PART THREE

ISSUES OF NATIONAL CONCERN

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THEOLOGICAL THINKING BY INDONESIAN CHRISTIANS 1850–2000

In this chapter we map historical developments in the field of theology, as conceived and put in writing by Indonesian Christians. As has been shown in earlier chapters of this volume, the spread and successive development of Christianity took place during different periods in this vast archipelago, partly depending upon the colonial process, partly upon the respective religious situation. In general the churches in Eastern Indonesia (East Nusa Tenggara and the Moluccas) are older than the ones in Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan and South Sulawesi. Despite a Christian presence for some hundreds of years, missionary and ecclesial structures did not always support the development of indigenous theologising. Thought patterns brought by European missionaries or by the western church were considered normative. Missionaries were often afraid of heterodox thinking by indigenous believers and suppressed their ideas. Extant churches, both the Protestant Church (*Protestantsche Kerk*) and the Roman Catholic Church, did not allow Indonesians to participate in ecclesial offices until the last decades of the nineteenth century or even later. That factor, too, determines the *terminus a quo* of Indonesian theology in the respective areas.

We have very limited access to reports about earlier, oral forms of theological reflection such as sermons, early hymns, prayers and rituals though survivals are suggestive. In oral cultures faith is also handed down in story, song, legend, myth and proverb. Faith has been expressed in graphic art, music, dance, drama, ritual and symbolic action. For instance lay-led, popular Catholicism in East and Central Flores continued to enact religious processions down the centuries since the arrival of the Portuguese Dominicans in the sixteenth century.¹ Contemporary Holy Week processions in East Flores show a remarkable synthesis between local adat and Christian ritual.

However enticing these survivals may be, we shall commence our survey at around 1850. From that time onwards we find valuable traces of autonomous reflection by Indonesian believers. During the nineteenth century competition and confrontation between Catholics and Protestants occurred more often than cooperation. Nevertheless, it is appropriate to use an ecumenical approach in this chapter. The birth and development of theology took place along parallel

¹ Steenbrink 2003–I:76–84.

lines. During the twentieth century, especially after the independence of the country (1945/1949), we see many similarities, common themes and forms of collaboration.

I. *The nineteenth century*

Preparing the ground

We start by mentioning several early areas of encounter between church and culture in which indigenous people, Christians as well as others, have been involved. One such encounter was the translation of the bible into vernacular languages. The earliest translation of the whole bible into Malay was the work of one man, Melchior Leijdecker (1645–1701). His translation was used in Protestant circles for almost two centuries, especially in eastern Indonesia. In 1814 the *Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap* was founded in Amsterdam, which soon began to consider translating and distributing the bible in various Indonesian languages. Its first translator, J.F.C. Gericke (1799–1857) was sent to Java in 1826. His New Testament in Javanese appeared in 1848. Not long before his death he finished a translation of the Old Testament. Gericke used several Javanese language assistants. One of them even composed several prayers inspired by and patterned upon the psalms.² Other translators, such as the missionary Pieter Jansz (1820–1904), who worked on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society, also had assistants. However, they were not often Christian and unfortunately not much is known about their linguistic influence. Catholics translated the annual cycle of scripture texts then used in the Sunday liturgy, circulated in the form of typed or mimeographed sheets for use by the local priest or village catechist. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries they were invariably in the local language.

Another field where missionaries were active during the nineteenth century was ethnography and anthropology. The *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* (MNZG) even had separate sections in which all kinds of (local) anthropological reports were published. Often missionaries asked their indigenous helpers to make notes or write down their findings. Some of these were subsequently translated and published. In Eastern Indonesia the teacher H. Picauly, assistant of missionary B.N. Roskott, gave an account of customs and (religious) traditions in Ambon and on Buru Island.³ We should also mention the names of Richard Tampenawas and Hendrik Pesik, both guru (teachers) from Minahasa (North Sulawesi) who followed missionary

² Swellengrebel 1974–I:68.

³ Picauly 1859:195–214.

H.C. Kruyt to North Sumatra in 1891. Their reports and keen observations about Karo Batak customs can be regarded as a preparation for evangelism. They realized that they needed to know and understand local culture and its religious system before the gospel could bear fruit. Their stories can be found in MNZG (1894, 1895) as well as in *Tjahaja Sijang* (1868–1927), a monthly periodical published in Minahasa. In a similar way Raja Jacob Lumbantobing can be called a *perintis* (precursor). He described the rules of adat law within Batak society extensively. The *American Mission Press* in Singapore understood the importance of his work and published his writings in two volumes in 1898 and 1899.

Catholic priests had been banned from the Dutch Indies since 1602. From 1808 until 1850 they were allowed to work in the cities among expatriate Catholics such as soldiers, officials and merchants and their families. In the second half of the nineteenth century they were allowed to work in areas where there already were baptised members. The quarterly *Claverbond* (1889–1960) published stories about culture and mission. Early reports by missionaries to superiors in the Netherlands are replete with information on local customs.⁴ Nonetheless, significant Catholic linguistic and ethnographic work began in earnest only in the twentieth century.

Finally we should point out the role of missionaries in the field of education. Many nineteenth century missionaries were in one way or another involved in the founding of modest schools for the local people at a time when the colonial authorities still hesitated to educate the indigenous population. Catholics opened schools as soon as they were permitted, staffing key establishments with religious sisters and brothers. These schools were an effective tool in preparing the people for a new era. At the same time schooling was inherently ambivalent: on the one hand opening students up to a wider and more critical world, while on the other its ideological purpose was to domesticate the populous to the aims of the colonial state and to the ideal of the male-led nuclear family. We have to admit, also, that there have been tensions among the missionaries themselves and between the missionaries and the government about the primary aim: education or evangelisation. Often these missionaries selected gifted young men to become their teaching assistants. In Protestant churches the function of guru became the first step towards ecclesial office, initially as *pembantu pendeta* (assistant pastor) or *guru injil* (evangelist), later as *pendeta*. In the geographically large Catholic parishes, the guru, *guru agama* (village catechist) and *jaga agama* (lay congregational leader) were the primary evangelists and led Sunday worship while ordained (expatriate) pastors instructed them and celebrated the sacraments. In a literal sense many of

⁴ Steenbrink 2003–I:xvi.

these guru received their lessons sitting at the feet of the missionaries who had come with a new kind of wisdom. In Ambon and Minahasa as well as in Java and North Sumatra, the first generation of those who reflected autonomously about their faith consisted mainly of such teachers. Sometimes they were sent to other parts of the country, at other times they were entrusted with additional responsibilities, which widened their horizon. We will find a number of them as students in the early preacher training schools and theological seminaries of the Protestant Church.

The first generation of proto-theologians

Some of the persons we mentioned in the previous paragraph can be called proto-theologians, as T.B. Simatupang has identified them.⁵ That is, indigenous Christians who reflected in their own creative way about the faith without trying to systematize it or to transfer it into abstract categories. In this paragraph we add some other important proto-theologians of the 19th century.

Paulus Tosari (1813–1882) first received instruction from a Muslim *kiai* in East Java, but was soon attracted by the new wisdom teachings of Christians like C.L. Coolen (1775–1873) in Ngoro, East Java, and J.E. Jellesma (1816–58), missionary in Mojowarno from 1851 until his death. In the latter place he became an important leader of the mission-based Christian community until his death, being a vivid preacher with a large knowledge of the bible. He is the author of three writings in *tembang* form (Javanese poetry, recited in a melodious way), the most important being *Rasa Sejati* (which can be translated as “genuine deepest feelings/sense”). This tract, which was written around 1872, served as material for religious education. It is a moralistic-didactic poem, which shows parallels with the extant Javanese wisdom literature of the time. The real *rasa*, which comes from God, is Christian love. In this tract much attention is given to the discipleship of Jesus through love, patience, and humility. Christ is depicted as “the perfect human being” who is one with God in an almost mystical way:

The perfect human being
That is, the Son of the All-Holy One,
Because one in the kernel of feeling (*rasa*),
Originating from the All-Holy One,
The feeling of our Lord,
Yes, the feeling of the High-elevated One,
The person who is close to the Son
Is already close to the Holy Father (*Rama Suci*),
The Son of Man becomes one with the Father.

⁵ T.B. Simatupang 1982:20–29.

Tosari's writings show a deep wisdom. Nevertheless, in the eyes of the missionaries his thinking was not complete because it did not focus upon the suffering, death and resurrection of Christ. Hand-written copies of *Rasa Sejati* must have soon circulated. However, it was fifty years before Hendrik Kraemer (1888–1965) edited and published an anthology of Tosari's work (1925, most recent reprint 1953). Unfortunately the fact that these and other tracts were written in Javanese became an impediment after independence: Javanese language and literature were seen as something of the past, not of the present or future.

We have only a few examples of similar writings. In Semarang, Central Java, Asa Kiman (d. 1892) wrote several tracts. The most important one is called *Panggugah* (stimulation, appeal). Asa Kiman was a co-worker of missionary W. Hoesoo. Compared with Paulus Tosari's work, his writings are rather flat and bookish. Nevertheless the name of Asa Kiman also deserves to be remembered. His tracts and recited sermons prove that he was able to contextualise the gospel into the world of his own people. His work is mainly anthropocentric; Christianity is seen as the moral completion of all religions.

Independent seekers of wisdom

Besides these associates of western missionaries, two other important proto-theologians should be named: Ibrahim Tunggul Wulung (ca. 1800–1885) and Sadrach Surapranata (1835–1924). These were independent 'seekers of wisdom' in Central Java. The first half of the nineteenth century was a turbulent time for the population of Central and East Java. The Diponegoro war (1830) brought about the end of the independent rule of the sultanates (*kraton*) of Yogyakarta and Surakarta and confirmed the definitive hegemony of the Dutch colonial regime. It must be added that this war also led to the beginning of the spiritual importance of the *kraton*. Years of serious drought and crop disease caused starvation and forced large groups of the population to migrate to other parts of Java. All in all, it was a time of great social and political upheaval. Unsurprisingly, many people put their hopes in old dreams and prophecies such as the *Jayabaya* predictions, or looked for new, strong teachings such as that brought by western Christianity. In this context Ibrahim Tunggul Wulung became a spiritual leader for hundreds of people in the northern part of Central Java. He gathered some of them into separate villages in the uncleared woods near the town of Jepara, where the Mennonite missionary Pieter Jansz established a small congregation. In a way Tunggul Wulung was a syncretist who combined old prophecies, Islamic folk religion and basic Christian elements. He tried to be a loyal pupil of the missionaries and time and again contacted them to absorb parts of their new teaching. Nonetheless he always aroused their suspicion and therefore eventually travelled on his own path. He became a tireless and restless itinerant evangelist in

his own right travelling back and forth between East Java and Batavia (Jakarta). Unfortunately no written legacy has been found, except for a few prayers and liturgical formula, which he apparently used.

One of his disciples was Sadrach Surapranata. Sadrach became well known as he was the founder of a number of congregations of so-called 'free Christians' (*wong Kristen kang Mardika*). He operated in a district where the *Gereformeerd* Dutch mission was active in the southern parts of Central Java (see chapter fourteen). He had to suffer bitter conflicts with several missionaries, pastors of the *Protestantsche Kerk* and local authorities. Some of them accused Sadrach of identifying himself with the eschatological *Ratu Adil* (righteous king) and therefore with Christ himself. Fortunately some other missionaries, especially Jacob Wilhelm (1854–1892), trusted him completely. After Wilhelm's death (1892), when the mission board and the remaining missionaries continued to charge Sadrach with heresy and make life difficult for him, Sadrach broke off all relations. Influenced by F.L. Anthing (1820–1883), a judge who maintained cordial relationships with several independent Javanese Christians, he joined the Apostolic Church and in 1899 was appointed an apostle in that church.

Sadrach had been educated in a *pesantren* (residential school for Muslim education) and was further influenced by Hindu-Buddhist Javanese tradition and by the pietism of the missionaries. He thus had a keen eye for practical ways of conceptualising the faith and church structures. Again, no written record of his thinking survives. Yet he and his community has been the subject of several thorough studies.⁶ From these we learn that he had his own Javanese way of organizing his congregations, with regular meetings for the elders and big annual meetings (*kumpulan gedhe*). He had his own kind of church order and of celebrating the sacraments. His theology can be reconstructed in part. His Christology, for instance, emphasized Jesus as a blameless guru (teacher), *panutan* (guide and mediator), and *ratu adil* (righteous king). Jesus taught a certain *ngelmu* (wisdom) for human salvation.⁷ Moral discipline was the evidence of the real Christian. Therefore the Ten Commandments, the Apostolic Creed and the Lord's Prayer were important. Some prayers from his community have been preserved even though most traces of Tunggul Wulung's influence have been wiped out. During the last two decades of the twentieth century there was a renewed interest in Sadrach and his community within the churches of Central Java. Part of the present debate is about the question whether Sadrach was simply a typical representative of the nineteenth century, or a charismatic leader whose vision and organization is still useful for the church today, especially in regard to Muslim-Christian relations.

⁶ Guillot 1981; Partonadi 1990; Sumartana 1994.

⁷ Partonadi 1990:217–219.

II. *The first forty years of the twentieth century*

A. *Catechetical institutes and teacher-preacher seminaries*

Teacher schools in Eastern Indonesia

The first generation of Christian leaders was, as has been stated above, educated sitting at the feet of the missionaries. Soon, however, it became clear that this was inadequate. Also, society at large was fast changing in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and even faster after the introduction of the so-called ethical policy at the beginning of the twentieth century. And so, schools were founded which at first served a double goal: to educate teachers on behalf of (subsidized) Christian elementary schools, who at the same time would serve as evangelists or assistant pastors. The colonial government subsidized such teacher training colleges. As a consequence most of them ceased to exist in that form after the government withdrew its financial support in the 1930s due to the economic recession.

In eastern Indonesia several so-called STOVILs were established after the NZG had handed over its mission fields to the *Protestantsche Kerk* in 1867. STOVIL means: School for Education of Indigenous Teachers. Such schools came into being in Ambon (the Moluccas, 1885), Tomohon (North Sulawesi, 1886) and Kupang (West Timor, 1902). The *Protestantsche Kerk* was an instrument of the colonial government, which in 1870 decreed the office of Indigenous Teacher (*Inlandsche Leeraar*) within that church. Therefore the state determined the syllabus, which was rather limited theologically. The Old Testament was hardly taught at all. Recent, contextual mission and church history were not regarded as necessary. Also absent was any attention to catechisms and confessional statements. The *Protestantsche Kerk* wanted to be open for members of all Protestant churches and regarded itself neutral as to specific confessions! So, we can hardly maintain that these schools provided a 'theological education.' Nevertheless, they can be seen as a beginning, and in the course of time they would become a tool of the independent regional churches of eastern Indonesia. In the 1930s A.Z.R. Wenas (Tomohon) and W.H. Tutuarima (Ambon) became the first Indonesian principals.

The Jesuits at Muntilan, Central Java, opened the first Catholic teachers' training school in 1904 as an upgrading of a catechist course run previously in Semarang. Subsequently village schools were established in a big way from 1907 onwards. Muntilan educated the first generation of Catholic moderate nationalists such as Ignatius Joseph Kasimo (1900–1986) and church leaders such as the first Indonesian Catholic bishop (and Soekarno confidant) Albertus Soegijapranata of Semarang (1896–1963) as well as a host of regular schoolteachers and catechists. For the majority of Catholics, these teachers were the leaders of the congregation who gave religious instruction and led

Sunday worship. Muntilan also produced the first candidates for the priesthood. Between 1916 and 1920 ten students were sent to the Netherlands for seminary training.

The first teachers from Flores went to the Catholic teachers' training school in Tomohon, North Sulawesi. In the 1920s teachers in the Maumere district of Flores gathered in Koting each Saturday for instruction, those from Ende gathered in Ndona and the guru *agama* from Ngada met in Todabelu. A *Schakelschool* was opened in Ndao, near Ende, in 1925 from which some of the alumni continued their studies at Muntilan before Ndao was allowed to upgrade. By 1940 there were 1,800 village catechists in Flores. With the *Flores-Timor-Soemba Regeling* (contract) of 1913 schooling in West Timor and Sumba was entrusted to the Protestant Church in Timor (GMIT) and Sumba (GKS) while schooling in Flores was handed over to the Catholic Church. While there were around 2,000 pupils in Flores in 1914, the number had risen to 5,000 by 1920 and a decade later to 24,000.

Mission-based seminaries

In the meantime, missionary societies on Java and Sumatra started their own training schools. The very first one can be found in Paraosorat, North Sumatra, in the mission field of the *Rheinische Mission*. There a two-year education for catechists was started in 1868. Ten years later, in 1879, a four-year course was started in Pansur Napitu, headed by missionary Peter Heinrich Johannsen (1839–1898). From 1883 onwards students of this school could follow an additional two-year curriculum to become indigenous pastors (*pandita Batak*). This school emphasized biblical insight next to practical theological skills as well as knowledge of church history, catechism and apologetics. Dogmatics received only a minor place. Johannsen himself wrote several of the textbooks. The school moved to Sipoholon, and from there, to Pematang Siantar.

On Java the earliest teachers' training school was an ecumenical experiment in Depok, south of present-day Jakarta. From 1878 until 1926 this seminary functioned well. It recruited its students from all parts of Indonesia, including Papua (Nieuw Guinea), though the Batak church sent the largest group. The mixed intake certainly broadened the horizon of the students and deepened their sense of ecumenism. Like other schools, this one too emphasized general subjects. Nevertheless in the 1896 curriculum 23 hours a week were set aside for theological instruction. The Depok seminary used Malay because it served as the *lingua franca* for the whole archipelago. Yet, this very fact impeded many students from expressing their feelings and thoughts in their own regional languages. The language dilemma (*lingua franca* vs. ethnic or regional languages) has not been solved entirely satisfactorily until today. This is the case even though after 1945 *Bahasa Indonesia* was made the national language and is now known by virtually every citizen. It is also the language

of all schooling and the language in which novelists and scientists express themselves, but not the idiom of the family, the adat, or the heart. The Depok Seminary closed its doors in 1926.

In a way the *Hoogere Theologische School*, which was founded in Bogor in 1934 and moved two years later to Jakarta (in 1954 the school was called *Sekolah Tinggi Theologia*, STT), can be seen as the inter-denominational successor to the Depok Seminary at a higher level. By that time young people were able to study at university level in the fields of law, medicine and engineering; therefore theology could no longer lag behind! For several decades the STT in Jakarta was a seedbed for ecumenical renewal. The HTS started with 18 students from eight *bangsa* (cultural/language groups). Many of the alumni of the first classes became important and respected church leaders. During the 1960s and 1970s many of its professors also took a leading role within the DGI (later PGI), the EACC (later CCA) and even the WCC. Some of them became members of parliament or other public bodies. Students came from all over Indonesia. Only during the last twenty years of the twentieth century did the STT lose its undisputed position among Protestant theological colleges.

