</sup>

## 7.5 Chapter Recapitulation

Ultimately, the tension between structural constraint and the agency of independent actors—often with and through music material—motivated my research and permeates this dissertation project.<sup>569</sup> In chapter one, on “*Musik Inkulturasi*: missional matters, localization, and knowledge production,” I examined the structures through which localization of music for Catholic communities throughout Indonesia occurs; parsing the meaning, production, and use of *musik inkulturasi*, as a genre which implicates powerful leaders, missional histories, and the independent

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<sup>568</sup> In Indonesian, “*Kita di Indonesia, kita orang Katolik, kita tidak merasa bahwa kita ini kecil, minor tidak, kita...punya hak dan...martabat yang sama dengan yang lain-lain, ah.*” Personal communication with Pastor John Ghono, SVD. April 24 and 25, 2018 (with Pak Johny Oja and family). Boba, Flores, Indonesia.

<sup>569</sup> Thinking again here of the work of Stephen Greenblatt in his “mobility studies manifesto” (Greenblatt, 2010: 250), where he argues that taking serious mobility can “shed light on hidden as well as conspicuous movements of peoples, objects, images, texts, and ideas” and “account in new ways for the tension between individual agency and structural constraint” (Greenblatt, 2010: 250-251).

agency of local musicians. In chapter two, I told “A Tale of *More Than* Two Hymnals and the *Bisnis* of Making Church music,” by a “studying up” of the institutions which produce these hymnals on Java. A discussion on the use of these hymnals in Flores and North Sumatra then challenged the seemingly hegemonic narrative of centers of production, providing insight into larger issues of colonialism, power, and communication in an Indonesian Catholic musical sphere. Chapter three, on “Instrumental and Material Matters: *orgel* and the plague of the **rhythm box**,” allowed me to highlight the importance of material things to re-contextualize and personalize the way instruments can be related to narratives of piety and power. By connecting narratives surrounding the organ to stories of missional methods of knowledge production, instrument use became a window into the economic and socio-cultural musical processes for Catholic communities in various parts of Indonesia. Similarly, chapter four scaled up the discussion on “*Pancasila* Politics: Music, Nationalism, and Catholicism in Java,” connecting the Catholic musical and visual uses of the national political ideology of *Pancasila* to the socio-political work Catholic musicians and leaders are using it for, or not. And finally, the fifth and last chapter subverts a dialectic center-periphery narrative through the examination of “*Lagu Maria*: Music, Marian Devotion, and the Independent Power of the So-called Peripheries,” focusing on paraliturgical devotion to Mary as a site where issues of gender, hierarchical power, and shifting musical styles makes space for the agency of the laity through devotion and song.

## 7.6 Wrapping Up with Rome

Accordingly, it is fitting that a project on ethnographically re-centering narratives of power through music should end with “imaging Rome” as another supposed center to which my



interlocutors have spoken back. Along with the many Catholic musicians, scholars, and devotees I encountered during my fieldwork throughout Java, North Sumatra, and Flores, I question when the power geometry will shift, allowing music made by and for Catholics in Indonesia to resound more equitably, diversely, and loudly in Rome. I acknowledge the integral role that the Roman Catholic hierarchy does play in the lives of these and many Catholics throughout the world, while also pointing to power discrepancies that histories of un-equal access to money, power, and knowledge produce. By interrogating issues of piety, power, and politics through music in the Roman Catholic Church in Indonesia, this study is an attempt to better understand how the power of institutions (the State and the Church), people (musicians, liturgical leaders, and congregants alike), and materials (hymnbooks, liturgical realia, and other related media), can be ethnographically re-centered on the reality of experience rather than the assumptions of complicated and often troubling histories of center-periphery dynamics in Catholic, missionary, and Indonesianists studies.

Accordingly, this project of re-centering is intended as a corrective to Benedict Anderson's idea of center-periphery dynamics in Indonesia. Instead of considering power as a cone of light solely focused on the political and economic center of Java, I strive to shift this paradigm by ethnographically shining the spotlight on the powerful realities of the so-called "peripheries." While this approach will effectively de-center or de-stabilize the center—proving Anderson's analogy to be in unstable equilibrium to begin with—that is not the overt focus of this project. Rather, a re-centering approach will allow for the examination of the central role of the supposed peripheries as population and production centers upon which supposed centers are dependent (thus highlighting the central role of the "peripheries"). This approach of re-centering also allows for a re-examination of the dynamics between so-called peripheries and so-called centers without

needing to reifying either, but at the same time aware of discrepancies of economic and political power that confine power dynamics in and between islands like Java, Flores, and North Sumatra.

