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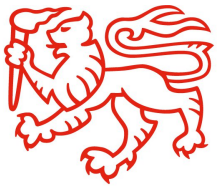
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UNIVERSITY of TASMANIA

Cross-Cultural Architecture: An Investigation of Chinese Temple Architecture in Bali

by
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Bachelor of Architecture
Master of Architecture

School of Architecture and Design | College of Sciences and Engineering

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Tasmania
November, 2023

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The research associated with this thesis abides by the international and Australian codes on human and animal experimentation, the guidelines by the Australian Government's Office of the Gene Technology Regulator and the rulings of the Safety, Ethics and Institutional Biosafety Committees of the University. Ethics approval Reference No. H0018118.

Signed,

Freddy Hendrawan
25 February 2022

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ABSTRACT

The Chinese-Balinese have maintained and negotiated their Chinese identity within Bali's broader socio-cultural and political contexts and this study analyses how their identity is represented in Chinese temple architecture. As they have been in Bali for generations, the Chinese have adapted to Balinese culture and society in multiple ways. These adaptation processes have also involved responding to the shifts of political attitudes towards ethnic Chinese under successive Indonesian regimes that have viewed the Chinese people as 'Other'. These responses have influenced Chinese-Balinese ways of maintaining and developing Chinese belief systems and architecture. The result of this history has been the need to negotiate intercultural and nation-building narratives, leading to cross-fertilisation between Chinese and Balinese cultures and geographies.

Specifically, this study focuses on the exploration and explanation of the widespread cross-cultural phenomenon of *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali, based on empirical observations and analysis of 14 *Tri Dharma* temples distributed across all Bali's regencies. *Tri Dharma* temple is an Indonesian term for a Chinese temple with Chinese traditional features and used by the adherents of the combination of three religious doctrines (Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism). In order to explain the *Tri Dharma* temple's history, analysis has been made of the history of Chinese ethnic group in Bali and how this history has been influenced by the broader history of Indonesia, from pre-colonial Balinese kingdoms, the Dutch colonial regime, and then the changes in post-independence regimes that sought to define national identity, as well as recognise particular forms of religious beliefs. On-site surveys of the *Tri Dharma* temples' siting, spatial planning, and architectural forms in Bali have also been conducted, which led to categorising the *Tri Dharma* temples according to their cultural and architectural characteristics that are the core of this thesis. Representative examples from each *Tri Dharma* temple's classifications were selected as case studies, to illustrate how the processes of intercultural and political negotiation can be read in Chinese-Balinese architecture.

The *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali illustrate how the condition of migrancy influences the degree of cross-fertilisation. This can be seen in the *Tri Dharma* temples' siting in Bali that is identifiable within both broad-scale and specific locations as a

consequence of pragmatic and conceptual compromises. The positions of *Tri Dharma* temples being at the margins of Balinese villages, the integration of Chinese and Balinese cultures reflected in the *Subandar* shrine, as well as the hybrid architecture of many of the buildings reflect the status and position of Chinese-Balinese communities as 'the guests' who will not take 'the host's' central territories or areas. The different cosmo-geographical features of Bali, compared with China, have also led to pragmatic responses, such as orientating the temples to the local waterways or main roads and focusing on internal axiality rather than the north-south orientation. Variations of cultural modifications are also identifiable in the typologies and architectural forms of individual buildings within the *Tri Dharma* temple compound. This indicates that as architecture in China developed in response to local geography, migration to Bali's different environment has led to architectural changes.

Ultimately, the hybridity represented by *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali can be seen as a symbolic model of together-in-difference, providing new insights on how religious architecture reflects cultural interaction and a necessity of survival strategies in facing the confluence of social and political differences, and managing being a minority within cultural and national borders. The findings of this study, therefore, provide an understanding of how cultural negotiating processes contribute to maintaining and adapting cultural identities in everyday lives that would also be relevant to other intercultural built environments.