Before the HTS (STT) opened, both the *Hervormde* Mission in East Java and the *Gereformeerde* Mission in Central Java established theological schools though not as yet at an academic level. In Yogyakarta, the cradle of the *kraton* (court of the sultan) culture, a school was opened in 1925 for educated young men to study Hinduism, animism, Islam and even theosophy, and discuss these matters with Javanese intellectuals. In Malang, East Java, the *Bale Wijata* (Hall of Learning) was started in 1927. Here we should mention the name of Barend Schuurman (1889–1945) who genuinely tried to emphasize the Javanese context in his lessons and publications. At the beginning relationships between both churches in the Netherlands, and therefore between their missions in Indonesia, were rather cool. The Indonesian Christians themselves experienced a growing awareness of unity, which was further enhanced by rising nationalism in general. Nevertheless, closer cooperation between theological schools had to wait until independence.

Catholic seminaries

The first Catholic major seminary to open in Indonesia was that in Central Java in 1925 (now at Kentungan near Yogyakarta), which began with six alumni from the Muntilan teachers' school. In East Nusa Tenggara a minor seminary (secondary school) was opened in Sikka in 1926 with seven students (moved to Mataloko in 1929) and the Major Seminary of Ledalero was opened in 1937 with 10 seminarians. Until the 1950s lectures were in Dutch and both the philosophy and theology basically neo-Thomistic. Kentungan, now the Wedabhakti faculty of Universitas Sanata Dharma, and Ledalero remain the largest Catholic seminaries in Indonesia today; Ledalero alone has over 600

students. However, they were not seedbeds of contextual theology until after the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965).

Continuing discussions about a contextual curriculum

In the beginning each missionary decided individually which subjects his pupils had to study. Often it was a kind of informal, tutorial instruction. J.E. Jellesma (1816–1858), for instance, did not define the borders between the respective subjects clearly in the informal seminary in Mojowarno (East Java), which he started in 1850. However, he classified the material into thirteen parts: knowledge of the bible; history of the Old Testament; history of the New Testament; (early) church history, doctrinal and ethical matters; biblical chronology; reading and writing in Javanese; singing, counting; reading and writing in Latin script; and biblical geography. The bible was his only textbook!⁸

When the teacher-evangelist schools received an official character, a formal curriculum became necessary with a clear definition of, and balance between, general subjects and theological or religious subjects. Often the government would not subsidize the latter, whereas general subjects had to comply with the rules of the Department of Education in Batavia. Still, each school was free to arrange the religious part of the curriculum. Before World War II there was hardly any contact between the respective mission boards about this matter.

Unsurprisingly, the curriculum of the new *Hoogere Theologische School* (1934) was derivative of the curriculum of Dutch theological faculties although the founders of the HTS aimed at *theologia in loco*. Greek, Hebrew and modern western languages were a standard part of the six-year curriculum and all lessons were given in Dutch rather than Malay. Th. Müller-Krüger, the first dean of the HTS, defended that choice by stating that Malay is unable to become the foundation of “clear, independent theological thinking.”⁹ His verdict shows that missionary circles at that time still cherished a certain bias and western arrogance, though practical reasons also played a role in making this choice. Catholic village catechists related bible stories (graphically) and taught ‘the catechism’ in the local language.

B. Periodicals and publishing houses

Nineteenth-century missionaries often published small tracts, containing either portions of their bible translations or brief statements of faith. The colonial government had the right to censor publications printed in the Dutch Indies out of concern for religious and social agitation. In 1860 the Mennonite missionary Pieter Jansz (1820–1904) even lost his license to evangelise because

⁸ Boone 1997:91.

⁹ Müller-Krüger 1937:317–334.

of a small tract in Javanese, which in fact was nothing more than a brief sermon on Mark 1:15. Nevertheless he continued his work undisturbed until his death.

Early periodicals

As we saw above nineteenth and early twentieth century indigenous Christians were able to publish reports in the MNZG. Besides in North Sulawesi *Tjahaja Sijang* appeared as a monthly (later bi-weekly) paper between 1868 and 1927. In 1890 the Batak mission launched the publication of the periodical *Immanuel*, still published today. During the following decades many new periodicals were brought out, some in Dutch, others in Malay or in vernaculars such as Javanese and a few Batak languages. Sometimes western missionaries functioned as editors, as was the case, for instance, with *Bentara Hindia* (1900–1925). Later, however, Indonesian Christians edited their own publications such as *Siadji Panoetoeri* (bi-weekly, 1919–1940), *Zaman Baroe* (1926–1931), *Sinalsal* (1931–1942) and *Doeta* (1935–1942). Some of these periodicals served mainly inner-church purposes, others were a means of discussing national politics from a Christian perspective. *Zaman Baroe*, edited by T.S.G. Moelia, is a good example of the latter. Until 1942 there were over a hundred titles of such periodicals; however, only a few became influential. Nevertheless all of them served as channels through which notions of ecclesial and political independence, renewal of liturgy and Christian education reached a wider public. For the first time real debate could occur among Indonesian Christians themselves.

The alumni of the teachers' training school at Muntilan formed an association in 1913 called *Katolika Wandwa*. In January the following year it launched a monthly magazine, *Djawi Sraya*; by the end of the year it had 500 subscriptions, mostly non-Catholics. With the social and political situation becoming increasingly turbulent *Swara Tama* replaced this magazine in 1920, which was the main Catholic magazine of Central Java until the Japanese occupation. Meanwhile from Surabaya, East Java, *De Katholieke Gids* was published as a weekly newspaper from 1928 until 1942. Though not theological in nature, it outlined Catholic principles that ought to be applied to the confused social and political developments. Both *Swara Tama* (in Javanese) and *De Katholieke Gids* (in Dutch) strived to remain 'neutral' in regard to nationalism.

The flourishing Catholic mission in East Nusa Tenggara published two journals during this period. The monthly *Bintang Timoer* was published from Ende, Flores, between 1925 and 1937. This was a 16-page general magazine in Malay with features on farming, education and both regional and international news. *Bintang Timoer* also had regular articles that reflected the viewpoint of the expatriate missionaries about the adat. In Maumere *Kristus Ratu Itang* (Christ the King) was published in Sikkanese for teachers in the Maumere district. In 1946 *Pandu Pendidikan* in *Bahasa Indonesia* replaced it

for the whole of East Nusa Tenggara. *Pastoralia* was launched in 1937 as a bi-monthly journal and a forum to exchange views between expatriate missionaries on practical theological issues in the field. Lecturers at Ledalero seminary edited *Pastoralia*. Key issues revolved around the apparent non-compatibility of marriage adat with Catholic Church law as well as problems of schooling. Discontinued during the Japanese occupation of East Nusa Tenggara (1942–1945), *Pastoralia* re-emerged during the 1950s and from the mid-1960s onwards became a book series under Indonesian editorship. Though it espoused a policy of accommodating the indigenous Indonesians of Nusa Tenggara to the pre-Vatican II Church, knowledge of the adat by both field missionaries and missionary ethnographers cautioned patience and understanding. The expatriate missionaries did not apparently possess a theology sufficiently flexible to connect with their sympathetic appreciation of the adat. Practice was often ahead of theory.

Until World War II theological or devotional books were rarely printed on behalf of the indigenous churches whether Protestant or Catholic. Around 1924 Hendrik Kraemer initiated a reading committee of the *Nederlandsch-Indische Zendingsbond* (NIZB), whose purpose was to publish simple literature. However, there was not a big enough market for such works, and only a few missionaries found time to write larger pamphlets and books. Therefore, this committee did not meet its goals, the majority of its publications being translations, hymnals and devotional material. In the Catholic Church, *Kanisius* in Yogyakarta (since 1922) and *Arnoldus-Nusa Indah* in Flores (since 1926) printed schoolbooks and catechisms, but also the occasional hymnal and volume of prayers and devotions. Before independence *Kanisius* published in both Javanese and Indonesian; *Arnoldus*, apart from schoolbooks, invariably published translations or adaptations of European originals in the local languages such as a small catechism in Sikkane (1928).

C. *Theology in the first half of the twentieth century*

The first sign of serious cracks in the dominance of Western colonisation in Asia at the turn of the century was the victory of Japan over Russia in 1904–1905. This victory of an Asian nation over a European one had a tremendous impact on the rise of nationalism in several Asian countries including Indonesia. In 1908 *Boedi Oetomo* was founded, followed in 1912 by *Sarekat Islam*. The latter at first aimed at uniting the forces of Javanese traders against Chinese *kongsi*'s, but later became an Islamic emancipation movement. Besides, Islamic reform movements such as *Muhammadiyah* (Yogyakarta, 1912) started to attack the colonial government, which, in their opinion, favoured Christians. Indeed, it cannot be denied that Christians benefited from the so-called ethical policy, which was applied both in the mother country and in the Indies from 1901

onwards. “The Netherlands has to fulfil a moral obligation towards the people of the Indies,” according to a government policy statement in 1901. That should logically have led to self-government and independence, which, however, was continually postponed. Several coalition Cabinets in which Christian parties participated interpreted this “moral obligation” in a Christian way during the following decades. Christian hospitals and schools, and in an indirect way the churches, were privileged. Between 1909 and 1913 the number of subsidized Christian schools increased by 40%.

From 1925 onwards nationalism became a major issue in the Dutch Indies. Soekarno’s *Partai Nasional Indonesia* (PNI) was founded in 1927. However, in spite of important events such as the *Sumpah Pemuda* (Youth Oath) in 1928, which birthed the slogan “one people, one nation, one language” (and one flag), not everybody was in favour of a pan-Indonesian nationalism. Often regional and ethnic feelings prevailed, at least among Christians. This was the case in Sumatra, Java, Ambon, Minahasa and elsewhere. Nusa Tenggara, Sulawesi, the Moluccas and Kalimantan strongly supported a federated state (*Indonesia Serikat*) as proposed by the Dutch during the Malino Conference of 1946. Not many missionaries had opened their eyes to Indonesia’s nationalist aspirations. Hendrik Kraemer and C.L. van Doorn (leader of Christian student ministry on Java) were notable exceptions in this respect.

While Java, Sumatra and Bali were seething with nationalist movements, the mass baptism of Flores was quietly progressing (1920–1960). Despite Soekarno’s exile and house arrest in Flores (1934–1938) where he was inspired both to re-examine Islam¹⁰ and formulate the *Pancasila*, Flores made no significant contact with the independence movement until the withdrawal of the Japanese in 1945.¹¹

National and ecumenical unity

It is against this background that church leaders and lay theologians developed their thinking during the decades leading up to World War II. Some of them involved themselves in the nationalist movement. The first name to mention here is Jero beam Mattheus (ca. 1885–1944) in East Java. He had candid conversations with prominent leaders of the Sarekat Islam such as H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto and for some time was even an editor of the SI periodical *Bintang Soerabaja*. “Mattheus’s experience among Javanese Muslim groups gave rise to the possibility of the Christian community absorbing experiences broader than what their rural life had previously allowed.”¹² Earlier than others, Mattheus tried to arouse the interest of his fellow Christians into issues like

¹⁰ Soekarno 1936; Noer 1980:299–301.

¹¹ Muskens 1973–IV:270–274; Webb 1986:70.

¹² Sumartana 1993:121.

'nation and religion.' As a consequence of that attitude, he pleaded strongly for unity between Christians, for indigenous (church) leadership and for cooperation between adherents of respective religions.

Mattheus' voice was heard in East Java only. Todoeng Soetan Goenoeng Moelia (1896–1966) from North Sumatra, however, was known nationally. He can be seen as the first intellectual among Indonesian Christians. Moelia studied pedagogy, law and anthropology, not only in Indonesia but also in the Netherlands. Besides he had a good knowledge of missiology and theology as well as other fields of science. This made him the appropriate person to become editor of Indonesia's first encyclopaedia. Though he continued to play a role after independence (as a professor at the Universitas Indonesia, briefly as a cabinet minister and especially as chairman of the DGI from 1950 onwards), his main strength and influence is to be found in the years before 1942. Moelia attended the world missionary conference in Jerusalem in 1928 as the only indigenous Indonesian. He was a member, later vice-president, of the *Volksraad*, 1921–1929 and 1935–1941. There he proved to be a moderate nationalist, whose opinions and visions went beyond the direct interest of Christians. He was an adherent of the ethical policy, though he dissociated himself from the Christelijk Staatskundige Partij (CSP) when this party increasingly became a mouthpiece of Dutch interests. In his dissertation about *Primitive Thinking within Modern Science* (Leiden, 1933) he states that basically primitive thinking does not differ from (western) cultural thinking. The primitive mind, too, knows causality and logic (for instance in its languages) and will be able to achieve the same intellectual results as modern people given sufficient opportunities to increase knowledge and experience. Here his vision collided with that of many missionaries at the time. Even Kraemer defended the position that western peoples had more talents in the field of the creative transfer of knowledge and science than, for instance, had the Javanese. In spite of such differences of opinion, Moelia was a loyal and cooperative church leader who, both after 1928 (Jerusalem conference) and 1938 (the Tambaram conference) urged the foundation of a National Christian Council. Several times he advocated the development of indigenous leadership among the Christians of his country. He blamed both the stern colonial regime and the missions for neglecting the capacities of the younger indigenous generation:

It can be stated that taking care of the educated ones [in the Indies] not only came late, but too late. The missions should have known that 25–30 years ago there were many indigenous Christians among the students of several vocational schools (Stovia, Osvia, teacher-seminaries, technical schools etcetera), mostly from Ambon and Minahasa, later also from Batak areas. These students have been deprived of any spiritual care. One can say that for the major part this generation, that is, Christian intellectuals aged between 35–50 years, have been lost for the mission and for active Christianity in general... It is a sad experience of the younger generation that these older ones cannot be enthused for the sake

of Christ in these countries. They do not cooperate in any way, are neutral or have stronger feelings for nationalist or even Islamic movements.¹³

At least two other names of young, ecumenically inspired persons need to be mentioned besides Moelia, namely Johannes Leimena (1905–1977) and Augustine (Tine) Fransz (1907–1995). The former was a medical doctor and later a cabinet minister, the latter a lawyer and secretary of the DGI. Influenced by C.J. van Doorn, Hendrik Kraemer and Willem Visser 't Hooft, and by the WSCE, the question of unity, *ut omnes unum sint*, both in society and the church, was the main driving force of their lives. Even though they did not write many articles, their influence was tremendous, though mainly after 1945.

Naturally there have been others who pleaded for the unity of Christians, though hardly any of them participated in the nationalist movement or was involved in politics. J. Wirjotenojo (Central Java) and Mardjo Sir (East Java) were significant regional church leaders who were keen observers of the ecclesial situation. M.H. Manullang in North Sumatra was more a popular political champion than a church leader; he advocated regional independence for the Batak people.

Brief mention should be made of Amir Sjarifoeddin (1907–1948) the controversial Protestant Batak thinker, nationalist and briefly twice Prime Minister in the 1940s. Fluent in eight languages, he was an outstanding leader who combined fervent nationalism, romantic socialism and prophetic Christianity. His sparse extant writings are redolent with biblical quotes. His faith was a source of personal empowerment, which equipped him with a future-oriented social solidarity well beyond his Batak ethnic roots and personal Christian commitment. Amir can be described as a prophetic liberationist decades before the advent of liberation theology.¹⁴ Perhaps only Josef Widyatmadja can be said to have continued this radical approach some three decades later (see below).

The moderate leader of the Catholic Party, Ignatius J. Kasimo, was no theologian; his theological mentor was Archbishop Soegijapranata (1896–1963). Soegia was an ardent nationalist who urged the church in Java to leave the sacristy and serve the country.¹⁵ Mangunwijaya quotes the archbishop as frequently telling the congregation, “Your job is not to baptise, that is the Holy Spirit’s business! Your job is to build up an Indonesia that is good in the eyes of God and humanity!”¹⁶ Soegia’s vision was of a church that opted for the poor and fully engaged itself in national development where Catholic youth

¹³ Moelia 1935:261–265.

¹⁴ Simatupang 1967; Klinken 2003:115–150, 188–206.

¹⁵ Klinken 2003:175–187; Subanar 2001.

¹⁶ Mangunwijaya 1990:180.

movements were not confined to the parish but worked with their Muslim and nationalist counterparts. To Javanese the church he sent priests to study architecture and culture.

Regional culture and independence

Of course concern for regional cultural matters, including adat problems, was a continuing issue, especially among the Bataks in North Sumatra, and among the Torajas in Sulawesi. But it was also a concern among the Javanese where the *wayang* puppet plays were often evaluated negatively by biased missionaries during the first quarter of the twentieth century. N. Adriani (1865–1926), an outstanding linguist and missionary among the Torajas, made an outspoken plea in 1912 not to change or even abolish the total adat. He was very cautious. Fifteen years later Kraemer wrote in a positive way about *wayang*. However, many other missionaries were negative and opposed the local adat. To them, this was not a cultural issue, but a dangerously religious one.

Little by little indigenous Christians started to express their concern in these matters, sometimes more by action than by words. Earlier we mentioned Jacob Lumbantobing who published two small volumes on adat jurisdiction in North Sumatra. Apparently his line of reasoning was: with the arrival of Christianity adat is going to change, and somebody has to commit it to paper before it is lost. E.St. Harahap, who worked in West Java but had his roots in the Batak area, wrote in a booklet, which commemorated 75 years of evangelisation among the Bataks (1936), that it was unfortunate that the missionaries proscribed many pre-Christian expressions of religion and culture. “Now the Batak people are like a bird whose wings have been clipped. They may grow again, but the clipping will severely hurt us until the wings are fully-grown again.”¹⁷ The adat continued to become a major issue both in the Batak lands and in Sulawesi; after independence many scholarly studies would be devoted to these areas. In a different way, the same is valid for West Papua, Ambon, East Nusa Tenggara and Bali.

The Catholic missionary-linguist Pieter Drabbe arrived in the Moluccan islands (Tanimbar) in 1915. After returning to the Netherlands for studies in ethnology he wrote an ethnology of Tanimbar before moving to the south coast of Papua. Between 1935 and 1947 he studied 22 languages publishing his results in a variety of journals and books. His confrere Jan Boelaars compared some 14 of these languages for his doctoral dissertation and continued with ethnographic work until the mid-1980s. It must be admitted that there was no real sustained follow-through on Drabbe-Boelaars’ work, let alone theological reflection. The language range of Melanesian Indonesia is appar-

¹⁷ E.St. Harahap n.d.: 62.

ently too thick and rich for most missionaries and scholars to sort through. There has been no felt-need to understand the local language, much less the worldview associated with it. The deep structure of logic, value and judgment patterns has evaded most missionaries and the mission agenda. Muskens (later Catholic bishop of Breda, the Netherlands) has a 35-page bibliography at the end of the Indonesian edition of his thesis; most of these titles refer to ethnographic and anthropological studies by Catholic missionaries including some 16 studies by Drabbe.¹⁸

The adat was the central thread through the 1922 mission conference held in Ndona, Flores, which set the pattern for evangelisation by the Catholic Church throughout East Nusa Tenggara for the following two decades. In the late 1920s, a decade before adat issues were discussed in the pages of *Pastoralia*, Simon Buis (1892–1960) shot two ethnographic films at the end of the 1920s, one on forced marriages—*Ria Rago*—the other on development—*Ana Woda*. These are among the first films ever made in Indonesia. Paul Arndt (1886–1962), who worked on Flores from 1923 until his death, published ten ethnographic books including three grammars (Sikka 1931, Ngadha 1933, Lamaholot 1937) and two comprehensive dictionaries of Florenese languages (Lionese-German 1933, Ngadha-German 1957). He also penned 16 articles in international journals on ethnographic topics (from 1924 until 1963) apart from 20 articles in the pages of *Pastoralia* (1937–63). A further five missiological articles appeared between 1929 and 1956.¹⁹ Jilis Verheijen (1908–1997) made linguistic studies in West Flores, researching before the Japanese occupation while publishing over 20 ethnographic monographs from the late 1940s onwards. His Manggarai-Indonesian dictionary was published in 1967 and 1970. Verheijen also translated the gospels into Manggarai; some parishes continue to use these translations though most use *Bahasa Indonesia*. Once again there is little link between such extensive cultural research and theologising.