Instead of considering Anderson's cone of light analogy from the perspective of Java-centric New Order economic and political power, I argue that the lens of music material production and use for Catholics in Indonesia re-focuses this dynamic, centering the role of Catholics in regions considered as the geographic peripheries in Anderson's schema. Furthermore, this re-centering away from Anderson's Java-based center—which focuses on a dominant cultural area or group (Java/the Javanese) at the exclusion of other ethnic and cultural experiences in Indonesia—shows how practices of power can be much more porous and fluid than the one directional cone of light he uses to describe power-filled processes. Focusing on the practice and power of a religious minority whose population resides primarily in Anderson's peripheries will re-focus understandings of power towards these places of practical independence and creative ingenuity, suggesting that Anderson's metaphor of power fails to acknowledge the presence of power flowing beyond his Java-centered cone of light.

Accordingly, alternative approaches to the study of power and religious through music could be more useful for highlighting the porosity and flexibility of power beyond a theory of centers and peripheries. In addition to the above discussed method of ethnographic re-centering—focusing on narratives which shed light on everyday practice and complicate traditional center-periphery models—I advocate shift for a shifting of focus from places of political and economic power to instead prioritizing the people-power of population centers. This shift, I contend, could produce work which highlights the agency of powerfully populace communities despite economic disparity and often a commensurate lack of political recognition. Furthermore, within those population centers—and in the relationships between those centers and areas with different access

to knowledge produce, economic resources, and political power—I argue that looking at what is popular (like *musik pop rohani*), mundane (like Marian devotion and visiting pilgrimage sites), and contested (like instrumentation in liturgical practice) can further complicate an idea of centers and peripheries, and point to alternative ways of hearing or seeing the way music is mobilized.<sup>570</sup>

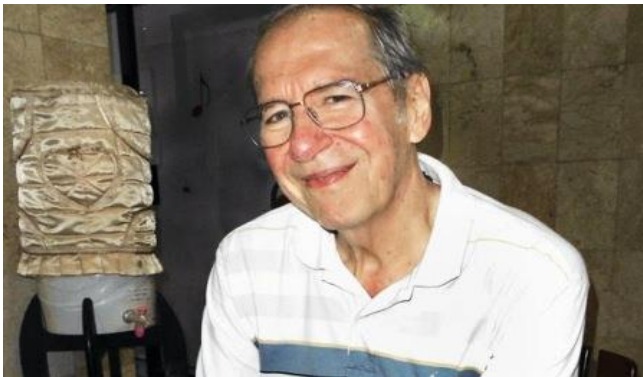
By focusing on the production and use of things—chiefly instruments and hymnals—this study also affirms that examining the production and use of music material can provide insight into the communication of different visions of identity and experience. At the same time, such a study necessarily acknowledges that certain institutions and voices musically control the discourse, practice, and meaning of Catholicism in Indonesia, a reality often affirmed in rhetoric yet subverted in local practice. Ultimately, I earnestly argue that if understandings of power are ethnographically re-centered through studies of not just music but all the stuff which musical pursuits require and produce, then other powerful means of recognizing human agency—in academic writing, access to further training and education, and economic support—can be more equitably given, particularly among communities whom have long known that supposed peripheries are more often than not places of power.

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<sup>570</sup> Here thinking in particular of the work of Andrew Weintraub on “Decentering Ethnomusicology: Indonesian Popular Music Studies” where he explains initial hesitations to the study of the “popular” in ethnomusicology as follows: “Mass-mediated, made-for-profit, and mixed, popular music was viewed by ethnomusicologists as standardized, Westernized, and inauthentic. Fast-forward forty years, and the study of popular music is now one of the richest and most active areas of growth in the field of ethnomusicology” (Weintraub, 2014: 347). Weintraub further asserts that, in “the field of ethnomusicology, particularly the study of Indonesian music...popular music is not central to its [ethnomusicology’s and Indonesian music study’s] purview” (Weintraub, 2014: 347). Andrew N. Weintraub. 2014 “Decentering Ethnomusicology: Indonesian Popular Music Studies.” in *Producing Indonesia: The State of the Field of Indonesian Studies*. Eric Tagliacozzo (Ed.). Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program. Pages 347-366.