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GLOSSARY

[B] : Balinese
[C] : Chinese
[I] : Indonesian
[M] : Malaysian
[S] : Sanskrit

Adat	[I] the local customary law in Indonesia
Agama	[I] religion
Agama Khonghucu	[I] a term to designate Confucianism as a religion in Indonesia
Angkul-angkul	[B] a simplest Balinese traditional gate designed with hipped roof
Arja	[B] a traditional Balinese opera
Asta bhumi	[B] the Balinese traditional rules of the temple's layout planning
Asta kosala	[B] the Balinese traditional rules in governing the dimension, materials, and ornaments of Hindu-Balinese shrines and other buildings within the temple compound
Asta kosali	[B] the Balinese traditional rules in governing the dimension, materials, and ornaments of Balinese traditional house compound and other buildings within the Balinese traditional house compound
Awig-awig	[B] Hindu-Balinese traditional customary laws and regulations
Bale	[B] a typical Balinese traditional pavilion designed in quadrangle and predominantly constructed with natural materials like brick/stone/wood
Bale Gunung Rata	[B] a type of Balinese traditional building for a Balinese King
Bale Kulkul	[B] a Balinese traditional tower building completed with a wooden bell
Bale Maskerdam/Bale Amsterdam/Saren Agung	[B] the King's bedroom building within the Karangasem Palace complex
Bale Banjar	[B] a Balinese traditional village's public meeting hall
Bale Bengong	[B] a Balinese traditional pavilion otherwise known as gazebo, functioning for relaxation
Bale Pawedan	[B] a Balinese traditional pavilion functioning as a place to perform a Hindu-Balinese ritual process (*maweda*) led by a Hindu-Balinese priest
Bale Sumanggen	[B] a Balinese traditional pavilion functioning as a place to perform Hindu-Balinese ceremonies related to the life-cycle of Hindu-Balinese adherents
Banjar	[B] a place for the smallest local government division in Bali that functions as a social and ceremonial place
Barong Landung	[B] a giant couple of puppets representing King Sri Jayapangus and his Chinese wife
Barongsay	[I] a Chinese Lion dance
Betelan	[B] side entrances at either side of *kori*
Bhuana agung	[B] macrocosm, representing the universe
Bhuana alit	[B] microcosm, representing the human within the universe

Canang	[B] a Hindu-Balinese traditional offering made from coconut leaves as a plate and filled with flowers
Candi Bentar	[B] a form of *Kori Agung* (Balinese traditional gate) that is divided in the centre into two balanced parts
Candi Kurung	[B] a Balinese traditional gate in Karangasem Palace that takes the form of c*andi bentar*
Capitan/Kapitan	[I] [M] a captain
Cetya/Cetiya	[S] a Buddhist worship building designed to place a Buddha altar. This building is smaller than vihara
Cina Peranakan	[I] [M] the descendant of mixed marriages between Chinese males and Indonesian/Malaysian females
Cina Totok	[I] the Chinese migrants to Indonesia who are China-born and culturally still Chinese
Desa Pekraman/*Desa Adat*	[B] a customary village in Bali governed according to a local law based on Hindu-Balinese traditions and manners
Dhang guru	[B] a Hindu-Balinese saint
Feng Shui	[C] an ancient Chinese fundamental practice of geomancy that aims to harmonise the cosmic breath of *yin* and *yang*
Gedong	[B] a type of Hindu Balinese worship building designed in the square and placed along north-south faces to the west or east-west faces to the south
Geguritan	[B] a form of poem developed by Javanese and Balinese speakers
Gong Beri	[B] a sacred instrumental made from metal and played during a performance of *Tari Baris Cina* (*Baris Cina* dance) at a specific time based on the Balinese traditional calendar
Hulu	[B] mountain direction, representing the most sacred zone
Teben	[B] sea direction, representing the most profane zone
Ikut Celedu	[B] a Balinese traditional carving ornament applied to the roof ridge
Jaba Sisi	[B] the most outer courtyard area in Balinese traditional spatial planning
Jaba Tengah	[B] the middle-outer courtyard area in Balinese traditional spatial planning
Jeroan	[B] the most inner courtyard area in Balinese traditional spatial planning
Juru Wanigrama	[B] a male merchant supervisor
Juru Wanigrami	[B] a female merchant supervisor
Juru Wayanga	[B] the leader of merchant communities
Kahyangan Tiga/Kahyangan Desa	[B] three sacral places/Hindu-Balinese temples within a Balinese cultural village comprising of *Pura Desa*, *Pura Puseh*, and *Pura Dalem*
Kangin	[B] the religious axis of east direction
Kaja	[B] the earth's axis direction towards the Agung Mountain
Kauh	[B] the religious axis of west direction
Kelod	[B] the earth's axis direction towards the sea
Karang Boma	[B] a Balinese traditional carving ornament taking a form of giant monster head showing its hands, fingers, and sharpened nails, and surrounded with floral patterns