Often such cultural, linguistic and ethnological matters were the most important issues in the pursuit of regional independence, also, for Protestants, in an ecclesiological sense during the nineteen thirties. Language is a primary marker of a people's dignity and identity. It also indicates a tension between the striving for national independence and regional aims. On Java ideas about being one nation were livelier than elsewhere and similarly ideas about the need to form a single church. Generally speaking Christians elsewhere in the archipelago presupposed the existence of a number of peoples in the Dutch Indies instead of one nation. In any case several of their leaders emphasized only the position and needs of their own people. Notwithstanding that

¹⁸ Muskens 1973.

¹⁹ Arndt 2002:223–226.

limitation, the work of several of these leaders can be hailed as necessary, and sometimes daring in their situation!

Relations with other religions

The hopeful mood which came into being with the rise of movements like *Boedi Oetomo* and *Sarekat Islam*, also had an effect on the interest of Christians in other religions. At least until around 1920 several indigenous authors published articles and booklets about Islam. Though some were apologetic, others tried to see positive aspects and provide information about Islam as such. A few Christian periodicals, such as *Tjahaja Sijang* and *Bentara Hindia* even accepted and printed short articles by Muslim writers during this period. We mentioned already J. Mattheus' personal contacts with Muslim leaders in East Java and can add G.S.S.J. (Sam) Ratulangie (1890–1949) of Minahasa who wrote a pamphlet in which he defended the *Sarekat Islam* against the colonial government, which according to him did not understand the signs of the time.²⁰

No less than three Javanese Christians wrote about religious aspects of Islam. Soeseno wrote a series of articles in *Bentara Hindia* (1911) in which seven themes were discussed in a quiet, dialogical style. He compares Islam and Christianity regarding, among others things, the trinity, the position of angels, the fall of humankind and salvation. We need not be surprised that Christianity 'scores' better in his opinion, though Soeseno apologizes for his own shortcomings as an author: he acknowledges that he is still at the stage of a pupil. A few years later Kartawidjaja wrote a booklet in Dutch *From Qur'an to Bible* (1914). Boland and Farjon²¹ call it a fairly simple account of Islamic religious education. Kartawidjaja had been a *santri* himself, and wished to prove in a much more categorical way than Soeseno, the mistakes and failures of the Qur'an. Finally, in a monthly magazine for and by Christian teachers (*Oedyana Among Siswa*, 1913) Kalam Djanoeli asks frank questions about certain ideas within the Javanese Islamic mystical tradition. His remarks could have become a discussion not at the level of Qur'an texts, but of the *tasawuf*, the mystical teachings of Islam. Unfortunately, we do not know anything about a sequel.

There are several reasons why this openness towards Islam did not continue during the following decades. First, several Islamic movements started to emphasize their religious identity instead of a nationalistic one. Second, the policy of the colonial government made many Muslims suspicious. And finally, most missionaries still had serious hesitations about Islam. As has been

²⁰ Ratulangie 1913.

²¹ Boland and Farjon 1983:43.

stated by Th. Sumartana (1944–2003) in his dissertation (1993), even Hendrik Kraemer was not free from prejudice and his book *Agama Islam* (1928–1933) received hostile critiques from prominent Muslim leaders. Islam became a ‘missiological problem’ instead of a religion worth studying and discussing in an open way.²²

During the years before the Japanese occupation (1942–1945), hardly any contributions by indigenous Christians can be found on the topic of relations with tribal religions and with Hinduism. However, one source has until now not been investigated. In 1933 the Synod of the Christian Church of East Java sent three indigenous missionaries to Bali. They emphasized Javanese and Balinese culture in their teaching, using for instance Balinese *wayang* epics, the well-known biblical metaphor of living water (which reminded the people of Pandu’s second son Bima who went to the heart of the sea to find the water of life), and also Paulus Tosari’s booklet *Rasa Sedjati*. Especially about Tartib Eprajim it is said, that he “was not afraid to look for a point of contact between the noble forms of the Balinese-Javanese culture and the gospel. Anything, however alien to the gospel, was used in his preaching, in the conviction that the gospel would be strong enough to survive and bear fruit.”²³ Unfortunately, the extensive correspondence (in Javanese) between these three missionaries and Hendrik Kraemer has not yet become a subject of research. It might reveal significant details about the contextual approach of Balinese Hinduism by Tartib Eprajim and his colleagues during 1933–1936. Meanwhile in his doctoral thesis the Balinese church leader, I Wayan Mastra, takes up a very critical stance towards Kraemer’s doctrine of salvation.²⁴

We have yet to uncover extant sermon and catechetical notes made by indigenous teachers throughout the archipelago from which we might be able to grasp how the congregational leaders closest to the people rooted their faith in local culture. Many such manuscripts may well still be with families, though termites, the climate and lack of interest will have taken their toll.

Church life

Between 1910 and 1940 indigenous Protestant communities started to become (relatively) independent. Of course, they were influenced by the Indonesian nationalist movement, but also by developments in churches elsewhere in Asia. A visit by John Mott, secretary of the WSCF, in 1926, aroused much discussion. Also, reports from major conferences in Jerusalem (1928) and Tambaram (1938) made clear that Indonesian Christians were lagging behind! Therefore, we find a relatively large amount of material about church (and

²² Boland and Farjon 1983:37.

²³ Akkeren 1970:158.

²⁴ Dubuque 1970; Sudhiarsa 2001.

mission) history, about the position of indigenous pastors, church order, and confessions of faith during these years.

Several popular pamphlets and articles appeared in the field of local and regional church history. None of them can be called original. E.St. Harahap wrote about the origins of the congregation in Depok (south of Jakarta), about the way the gospel arrived on the island of Nias, and about the history of the church in North Sumatra. A. Latumahina, representative of a conservative, traditional stream in the churches of eastern Indonesia, published in 1926 a respectful biography of his teacher, missionary C.Ch.J. Schröder. The list could be completed with other examples.²⁵

From Sikka on the south coast of Central Flores, we find a mythic history in adat couplets, which includes the story of the coming of the church to the area 300 years previously.²⁶ This poetic-mythic history was written down in the late 1940s as the world of the local rajadom was about to be absorbed into newly independent Indonesia. Here we find not just the elements of a 'theological history' but the role religion plays in society—as interpreted by adat elders all of whom were also Catholic. It may well be that such poetic histories have also been recorded by people in other areas.

The question of church leadership was important; many indigenous assistant pastors felt frustrated because both the mission boards and the leadership of the *Protestantsche Kerk* were reluctant to give them full ministerial authority. Though early discussion at this point was carried out mainly by missionaries in Dutch language periodicals, later some Indonesians like R. Soedono Nimponeo and Alex Wenas, both having worked and studied in the Netherlands, raised their voices as well. T.S.G. Moelia in particular was able to bring the discussion to a higher level.

The drawing up of rules and regulations for local Protestant congregations and churches took much time. This had mostly been the work of missionaries, though in East and Central Java Indonesian Christians such as Drija Mestaka exerted influence on the process. In eastern Indonesia the situation was different. Here the Protestant (State) Church had to become an independent indigenous church. During the nineteen thirties Wenas, W.H. Tutuarima and others played an important role in the discussion on this point. One of the urgent issues was the question whether each *bangsa* (people, linguistic group) needed its own church in order to guarantee its ethnic-cultural identity. One can see a shift in their thinking. First they pleaded on behalf of regional nationalist churches, yet later they admitted that the church could never be restricted ethnically. Nevertheless, this issue remained important, also after Indonesia's independence.

²⁵ Hoekema 1997; Latumahina 1926.

²⁶ Lewis 1993, 1996a, 1996b, 2004; also Pareira 1992.

From the mid-1940s until 1965 the Catholic Church consolidated and expanded with renewed waves of cross-cultural missionaries arriving from overseas and a steady stream of Indonesian personnel from local seminaries and institutes—ordained pastors together with male and female religious. There was little time or inclination to do theology or listen to the theologising of the local people before the rupture of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965).

III. *Theology in Independent Indonesia*

In 1940 all contact with the Netherlands was broken off due to the German occupation of that country. As a consequence, the mission conferences and churches in Indonesia had abruptly to stand on their own feet. German nationals in Indonesia, including pastors, were interned and several of them lost their lives when the vessel *Van Imhoff*, which was taking them as prisoners to India (early 1942), was bombed. The years 1940–1942 thus brought an increasing independence to most churches. In so far as Protestant theologising continued, it concentrated mainly on problems of church structures, rules and regulations. Then when the Japanese occupied the Indies in 1942 almost all remaining western missionaries and pastors were interned. From that moment on the churches in Indonesia were completely on their own. Like all Indonesians they suffered severe hardship. Sometimes indigenous Christians were seen as identifiable enemies because of their ties with the Dutch. Out of sheer necessity, some church leaders collaborated with the Japanese while others showed a fighting spirit. Perhaps the collaborationist attitude among some also stemmed from adherence to “the doctrine of the two realms” which many Protestant missionaries had defended with their questionable interpretation of Romans 13. Except for a few short articles, very little written theological reflection survives from this time. “Yet, the experience of the churches during those years contributed much to their theological maturity,” according to T.B. Simatupang.²⁷ Ecumenical awareness was one of the fields where this theological maturity became visible. The Japanese occupiers forced the churches to collaborate. Some Japanese army chaplains, both Protestant and Catholic, brought to Indonesia by the occupiers, took a leading ‘bridging’ role. In spite of this, an ecumenical outlook was to continue after independence, though, unfortunately, efforts towards local and regional unity between Protestants and Catholics did not survive.

Whereas the period until 1940 showed the development of lay theology, soon after independence the first generation of professional Protestant theologians took centre stage. They graduated from the *Hoogere Theologische*

²⁷ Anderson 1976:99.

School in wartime and had immediately to take over leading positions in their churches and in theological education. Simon Marantika and Willem Johannes Rumambi (both members of the 1934 class) became outstanding ecumenical leaders. Pouw Boen Giok (also 1934), Johannes Abineno, Peter Latuihamallo and Andar Lumbantobing (all three from the 1939 class) were to become important theologians in Jakarta and North Sumatra, to mention just a few. Besides these, however, the necessary element of lay theology continued to broaden the horizon of Indonesian Christians, at least until the 1980s. In the Catholic Church lay politicians and a lay intelligentsia kept issues of society, culture change and justice on the church's agenda, although professional theology has been, until very recently, very much a clerical preserve.

A. *Theological education after 1945*

After the Japanese occupation the STOVIL schools in Tomohon, Ambon and Kupang continued as regular theological schools; in recent decades they have expanded to become universities. A theological school was opened in 1948 for the whole region of Eastern Indonesia, first in SoE (West Timor), then from 1954 in Makassar (South Sulawesi). This was meant to be the leading school in the region. However, several churches opened their own schools, which inadvertently led to an unhealthy rivalry at the cost of quality.

Relationships between the (Javanese speaking) churches in Central and East Java became increasingly cordial. After the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands (*Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*) joined the World Council of Churches, the Protestant school in Yogyakarta, Central Java, fused in 1961 with the *Bale Wiyata* in Malang to become *Sekolah Tinggi Theologia Duta Wacana* (Messenger of the Word). This is now one of the leading Protestant theological colleges in the country. But the *Bale Wiyata* continued as a lay training institute with an emphasis on local theological developments.

Many more theological institutes have opened their doors since then. A national survey carried out by the member churches of the DGI mentions 39 schools, which in one way or another educate church workers.²⁸ However, at the time of the survey only six of them offered a full academic curriculum. Some schools turned to the education of religious teachers in (government) high schools, while in recent decades other mid-level schools have raised their standards.

When evangelical Christians in Indonesia started to walk their own path in the 1960s even more schools were founded, most of them not linked to one or more particular church. Several of these evangelical institutions are

²⁸ Ukur and Cooley 1979.

large and function satisfactorily; they are well organized and are endorsed by many supporters in Indonesia and the western world. One of the first was the *Institut Injil Indonesia* in Batu near Malang. Most evangelical and Pentecostal training institutes are to be found on Java (Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Semarang, Surabaya, Malang), but they are also located elsewhere (Sumatra, South Sulawesi). By 2000 the total number of Protestant theological and bible institutes had increased to over two hundred.

The two major Catholic seminaries founded in the 1930s, namely Kentungan (Java) and Ledalero (Flores), have since been supplemented by seven more at Pematang Siantar (North Sumatra), Jakarta, Bandung, and Malang (Java), Pineleng (North Sulawesi), Kupang (West Timor), and Abepura (West Papua). All have recognised degree courses and most have post-graduate programmes.

The theological college *Fajar Timur* at Abepura opened its doors in 1967. It remains the only Catholic seminary in Indonesia training both ordained and lay pastors together, although the others are open to lay students. From the 1960s to the 1990s the curriculum was centred upon bible study and cultural anthropology rather than the traditional curriculum of (western) philosophy and theology.²⁹ Originally 60% of the curriculum for the degree stream was academic with 40% practical. However, mass migration to Papua from Java, the Moluccas and from the Catholic areas of Nusa Tenggara, has led to migrants and their descendants now forming around 60% of the population of Papua. Unsurprisingly, the Indonesianisation of diocesan leadership, the academic staff and the student body has led to *Fajar Timur* becoming more of a conventional seminary. During its creative period it produced many grassroots congregational leaders who did theology with their fellow Papuans, though there has been little written record of note.

Apart from *Fajar Timur*, Catholic catechists and other pastoral agents are educated at separate academies. In East Java Paul H. Janssen established a catechetical academy in Madiun in 1959, which in 1968 moved to Malang as *Institut Pastoral Indonesia*. Also in 1959 Jan van Roosmalen opened St. Paul's Catechetical Academy in Ruteng, Flores. In 1960 a catechetical centre and academy were set up in Yogyakarta, Central Java, with a national mandate from the Bishops' Conference. More recently catechetical academies or faculties have been established throughout the country. These institutes have produced thousands of schoolteachers, government administrators and lay pastors with first or second degrees. Though the content of their practical theology is conventional, their see-judge-act method of doing catechesis and

²⁹ Mercado 1989:21–32.

bible sharing with small groups has enabled Catholic communities to articulate their faith in the context of life issues. A grassroots theology is there, waiting to be recorded.

The seminary at Kentungan is now the Wedabhakti Theology Faculty of Sanata Dharma University, Yogyakarta. Since the 1970s the syllabus has been progressively updated. 'Theological projects' are undertaken whereby students immerse themselves in a social situation for three days a week during eight weeks while reflecting upon it theologically in an inter-disciplinary way. The process leads staff and students to rethink ecclesial praxis.³⁰ The faculty is productive and still contains many of the more prominent Catholic Indonesian theologians.

Founded in 1967, and moving from Yogyakarta to Jakarta the following year, the Driyarkara School of Philosophy undertakes fundamental reflections on humanity with a particular emphasis upon moral and political philosophy. Some 15% of its students are Muslim, many active in Muslim student organisations. From its beginnings Driyarkara has been an active partner in the public discourse of the country. The school has triggered more contextual theological thinking than the conventional seminaries.³¹ The largest seminary, that at Ledalero, is basically conventional, though with a substantial academic staff it now has some creative thinkers. Since the turn of the century its post-graduate programme has been contextualised. Meanwhile the much newer and smaller seminary at Pontianak, West Kalimantan, has embarked upon a pastoral approach whereby teachers and students do theology close to the Dayaks, Chinese, Malays and migrants of Kalimantan. The rector, William Chang, is a productive moral theologian and a regular contributor to Jakarta's largest circulation daily newspaper, *Kompas*.

It has to be said that only a few of the theological colleges/faculties whether Catholic, Protestant, or Pentecostal make a major contribution to an ongoing renewal of theological thinking. Creative theological thinking is found only at the more prominent schools. "If scholarly thinking has to be accepted as a main criterion, we have to admit that this terrific growth is not in balance with the limited growth of reflection and of important theological writings."³²

In most places, unfortunately, contact between ecumenically oriented and evangelical colleges is not intensive. At the beginning of the third millennium the position of Christians in Indonesian society has been weakened and therefore such contacts would seem to be opportune. Cooperation is increasing between several Catholic and Protestant theological institutions such as in Jakarta, Yogyakarta and Abepura.

³⁰ Banawiratma & Jacobs 1989:51–72.

³¹ Prior in Kwang-sun Suh 2004:288–303.

³² Aritonang in Suleman 1999:279.

Persetia and Atesea

The *Dewan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia* (DGI, Council of Churches in Indonesia) organised several consultations on theology (the first in 1952). As a result of the third consultation in 1961 the *Persekutuan Sekolah-Sekolah Theologia* (Persestia, later Persetia) was founded. In 2000 *Persetia* had 33 members. Over the years this network of theological colleges brought together colleagues from the respective academic disciplines to discuss curriculum matters and theological developments. Many such study-institutes have taken place (Contextual Exegesis 1980; Islamology 1982; Dogmatics 1983; Spiritual Direction 1984 & 83; Ecclesiology 1988; Teaching-Learning Workshop 1989 & 1993; Pastoral 1990; Communication 1991; Missiology 1992; Church History 1993). They have led to good and inspiring contacts between colleagues in different faculties/colleges and to a certain harmonisation of teaching material and a common basic curriculum. The government has recognised the undergraduate (1997) and post-graduate syllabi (2000) that *Persetia* drew up. It has published *Setia*, its house journal, since 1971 and numerous books written by its members. Nevertheless, until now most theological schools still follow their own pattern. As not many students move from one college to another, this remains feasible. However, one goal that has been achieved is the uniformity of academic titles. Also, *Persetia* has proved helpful in obtaining official government recognition for several theological schools and universities.

Another organisation, which has become a stimulus, is ATESEA, the *Association for Theological Education in Southeast Asia*, of which 19 Indonesian institutions are members. Founded in the 1960s, and first based in Singapore but now (2008) in Manila, this association has organised several international conferences and workshops. ATESEA has also encouraged its member schools to maintain certain minimum standards, to improve their libraries and to emphasize the Asian context of theologising. Most important it founded *The Southeast Asia Graduate School of Theology*, which enables young scholars to obtain Master's degrees and doctorates in a number of disciplines. To many Indonesian theologians SEAGST is an excellent means to do research in an Asian setting. Several dozen of them, male and female, have obtained their doctorates through this international graduate school. Unfortunately the Indonesian government has refused to recognize its Ph.D. degrees.