## Appendix A – People, Places, and Documentary Evidence

### Appendix A.1 Pictures and Photographs of People



**Appendix Figure 1 Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, S.J. and Bapak Paul Widyawan**, left and right respectively. Photographs from the “PMLYogyakarta – Kursus Musik Gereja” Facebook page timeline photos, posted September 18, 2017 and July 14, 2010, respectively.



**Appendix Figure 2 Photograph of Bapak Yosef Uran —center, with flute— taken by a family member, at his home in Larantuka, Flores with myself, his wife, and friends. March, 2018.**



**Appendix Figure 3 Photograph of Bapak Johannes Wahyudi from the “PMLYogyakarta – Kursus Musik Gereja” Facebook page timeline photos, posted on August 10, 2017.**



**Appendix Figure 4 Photograph of Romo Antonius Soetanto , with myself and his former student. Photograph taken by a parish office assistant, August, 2018.**



**Appendix Figure 5 Photograph of Pater John Ghono S.V.D. and Bapak Johny Oja , with his wife and I, in their home in Boba, Flores. Photograph taken by Bapak Johny's son, April 25, 2018.**

**Note the pictures of Priests and other Catholic items on the wall behind us.**



## Appendix A.2 Photographs of Places



**Appendix Figure 6 Pedaling piety in Yogyakarta —A street stall selling Christian/Catholic, Hindu (Epic), and Islamic religious paraphernalia in Yogyakarta on Jalan Malioboro. Photograph by E. Rook, July 2018.**



**Appendix Figure 7 Marys for sale in Larantuka —Marian images for sale at a shop near the market in Laratuka, Flores. Photograph by E. Rook, March 2018.**



**Appendix Figure 8 Candle light devotion —Picture of lighting candles in front of a statue of Mary at the Cathedral in Denpasar, Bali. Photograph by E. Rook, May 2018.**

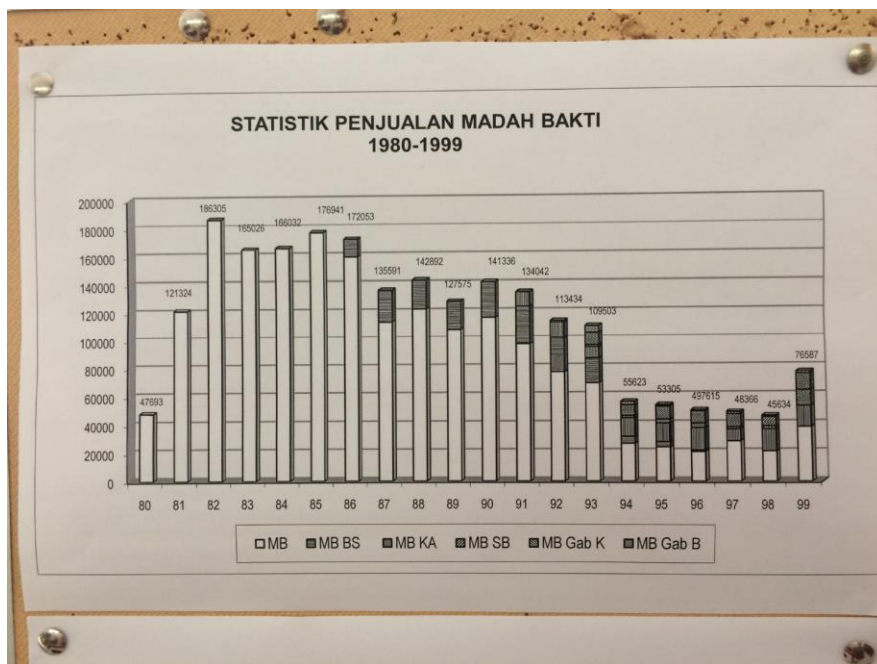


**Appendix Figure 9 Cathedral Marian grottos —Marian devotion after Sunday Mass in 2018, outside of Jakarta Cathedral (July 2018) and Bandung Cathedral, respectively. Photographs by E. Rook, 2018.**