Karang Gajah	[B] a Balinese traditional carving ornament adopting a form of an elephant face and trunk
Karang Sae	[B] a Balinese traditional ornament that adopting the form of giant bat along with fangs
Kekarangan	[B] a category of Balinese traditional carving ornament adopted form of plant(s) and/or animal(s)
Kepeng/Pis Bolong	[B] a Chinese coin mostly made from copper with hollows used as money transaction tools before the 11th century and developed as a material of offering in Hindu Balinese ritual
Keramat	[I] [M] a sacred or holy place
Kasultanan	[I] a region led by a King or Sultan
Klenteng/Kelenteng	[I] an Indonesian term to designate a Chinese temple that is derived from the bell sound of *klinting-klinting* within the temple
Kongco	[C] a title for respected deities or heroes in the Chinese temple
Kori	[B] a highest stratum of Balinese traditional gate, adopting the form of mountain and part of a Balinese palace or Hindu Balinese temple
Krama Desa	[B] those Balinese and Hindu-Balinese who are registered as members of *Desa Pekraman*/*Desa Adat*
Krama tamiu	[B] those Balinese and Hindu-Balinese who are not registered as members of *Desa Pekraman*/*Desa Adat*
Tamiu	[B] those non-Hindu-Balinese who live temporarily in the village and are not registered as the member of *Desa Pekraman*/*Desa Adat*
Krawangan	[I] small holes in the soft pattern of textile embroider or wood carving
Ksatria	[B] the second highest caste of Hindu-Balinese, mostly of royalty and nobility
Liong	[I] a Chinese lion statue
Lontar	[S] a palm-leaf manuscript
Majelis Tri Dharma	[I] *Tri Dharma* Council, also initiated as the name of *Tri Dharma* religion
Maweda	[B] a Hindu-Balinese ritual process
Murda	[B] a Balinese traditional carving ornament applied to the top of the roof
Muslim Tionghoa	[I] Chinese-Indonesian people who convert or choose Islam as their religion
Ngaben	[B] the Hindu-Balinese cremation ceremony in Bali
Odalan	[B] a ritual held by Hindu-Balinese on the temple festival(s)
Padmasana	[B] the biggest and most complete Balinese worship shrine or altar
Pagoda	[C] a tiered tower with multiple eaves
Paifang	[C] a traditional style of Chinese architectural arch or gateway without roof structure
Pailou	[C] a traditional style of Chinese architectural arch or gateway with roof structure
Pajeng	[B] the Balinese traditional decoration of umbrella
Palemahan	[B] one of principles in *Tri Hita Karana*, meaning the relationship with the land

Pamerajan	[B] a family Hindu-Balinese temple complex built in the north-east within the Balinese traditional house compound
Pancasila	[I] the Indonesian state's foundation and ideology
Parahyangan	[B] one of principles in *Tri Hita Karana*, meaning the relationship with Hindu-Balinese God(s)
Patra Cina	[B] a Balinese traditional carving pattern adopting hibiscus flower form
Patra Mesir	[B] a Balinese traditional carving pattern adopting a geometrical form
Pawongan	[B] one of principles in *Tri Hita Karana*, meaning the relationship with Hindu-Balinese communities
Pelinggih	[B] a Hindu-Balinese shrine or altar
Pelinggih Penunggun Karang	[B] the Hindu-Balinese shrine or altar for the God of earth
Pelinggih Nyai Roro Kidul	[B] the Hindu-Balinese shrine or altar for the Goddess of south sea
Pelinggih Ratu Subandar	[B] the Chinese-Balinese shrine or altar for the Goddess of trading
Pepalihan	[B] a category of Balinese traditional carving ornament taking the forms of lines and planes
Pepatran	[B] a category of Balinese traditional carving ornament taking the form of plant(s)
Pribumi	[I] the native Indonesian people or population
Puja Bakti	[I] the worship activities among Buddhist believers
Pura	[B] a Hindu-Balinese temple complex
Pura Dalem	[B] a Hindu Balinese temple dedicated to the God of Ciwa and can be found in every cultural village
Pura Desa	[B] a Hindu Balinese temple for worshipping God of Brahma
Pura Prajapati	[B] a Hindu Balinese temple for worshipping Goddess of Durga, built side-by-side with *Pura Dalem*
Pura Puseh	[B] a Hindu Balinese temple for worshipping God of Vishnu
Puri	[B] a royal residential compound belonging to a Balinese noble of Ksatria caste
Rambut Sedana	[B] the God of generosity in Bali
Sampik Ing Tay	[C] a work of Chinese literature artwork that has been famous for more than a century and popularly adopted into Balinese opera performance (*arja*)
Sang Hyang Widhi	[B] the Hindu-Balinese one supreme God
Ser Pasar	[B] a Chinese market leader
Shenwei	[C] a spirit tablet
Subak	[B] the Balinese traditional irrigation organisation
Subandar	[B] a harbourmaster
Tari Baris Cina	[B] a Balinese dance that is claimed as the acculturation result of Chinese and Balinese culture, wherein the dance movements and costumes have a sacred meaning and are performed every six months during the temple festival (*odalan*) in some Hindu-Balinese temples in Bali
Tempat Ibadat Tri Dharma (TITD)/ Tri Dharma Worship Place	[I] the worship building for *Tri Dharma* religion
Tionghoa	[I] an Indonesian term for the Chinese