Catholic networks and ecumenical collaboration

Catholic biblical theologians have met biannually since the 1980s under the aegis of the *Lembaga Biblica Indonesia* (LBI), which body also coordinates grassroots practitioners of the biblical apostolate. Catholic philosophers and ethical thinkers also meet regularly. The Episcopal Commission for Seminaries has arranged occasional conferences for various academic fields. However, it was only in the early 1990s that a Theological Commission was established

by the Catholic Bishops' Conference (KWI) to assist the bishops in their theological reflection on current issues. The Commission, together with the Commission for Seminaries, launched an association of Catholic theologians which met for the first time in 1998, but has since apparently disappeared from the scene.

An ecumenical consultation on contextualising the theological curriculum was held in 2002 with participants from eight Protestant and Catholic faculties and college networks.³³ Fruit of this very first consultation between Protestant and Catholic faculties that have been attempting a more contextualised syllabus was brought to an Asian-wide consultation the following December.³⁴

B. *Publishing channels after independence*

In 1945 the *Lectuurcommissie* of the NIZB (*Nederlandsch-Indische Zendingsbond*) was not brought to life again. Instead, the *Badan Penerbit Kristen* (later called *BPK Gunung Mulia* after the first chairperson of the DGI, Sutan Todung Gunung Mulia) was founded in 1950. BPK planned to publish seventeen categories of books and booklets in *Bahasa Indonesia*. Among them are bible commentaries, books on doctrinal and ethical matters, church history, homiletics, hymnals and material by and about the World Council of Churches. Until he returned to the Netherlands to become secretary of the Netherlands Missionary Council in 1963, the noted missiologist Johannes Verkuyl was a tireless motor behind this venture.³⁵ He himself and J.L.Ch. Abineno were the most productive authors between 1950 and 1990. Of course many others could be mentioned as well. The 2003 catalogue of BPK mentions almost thirty titles by Abineno, and Verkuyl's general introduction to a series of studies in the field of ethics, which he wrote in Bahasa Indonesia, is still sold—in its fifteenth edition! BPK Gunung Mulia still serves as the unofficial publishing house of the PGI (Communion of Churches in Indonesia). From the start BPK Gunung Mulia cooperated with publishing efforts of the more evangelical *Overseas Missionary Fellowship* (OMF) in order to prevent wasting energy. Nevertheless, since the 1970s several evangelical publishing houses have appeared on the stage.

In the course of time BPK Gunung Mulia has also felt competition from other Protestant publishers like *Pustaka Sinar Harapan*, *Duta Wacana University Press* and *Interfidei* as well as several Catholic publishing houses such as *Kanisius*, *Nusa Indah* and *Gramedia*. Nowadays they often publish more challenging titles than BPK. One quite popular kind of book is that

³³ Souisa and Prior 2002.

³⁴ Kwang-sun Suh 2004.

³⁵ Aritonang 1996.

of the *Festschriften* and collections of papers from consultations. To many theologians, who are busy with their day-to-day teaching and ecclesial duties, writing an essay is more feasible than writing a monograph. Seldom do such collections of the reflections of many authors provide an accurate picture of important contemporary themes in church, society and theology.

The two Catholic printing presses in Java (*Kanisius* 1922)³⁶ and Flores (*Arnoldus-Nusa Indah* 1926) developed into professional publishers in the early 1970s. Both publish general books (linguistics, literature, farming, school books) as well as books of devotion and theology. While there is still a considerable amount of translated work published, there is also an increasing number of original works in the fields of biblical theology, ethics and missiology. *Kompas*, the Jakarta daily newspaper, has grown into a vast multi-media empire, which includes its own book imprint, *Kompas* and the educational imprint *Gramedia*. The latter is a major publisher of schoolbooks and popular literature. It also publishes works of philosophy and Christian theology in language accessible to the Muslim majority. Since the 1970s *Dioma* from Malang has published devotional and practical theology books. After the collapse of the Soeharto regime (1998) a host of new Catholic publishers has emerged, some the publishing arm of their respective theological faculty or college. Thus *Penerbit Ledalero* publishes around a dozen titles a year, about half original works from the seminary staff with a concentration in the fields of practical and political theology and human rights.

Periodicals and general newspapers

Hardly any of the old periodicals were resurrected after independence, the most notable exception being *Immanuel* (HKBP church of North Sumatra), which is a church paper for the general public. From 1952 onwards *Berita D.G.I.* (after 1972 called *Berita Oikoumene*) provided a forum for discussion and dialogue between the churches in which many prominent theologians participated. Especially during its first decades *Berita Oikoumene* reflected an optimistic vision of the world with an equal concern for the ecumenical unity of all Christians nationally. Many local and regional church papers followed with greater or lesser success. In this field of mass communication the Catholic Church has been far ahead of the Protestants.

A seedbed of national humanist culture is the bi-monthly journal *Basis*. Launched in 1951 by the Jesuits in Yogyakarta, its long-time editor was Dick Hartoko (mid-1950s to 1990s). Many of Indonesia's finest writers and poets got national attention through their early writings in its pages. Its editor since the mid-1990s has been Sindhunata, himself a writer of religious popular culture

³⁶ Y.B. Priyanahadi (ed.) 2003.

through a human rights and political lens (1988, 2000). Not strictly theological, *Basis* is excellent for reflections on cultural and ethical values.

Jakarta's largest circulation daily newspaper is *Kompas*, a name proposed by President Soekarno who gave permission for its launch in 1965. Catholics founded *Kompas* although the majority of its journalists are now Muslim. Many of the original journalists came from the Catholic weekly *Penabur* (1946–1969) such as Marcel Beding, a Florenese, who headed the foreign desk from the beginning until his retirement in 1994. A quality paper, *Kompas* gave critical support to Soeharto's New Order over the years (1967–1998) and since then to the more conservative elements of the Reformation Era. Frequently, theologians, Protestant as well as Catholic, make use of its famous 'page 4 comment.' Here Christian theology is written in terms understandable to the Muslim majority in the context of current social, cultural and political concerns. A number of the collections of Mangunwijaya began as page 4 comments (1978) and as essays in other general newspapers (1994), just as some of Eka Darmaputera's began as columns in *Sinar Harapan* (1982). Working among inter-faith literati and on public issues, these theologians are not tied to any narrow Christian vocabulary and reach a wide public of a mainly Muslim readership. Quite often Muslim scholars join in the discussions as well. Religion continues to be an important factor in Indonesian society.

Specifically theological journals appeared from the Protestant side in the 1950s. The theological school in Makassar published a monthly in 1952, which however closed the following year. An important initiative was *Penjadar*, a popular theological monthly in Central Java. Among others Harun Hadiwijono, later a systematic theologian at *Duta Wacana*, wrote several contributions over the years. *Penjadar* appeared between 1954 and 1965. The STT in Jakarta had its own magazine until 1968. *Setia*, published by Persetia, started publication shortly afterwards. And in 1974 the Research Department of the DGI set off to bring out *Peninjau* to stimulate research in the fields of religion, society and culture as the foreword in the first issue explains. *Peninjau* appeared for many years as an authoritative periodical before becoming somewhat more tame and timid. *Peninjau* was soon followed by other journals such as *Gema Duta Wacana* (1975), a periodical of the *Duta Wacana* theological school in Yogyakarta, which was a forum for both staff and students. In its later years GDW often had theme-oriented issues, such as those on narrative exegesis, church music, tradition and modernity within the churches, violence and democracy. More recent periodicals include *Forum Biblika* (1993), published by the Indonesian Bible Society (*Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia*), *Jurnal STT Intim Makasar* (1996–1999 and again from 2001 onward), *Stulos Theological Journal* (by the Calvinistic Bandung Theological Seminary, from ca 1992 on), *Proklamasi!* (a new periodical of the STT in Jakarta, since 2000) and *Penuntun* (1994) of the Church in West Java. The latter periodical also publishes special

issues about, for instance, gospel and culture, the church and the big city, the religious dimension of the conflict between Israel and the Arab world, and feminism. Finally, in 2000 and with much energy an enthusiast group of feminist theologians founded their own periodical *Sophia*, which goes some way to see that gender issues in church and theology receive more scholarly attention.

On the Catholic side *Rohani* has been published from Yogyakarta since 1954. It is a monthly of spiritual theology edited by the Jesuits, mainly for fellow religious. *Rohani* links the spiritual life with issues of culture and public ethics. *Rohani* celebrated its golden jubilee with the publication of a 495-page volume *Berenang di Arus Zaman*—swimming in the tide of the times: challenges to religious life in Indonesia today.³⁷ The Catechetical Centre in Yogyakarta has published *Umat Baru* since 1967 as a bi-monthly of practical theology. On a more academic level *Orientasi*, beginning as a theological journal in 1969, became an annual in 1987 and was re-baptised *Orientasi Baru*. Most editions are thematic with creative contributions from across the range of theological disciplines. Since 1984 the faculty of philosophy of Parahyangan University, Bandung, has published articles in philosophy and theology by the staff in its journal *Melintas*. With the end of the Soeharto regime a spate of new journals has appeared. *Discursus* is a bi-annual journal from the Driyarkara Academy in Jakarta since 2001 and focuses upon issues of public ethics and cultural values with articles in both Indonesian and English. The same year *Jurnal Ledalero* was launched from the seminary of the same name in Flores. Themes treated so far include the renewal of religion and the empowerment of the people; democracy; conflict and reconciliation, and land. *Pustaka Missionalia* from Candraditya Research Centre in Maumere, Flores, has published two volumes on the contextualising of the theological curriculum³⁸ and on the re-orientation needed by the Catholic Church in East Nusa Tenggara as it faces changing and uncertain times.³⁹

The greatest challenge to all theological periodicals is that of maintaining quality and continuity. Editors have to carry out their task on top of an already heavy working load. Unsurprisingly, publications can easily stagnate. In addition, the marketing and financing of these periodicals is fraught with difficulties.

Sanggar Prathivi, founded in 1966 in Jakarta, has produced films for television, video and more recently VCD/DVD. Many programmes are general, yet all have a Christian ethical slant. *Studio Audio-Visual* of the Jesuit-run catechetical centre in Yogyakarta (since moved to Kaliurang) has produced

³⁷ Sudiarja & Laksana 2003.

³⁸ Souisa and Prior 2002, 2003.

³⁹ Prior and Woi 2003; Embu and Woi 2004.

slides, videos and CDs with Indonesian motifs. It has invited young artists to produce a series of one hundred pictures on biblical themes, as well as artistic comments on contemporary issues in public life. It is involved in street dramas. Here is living inter-faith and human rights theology in artistic and dramatic form (more detail at the end of the chapter).

Indonesian theologians have shown a certain hesitancy to publish in international and western books and periodicals. Perhaps language difficulties play a role in this. However it has to be said that they published articles in Dutch periodicals, such as *De Opwekker* and *Eltheto* (both till 1942), as well as in *Wending*, *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* and *De Heerbaan*, continued as *Wereld en Zending* (after WW II). Also, the English-speaking *IRM*, *SEAJTh* and later *AJT* have served as platforms for their thinking. Banawiratma is perhaps the best-known Catholic contextual theologian through his occasional articles in *Voices from the Third World* (Bangalore) and *East Asian Pastoral Review* (Manila). On the Protestant side Gerrit Singgih quite often contributes to scholarly English language periodicals. We have to admit that apart from a number of doctoral dissertations and some articles in *Festschriften* and similar volumes, and contributions in the proceedings of international symposia, their international contributions have been rather scarce. Apparently the Indonesian context itself requires their full energy.

Finally, as noted above, since the time of independence, theological discourse in Indonesia has taken place not only through consultations and in theological periodicals and books, but also in general newspapers such as the leading Catholic daily *Kompas*, the Protestant *Sinar Harapan* (now *Suara Pembaruan*) and others.

C. *The cultural and political contexts of theology in Indonesia*

Introduction: political developments

The political situation of Indonesia has always been complicated. After prolonged and heated discussion the preamble of the provisional constitution of 1945 safeguarded the rights of adherents of the five approved religions: Islam, Protestantism, Roman-Catholicism, Hinduism and Buddhism without speaking of majority and minorities. Nevertheless, efforts to establish an Islamic State and a separate South Moluccan State destabilized the nation during the 1950s. Time and again discussion about the *Pancasila* has re-emerged. The Soekarno era faced difficult years of restricted ('guided') democracy from 1959 on (efforts to agree upon a definite constitution failed in that year) and collapsed in 1965/66 with a failed coup-d'état (unexplained satisfactorily until now). The coup was followed by one of the worst massacres of the twentieth century, in which the communists were the main losers and victims, the army the chief beneficiary. Soekarno's successor, General Soeharto, ruled the country with an

iron fist until 1998, when he was forced to step aside amidst a monetary crisis and widespread unrest. The first decade of Soeharto's government showed a certain degree of openness and encouragement of religious dialogue that led to cultural renewal. Until the mid-1980s his cabinets always contained a number of Christians in key economic and security posts. His politics soon embraced a *de facto* one party system; he himself set up and controlled the only three recognised political parties. His Golkar had supreme power and this led to all kinds of restrictions for non-governmental associations, including religious organizations. Limitations on freedom of speech and writing impacted upon Christians, though in general they continued to support Soeharto's regime until the end because at first the army held Islamic forces in check. From the mid-1980s, Soeharto courted Muslims and distanced himself from his Christian backers.

During the time-span covered here, the most important constant national value has been the *Pancasila*. Not only did this state symbol of unity influence theological thinking as to state-religion or state-church relations, but it had also an impact upon the attitude of Christians toward culture. Thinking about religious plurality has been determined heavily by the ideal of harmony, which seemed to be guaranteed by the *Pancasila*. However, Soeharto's efforts to use *Pancasila* as a civil religion (marked by Law No. 8 in 1985) dampened sympathy from both Christian (Protestant and Catholic alike) and Muslim organisations. In 1991 Soeharto established a Muslim think-tank, ICMI (*Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia*) under his protégé Habibie, to counteract the long-established 'Christian' social and economic think-tank CSIS (the 'Berkeley mafia'). Increasing religious and political unrest marked his last years. After his fall a time of political instability arose, which continues. While it is true that instability has allowed the growth of intellectual freedom, it has also spawned serious bloody upheavals in the Moluccas and Central Sulawesi where Muslims and Christians have fought each other. Struggles for independence have erupted in Aceh (the Northern tip of Sumatra) and Papua. Both the openness and the upheavals of post Soeharto times—the *zaman reformasi* (era of reformation)—have influenced theological reflection (see below). The final outcome of political social, religious and political debate in Indonesia is unpredictable. The army, ensconced in power for over 30 years under Soeharto, is already reasserting itself on the political stage. The first-ever direct Presidential election in 2004 saw the election of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, a retired army general, while other retired generals are active in the top echelons of both major secular political parties, Golkar and PDIP. The re-emergence of the army in politics may preface a return to more central control rather than greater regional autonomy as demanded by the forces of 'reformation' in 1998–1999.

The role of the DGI/PGI in theology

During the first decades after 1945 there was a great sense of cooperation between theological colleges, especially the STT in Jakarta, and the National Council of Churches (DGI). Almost all lecturers and professors at STT Jakarta played a role within DGI. This nurtured a valuable cross-fertilization. DGI profited from the input of individual theologians while theological education was greatly influenced by ideas and trends from within the DGI, the CCA and the WCC. Though there is still a strong common ground between the ecumenical movement and theological colleges, in the course of time the voices of individual theologians became more articulate.

Nevertheless DGI, later renamed PGI, has played an important, stimulating and uniting role here. This it did in several ways. First of all by organising and facilitating seminars and conferences; secondly by establishing an Institute for Research and Church Development (*Lembaga Penelitian dan Studi* or LPS, later renamed *Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengembangan* or LITBANG) and other committees and working groups such as the *Institut Oikumene Indonesia*; and finally by a number of public statements, often together with the Catholic Bishops' Conference, MAWI (later renamed KWI). It is not possible to mention here all the areas where DGI/PGI was active in this respect, but below we give a few examples which are partly derived from a commemorative volume in which 50 years of service by the PGI has been evaluated.⁴⁰ The sub-title, "Reconciliation on behalf of Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation" is a clear reference to themes, which have been important within circles of the World Council of Churches in recent decades. Often DGI/PGI felt enriched and stimulated by the work of the WCC. The themes of the assemblies of DGI/PGI clearly indicate this, but also, for instance, those of several big conferences about church and society. The first of these latter conferences was held in Sukabumi in 1962; its theme was *Tugas Kristen dalam Revolusi* (The role of Christians in the revolution). Here a strong plea was given to adopt an ecumenical attitude towards the Indonesian revolution. Several parallels were seen between this revolution and the revolution which Jesus had initiated, and therefore Christians were urged to give a positive contribution to nation building during this revolutionary age. T.B. Simatupang, who was surely the brains and main incubator of these ideas, used the words "constructive, creative, realistic and critical" which four words (*tetra kata*) later became an often quoted, widely approved and famous ecumenical formula within DGI. Simatupang was a former army chief-of-staff who in 1959, at the age of 39, was removed from his duties by President Soekarno. Since then Simatupang dedicated his life to church, ecumenism and society. Christian theology is most

⁴⁰ Aritonang (ed.) 2000.

realistic about power, according to Simatupang, because Christianity has a deep knowledge of the serious effects of the misuse of power. He was perhaps the most authoritative Protestant leader until his death in 1990. He was an eloquent mediator between PGI and political leaders, as well as an important member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches.

Mission and unity, of course, were important fields, which in the beginning aroused much enthusiasm within DGI. Whereas ‘mission’ lost its basic impetus during the 1970s (‘dialogue’ became the keyword within ecumenical circles, whereas ‘mission’ was seen as the property of the increasing group of evangelical churches), ‘unity’ remained a most urgent issue, partly because of outside pressure (renaissance of Islam), partly because Indonesian churches always tended towards harmony and never made their confessional identity exclusive and absolute. Therefore, it was accepted as necessary that all Christians unite in order to give a clear and strong signal towards people of other living faiths. The DGI/PGI invested much energy in taking successive steps towards a ‘visible’, or at least an organisational unity. Ecumenical theology in many theological schools still carries this hallmark.