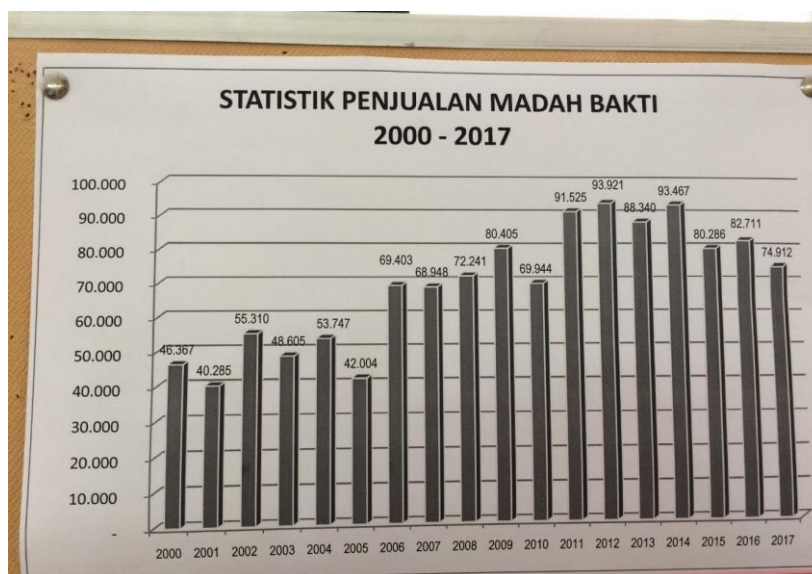
**Appendix Figure 10 Devotional items for sale —Selling devotional items outside of the Jakarta Cathedral complex after a Sunday morning Mass, July 2018. Photograph by E. Rook.**

### Appendix A.3 Photographs of Documentary Evidence



Appendix Figure 11 Table of sales figures for *Madah Bakti* hymnal from 1980 to 1999.

Photograph by E. Rook, 2018.



Appendix Figure 12 Table of sales figures for *Madah Bakti* hymnal from 2000 to 2017.

Photograph by E. Rook, 2018.

**Penjualan Puji Syukur**

Kategori Buku	Penjualan 2016		Penjualan 2017		Realisasi 2018	
	Jumlah Rp	Exp	Jumlah Rp	Exp	Jumlah Rp	Exp
Bk. Puji Syukur	2,430,248,795	71,841	2,001,088,380	56,567	1,620,632,386	41,727
Bk. Puji Syukur Koor & Organ					44,360,650	929

Appendix Figure 13 Printout of 2016-18 sales figures for Puji Syukur , provided by managers at Obor publishing company. Photograph by E. Rook.



**Appendix Figure 14 Picture of Asian Youth Day 2017 choir waving flags during their performance of “Indonesia Jaya” after the Closing Mass of Asian Youth Day 2017. Image from livestreamed video of AYD 7: “Live from Asian Youth Day 2017 6 AUG 2017.” *YouTube*. Uploaded by Asian Youth Day. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zSkgyRDux5A>. Last accessed February 5, 2020.**



**Appendix Figure 15 The 2018 Good Friday procession in Larantuka, Flores marching behind the statue of Tuan Ma. March 30, 2018. Photograph by E. Rook.**



**Appendix Figure 16 Pictures of home altars in Larantuka, Flores Left is outside of a house during Holy Week, March, 2018. Right is inside the guest room at the house I was staying at in Larantuka (the altar which was there when I arrived being added to with the religious items I brought with me or was given in Larantuka) Photographs by E. Rook, March 2018.**





**Appendix Figure 17 Picture of a hallway shrine in Ruteng, West Flores , commemorating Saint Arnoldus, founder of the SVD order (brother order of the SSPS order which runs the school) and the Blessed Virgin Mary, at a local Catholic high school. Photograph by E. Rook, April 2018.**



**Appendix Figure 18** Picture of homemade Tuan Ma devotional book cover, with song lyrics and prayers to Mary in Larantukan Portuguese, in Larantuka, Flores. Photographed by E. Rook, March 2018.



**Appendix Figure 19 Sign outside of Radio Maria Indonesia offices, in Medan, North Sumatra. Photographed by E. Rook, September 2018.**



**Appendix Figure 20** Picture of Bunda Maria Segala Suku statue installed in the left transept of Jakarta Cathedral. Photograph by E. Rook, 2018.



**Appendix Figure 21 Holy card from Larantuka, East Flores , which depicts their Cathedral’s statue of Our Lady Queen of the Rosary, superimposed over a map of Flores. Documented by E. Rook, March 2018.**

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## Personal Communication

Personal communication with Bapak Yakobus Ari. April 17, 2018. Ende, Flores, Indonesia.

Personal communication with Dr. Fransiskus Borgias. February 2 and 9, 2018. Bandung, Indonesia.