Tipitaka	[S] the Indonesian-Buddhist holy book
Thian	[C] the Chinese one supreme God or God of Heaven
Tri Angga	[B] a human scale model of the universe divided into three parts
Tri Dharma	[I] an association of three religious doctrines (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism)
Tri Mandala	[B] a Balinese traditional spatial concept describing three parts of realms: Utama Mandala (the outer and lower mundane less-sacred realm), Madya Mandala (the intermediate middle realm), and Nista Mandala (the inner and higher most important sacred realm)
Tri Hita Karana	[B] the three essential reasons for prosperity in Hindu-Balinese traditional principle, comprising of *parahyangan, pawongan, palemahan*
Tugu	[B] the simplest form of Hindu-Balinese shrine
Tuhan Yang Maha Esa/Yang Maha Esa	[I] the supreme God
Vihara	[S] a temple for Buddhist adherents
Wastra	[B] a Balinese traditional textile
Wantilan	[B] a multipurpose hall
Yin Yang	[C] the harmony of cosmic breath

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to Chapter

This chapter sets up the background of the research into Chinese temples in Bali, in relation to architecture, socio-cultural backgrounds, and politics. It begins an illustration of the distinctive characteristics of Chinese temples in Bali by unpacking the differences and similarities observed between a Chinese temple in China, with a Chinese temple in Bali, Indonesia.

Following this, key elements of these temples are discussed, highlighting where previous scholarship on Chinese temples in Bali and Java is elaborated and developed. Section 1.2.1 present the broader historical context of ethnic Chinese presence and settlement in Indonesia before and after Indonesian independence, in which the political aspects that may have influenced Chinese temple architecture are identified.

Section 1.3 and 1.5 also provide brief explanations regarding the groundwork of this thesis and the broader aims of the project, including the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Overview

Figures 1 and 2 depict different Chinese temples in Fujian and Bali. Figure 1 shows Nanputuo Temple in Xiamen City, Fujian Province in China. This temple is an example of a Chinese temple from a part of China from where a large number of Chinese populations in Indonesia originated. The majority population of Fujian Province are the Hakka, Fuzhou, and Hokkien (dialect groups);the Chinese-Indonesians have descended from this region, specifically the Hakka and Hokkien groups.

Figure 2 shows a Chinese temple in Denpasar City, Bali, Indonesia, which is usually visited by the Chinese-Balinese of Hakka or Hokkien descendants. These two obviously do not represent all possible variations on the Chinese temple; yet the

similarities and differences in their key elements provide clues to understanding the characteristics of Chinese temples in Bali.



Figure 1: The Nanputuo temple in Fujian Province, China
Source: Chia (2020)



Figure 2: The Oong Tay Jen temple in Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia
Source: Author (2019)

The Nanputuo, otherwise known as South Putuo, is a Chinese temple built during the Kayuan period of Tang Dynasty (686 C.E) (Chia, 2020). The Nanputuo's layout is designed according to Chinese traditional architecture precepts, emphasising symmetrical balance along a north-south axis, in which the courtyard is integrated with the pagodas and halls [1]. The main entrances and halls of the temple's roofs are two-tiered hip-and-gabled. The eaves corners are tilted and curved upwards; colourful ornaments of mythical animals and religious symbols applied to the curved ridge roofs are also the most identifiable features of Nanputuo's architectural design, depicting the characteristic of roof design in South China. Other variations of Chinese traditional ornament and decorative elements in this temple take the form of

[1] It is important to note that this is a complex of buildings, rather than a single building, with individual structures arranged according to purpose, and divided into zones.

geometric patterns, Chinese mythical animals, Chinese figures, Chinese calligraphy, and Chinese lanterns - all of which have symbolic meanings[2].

In contrast to Nanputuo Temple, a Chinese temple in South Denpasar called Oong Tay Jen (see Figure 2), also known as Griya Kongco Dwipayana, has a unique external appearance that, at first glance, resembles a Hindu-Balinese temple. As with a Hindu-Balinese temple, the Oong Tay Jen is a worship building complex divided into different zones according to particular ritual activities, but in a different manner to the Chinese temple in Fujian.