Below we will meet more fields where the DGI/PGI discussions left its traces: *Pancasila*, culture, human rights and other religions. Here we want to mention only the basic document, or confession, of DGI/PGI. On behalf of the DGI Assembly of Makassar (1967) a first concept of the common understanding of the faith of the member churches (*Pemahaman Iman Bersama*) was discussed. This confession has 12 articles including items on ministry, discipleship, Christian hope (resurrection) and the civil authorities. However, the assembly did not achieve a consensus on the text. The Tenth Assembly of the PGI in Ambon, 1984, accepted a second, quite different version, where the change was made from *Dewan* (Council) to *Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja* (Communion of Churches). The Tenth Assembly also accepted five documents on the unity of the church (*Lima Dokumen Keesaan Gereja* or LDKG) (PGI, 1985), one of them being the *Pemahaman Bersama Iman Kristen*. In seven articles this document provides a systematic overview: God, creation, human-kind, redemption, church, the Kingdom of God and new life, and finally the bible. In this confession relations to human powers, tradition (*adat*), culture, science and technology are mentioned in the paragraph on redemption, “In expectation of the realisation of God’s salvific plan, the faithful are called to pray and be concerned that all forms of power [...] which influence the life of society, are used for the well-being of everyone and are accountable to God, the source of all power...”⁴¹ In this statement there is no direct reference to the *Pancasila*. Yet, after a lengthy discussion, the principles of the connection

⁴¹ Van den End 1986:148.

between the church and the *Pancasila* were laid down in the *Tata Dasar* (Rules and By-laws) where a subtle differentiation was made: the PGI *berdasarkan pada Yesus Kristus...* (the PGI is *founded* upon Jesus Christ, Lord and Saviour, according to God's Word in the bible... Chapter II, paragraph 3), and the PGI *mengamalkan dan melestarikan Pancasila sebagai satu-satunya asas* (the PGI practises and preserves the *Pancasila* as its sole principle in the social, national and political life of Indonesia, Chapter III, paragraph 5). The Catholic Bishops' Conference made a similar distinction stating that it accepted the *Pancasila* as its sole principle "in our societal and national life (only)" (*bermasyarakat dan bernegara*). This distinction mollified Christian feelings but achieved the aim of the Soeharto government: the churches now formally accepted the government's interpretation and implementation of the *Pancasila*.

In times of crisis, and on occasions like Christmas and Easter, it has been felt important to publish a public statement. Joint Christmas statements with MAWI/KWI have been made since 1973. Earlier statements, resolutions and appeals show a broad range of topics: freedom of religion (1953 and again 1978); participation in general elections; the political and military confrontation with Malaysia (1964); the attempted coup-d'état of 1st October 1965; the draft of the new marriage laws (together with MAWI, 1973). During the last years of Soeharto's regime we also find appeals concerning the violation of human rights in East Timor (and again, on the independence of Timor Leste in 1999), and Papua (such as the Timika incident in 1995). After Soeharto's forced resignation there were statements about the mass rape of Indonesian women of Chinese descent (1998) and the bombing of the Istiqlal mosque in Jakarta (1999), and several appeals concerning the ethnic/religious tragedy in the Moluccas, Halmahera and Central Sulawesi (1999, 2000). Such statements do not always show a clear theological position. Sometimes DGI/PGI seemed overzealous in taking the government's position or choosing the side of the Christian minority. Here and elsewhere we see that the context co-shapes the theological and ecclesiological position of PGI.

MAWI/KWI and theological reflection in the public sphere

Not a great deal of the theological thinking of the Catholic Bishops' Conference (MAWI/ KWI) is worthy of note and the role of the conference in public life has been somewhat chequered. The bishops first met in 1924 but since then only sporadically until 1960 when they made their first public statement. Only in 1970 was it decided to meet annually. When Joop Beek SJ ran the lay apostolate office of MAWI during and immediately after the events of 1st October 1965 (*Gestok*), he galvanised church organisations and movements to topple Soekarno and then gave unreserved support to General Soeharto, working closely all the time with Ali Murtopo and the newly-reconstituted Golkar. For the Jesuit Beek, and many other Christians, the army would save

the country from communism. No statements were made by MAWI on the nation-wide massacre (October 1965–March 1966) either due to moral cowardice or perhaps because this use of violence was seen as legitimate, or even a good thing, as claimed by Joop Beek at the time. Later that year MAWI backed the government's socio-economic development programme (October 1966). Even the 'courageous' note on birth control published by MAWI in October 1968 on the encyclical *Humanae vitae* can be read as a siding with government policy rather than as a rejection of a more strict interpretation of papal teaching. Despite rumblings from certain theologians, pastors and elements in the Catholic intelligentsia, the statements of MAWI/KWI remained fairly innocuous until 1997. See for instance, "Mengenai Beberapa Masalah Penting di Tanah Air," "Tentang Problema Minoritas," and "Pernyataan Dewap Pleno tentang Tapol" (1969); also statements on the general elections of 1971, 1977, 1981 and 1987 and on the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili (14 and 28 November 1991). Most theological considerations during this period were concerned with inner-church affairs such as ongoing catechetical and liturgical renewal (see below).

Since 1971 KWI has published its activities, reports and official statements, including theological reflections on current issues, in its quarterly journal *Spektrum*. The first issue consists of *Pedoman Kerja Umat Katolik Indonesia*, a comprehensive guide to the role of Catholics in development drafted by Jan Riberu (afterwards published as a separate booklet). The document accepts the social-political and economic frame of Soeharto's New Order. An updated and greatly expanded version was drawn up by Bernhard Mardiatmadja and Piet Go and was launched during the Jubilee assembly of bishops and people in Bogor in 2000. Other statements on social engagement were published in 1977 and 1992.

The theological advisor to MAWI/KWI from 1965 to 1999 was Robert Hardawiryana. Also on the Theological Advisory Commission of the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences (FABC), Hardawiryana introduced the Indonesian Conference to FABC's see-judge-act methodology and to the central concerns of the Asian Bishops' Federation: a new way of being church through the threefold dialogue with other faith traditions, local cultures, and with the poor. After over 30 years with MAWI/KWI Hardawiryana was replaced by Piet Go O.Carm. in 1999.

As Soeharto distanced himself from his former Christian backers, corruption became systemic and the national debt unsupportable, KWI finally took up a modestly prophetic role. In its 1997 pastoral letter *Keprihatinan dan Harapan* (Concern and Hope) for the first time the Conference analysed the growing corruption in public life. Mangunwijaya and Franz Magnis-Suseno were among the drafters of this letter. KWI was the first prominent public body to make such a public analysis. The largest Islamic mass movement,

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), printed and distributed thousands of copies among its members. When Soeharto fell the following year and the uncertain, transitory period—*era reformasi*—showed a dramatic increase in corruption, KWI published a series of letters and pastoral notes. These brief documents follow the flow of the ‘pastoral cycle’ describing the situation that has to be faced which is then analysed first with the help of the social sciences and then in the light of faith, and finally concluding with practical recommendations.

Two Easter pastoral letters were entitled *Bangkit dan Tegak dalam Harapan* (“Arise and Stand Erect in Hope,” 1999) and *Tekun dan Bertahan dalam Harapan* (“Diligent and Holding Out in Hope,” 2001). Here is a theology of hope in the face of a deteriorating national situation. Then two years running the bishops published a *Nota Pastoral*—“Social Justice for All” (2003) and “Public Civility: Towards a New National Habitus” (2004). While the 2003 note analysed the situation through the prism of political ethics, the 2004 note made a cultural-ethical analysis. With this lens it examined issues of corruption, violence and ecological devastation. It described the state, economic society and civil society as *tiga poros kekuatan*, three axes of society. KWI acknowledged its own complicity over the years in the deteriorating situation, without however stating what its complicity was. It continued, “One of our strengths is the Jesus of the Beatitudes... The culture of ‘the strongest always wins’ must be countered with ‘the small, the weak, the poor and the marginalised come first’... The culture of worshiping money must be countered with announcing the God of solidarity, love and compassion... The culture of the end justifies the means must be countered by raising awareness within the church itself of the culture of peace (dialogue, collaboration, deliberation, mutual respect), a participatory church which urges the people to be pro-active in the humanist dialogue in order to achieve community which can survive tribulation.” With these statements of 1997–2004, and after decades of de facto cooption by the regime, KWI seems to be taking up its responsibility to participate in a national discourse on the roots of the national crisis.

Christian theologians on the state

During Soekarno’s presidency many Christians joined Christian political parties such as *Parkindo* (Protestant) and the *Partai Katolik*. Others preferred secular socialist or nationalist parties. Several church leaders and theologians played major roles in national politics such as Archbishop Soegijapranata on the Catholic side and Moelia, Johannes Leimena, A.M. Tambunan and Peter Latuihamallo from the Protestant Church. In general an optimistic mood dominated theological reflection. It was a time of transition for Christians, though perhaps not many were aware of this. They still had an historic lead in education and opportunity over most Muslims and were over-represented in parliament, government, government agencies and cultural institutions as

well as in business firms. The theological debate on church and society often ran parallel to discussions in society at large. No wonder that Leimena, physician, church leader, and minister in several cabinets under Soekarno, could state in an opening address to the *Sidang Raya DGI* (the General Assembly of the DGI) in 1964, that “the aims of the churches in fact are parallel to the aims of the state and the country.”⁴² Maybe Leimena was influenced by Karl Barth’s ideas about *Christengemeinde und Bürgergemeinde*. In any case, at the inaugural meeting of DGI in 1950, Leimena had also given an address on *Gereja dan Negara* (church and state). At that time the unity of the nation was menaced by the proclamation of the *Republik Maluku Selatan*.⁴³ In 1964 tensions between nationalists, communists and Islamic parties endangered the state. The church aimed at (ecumenical) unity while in a parallel way the nation had aimed at unity since 1928, unity in diversity: *bhinneka tunggal ika*. Though the amiable and tactful Leimena certainly aimed at harmony, his 1964 speech roused some discussion at that time: were his words to be interpreted in a social-political sense and was he speaking as a government official, or was he making a theological-ecumenical statement by a lay theologian?

Fifteen years later Latuihamallo, who for many years taught ethics at the STT in Jakarta, and who had been a member of parliament himself, acknowledged that the churches during the 1960s had no clear ecumenical vision as to the relationship between church and state. However, in his opinion Leimena’s words had to be understood as a critique against the old State Church idea (the *Partai Kristen*), which was still alive among many Christians! Therefore, at the end of the first period of Soeharto’s regime, when a relative openness existed, Latuihamallo saw the role of the church as one of critical solidarity with the state in Indonesia. “...the church is a dynamic and creative partner of the state, a partner who feels responsible in renewing the nation, the society and the world. Therefore, in order to improve the situation of society and guarantee a future, the church is obliged to participate in the building of the nation and the state.”⁴⁴ “Nation-building” was one of the most frequently used notions in Protestant theology during that time. In the article quoted above, Latuihamallo uses the above mentioned and often quoted key words by T.B. Simatupang.

Between 1950 and 1980 the central ideology to which Christians clung was the above mentioned *Pancasila*, the five pillars of the national identity, the most influential being the first pillar: Indonesia is built upon “Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa.” That term has been translated in many ways, like “Divine

⁴² Quoted by P.D. Latuihamallo 1980:216–223.

⁴³ See *Notulen Pembentukan DGI* and Sumartana in: Wahono 1984:235–260.

⁴⁴ Latuihamallo 1980:221.

Omnipotence”⁴⁵ or “The One Lordship.”⁴⁶ A strictly theological discussion about the interpretation of “Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa” has been evaded by Indonesian theologians, and many would agree that it is an astute political formula rather than a religious formulation. Also, their hesitancy to debate this first pillar may have to do with their reluctance at that time to define the theological value of other religions. To develop a *theologia religionum* while being in a minority position could make Christians vulnerable, no matter what the outcome of such an effort might be! So, it is better not to use an ‘either—or’ approach here. However, many Christians used the *Pancasila* in a practical sense, to defend the *status quo* in which all religions have the same rights. To them the *Pancasila* stemmed the tide demanding an eventual Islamic State, and guaranteed a maximum of religious tolerance. Walter Bonar Sidjabat’s dissertation about *Religious Tolerance and the Christian Faith* (1960, published 1965) and Eka Darmaputera’s dissertation *Pancasila and the Search for Identity and Modernity in Indonesian Society* (1982, English publication 1988) both agree on this point. The strong preference for the *Pancasila* by many others such as T.B. Simatupang (1984) and John Titaley (1991) also had a similar practical aim. According to Darmaputera, the *Pancasila* is mainly an “operating ideology. It is operating because it reflects, or, to be more exact, embodies the cultural values orientation of the Indonesian people.”⁴⁷

Catholic concerns revolved around issues of freedom of religion and the moral basis of society. Unsurprisingly these issues are first found in the writings of a philosopher such as Nicolaus Driyarkara, (1913–1967) before being taken up by a moral theologian. Indeed, Driyarkara laid the groundwork for the later growth of contextual theologies in the Indonesian Catholic Church. His ten books concern the philosophy of the person, social ethics and the development of the *Pancasila* as a framework for living in a multi-cultural and multi-religious society. Teaching philosophy during the turbulent 1950s and 1960s, he was concerned with the ethics of power and the problem of freedom and governance.⁴⁸ Using Javanese, Greek and modern European philosophies, he argued for human responsibility and the human ability to arrange and humanise the system of power in order to live as *homo homini socius*.⁴⁹ At a time when slogans defined public truth, Driyarkara’s social ethics gave the lie to the ideologisation of power that justifies ‘false truths’.⁵⁰ When politics was promoting unthinking loyalty, he spoke of the dignity of human persons as conscious actors in their own development. When schooling was becoming

⁴⁵ Sidjabat 1965.

⁴⁶ Darmaputera 1982.

⁴⁷ Darmaputera 1988:191.

⁴⁸ Driyarkara 1980a.

⁴⁹ Driyarkara 1980b.

⁵⁰ Driyarkara 1980c.

increasingly ideological, he developed a philosophy of education as a process of humanisation.⁵¹ A deep, serene thinker Driyarkara allowed himself to be appointed to public bodies and in the last years of his life became a quiet but nimble supporter of the student movement of 1965–1966.

However, in the 1980s the Soeharto administration began to expand the role of *Pancasila* to become a sort of *civil religion* with weekly ceremonies for all government employees, compulsory courses on *Pancasila* ethics in all schools, and the obligation for all non-government organizations including religious bodies, to accept the *Pancasila* ideology as *asas tunggal*, their sole foundation. While both ecumenical Protestants and Catholics found formulas that avoided theological problems (see above), in practice the government of Soeharto gained even more control over institutional religious bodies.

A number of Catholic moral theologians wrote doctoral theses on the *Pancasila*. One of the more perceptive is that of William Chang (published 1997). Chang makes a comparison between the concept of human dignity in the *Pancasila*, which is embedded in the religious cultures of Indonesia and the parallel concept in papal and conciliar social doctrine. With the demise of the Soeharto regime in 1998 and the outbreak of ethnic and religious conflict, which threatened the very existence of the unitary state, Chang argued for the acknowledgement of basic moral principles and values in public life based on the dignity of the human person.⁵² He thus sees the *Pancasila* as the one bulwark against balkanisation. Chang's moral theology of the dignity of the human person has found its way into the two 'Pastoral Notes' of KWI of 2003 and 2004. The publication of these notes triggered public discussion among both Christians and Muslims (see above).

Chang is not alone in interpreting the fall of Soeharto as an opportunity to restore the *Pancasila* to its original form and its role as a firm guarantee of religious and ethnic harmony. In *Gereja dan negara: hubungan Gereja Katolik Indonesia dengan negara Pancasila* Y. Eko Budi Susilo takes a similar line (2002). However, some of these theologians and church leaders run the danger of satisfying themselves with an unstable *status quo* and of withdrawing from the crucial public debate with a resurgent Islam and revitalised local cultures. They remain introverted and prefer the fetters of a minority complex. Partly, this has to do with the increasing impact of both charismatic and evangelical theology and practice, and partly to the marginalisation of Christians from public life.

However, public discourse in the post-Soeharto period (commonly called *zaman reformasi*, the era of reformation) has gone beyond this position. Younger theologians, such as the late Th. Sumartana, Martin Lukito Sinaga and

⁵¹ Driyarkara 1980d.

⁵² Chang 2002.

Zakaria J. Ngelow, pleaded for an open discussion about the eventual effects of a possible Islamic State. "With such a minority complex it is impossible to develop a productive dialogue with other groups, especially with Muslims." According to Sumartana, one of the more eloquent advocates of an open inter-religious dialogue, the shadow of a futile and marginalized life causes the Christian community to suffer from political suspicion regarding the Muslim community as a whole.⁵³ These theologians are willing to discuss the concept of a *civil society* with outstanding Muslims like Nurcholish Madjid, whose ideal is an interpretation of civil society as *masyarakat Madani*, an open, righteous and democratic society in which Muslim values will be maintained.⁵⁴ We should note that the word *Madani* is sometimes linked with *madinah*, city (and with Medina), and sometimes with *madaniyah*, *peradaban*, civilization. For that reason PGI has been reluctant to use the concept of *masyarakat Madani* and prefers to speak about *masyarakat sipil* or *masyarakat warga*, direct translations of *civil society*.⁵⁵

Like other Catholic thinkers (Driyarkara, Chang), the Jesuit moral philosopher Magnis-Suseno (born 1936) is concerned with the moral values that lie behind social policy. Professor of ethics at Driyarkara Institute of Philosophy since 1969, he has for over forty years undertaken a living dialogue between the European and the *abangan* or popular Javanese ethical traditions. Without deciding which is the more legitimate, Magnis-Suseno compares the western philosophy of life (an ethics of obligation) with Javanese practical wisdom (an ethics of accommodation). In Javanese cosmic culture whoever/whatever is in their appropriate place is ethical. Human beings, and indeed everything else, need to accommodate themselves to the cosmic order, accepting their assigned place (1981/84/97). Magnis-Suseno appreciates this practical wisdom in small-scale society, but is scathing about its manipulation by the national elite, especially during the Soeharto regime (1986).

This understanding of Javanese culture and its values has informed Magnis-Suseno's political philosophy and ethical theology and his involvement in the *reformasi* of 1997–1999. He has been a key participant in ongoing discussions with Indonesia's Muslim and Christian intelligentsia. He has maintained close contacts with the leaders of both the moderate village-based *Nahdlatul Ulama* and the more exclusivist-modernist *Muhammadiyah* Islamic movements. His ethical writings can be described as both trans-denominational and trans-religious (e.g. 1981) in contrast to his contextual ethical theology, which is written in a clearly Catholic idiom (e.g. 1993). In more than 20 books and

⁵³ In Suleeman *et alii* 1999:194–207; also 2001:20–46.

⁵⁴ Ngelow 1999:27–43.

⁵⁵ PGI 2000:310.

over one hundred articles, Magnis-Suseno has both deepened and broadened the work begun by Driyarkara.

Moderate Catholic liberationists

A few major Catholic thinkers and activists have worked and written on social ethics, human rights and the liberation of the marginalised. The most prominent of these is Yusuf Bilyarta Mangunwijaya (1929–1999). Like so many of Indonesia's more creative theological thinkers Mangun was not a professional theologian. He was an architect (Aachen, 1966) whose designs combine traditional Javanese feeling with contemporary technical skills. From 1968 onwards Mangunwijaya wrote a regular column in the Jakarta daily *Kompas* and subsequently in many newspapers and journals. He was thoroughly versed in both popular and classic Javanese culture. Mangun was a mystic-poet yet also an engineer at home with technology. Throughout his active life he also quietly worked away at alternative forms of primary education. A personal friend of the poor, he was feared but consulted by both church and government officials. In 1981 he published *Burung-burung Manyar*, one of eleven novels, soon recognised as a contemporary classic. Set in revolutionary times, it analyses the 'mental war' of the protagonists who make conscious (conscience) and unconscious (cultural) choices. As with most of his novels, *Burung-burung Manyar* is an historical work of fiction where he re-reads Indonesian history from the perspective of the survivor-victim. His protagonists are often rural and usually women: the unacknowledged yet strongest members of society who hand down the deepest human values. In these ways, though clearly not in the same league, Mangun's novels parallel those of Pramoedya Ananta Toer (died 2006), Indonesia's greatest novelist. Mangun's 'trans-religious' values and inter-faith theology is written free of Christian terminology and is largely found in his 11 novels and 28 books of non-fiction. When the Soeharto regime prohibited talk of liberation theology, Mangunwijaya was perhaps the first Catholic not just to support it but develop his own version of *teologi pemerdekaan*.⁵⁶

Just four works can be called theological in a stricter sense. The first two are *Ragawidya* (the religiosity of ordinary everyday happenings, 1975) and *Panca Pramana* (a manual on collaborative lay leadership of the congregation as a communion of small communities 1982a, 2000). Then there are two books published posthumously: *Memuliakan Allah, Mengangkat Manusia* (on being rooted in religious-cultural values while open to the scientific and technological advances of the post-modern world, 1999a); and *Gereja Diaspora* (1999b). This

⁵⁶ Mangunwijaya 1982b, 1999c.