Personal communication with Bernadeth Diaz. March 13, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Transcribed by Putri Sukmahartati.

Personal communication with Romo Stefanus Buyung Florianius, September 7, 2018. Marian Center Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia. Transcribed by Vini Alfarina.

Personal communication with Alvin Gunawan. November 8, 2018. Bandung, Indonesia.

Personal communication with Pater John Ghono, S.V.D.. April 24, 2018. Mataloko, Flores, Indonesia. Transcribed by Vini Alfarina.

Personal electronic communication with Romo Reynaldo Antoni Haryanto, via email, October 30, 2018.

Personal Communication with Romo Eduardus (Eduard) Jebarus, PR. (Diocesan Priest). March 21, 2018. Larantuka, Flores, Indonesia.

Personal communication with members of the Gereja Hati St Perawan Maria Tak Bercela Kumetiran or Immaculate Heart of Mary Church Kroncong Choir. October 23, 2018. Yogyakarta, Java, Indonesia.

Personal communication with Pater Hendrik Kerans, S.V.D.. April 16, 2018. Ende, Flores, Indonesia. Transcribed by Raynardi Raznan.

Personal communication with Father Jost Kokoh. July 26, 2018. Wisma Samadi, Jakarta (Klender), Indonesia. Transcribed by Vini Alfarina.

Personal communication with Pater Yosef Kusi Pakaenoni. April 6, 2018. Ledalero, Flores, Indonesia. Transcribed by Fatmawati Akhmad.

Personal communication with Bapak Ferdinandus (Ferdy) Levi. April 18, 2018. Ende, Flores, Indonesia. Transcribed by Raynardi Raznan.

Personal Communication with Sidney Jones. August 16, 2018. Jakarta, Indonesia.

Personal communication with Bapak Yon Leseq, Romo F.X. Sutanta, and Bapak Tri Prasetyo. September 4, 2018. Jakarta, Indonesia. Transcribed by Vini Alfarina.

Personal communication with Romo Franz Magnis-Suseno, S.J.. September 5, 2018. Jakarta, Indonesia.



Personal communication with Pater Cletus Nenda, S.V.D.. May 5, 2018. Labuan Bajo, Flores, Indonesia.

Personal communication with Bapak Yohanes Oja. April 25, 2018. Boba, Flores, Indonesia. Transcribed by Vini Alfarina.

Personal communication with Pastor Onesius Otenieli Daeli O.S.C, Ph.D., February 6, 2018. Bandung, Indonesia.

Personal communication with Romo Karl-Edmund Prier, S.J.. October 20, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Transcribed by Putri Sukmahartati.

Personal communication with Pastor Benyamin A.C. Purba. O.F.M. Cap. Medan, Indonesia. October 3, 2018. Transcribe by Raynardi Raznan.

Personal communication with Dr. Krismus Purba. July 4, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Transcribed by Raynardi Raznan.

Personal communication with Pastor Emmanuel Sembiring, O.F.M. Cap.. October 8, 2018. Transcribed by Vini Alfarina.

Personal communication with Romo Fransiskus Yance Sengga (Romo Yance). April 22, 2018. Mataloko, Flores, Indonesia. Transcribed by Putri Sukmahartati.

Personal communication with Archbishop Anicetus B. Antonius Sinaga. October 3, 2018. Medan, North Sumatra, Indonesia, Transcribed by Vini Alfarina.

Personal communication with Romo Antonius Soetanto. S.J., August 8, 2018. Jakarta, Indonesia. Transcribed by Raynardi Raznan.

Personal communication with Bapak Suwarsono. September 19, 2018. Medan, North Sumatra. Transcribed by Vini Alfarina.

Personal communication with Friez R. Tambunan, Dr. September 30, 2018. Medan, North Sumatra, Indonesia. Transcribed by Raynardi Raznan.

Personal communication with Pak Yosef Uran. March 27, 2018. Larantuka, Flores, Indonesia. Transcribed by Fatmawati Akhmad.

Personal communication with Bakap Sugeng Wahono <Johannes Paschalis Baylon>. March 9, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Transcribed by Raynardi Raznan.

Personal communication with Bapak Yohannes Wahyudi. February 27, 2018. Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Transcribe by Putri Sukmahartati.

Personal communication with Pater Eman Weroh. April 6, 2018. Ledalero, Flores, Indonesia. Transcribe by Putri Sukmahartati.