The temple complex comprises various Hindu-Balinese shrines (*pelinggih*) in which different gods are manifest. These zones are surrounded by enclosed walls and connected with Balinese traditional gates; however, the Oong Tay Jen also combines these Hindu-Balinese architectural and cultural elements with Chinese traditional architectural design. Some aspects of Chinese architectural forms within the Oong Tay Jen can be seen mostly in the curved roof design - similar to the Southern China identity - the predominant use of red and yellow colours, and the application of Chinese mythical animal ornaments, all of which are immediately observable Chinese traditional elements.

This merging between Chinese and Balinese cultural elements can also be observed with further analysis in its spatial planning, architectural form, interior layout, and ritual processes. In other words, despite there being some aspects that seem immediately Chinese, other aspects also require some study or deeper understanding.

This cross-cultural mixture raises a question of why the Oong Tay Jen has both Chinese and Hindu-Balinese traditional elements:

- *How did this mixture originate?*
- *What is the nature of this combination?*

[2] Although Nanputuo temple is used as a Buddhist monastery, this temple represents typical Chinese traditional cultures, which may be influenced by Confucianism and Daoism. In connection to this, everything related to Chinese cultural expressions, including Chinese religions and Chinese temples during the New Order regime (1965-1998), was banned by the Indonesian government.

- *What does this merging of architectures say about Chinese-Balinese culture and more generally about the migration of culture and architecture?*

All these questions are explored in this study, through analysis of Chinese-Balinese temples, their histories and locations within geographical, cultural, social and political contexts.

A few studies of Chinese temples in Denpasar City, Bali have been conducted by scholars (Herlina, 2010; Sulistyawati, 2011a; Santoso et.al., 2017[3]), focusing on their architectural elements. One the temples studied in this manner is the Oong Tay Jen as noted above. Sulistyawati (2011a) discusses Chinese and Balinese acculturation within Oong Tay Jen's architecture and finds that this temple combines both Chinese and Balinese cultural elements in its spatial planning, building typologies, materials, ornaments, colours, and symbolic meanings. Similarly, in describing Oong Tay Jen's architecture and interior design, Santoso (2017) notes three main points:

1. some Balinese traditional ornaments in this temple have been modified as the result of cultural combination;
2. some of the Chinese cultural ornaments have similar meanings for Hindu-Balinese believers and *vice versa*; and
3. there are varying mixtures of Chinese and Balinese cultural elements on the individual worship buildings within the temple complex.

In addition, Herlina's (2010) thesis on the application of Chinese traditional architecture to the building forms and ornaments in the Cao Fuk Miao in North Denpasar City reveals that this temple applies Balinese traditional concepts in its spatial planning, adopts Balinese traditional pavilion and Hindu-Balinese shrine typologies, as well as the temple's worshippers providing Balinese traditional offerings for ritual activity purposes.

However, despite the cross-cultural elements described in the aforementioned studies, they focus on the physical descriptions of the architectural elements, and how and why the combination of Chinese and Balinese elements emerged in these Chinese temples in Bali remain subjects for further exploration. Also, these two

[3] These Indonesian scholars focus their published works on architecture and design and interior design; in particular Sulistyawati, a Chinese-Balinese scholar, who has also written a series of cultural studies works.

temples are not unique. There may be other Chinese temples in Bali that combine Chinese and Balinese features. In other words, these two Chinese temples in Bali are not unusual, but representative of Chinese-Balinese temples, more generally. And this observation of a widespread phenomenon that has been little explained provides a starting point in this thesis' investigations.