230-page work, so far the only contextual ecclesiology written by a Catholic Indonesian, was originally published as a series of articles in *Mingguan Hidup* with hardly a footnote or reference. In it Mangun outlines how and why the Indonesian Catholic Church has come to be enclosed in upon itself, busy with its own devotions (a ghetto church) rather than taking up the challenge of becoming a widely scattered network of small but prophetically-inspired ecclesial communities (a diaspora church). Here there is both theological vision and practical strategy. *Gereja Diaspora* has been used for ongoing discussion in basic communities, seminars and workshops, particularly in Central Java. It is too soon to say whether Mangun's analysis of the situation of the church in Indonesian society will be generally accepted or how far his life and writings have helped move the Catholic community into becoming a fragile yet dynamic and prophetic presence. In a way Mangun was 'owned' by a group larger than his own church, and we have to admit that he was unequalled on the Protestant side.

One of many people inspired by Mangunwijaya to become actively engaged in moderately liberationist theology is Agustina Nunuk Prasetyo Murniati (born 1943). Ibu Nunuk came late to theology (1982–1984) having studied economics and sociology and taught these subjects for 20 years previously. Her one constant has been concern for women and human rights. From 1976 onwards Ibu Nunuk no longer worked with internal church commissions but rather with non-governmental organisations and inter-faith networks. In 1995 she published a slim volume on violence towards women, including violence in the church. Feminist theology has provided a theoretical frame for her empowerment work. She maintains that before theology can liberate, the bible and church dogma have to be liberated from masculine culture and from narrow androcentric interpretations. Unlike many feminist theologians in the West, Ibu Nunuk supports both human rights and natural family planning, which she roots in indigenous spirituality, in the effectiveness of herbal contraceptives and in her opposition to the hegemony of capitalist pharmaceutical TNCs. More recently Ibu Nunuk has been involved in the Catholic network *Ecclesia of Women in Asia* (EWA) and read papers at EWA's inaugural Bangkok meeting (2002) and hosted the subsequent conference in Yogyakarta (2004). Catholic Indonesian women have not been theologically articulate to date; even the various sisterhoods have only recently sent members for further education in theological disciplines apart from catechetics. If a Catholic women's theological network is to emerge, then it would almost certainly be outside most ecclesial structures and, like Ibu Nunuk, work from non-theological academic positions and/or with NGOs.

Theology and socio-cultural contexts

Culture in Indonesia has both a national aspect and many regional facets. Between these there is a constant fertile tension, similar to the tension between national identity and politics on the one hand, and regional identities and political interests on the other. During the first decades of independence, the emphasis on national culture and identity prevailed, though regional secession movements (such as RMS and Darul Islam) caused trouble. Regional voices became stronger after Indonesia had successfully claimed Papua as an integral part of the country and after it had invaded and occupied East Timor (1975–1999).

Christian theology before the Japanese occupation had strongly emphasised regional cultures, partly because there was not yet a strong sense of a national culture (except the struggle for a unifying national language, *Bahasa Indonesia*), partly because this regional emphasis seemed to be in the interest of evangelisation, especially as efforts to bring the gospel to predominantly Muslim areas did not bring many results. Not only the culture of the Batak country of North Sumatra, but also the cultures of South and Central Sulawesi, of Central and East Java, Bali, East Nusa Tenggara, the Moluccas and Papua became the subject of serious research by mission- or church-related scholars.

However, after 1945 the first need was for a truly national identity. Hence the decision to start a publishing house for theological material in *Bahasa Indonesia*, to produce a bible translation in the national language (later approved by the Catholic Church) and to stimulate the writing and composing of church hymns in that language. Generally speaking Catholics have contributed more to the promotion of national culture than Protestants through periodicals, newspapers and the work of novelists, poets and film directors. For instance, Gregory Djaduk Ferianto (born 1964) has composed and produced multi-media theatrical productions drawing together the best in traditional and contemporary culture: orchestral accompaniment, song, poetry, declamation, dialogue, dance, acting and lighting effects. Possibly the Catholic sacramental tradition is more open to culture and contextualisation than the Protestant tradition with its focus upon the word and its compartmentalisation into regional churches.

Protestant theology, therefore, did not pay much attention to the enhancement of, and reflection on, national culture. The extensive national self-study by Protestant churches in Indonesia which has been published in 1979 under the title *Jerih dan Juang* (Effort and Struggle) has an extensive paragraph about church and culture which is almost entirely dedicated to problems with and the challenges of adat: birth, marriage, funerals etc.⁵⁷ A briefer paragraph

⁵⁷ Ukur & Cooley 1979:307–337.

deals with social and cultural changes in Indonesia, among others because of rapid urbanization, which causes a serious shaking of traditional norms and values.⁵⁸ The report admits that in general the churches “are not yet fully prepared to take upon themselves the calling in socio-cultural life. The reason is that the churches are still too busy with internal and external matters (such as the inter-church relationships), and therefore have too little time, too few experts and insufficient funds to tackle this complex problem of social and cultural change.”⁵⁹

Fortunately the period after 1980 shows a certain improvement in this field. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, Eka Darmaputera, the unrivalled champion in the field of church and culture, sees the *Pancasila* as a guarantee of a harmonious balance between the cultural layers of the modern Indonesian, specifically of Javanese population: the culture of the earliest people, a Hindu layer which arrived from India, then Muslim and finally western influences. According to Darmaputera, a Chinese-Indonesian, the situation on Java can be seen as a paradigm for the whole of Indonesia. Recently, however, this Java-centrism has been brought up for renewed discussion and new undogmatic approaches to the *Pancasila* have emerged.

A few dissertations deal with the pastoral problems of urban congregations where different norms and values have become standard. This means that the cultural and theological problems of urbanization are now being recognized. Also, in the 1980s Duta Wacana's periodical *Gema* devoted special issues to themes such as ‘church and the social problem’, ‘business ethics’ and ‘the environment’ which show a broadening horizon. Yogyakarta is probably the place where theology is most open to culture, renewal and social involvement during the 1970s and 1980s. These lines have continued. Eka Darmaputera published a popular work on business ethics and later studies deal with environmental problems (Robert Borrong 1999, a rewrite of his dissertation at Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, 2005) and the global economy (Robert Setio and others).

Finally in 1993 Persetia organised a seminar for church historians on “The Encounter of the Church in Indonesia with its Changing World”⁶⁰ in which the confrontation of the churches with other religions, sciences, the socio-political realities and culture are discussed. Here is much work to be done by churches and theological institutions. Two examples of questions raised at that occasion may serve as an illustration,

⁵⁸ Ukur & Cooley 1979:338–350.

⁵⁹ Ukur & Cooley 1979:349.

⁶⁰ Hartono 1995.

Will modernization integrate or annihilate the role of religion and can a positive role of religion vis-à-vis modernization be seen, so as to accept modernization as something, which is not alien? (p. 86),

and,

Can it be said that until now the church has failed to give guidance to science, so that the sciences shatter humankind (e.g. weapons). Does this happen because science has set itself free from the church (in the West)? Is there no religious education any more in the West, which could prevent the knowledge of making mass destructive weapons? (p. 128).

At the same seminar Gerrit Singgih mentioned H. Richard Niebuhr's approaches to culture, and made a plea for Niebuhr's choice of the gospel as transforming culture, a position, which had also been taken by J. Verkuyl and others such as S.A.E. Nababan (then General Secretary of the PGI) during the 1960s and 1970s. Recently a younger theologian, Julianus Mojau, expressed doubts as to this model in which the Reign of God was seen as a transformative power within the whole of society, "Apparently the appeal for social transformation by this model, with a functional approach à la Weber's modernisation, has completely failed. Modernisation by means of propagating national development as the implementation of the *Pancasila* ideology is nothing but political rhetoric by the prevailing regime of *Orde Baru* [Soeharto's New order]." Mojau is in favour of a pluralistic, transformative, reconciling model. We must not forget, however, that he writes in a post *Orde Baru* time, the period of *Reformasi* in which the ideals of a pluralistic society have re-emerged and where religious, ethnic and political antagonists have to be reconciled.⁶¹ As referred to above, through his newspaper articles, seminar papers and monographs, later published in book form (1999a), Mangunwijaya argued for a synthesis between Javanese culture and post-modern technology. The locus of such a humanist culture is the family.

Seldom has the Asian context as such become the subject of theological research in Indonesia. There are, however, exceptions. One of them is the Old Testament scholar Gerrit Singgih. In fact his entire oeuvre so far shows a broad horizon and a remarkable scholarly spectrum. One of his first books is titled, *From Israel to Asia* (1982). There he draws attention to the fact, that the Israel of the Old Testament is itself a place that contextualised God's revelation. Therefore the leap between Israel and Asian culture is not as big as has often been thought. Several of Singgih's subsequent books and articles emphasized similar themes (1997, 1999, 2000), even his contextual exegesis of Ecclesiastes (2001) and other Old Testament themes (1999). In 2005 he

⁶¹ Mojau 2003:17. Mojau further developed this model in his SEAGST Ph.D. Thesis, defended in 2004 (so far unpublished).

presented his inaugural address as professor of Old Testament Studies in which he brought together Old Testament and later systematic views on the theme of *creatio ex nihilo*.⁶²

Another noted exception here is Andreas A. Yewangoe's study on *Theologia Crucis in Asia. Asian Christian Views on Suffering in the face of the Overwhelming Poverty and Multifaceted Religiosity in Asia* (Amsterdam, 1987). Several well-known Asian liberation theologians are discussed in this thesis. Yewangoe has been the author of several other books in *Bahasa Indonesia* (2001, 2002) including his earlier work *Pendamaian* (1983). There he states that reconciliation in the New Testament does not only mean new relations between people, or between human beings and God, but also a new relationship with nature as such. The cosmic dimension of Christ receives a strong emphasis in this work. Yewangoe does not want to "circle around in a narrow soteriological scheme where we talk only about Christ's work on the cross and how that work can provide redemption from sin. We also want to go backwards to the creation. In fact, 'creatio' and 're-creatio' are tightly interconnected."⁶³ This cosmic dimension also offers openings to a concern for environmental problems. During the 1980s several articles and pamphlets dealt with this issue. It has to be admitted that Indonesian theologians followed global trends here (as sometimes elsewhere).

A decade later Yosef Suban Hayon completed his 1000-page dissertation "Doing Christology in the Present Asian Reality: Between Inculturation, Liberation in a New Ecumenicity. A Study of the Writings of M.M. Thomas and Aloysius Pieris" (1998). This thoroughly researched dissertation explores and compares how these two prominent Protestant and Catholic theologians reflect upon inter-faith and justice issues in South Asia.

Poverty and suffering did not become central topics in Indonesian theology, though next to Yewangoe we want to mention explicitly here the names of Ihromi,⁶⁴ J.L.Ch. Abineno, Soritua Nababan, Fridolin Ukur and especially Josef Widyatmadja. The latter certainly took the most radical liberationist position. As a social activist he was working among the poor of Surakarta (Central Java) from the late 1970s onwards. He published a number of articles and pamphlets on social themes, many of them at the edge of what was allowed by government censorship.⁶⁵ His witness, if not his writing, is on a similar level to that of Mangunwijaya. At the time of writing he was working with the CCA in Hong Kong.

⁶² Singgih 2005b.

⁶³ Andreas A. Yewangoe 1983:9.

⁶⁴ Ihromi: dissertation Mainz 1972, and article in *Foie et Vie* on the question whether the poor play a role in God's plan, 1971; see also Ihromi 1980:59–65.

⁶⁵ In Oh Jae Shik 1977; Widyatmadja 1995 and 1999.

As early as 1983 we find a booklet on the matter of fundamental human rights: *Manusia dan hak-hak asasi manusia* (Human beings and fundamental human rights) by Broto Semedi Wiryotenoyo, who at that time taught ethics at *Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana* in Salatiga, Central Java. He wrote at a time when this issue was politically sensitive and human rights were being trampled on in Indonesia even though the constitution guarantees such rights. Among others the right of religious organisations was restricted by the notorious Law No. 8 of 1985 referred to above. Ten years later a group of Muslim-Christian scholars met for a discussion of this theme. The results of this meeting, which had been initiated by PGI, were published a few years later.⁶⁶

In general 'contextualisation' has been interpreted as regional or local contextualisation. Many master's theses and doctoral dissertations, especially those defended at SEAGST in recent decades, emphasize such a local or regional interest. Here we just mention some of the more important ones, which have been published. Harun Hadiwijono's dissertation *Man in the Present Javanese Mysticism* (Amsterdam, 1967) was a seminal study on a major mystical group in Central Java, Pangestu. A little later Soelarso Sopater compared the ideas of this same *kebatinan* group with Valentinian gnosis (2nd century, Rome) in his thesis *Inti Ajaran Aliran Valentinian dan Inti Ajaran Aliran Pangestu* (Jakarta, 1983). Sutarman S. Partonadi's work on *Sadrach's Community and its Contextual Roots* (Amsterdam, 1988) was referred to in an earlier paragraph. Also already mentioned is Magnis-Suseno's *Javanese Ethics and World-View: the Javanese Idea of the Good Life* (München, 1981); in the same line Stanislaus Reksosusilo compared the western idea of 'conscience' with the Javanese concept of '*rasa*' (feeling) (1979). Stanislaus Darmawijaya compared the character of the *panakawan* of Javanese wayang to the *ebed YHWH* of Isaiah (1988) and later the Javanese concept of faithfulness with that in the bible (1989). A.M. Sutrisnaatmaka examined the interrelationship between *The Slametan and the Eucharist: towards the inculturation of the Eucharistic celebration in the Javanese cultural context* (Rome, 1987). A more recent thesis is that of Andreas Yumarma, *Unity in Diversity: a philosophical and ethical study of the Javanese concept of 'keselarasan'* (Rome, 1996). Robert Preston Sellers (Southern Baptist USA, 1993) made a study of power and ministry contrasting the gospel model with that in Javanese culture: from elite to partner (the communalisation of feudal domination), from warrior to peacemaker (the radicalisation of charismatic authority) and from bureaucrat to friend (the elimination of psychological intimidation).

Another, older dissertation is the one by A.A. Sitompul who compares admonishing wisdom sayings and proverbs in Batak culture with the book of

⁶⁶ Weinata and Pattiasina 1996.

Proverbs in the Old Testament (*Weisheitliche Mahnsprüche und prophetische Mahnrede im Alten Testament auf dem Hintergrund der Mahnungen im Leben der Tobabatak auf Sumatra*. Mainz, 1967). Anicetus B. Sinaga's *The Toba Batak High God: transcendence and immanence* (Rome, 1981) reflects positively on Batak concepts and worldview in the light of classical theology. Theo Kobong wrote a thesis on *Evangelium und Tongkonan. Eine Untersuchung über die Begegnung zwischen christlicher Botschaft und die Kultur der Toraja* (Hamburg, 1989). He was followed by Andarias Kabanga' who graduated in 1996 at SEAGST with a study on *Manusia Mati Seutuhnya. Suatu Kajian Antropologi Kristen* in which he compares the biblical vision of human death (both physical and spiritual: total person) with the ideas of the Toraja culture in which the spirit of a person continues to live after death. Case studies served as basic material in dissertations on Dayak traditions by Hermogenes S. Ugang (1988) and Johaness J. Songan (1992). More recently, and in the story-telling style of the Taiwanese theologian C.S. Song, Eben Nuban Timo has turned the Timorese folk tale *Anak Matahari* (Child of the Sun) into a 100-page theological reflection on development (2004). Contextual regional studies on aspects of Christian life or church history in other areas (Bali, Moluccas, West Papua) are readily available such as Wayan Mastra's *Contextualisation of the Church in Bali: Case Study from Indonesia* (1979).

Of particular interest is the early work of J.B. Banawiratma (Bono), *Yesus Sang Guru: Pertemuan Kejawaan dengan Injil* (1977). In this MA thesis Bono compares the relationship between teacher and disciple in both the elitist and popular cultural traditions of Java with that obtaining in the Gospel of John. His emphasis is not so much upon the content of the Javanese teachings as upon the cultural dynamics at work: dialogue, question-answer, riddles, sayings, parables, symbols, paradoxes, which step by step open up the heart of the disciple. "The religious experience of Java aims for the union of humans with God (*'pamoring kawula Gusti'*). That is the climax of Javanese religious experience where disciples know the source and end of life (*sangkan paraning dumadi*). Disciples are guided in this direction by a guru. The union of the person with God, according to John's gospel, takes place in God's love which teaches and which attracts people to Jesus, the one mediator between humans and God... The relationship between guru and disciples is not that of slave to master but a deep spiritual union... a mystical experience in *rasa sejati*."⁶⁷ The great themes of John are very much part of the psyche of the Javanese: light, life, water of life, darkness. Bono distinguishes between the rich spiritual tradition of Java that remains meaningful today and the ever-demanding challenge

⁶⁷ J.B. Banawiratma 1977:128.

of the gospel. According to Bono a natural symbiosis has already taken place in the lives of Javanese Christians. Christology has remained one of Bono's constant theological preoccupations. In the 1980s he looked at images of Jesus at various historical periods: in colonial times, during Soeharto's regime, in a pluralistic society (1986). Towards the end of the 1990s the gospel-culture encounter had become a multi-dimensional, critical, transforming dialogue (1999a). His turn-of-the-century Christology is a 'liberative, inter-contextual' theology beginning with the experience of the believing congregation. The marginalised poor give the perspective through which the entire Trinitarian Christology needs to be viewed. Culture is no longer simply cosmic-holistic, but also secular. Feminism deconstructs both the feudal patriarchy of local culture and of the dogmatic tradition. A two-way dialogue with the majority Muslim community translates faith in Christ into Islamic terms while inviting Muslims to enrich our Christology through their encounter with God. Banawiratma does theology as a moderate liberationist firmly rooted in his Javanese culture while open to national, regional and global contexts. He has continued to reflect upon the little tradition of criticism and the great tradition of oppression (1999b). Human dignity, the right to participate, and even the need to revolt are embedded in the cosmic-holistic culture of the powerless, while feudal patriarchy shapes the hierarchical culture of the powerful.