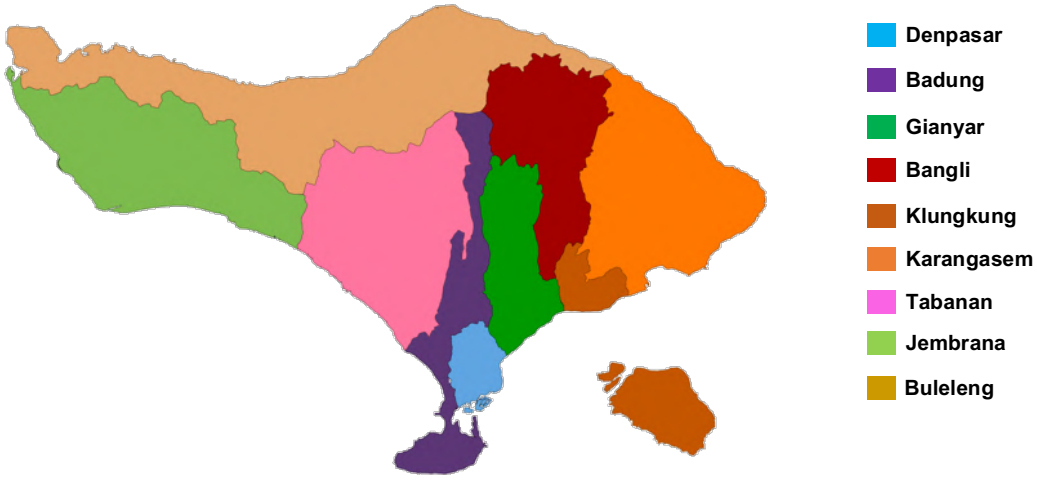


Figure 3: The Map of Bali's Regencies
Source: BPS Provinsi Bali (2015)

Bali is one of Indonesia's provinces, located in the middle of Indonesian archipelago, and comprising one municipality and eight regencies: Denpasar, Badung, Tabanan, Gianyar, Klungkung, Karangasem, Bangli, Jembrana, Singaraja (see Figure 3). The majority of the population of Bali province is ethnic Balinese, with various ethnic groups from other provinces and outside of Indonesia inhabiting the island together, including the Chinese ethnic group[4].

According to the 2010 census conducted by Indonesian Statistic Centre, the Chinese accounted 0.39% of the Bali's population; whereas the vast majority of the Chinese population in Indonesia's provinces is found in Java Island (10.36% of the population of Java). Given this large number of Chinese populations in Java, there are many Chinese temples in Java; thus it is necessary to present some scholars' studies of

[4] Ananta et.al (2015) distinguish between local ethnic groups and migrant ethnic groups according to their origins. Local ethnic groups refer to the group of people who originate from one of Indonesia's provinces, despite nowadays many of them being dispersed in other Indonesian provinces or abroad. In contrast, migrant ethnic groups are those who originate from outside Indonesian provinces, whether they have arrived in particular provinces a few years earlier or were born and have lived for generations in particular provinces. All of these ethnic groups are distinguishable by their languages, customs, particular province origins, and sometimes their physical appearance.

certain aspects of Chinese temples in Java to provide significant insights of comparison between Chinese temples in Java and Bali. Further, Java and Bali have different religious majorities. The majority religion of the population in Java is Islam; whilst Bali itself is predominantly Hindu-Balinese in adherence.

Kustedja et al. (2012, 2013) have studied the architecture and Chinese traditional symbolic meanings of a majority of the ancient Chinese temples in Java Island. They find that most of these temple's gateways have Chinese traditional *paifang* design, along with Chinese traditional ornament and symbolic elements; however, due to the pragmatic response towards local geographical features, they argue that some of mythical animal ornaments have not been placed and oriented according to the Chinese cardinal orientations. Further, a few of these ornaments have been painted in colours that do not follow Chinese traditional precepts.

Another study by Kustedja et al. (2014), conducted on six Chinese temples in Java, reveals that their Chinese religious adherence is combined with worship of some local deities. These deities are from two different backgrounds; namely, Javanese indigenous elder figures and Chinese figures who were honoured by the locals during the Dutch colonial times or who possessed a good relationship with the local government of *Kasultanan* - a region led by a King or Sultan.

Marcella (2017a) also discusses the roof design types of individual buildings within Sam Po Kong Temple in Semarang, Central Java that have either Chinese traditional half-pitched and half-gabled roofs or gabled roofs with solid walls at the ends. These Chinese traditional roofs are topped with curved roof ridges and have symbolic meanings embedded into Chinese traditional ornaments of curling waves or mythical animals. In addition to this, Mulyono (2015) and Marcella (2017b) explored the spatial planning of the Liong Tjwan Bio temples in Probolinggo (East Java) and the Sam Po Kong in Semarang, and found that these temples follow *feng shui*, though with local geographical reorientations.

The Tanjung Kait temple in Jakarta also demonstrates how the general rules of *feng shui* have been implemented in building design and selection of ornament classified into five traditional Chinese categories of plants, animals, geometric symbols, figures and decorations (Erisca, 2008).

All of these studies that examine Chinese temples in Java have shown differences between the temples and similarities in their approach. Chinese temples in Java Island have been studied in more cultural detail than Chinese temples in Bali. There also appears to be a general distinction between Chinese-Javanese and Chinese-Balinese temples, in which Chinese-Javanese temples architectural forms are mostly being designed as transplanted Chinese temples in China; whereas Chinese temples in Bali are particularly interesting in their cross-cultural characteristics.