A younger culturally rooted thinker who works with issues of popular religiosity and human rights is Gabriel Possenti Sindhunata (Sindhu). Born in 1952 in East Java, Sindhu researched Javanese peasant messianic movements from 1850 until 1940 for his doctoral thesis (1992). Based in Yogyakarta he writes columns, articles, short stories and novels in both Indonesian and Javanese. Sindhu is actively developing the Javanese syncretistic tradition at its prophetic best giving voice to the victims of oppressive politics and rapacious economic development. His is a universal humanism, open to the Spirit, in the language of Javanese popular culture. He interweaves powerful and popular images from the culture of the oppressed with sharp humour accompanied by a devastating critique of the formal culture of the governing elite (e.g. 1995/98). In the convention of the traditional and prophetic puppet plays (*wayang*) of the villagers, Sindhu is blithely unconcerned whether his sources are Muslim, Christian or Javanese, as long as they give voice to and strengthen the cultural renewal needed to empower the marginalised of Java. His writings articulate the practical, everyday wisdom through which the poor refuse to be defeated and by which they survive (e.g. 2000). As such Sindhu writes in the tradition of Mangunwijaya. However unlike Mangun, Sindhu makes little reference to the official church and writes a considerable amount in Javanese as well as *Bahasa Indonesia*. The religious-cultural syncretism of Sindhunata is an interesting phenomenon at the turn of the century when the politicisation of

religion is drawing ever-sharper demarcations between religious institutions (e.g. 1988). Not a professional theologian, by 2001 Sindhu had published 11 books, edited a further 12 and written three-dozen articles.

Feminist critique

In 1989 Nieke Atmadja-Hadinoto was the first Indonesian woman to receive a doctorate in theology (Kampen, The Netherlands). Most women are collaborative writers working through professional and practical associations. Many of the theological thinkers are engaged in advocacy and human rights networks as well as carrying out family responsibilities. Often life witnesses rather than theological writings mirror the thinking and the impact of these women. Perhaps this is why few names have emerged in the Protestant Church and just one in the Catholic Church (see Nunuk Murniati above).

One such is Agustina Lumentut (1937–2002). Ibu Tina was the first woman from her North Sulawesi church to study theology (Makasar, 1954–1959) and when she gained her master's in Singapore she was the most highly qualified member of her church theologically. Ibu Tina immersed herself in community development bringing to the task a certain gender-sensitivity. She struggled alongside the indigenous people of Central Sulawesi in defending their land rights in the face of migrants from Java and Bali. In 1989 Ibu Tina was elected moderator of her church, the first woman to become a moderator of any church in Indonesia. Her writings are sparse, her biography a well-deserved eulogy.⁶⁸ Lumentut shows how hard-working, theologically literate women have struggled and finally won a place in the Protestant churches while working at gender issues in the wider society. In the patristic tradition, this is a living theology of active engagement rather than academic theology of the institution.

Another early theological thinker among ecumenical Protestants is Henriette Marianne Katoppo (Marianne). Born in 1943 Marianne studied theology in Jakarta (BA 1963, MA 1976) and worked or followed courses in Japan (1964–1965), London (1966–1969), Sweden (1970–1974), Switzerland (1979) and Birmingham UK (1985–1986). In Geneva Marianne wrote her one theological reflection in English *Compassionate and Free* (1979). Intelligent, independent, forthright, conversant in a dozen Asian and European languages, Marianne embodies the ambiguities and brokenness of those who do not fit into any single category—socially, culturally and religiously. Her most successful and most explicitly Christian novel is *Raumanen* (1977) where a love affair across ethnic lines tragically ends with the suicide of the protagonist. Her most clearly 'autobiographical' novel, *Dunia Tak Bermusim* (1974), is an

⁶⁸ Kirk 1997.

open-ended story. Her theological articles and WCC book (1979) originated partly from personal experience (disappointment even bitterness) and partly from social critique, taking up themes of justice (option for the poor and gender issues). She died 12 October 2007.

Due to the struggles of these first-generation feminist theological thinkers, later women have been able to follow a more conventional path although writings are not yet extensive. Sientje Merentek-Abram (born 1947) obtained her masters in theology in the USA (1980) and her doctorate at the SEAGST (1996). Like her well-known predecessors she came from Sulawesi and has been active in SEAGST becoming its dean; at the time of writing she was director of ATESEA in Manila, Philippines. Her writings have appeared in various collections (e.g. 1985, 1997). Henriette Tabita Hutabarat-Lebang also hails from Sulawesi. Born in 1952 she studied theology in Jakarta (masters 1977). Her doctorate (USA 1991) takes up the question of contextualisation and the role of metaphor. After working on the Women's Desk of the PGI in Jakarta Hutabarat moved to Hong Kong where she worked with the CCA before returning to Rante Pao to serve the Toraja church. She has been involved in programmes for women's leadership development as well for migrant workers, refugees and internally displaced communities in Asia. Her presentations encompass areas such as Asian spirituality, education for peace with justice, pluralism, women and tourism as well as bible studies (e.g. 1995, 1999). Like other women theologians her work has been developed with teams of colleagues and published jointly as the fruit of workshops. Hutabarat was probably the most influential Indonesian woman theological thinker during the last decade of the twentieth century.

Of a younger generation Septemmy Eucharistia Lakawa (Ibu Temmy), born in 1970, also hails from Sulawesi. Ibu Temmy has a master's degree from the USA (1996) and another from Jakarta (1998). The latter is entitled "A Missiology of Compassion: Missiology according to an Indonesian Christian Woman." Shaken from her conventional faith while studying feminist theology in the USA, Ibu Temmy continued her probing as lecturer at the STT Jakarta asking who and where is God and Christ in Indonesian realities? She describes her feminist theology as "brave like Hagar, honest like the Samaritan woman, risk-taking like Rahab, visionary like Mary of the Magnificat; a theology able to rest in silence like Saul's concubine Rizpah, weep bitterly like Tamar, and dance joyfully like Miriam." (1998). Orthodoxy must be questioned by orthopraxis. For Ibu Temmy theology begins with women's stories born in an "epistemology from the broken body" (1999) and develops in concert with a community of activists and scholars. General Secretary of Perwati (1998–2002) and first editor of the feminist theological journal *Sophia* (since 2000), at the time of writing Ibu Temmy is researching her doctorate (USA). When already a majority of students in many of the Christian theological faculties and seminaries

are women candidates for ordination, Septemmy is a sign that, at the turn of the century, women are winning a place beside, and in creative partnership with, male leadership and theologians.

Writings about Islam and inter-religious dialogue

As we saw in an earlier paragraph, before the Japanese occupation Islam was seen mainly as a missiological problem. The period of political and military unrest right after Independence made Christians reluctant to write about Islam. The early works of Hutagalung and Sidjabat were, as we noticed, the first signs of a changing climate. In the 1970s and 1980s, it was the government, which promoted religious dialogue. Harmony between religions was a political desideratum. Also, Indonesians took part in international dialogue meetings, which were organized by the World Council of Churches. Ihromi, Simatupang and also H.A. Mukti Ali, professor at the *Institut Agama Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga* in Yogyakarta and between 1971 and 1978 State Minister of Religious Affairs, were among the participants of such international meetings.

Djaka Soetapa, who teaches Islam at the *Duta Wacana* Christian University in Yogyakarta, listed no less than twenty national and ten international meetings between representatives of several religions between 1969 and 1976 (Yogyakarta, 1981). Later he wrote a Ph.D. thesis about the concept of *'ummah* as a religious, social and political community within the Qur'an (1986, published 1991). That concept is important for Christians as well. It has often been emphasised that dialogue is not between religions as such, but between the respective religious communities in the country. His starting point is to be found in Soera 2:143 where the *'ummah Muslimah* is called *'ummah wasat*, which can be translated as "a community in the centre," or "a well-balanced community." That is, Muslims (themselves a pluriform majority) can become a well-balanced community among other believers. Similarly the concept of *jihad* is interpreted in a non-violent way. One of Soetapa's students, Ahmen Mylthis Lumira, later wrote a master's thesis on Islam and (anti-) violence, related to the tragedy in and around Poso, Central Sulawesi. (UKDW Yogyakarta, 2001). Unfortunately almost nothing is said there about violence by Christians in that particular conflict.

J.W.M. Bakker (1919–1978), later known by his Indonesian name Rahmat Subagya and with over 200 publications to his name, was the most prominent Catholic phenomenologist of religion from the 1950s until his death in 1978. Known as an expert in Islam⁶⁹ and conversant in Arabic, Urdu and Turkish as well as Javanese and *Bahasa Indonesia*, Bakker read the Qu'ran ecumeni-

⁶⁹ Subagya 1978.

cally⁷⁰ but interpreted Javanese Islam through the prism of *Kejawen* as an indigenous religion.⁷¹ His claim that ‘real Muslims’ constitute no more than 40% of Indonesians (while the other 47% are nominal adherents) denied Islam a majority status in Java. This claim was widely accepted by Christians at the time but has been undermined by the reassertion of religious identity since the beginning of the twentieth century and the religionisation of politics during the last two decades.

Victor Tanja (1936–1998) wrote a dissertation during the 1979s on the Islamic Students’ Movement (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*, defended in 1979, Hartford Seminary USA under the supervision of W.A. Bijlefeld, and published in *Bahasa Indonesia* in 1982). He aimed to maintain a phenomenological approach without any apologetic motive. The same is valid for Jansen Pardede’s thesis about tensions between Muslims and Christians in the Batak area. Tanja was a frequent speaker at military academies, was an advisor to Soeharto’s Golkar Party and an apologist for the New Order regime until it collapsed in 1998. Several of Tanja’s students in Jakarta followed his track with their own studies in the 1980s and 1990s such as sympathetic analyses of the *Nahdatul Ulama* by Einar Martahan Sitompul in 1988 and of the *Muhammadiyah* by Weinata Sairin (1990, but only published six years later). In both case studies the impact of the *Undang-Undang No. 8* of 1985 was analysed as well. According to these authors, both organisations loyally accepted the *Pancasila* ideology while resisting the idea of *Pancasila* as a civil religion. Tanja and his students have developed an interesting inter-faith theology, which, however, they have used to justify their close cooperation with the regime. Their understanding of Islam is not seen through the prism of the poor and marginalised.

Thomas F. Michel (born 1941) is one of the foremost participants in dialogue with Muslims in the Catholic world. Based in Yogyakarta since the 1960s and latterly dividing time between Yogyakarta and Rome, Michel has worked full-time in creating greater understanding with Muslims, not just in Indonesia but throughout Asia through the Offices of the FABC and worldwide through the Jesuit Order and the Vatican. His dissertation *A Muslim Theologian’s Response to Christianity* was a treatise on Ibn Taymiyya’s *Al-Jawab Al-Sahih* (1984). Franz Magnis-Suseno (born 1936) has taken part in Muslim-Christian dialogue both at an intellectual level and more practically with student activists for over three decades. As violent conflicts have become more frequent towards the end of the twentieth century so Magnis has called for realism, emphasising the value of an understanding of the pain and history of the other while now claiming that convergence on doctrine and practice is unfeasible (1999).

⁷⁰ Bakker 1972.

⁷¹ Subagya 1981.

Of some importance is a series of inter-religious seminars organised by the Institute of Research and Development (LITBANG) of the PGI. The islamologist Olaf Schumann, was an enthusiastic initiator of these seminars, which started in 1981 and continue until today. Also of interest is the *Festschrift* presented to Schumann at the occasion of his 60th birthday.⁷² During the Third Seminar in 1983 candid papers were read about the Islamic vision of Christianity (by K.H. Hasbullah Bakry; see also his 1990 book) and the Christian vision of Islam (by Victor I. Tanja), as well as a paper on Mysticism (*kebatinan*) and Islam in Indonesia, by Simuh who lectured at the IAIN Sunan Kalijaga in Yogyakarta. It is understandable that many Christians feel attracted to this spiritual, mystic interpretation of Islam.

At this seminar Th. Sumartana made a strong plea for dialogue as a challenge to Christianity (mimeographed 1983). This passionate call for dialogue was to become his life work in many publications, which he wrote or edited until his untimely death in 2003. It includes his dissertation *Mission at the Crossroads* (Amsterdam, 1991, Jakarta, 1993) and several volumes published by his *Institut Dialog Antar-Iman di Indonesia (DIAN/Interfidei)*. Sumartana was able to bring Christian, Muslim and Hindu/Buddhist scholars together around several existential themes: the crisis of the family in modern times; religion, democracy and justice; Confucianism in Indonesia. The churches did not always follow his line of thinking. The old tension between the aim of evangelism and that of dialogue frequently came to the surface provoked by Sumartana's straightforward position. For instance, Sumartana rightly pointed out that a real dialogue might have consequences for the Christological models which Indonesian churches currently use.⁷³ Ioanes Rakhmat, who teaches New Testament at the STT Jakarta, also makes clear in several articles that he is aware of these consequences.

During the last decade of the twentieth century and the commencement of the twenty-first, we see a multitude of books, articles, master's theses and doctoral dissertations in the area of Islam and other religions. Often enough these writings, even historical research, are related to actual developments within society. An increasingly good collaboration between authors from all religions is visible. Catholics have studied Islamic law and literary theory (Sunardi), education (Harun Yuwono) and tradition (Alex Soesilo). Studies have also been made on the reformer Muhammad Abduh; Heru Prakosa has researched on Fakhr al-Din al-Razi of the Ash'ariah school (master) and on the debate between Mu'tazila and Ash'ariah (doctorate) while Markus Solo has researched the Bismillah concept of Fakhr al-Razi. The Muslim Ansari wrote on *Mission in Christianity and Islam: A Comparative Study of the Ways the*

⁷² Balitbang PGI 1999.

⁷³ Sumartana 1997, 1998:31–44.

Huria Kristen Batak Protestan (KHBP) and Al-Washliyah spread the Mission in North Sumatra 1930–1965 (Leiden, 1998). The Catholic Islamologist, Philip Tule, working with Muslims and collaborating with Protestants (1994, 2003), has developed a socio-cultural approach to communal reconciliation based on his case study among the Kéo people of Central Flores.⁷⁴ According to Tule, the clan/house-based adat of the Kéo unites Muslims and Catholics and gives an interpretive frame for living out both Islamic and Christian doctrine. Another example is the textbook *Lima Titik Temu Agama-agama* (Five points where religions meet, Yogyakarta, 2000) that discusses the concepts of God, prayer, fasting, religious taxes (more generally, *diakonia*) and pilgrimage within existing religions in Indonesia. Initiatives mostly come from the Christian side. An annotated bibliography of 200 books on religion by Muslim authors in Indonesia (published by *DIAN/Interfidei* as a tool for religious dialogue) mentions only a few examples of books in which the bible, Christianity or religious dialogue is a major subject. As a minority Christians have a greater need than Muslims to meet the other side! This becomes clear in the broad overview of the history of Muslim-Christian encounter in Indonesia by Jan Aritonang (Jakarta 2004), with a preface by Azyumardi Azra (rector of the Islamic University, Jakarta).

D. *The internal life of the church*

Confessional statements and church order

When after the Pacific War (1942–1945) theological schools (re-)opened and churches became independent, a huge task lay ahead, to write teaching material and other popular theological contributions to be used by the churches. In fact, they had to start from scratch. At least three fields received priority in Protestant churches: the area of church order and confessional statements on behalf of young, independent churches; that of ecumenical unity between these churches and finally the vast field of practical theology. Other disciplines like church history, knowledge of other religions, ethics and systematic theology followed somewhat later. Partly these early writings became the task of the churches themselves, partly the teaching staff of theological schools carried the responsibility. Of no less importance, as we saw above, the DGI/PGI itself had an active committee on Church and Society, and later also a research department (LITBANG). At the PGI Assembly in 1984 the *Akademi Leimena* was established which functioned as a think-tank, “a means to develop faith and thought.”⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Philip Tule Canberra 2004; published Fribourg 2004.

⁷⁵ PGI 2000:122.

The drafting of church orders and confessional statements had become urgent within mainline Protestant churches already before the Japanese occupation and continued to demand attention during the first three decades after independence. Van den End and Jongeneel (1986) list nine church orders and confessional statements (often as a preamble within a church order) between 1917 and 1938, and 17 church orders from 1947 until 1984 to which eight separate confessions of faith could be added and many of them have been successively revised. Churches have accepted several more since the IIMO research. No single church had a separate confession of faith at the time of its birth, due to the reticence of the mission boards at that time.⁷⁶ Naturally enough in the beginning the partner churches in the West suggested the phrasing of such documents. Later, the Indonesian churches themselves took the initiative both as to content and phrasing. As has been concluded by J.A.B. Jongeneel⁷⁷ they do not reflect academic theology but the living and vital faith of the churches, and are in its content 'essentialistic,' that is, summarizing the essence of the Christian faith (with more or less emphasis upon classic, ecumenical symbols and upon confessions from the Reformation tradition), or 'existentialistic,' that is, emphasizing the contextual situation of a particular church. Quite often one finds a reference to the *Pancasila* and to the adat and sometimes to other religions. The Trinity is almost always an essential part of the content, and in general they prefer consensus above exclusivity. Member churches of the PGI will refer to their being part of the *Gereja Kristen Yang Esa* (The One Christian Church). Many evangelical and Pentecostal groups do not have a church order or, at most, only brief church regulations.

Not many scholarly studies have been published in the field of confessional statements and church order. *Faith and order* never had a real priority in a context where political, social and religious unrest determined the agenda. An early dissertation is the ecclesiological study by Pouw Boen-Giok on the position of the Chinese-ethnic church within a broader ethnic environment (Utrecht, 1952). Andar Lumbantobing wrote about church office within the Batak Church in his *Das Amt in der Batakirche* (Bonn, 1956). Harun Hadiwijono (1981) wrote a brief, popular explanation about the apostolic symbol; it has been reprinted many times and clearly fulfils a need, especially in Central Java.

Immediately after the Second Vatican Council Piet Maku (1932–1994) wrote his dissertation *Missionary Activities in the Present Social Situation in Flores/Indonesia: Toward religious and psycho-sociological integration of a young church* (Rome, 1967). As adat norms were loosening their hold and

⁷⁶ Van den End 1986:32.

⁷⁷ Van den End 1986:50–53.

the traditional social structure of Nusa Tenggara was being marginalised, the Catholic Church had responded with an ambitious economic development programme (Flores-Timor Plan 1963–1966). Given this transitional situation, Maku argued that concentration on economic development alone would decouple belief from social progress. He urged a more modest and focused role for the church (then 68.5% of the population of Flores) as moral witness rather than as an alternative government. The church should promote gospel values together with key cultural values and modern education. His final chapter outlining the congregational ordering of “*musjawarah/gotong-rojong* parishes,” with a core parish council of five laity to formulate and carry out church policy and with a much larger parish assembly for regular feedback and brainstorming, owes much to conversations with Hendrik Djawa (1928–1996) who later published this proposal in *Bahasa Indonesia* (1970). However by the mid-1970s the Maku-Djawa vision was already seen as too centralised and top-down; it was replaced by the vision of a parish as a network of base communities.⁷⁸ This latter vision, in theory, is the official ecclesiology of the Indonesian Catholic Church today.