Given the complexity of the relationship between Chinese and Balinese cultures within Chinese temples in Bali, thus, it is critical to focus in this study on the exploration of Chinese temples in Bali, rather than going into so much detail comparing Chinese temples in Java. Moreover, comparing these studies raises further questions as to how and why the Hindu-Balinese elements came to be included in Chinese temples in Bali.

1.2.1 Historical Context in Brief

The historical context of the ethnic Chinese before and after Indonesian independence also suggests the changing of Indonesian political/governmental attitudes towards to the Chinese across Indonesia, including Bali, that may have influenced Chinese temple architecture. By way of example, under the New Order Indonesian government (1965-1998) was the most fraught period for Chinese-Indonesians. At that time, the Indonesian government banned everything representing Chinese traditional cultures. Institutions representing specific Chinese religions (Confucianism and Daoism) were also not permitted and so had to be categorised as Buddhist (Suryadinata, 2005).

As a result, Chinese temples' façades had to be renovated or modified, and the deities' statues or altars were removed, excluding Buddha statues and altars as the government accepted them as the official religious representations (Salmon & Lombard, 2003; Hauser-Schäublin, 2014; Bastian, 2018). Due to this history of Chinese cultural and religious discrimination in Indonesia, other questions are raised in this study regarding how the central and Balinese government's regulations and policies have impacted the history of Chinese temples, in particular to the establishment and development of Chinese temples in Bali, as well as the design of Chinese temples. Further, why this has happened and what does it signify for the Chinese people in Bali is necessary to be explored further.

This study analyses how and why Chinese-Balinese temples have certain characteristics, involving understanding the political contexts of their design, establishment and development of their histories. This issue is elaborated in Chapter 3, about Chinese religion and belief in the Indonesian political context.

Drawing from the observation of the two temples discussed in Section 1.2 (Figures 1 and 2), it is argued that the establishment of Chinese temples in Bali are expressions of how religious and social places have been generated for the Chinese-Balinese spirituality and culture, involving Balinese traditional architecture elements to be combined with Chinese temple architecture. This general hypothesis is explored in detail in Chapters 6 and 7. In respect of this, understanding the background of individuals (the temple designers/architects), societies and communities are also important for understanding the establishment and development of Chinese temples in Bali.

1.2.2 Research Questions

Building on the few studies that have focused on the architectural characteristics within individual temples, a more thorough study of all the significant Chinese temples in Bali will provide comprehensive new knowledge to answer these questions. The influences of the changing Indonesian political situation on Chinese temples are also included in this study, as this socio-political context provides critical background to understanding their architectural development and histories. Therefore, based on these issues, the four key research questions are:

1. What are the critical characteristics of Chinese temple architecture in Bali?
2. Why are both Chinese and Balinese cultural elements present in Chinese temples in Bali?
3. Through this architectural context, how has Chinese cultural identity been maintained and negotiated within the Balinese culture?
4. How have Chinese made Bali their ‘home’ as a comforting and comfortable place and space by expressing and practising their ancestral homeland’s culture?

1.3 Initial Survey of Chinese Temples in Bali

An initial survey of Chinese temples in Bali has been conducted as part of the basis of this study. This initial survey involved on-site observations of fourteen Chinese temples distributed across all Bali's regencies, focused on identifying and comparing these Chinese temples' spatial planning and their architectural features, so all the important architectural variations of Chinese temples in Bali could be determined.

On-site surveys of these Chinese temples have collected archival and architectural visual data, incorporating historical documents, layout settings, measurement of building dimensions, type of buildings and materials, as well as notes on details of ornament and decorative elements. All of these visual data have been compiled into a Matrix Table to determine the significant architectural variations of all Chinese temples in Bali (see the Matrix Table in **Appendix A**).

1.4 The Thesis Structure

Chapter Two explores the background of ethnic Chinese in Bali. Drawing on literary sources, this chapter discusses:

- the history of ethnic Chinese presence and how they settled in Bali;
- how Chinese people came to be accepted by Hindu-Balinese society and at the same time have come to influence Balinese culture; and
- how ethnic Chinese have become recognised as having Chinese-Balinese ethnicity by the locals, and by themselves.

This chapter also explores the prominent role of Indonesian political history in determining the establishment and development of Chinese religions in Bali.

Chapter Three focuses on Chinese religions and beliefs in Indonesia, and how they have changed as the result of Indonesian policy shifting. The compatibility of Chinese and Balinese beliefs and religions will also be elaborated in this chapter. Following this will be an exploration of the worship buildings of Chinese and Balinese religions and beliefs. Overall, this chapter draws on notable aspects of Chinese-Balinese religions and belief features and their architectures, as these will be used in framing the case studies chapter on Chinese temples in Bali.