Few Catholics have studied ministry in Indonesia. One exception is Henri Dori Wuwur in his thesis *Die Teilnahme der Laien beim Aufbau der Gemeinden in der katholischen Kirche von Nusa Tenggara Timur—Verwirklichung und Möglichkeiten* (1998). Earlier his colleague Georg Kirchberger researched *Neue Dienste und Gemeindestrukturen in der katholischen Kirche Indonesiens* (1985) comparing developments in Nusa Tenggara and Papua in the light of the doctrine of ministry in the documents of Vatican II.

Catechetical, practical and liturgical theology

We can be brief as to the developments within practical disciplines such as homiletics, catechetics and liturgy. Much writings in these fields are found useful, but are not really original. An exception is the work of J.L.Ch. Abineno who did his doctoral research on liturgical forms and patterns in the Protestant Church on Timor (Utrecht, 1956, supervisor J.C. Hoekendijk). Both in his thesis and in many subsequent studies and popular books in Indonesia Abineno has been an ardent advocate of the contextualisation of the liturgy of the churches in his country. “The present time, in which many of the traditional forms have become ineffective, should be a time for experiment rather than ‘restoration’”.⁷⁹ Though many churches still prefer traditional ways, renewal has come from two sides. First, ecumenical celebrations, often inspired by what happens in CCA and WCC assemblies and meetings, have been instrumental.

⁷⁸ Prior in: da Cunha 1999:193–235.

⁷⁹ Abineno 1956:138.

Secondly, the global charismatic and Pentecostal renewal has also had its effect in Indonesia and forced the mainline churches to review their liturgical patterns. Here we should also mention the name of H.A. (Harry) van Dop and Fridolin Ukur who together with others within PGI-related *Yayasan Musik Gerejawi* (Yamuger) realised the publication of a new church hymnal used by many PGI member churches. At least a quarter of the 478 hymns in this *Kidung Jemaat* (1984) has been written and/or composed by Indonesians. The renewal of church music with local instruments and melodies has been initiated during recent decades. Ukur (1930–2004) also was a gifted poet who produced many liturgical texts.

Meanwhile the Catechetical Commission of MAWI/KWI promoted a life-centred approach throughout the 1970s and 1980s in both school and congregationally based religious education, returning to a greater emphasis on Christian knowledge during the last decade of the twentieth century. In 1994 Rome published its *Catechism of the Catholic Church*; the following year the Catholic bishops of Nusa Tenggara published an Indonesian translation. Meanwhile, also in 1995, KWI published *Iman Katolik: buku informasi dan referensi* as its national catechism, the chief writer of which was Tom Jacobs. This work is patterned on four ever-narrowing circles. The first and widest circle discusses life, world views, conscience and fundamental ethical issues that have to be faced by all people of good will; the second takes up belief in God and is open to adherents of all religions, in particular Islam; the third circle expounds on faith in Jesus Christ and the work of salvation in terms pleasing to most ecumenical Christians; the final circle zooms in upon specifically Catholic issues—ecclesiology and the sacraments.

Regarding Catholic liturgical theology a certain amount has been written on inculturation,⁸⁰ and some creative liturgical texts were published in the late 1960s and early 1970s. These latter, however, have since been quietly put aside as the bishops' Liturgical Commission has concerned itself with re-translating the Latin liturgy according to more recent and increasingly restrictive Roman guidelines (literal translation of the Eucharist promulgated in 2005). Despite this, much creativity is still found in parishes, at least where there are older clergy. A cultural anthropologist has written a dissertation on the work of inculturation undertaken by the Catholic Church in West and Central Flores (Daeng 1989). The greatest change is surely in the area of hymns as exemplified by the most popular hymnal by far, *Madah Bakti*, from *Pusat Musik Gereja* in Yogyakarta, which has gone through well over one hundred printings and a number of editions (latest 2000) since its first appearance in 1980. Although all the lyrics are written in *Bahasa Indonesia*, the words often

⁸⁰ E.g. Sinaga 1984.

reflect local conditions. A majority of the more than 800 hymns are original Indonesian compositions many of which are products of music workshops held throughout the country.

MAWI/KWI has issued pastoral guidelines on a variety of topics such as on the family (1975), education (1977), health care (1978), charismatic renewal (1983, revised 1995), pastoral planning (1985), youth (1986, revised 1993), priestly formation (1987), marriage preparation (1994) and liturgical inculturation (1996). However, the more candid of KWI's theological reflections on church life during these years were the unpublished responses to *lineamenta* from Rome in preparation for Roman Episcopal synods. Time and again KWI reminded Rome that over 70% of Indonesian Catholics do not participate in the Eucharist on Sunday due to the lack of celibate ordained pastors.⁸¹ One response that was published was that to the *lineamenta* for the 1998 synod for Asia.⁸²

As to developments within pastoral theology, it is enough to point to a number of doctoral studies, which analyse a pastoral *case-study* approach. In the 1980s Duta Wacana (Yogyakarta) in cooperation with SEAGST developed a programme for a Doctorate of Pastoral Studies which used this *case-study* method (for titles see Hoekema in *Exchange* 1996). At the same time Mesach Krisetya (Satya Wacana, Salatiga) and others developed contextual variants of (clinical) pastoral training. Recently this also led to a training institute for mediators in (local) church conflicts or conflicts between Muslims and Christians as have erupted in Central Sulawesi and Ambon. On the Catholic side, the Pastoral Centre in Yogyakarta, in collaboration with Duta Wacana Protestant University, has run workshops and published a number of basic texts on building up the local congregation, adaptations of Dutch originals.⁸³ In East Java the Madiun-born Reksosusilo has written on pastoral care based Javanese rather than western models, the result of his own detailed study of Javanese culture.⁸⁴

On the Pentecostal side, a master's thesis looks to the home cell groups of David Yonggi Cho's Full Gospel Church of South Korea as a pastoral way forward for the evangelical and Pentecostal churches in post-Soeharto Indonesia.⁸⁵ Sutrisna Widjaja sees the 'secret' of the phenomenal growth of Cho's church from five members in 1958 to over 700,000 some 30 years later as his home-cell movement with its theology of salvation for the distressed: the threefold blessing of salvation (spiritual, material and physical) and the fivefold message

⁸¹ KWI 2004b:70.

⁸² KWI: EAPR 1998:54–85.

⁸³ Hooijdonk 1996; Kessel 1997; Heitink and Heselaars 1999.

⁸⁴ Reksosusilo 1994 and 1997.

⁸⁵ Widjaja 1998.

of the gospel (salvation in Jesus Christ, baptism in the Holy Spirit, divine healing, the blessing of prosperity, and hope of Jesus' second coming). This soteriology is rooted in the experience of a people in crisis, is considered to be faithful to Christian tradition, and is geared towards a holistic understanding of salvation. Widjaja compares it favourably with the soteriology of Aloysius Pieris: it explains the world (explanatory), changes the world (creative), and seeks wholeness (directional).⁸⁶ A number of Cho's works have been translated into *Bahasa Indonesia*; it is too soon to know whether this theology will reduplicate Korean church growth in the Indonesian context or encourage Indonesian Pentecostalism to be more attuned to social justice issues.

In general we have to conclude, that in this area of the internal life of the churches, theological developments have been rather modest and traditional.

Architecture, literature and dance

Although strictly speaking outside the scope of this chapter, which has looked at written texts, a brief mention might be made of other theological expressions. Over the centuries mosques and Islamic calligraphy have taken up south and Southeast Asian characteristics, but it is only in the twentieth century, in particular during the past fifty years, that we find Christian churches and shrines doing the same. One of the first traditional Javanese or *joglo* churches was built at Ganjuran, south of Yogyakarta, in 1924; another was built by the first Javanese priest at Nanggulan a dozen years later. Today there are a number of these *pendopo*-like churches. In 1927–1930, also in Ganjuran, a *candi*-shrine was built in the style of a Javanese temple, to house a statue of the sacred heart of Jesus. There, even today, a large annual pilgrimage assembles. Half a century later Mangunwijaya's churches (e.g. at Tambran-Ganjuran, Klaten, Sragen, Salam and Yogyakarta), Trappist convent at Gedono and Marian shrine at Sendangsono are outstanding in their marriage of the technically modern with the Javanese. Mangun's churches of the late 1960s and 1970s in Central Java are either open-plan (worship in a garden with the roof as a "tree" or umbrella) or imitate a womb (where the community, in the dark, encounters "the self within the self"). But it has to be said they have not had much of an impact on the designs of other architects. Mangun's low-profile churches use cultural symbols (e.g. the tree of life) rather than more explicitly Christian ones (e.g. the cross). The contrast here is with Evangelical churches with their high steeples and enormous neon crosses. Mangunwijaya explains that, "it is not thought that the liturgy would be formal, but rather a feast, a happening, an at-oneness in the one Spirit... what we seek is how (churches) can image the oneness of grace from above with the dry-land and rice-fields of humans

⁸⁶ Pieris 1996:138–146.

below, one in real life as our breath is one with our body... here we can hold our ecumenical hands with pre-Hindu traditions, as well as the great traditions of Hinduism and Islam... (The church at Tambran) is not a living theology but rather our real life, one person with another, everything that is beautiful and impressive but also that which is rotten and despised, that which is full of smiles and laughter but also that which makes us sick and weep with suffering, everything that envelops us with peace but also everything that almost drowns us in hopelessness, all of this as with dry-land and rice-fields, mirrors the sun and is rained upon with the tears of Christ who is transfigured above us.”⁸⁷ Until recently Protestants did not pay much attention to the architecture of their church buildings, however, this seems to have begun to change during the last decade. An early exception is the Protestant church complex at Blimbingsari (1977–1981). Together with the smaller Catholic church building at Tuka (near Denpasar), and the cathedral of Palasari, the Blimbingsari complex is an example of authentic Balinese architecture.

Art and movement have had a wide impact in both Protestant and Catholic churches. PGI has published the *Many Faces of Christian Art in Indonesia* (1993). In his introduction theologian Eka Darmaputera explains, “Art not only enables us to see what we see with precision, but also enables us to participate in what we see. Through art we see the unseeable. The transcendent becomes immanent. Or, to be more precise, that which is immanent has a transcendental dimension. It is at this point that art and religion merge. Theology becomes an artistic experience, and art becomes a theological expression.” (p. 5). The theology faculty of Duta Wacana University encourages Christian art and, for instance, put on a remarkable art exhibition to coincide with the third conference of the Congress of Asian Theologians in 2001. Robert Setio links the theologians’ congress with the exhibition thus, “Theologians may sometime have to learn from painters that imposing a confinement on the interpretation of God (by which I mean theology), is impossible, if not unnecessary... we should take the wisdom of the painters that there is no certain way of interpreting the wonder of God.” In the exhibition’s catalogue theologian Sumartana writes on “Spiritual Art among Spiritualities” (pp. 23–30) and Suwarno Wisetrotomo on “Weighing Religious Codes” (pp. 39–48). Perhaps the best known of the older artists is Bagong Kussudiardja (1928–2004) of Yogyakarta who also directed his own dance-dramas, at least two of which have been recorded (“The Birth of Jesus” and “The Ascension”). Theologian Judowibowo Poerwowidagdo was a founder member of the Christian Art Association (which had its office in Yogyakarta) and editor of the association’s journal *Image: Christ in Art in Asia*. His wife, Timur Indyah, is a professional (Christian) artist.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Mangun in: Muskens 1973:190–199.

⁸⁸ More on these artists in chapter twenty.

Since the 1970s the Audio Visual Studio (AVS) of the Jesuit Catechetical Centre, already referred to above, has sponsored artists, producing, for instance, one hundred Balinese-style paintings of biblical scenes as well as more contemporary themes. Six Hindu artists read the relevant bible passages (for the first time) and then freely expressed their message in Balinese style. The studio's videocassettes and CDs contain a large selection of Indonesian music, art and drama. Through AVS Suryo Indratno, a young artist from Solo, Central Java, was chosen to paint a large (1.80 × 2.66 metre) jubilee-year *Hungertuch* for the churches in Germany. Through long discussions with Suryo, Ruedi Hofmann, then director of AVS, has interpreted this large painting in terms of a theology of creation and of the Spirit in the context of violent times. The chapters follow *via positiva* (beauty) through *negativa* (renunciation) and *creativa* (fertility) to *transformativa* (compassion). The final chapter on compassion is replete with quotes from the Qu'ran, the Buddhist scriptures, Mahatma Gandhi and the Hebrew prophets.⁸⁹

These exceptions to the much more common western 'kitsch' are uncovering vibrant Indonesian forms of belief and giving birth to a living Christian Indonesian identity. To what extent mainstream churches will take up these faith expressions (theologies) we still have to see. The alternative is that the worshipping community becomes 'ghettoised' while architects, artists, composers and choreographers move out into local and national culture. Whatever the outcome is, it is remarkable that over the past half-century Christian poets, literati, artists, dramatists and architects have entered the mainstream of Indonesia's cultural life. Socially-engaged artists and politically-aware dramatists are creating a new language in which to re-picture the Jesus of the Gospels: to picture the Incarnate Word as living, as whole, as authentically Asian, as the heart-beat of popular culture struggling for space to breathe, for dignity, for a meaning and purpose that overcomes death.⁹⁰

Concluding note

Even though virtually all scholarly research in the field of theology has taken place within private church-based institutions which have inadequate financial resources and limited access to written sources and little, if any, government support, we may conclude that Indonesian Christians have produced a large number of worthwhile studies in a broad range of theological disciplines. Several younger scholars are the equal of other prominent third world theologians elsewhere; they have been making a quiet and constructive contribution on the international stage. Such scholarly theology came to the fore after

⁸⁹ Hofmann 2000.

⁹⁰ Cf. Prior 2001:185; Singgih 2005a:79–91.

lay theologians, and ecumenical or ecclesial documents, had earlier set the theological tone for several decades. These lay pioneers influenced the policies of the Indonesian churches, which then shifted the emphasis from personal salvation and denominational interests to engagement in nation building. Naturally, deliberation at congregational level remains valuable and theologians continue to publish collections of homilies and spiritual reflections. All this is certainly a great achievement. In the period immediately before and after the Japanese occupation even noted missiologists like Hendrik Kraemer were of the opinion that the Javanese and other Indonesians were unable to produce scholarly, 'reflective' studies such as were being written by Europeans.

There is perhaps no single key word to characterise Indonesian theology as, for instance, we might be inclined to characterise much Latin American theology in the 1970s as liberationist, that of black Africa as inculturationist, or that of India as multi-faith. Liberationist, inculturationist and inter-faith strands are all present in Indonesian theologies in moderate quantities. *Liberationist strands*: during the somewhat chaotic political transition since 1998 both individual theologians and church bodies such as KWI have been producing significant theological reflection on political ethics and public morality. *Inculturationist strands*: earlier theology was rooted in local languages and cultures; later ecumenical theology was broadly national; at the end of the twentieth century the pendulum seems to be returning to local issues as indigenous cultures are undergoing a dramatic revival and ecological concerns come to the fore. *Multi-faith strands*: the time of ignoring the Muslim majority has past; practical and scholarly collaboration has emerged as an important component in both Muslim and Christian communities—and this despite the parallel development of religious fanaticism. A further strand claiming attention is that of *gender*. At the turn of the century women students formed a majority in many Protestant faculties and the first generation of Catholic nuns with doctorates in theology has appeared; one can anticipate an ever-greater contribution from women theologians in the future. In short, we might characterise theology in Indonesia as a 'patchwork theology' (*tambal-sulam*), or, as Albert Widjaja stated some time ago, a "beggarly theology."⁹¹ Nevertheless, however we typify Indonesian theology, great progress has been made in the fields of inter-religious dialogue, public ethics, and religion and culture including the visual arts.

Understandably, given limitations of both language and finance and the specific socio-political and religious context, to date certain areas of study are underdeveloped. Thus, there are not many scholars in the field of biblical studies, especially the Old Testament. Also, a contextualisation of several areas

⁹¹ Widjaja 1973.

in practical theology has still to take place, notably within Protestant circles. Not much either has been done to gather material for oral church history. Since the time of Harun Hadiwijono, hardly any studies have been made in the field of systematic theology. We may need to wait for a more sustained treatment of theological themes in dialogue with local contexts, and a deeper discourse with social scientists and philosophers, before an authentically Indonesian systematic theology can be crafted. Finally, theologians have yet to tackle issues surrounding 'practical agnosticism' in the cities, a product of a market-valued, post-modernist urban culture.

The further development of Indonesian theology faces a number of formidable challenges. First of all, most churches do not value daring and creative theology very highly. Theologians have always had to be aware of keeping in touch with the leading ideas and key figures within their often-conventional churches. Of course, the fact that the churches form a minority in a largely Islamic society is an important factor in making church leaders and many theologians hesitant in thinking too autonomously. Independent thinkers such as Th. Sumartana did not always receive the support they deserved. Also, the problems, which PGI (and world ecumenism in general), has had to face towards the end of the century do not invite further renewal. And the fact that there are too many theological institutions and bible colleges has weakened all the schools but especially the ones which were endeavouring to maintain standards and enhance the quality of both students and staff. Many theological colleges belong to evangelical groups and churches, which seek to defend existing theological positions rather than promote creative thinking; they promote proselytism rather than community witness and dialogue. Many younger Catholic theologians have returned from neo-conservative studies in Europe; only after creative interaction with the crises of contemporary Indonesian Catholicism will they have any chance of burgeoning into original thinkers. Since most theologians operate outside the wider context of the multi-disciplinary university, they lack ongoing discourse and the challenge of debate with scholars from other disciplines. To date not many theologians are actively engaged in regional and global academic networks such as the *Congress of Asian Theologians* (CATS), *Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians* (EATWOT) and *International Association for Mission Studies* (IAMS). Glancing at the shelves of the more important chains of Christian bookstores such as Gramedia and BPK Gunung Mulia, one notices with some discomfort that books in the wide area of personal spiritual growth, faith, healing and success in business (many of them translations of works by western authors) are gaining ground at the cost of serious theology. In the 1960s contextual theology, always the work of a minority, gained ascendancy which it sustained for four decades; at the turn of the century evangelical and charismatic concerns have become mainstream. Finally, in general, Christians

are members of a culture in which reading is not a priority; publishers rarely accept manuscripts of more than 150 (small) pages.

Cooperation between Catholic and Protestant faculties and schools has been taking place between the more distinguished institutions only and even there on a limited scale; yet, it may be expected that such cooperation will intensify. There is also periodic cooperation between Christian theological centres and government-owned universities, including Islamic religious faculties as in Yogyakarta and Jakarta. Some schools are looking for partners abroad, in the Western world, to enhance the exchange of staff and students. All these efforts are necessary to prepare the churches for a future in which they can continue to play a role within Indonesian society and contribute to the ongoing conversation in multi-faith and multi-faith Asia in a globalising world.

To conclude: the initial encounter between the gospel and Javanese culture a century and a half ago birthed a number of remarkable indigenous evangelists; the struggle for independence brought lay theological thinkers to the fore who set the agenda for subsequent contextual theology. As a new century begins and Indonesia undergoes profound change in all sectors, the churches have to choose between promoting theologies that reinforce the internal cohesion of the congregation and the individual salvation of its members, or embracing broadly ecumenical and inter-faith theologies that support a communion of justice and compassion in the wider society.

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