Chapter Four outlines theories based upon the cultural and religious backgrounds of ethnic Chinese in Bali, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. The outline starts with the theoretical ideas of post-colonialism, in the particular the relationship between Indonesia's assimilationist colonial past and the multiculturalist national present. Following this is an investigation of the problematic position of the Chinese-Indonesians in determining their national identity involving the discursive frameworks of diasporic identities and hybridity.

Chapter Five describes the process undertaken to arrive at the case studies and their categorisation in generating the empirical basis of this study. Proceeding from the initial findings in all the preceding chapters, this chapter will explain the process of observation and its parameters to classify the Chinese temples in Bali as case studies.

Chapter Six describes the thesis' classification of Chinese temples distributed across Bali's regencies. In this chapter, a few examples of each category are focused on for exploration of their sites, spatial planning, and architectural forms (building elements and interiors), in addition to their development processes to fully explain the basis for the classification of these temples into particular categories.

Chapter Seven discusses the critical features of each category of Chinese temples in Bali. In respect of this, each category of Chinese temples' sites, spatial planning, and architectural forms will be discussed within the broader socio-cultural and political contexts. Moreover, the particular concern in this study is to examine how both Chinese and Balinese cultural elements have been implemented and negotiated into Chinese temples in Bali. The discussion includes the correlation between the Chinese temples' establishment backgrounds and their users.

Chapter Eight is the concluding chapter. This chapter summarises all the significant findings in this study and concludes the identity of Chinese temples in Bali and its implications, along with the contribution on broader theoretical and philosophical contexts.

1.5 Broader Aims

Chinese temples' architecture in Bali represents a unique and prominent cross-cultural phenomenon. As a result, fourteen Chinese temples distributed in different

regencies in Bali that are the subjects of this thesis, provide material for a comprehensive exploration of cross-cultural architectural variation. Analysis of these case studies will enhance understanding by exploring the architectural meanings and adaptation processes between Balinese and Chinese traditional architectures. More broadly, this study will contribute to cultural architectural studies by developing an understanding of how particular ethnic minorities approach both preserving their architectural traditions, and adapting to local cultures, and how this is impacted by broader social and political contexts.

CHAPTER 2: THE BACKGROUND OF ETHNIC CHINESE IN BALI

2.1 Introduction

Chinese people have long been part of Balinese history. Some Chinese families have lived for generations in Bali, so have become Chinese-Balinese as they are living side-by-side with Balinese culture. This chapter explores the background of ethnic Chinese in Bali, to understand the significance of the relationship of Chinese people with the broader Hindu-Balinese culture and society. It covers the history of:

- ethnic Chinese presence and how they settled in Bali;
- how the Chinese came to be accepted by Hindu-Balinese society and at the same time have come to influence Balinese culture; and
- how the Chinese have come to be recognised as having Chinese-Balinese ethnicity.

This chapter also explores the prominent role of Indonesian political history in determining the establishment and development of Chinese religions in Indonesia.

2.2 The Historical Evidence of the Chinese Presence to Bali

Chinese migrants have been present as diasporic communities in much of the wider world, particularly in Southeast Asia. In this Section, exploration of the history of Chinese migration uses both documentary and archaeological sources to provide an inclusive picture of the evidence of Chinese communities' establishment in Indonesian archipelago, particularly in Bali as the focus of this study.

Pushed mainly by labour and commercial opportunities (Flecker, 2000; Wade, 2009; Chaffee, 2018; Soebagjo, 2019), the historical presence of a Chinese population in Indonesia has been fostered by the development of economic, social, and cultural lives. Moreover, the development of the maritime trade system over a particular period of time (starting from ca. 1400 - 1750) allowed Chinese merchants to sojourn

or settle overseas (Lockard, 2010). According to Purcell (1965), most of the Chinese migrants to Indonesia originated from Southern provinces of China (Guangdong, Fujian, and Guangxi). A majority were Hokkiens, followed by Hakkas, Cantonese, and Teochius. The Hokkiens were the first Chinese migrants to Indonesia. Their origin is Fukien Province of Amoy, currently known as Xiamen City in Fujian Province (a China province where Nanputuo temple established – see Section 1.2 and Figure 1). Xiamen City is located on China's southeast coast and its landscape features represent the Chinese geomancy of *feng shui* – mountains in the north and waterways in the south – and has a long history as a major port city, contributing to the maritime trading and commercial activities, as well as the migration of Chinese people across Southeast Asia (Chia, 2003; Tang, 2013).

Purcell further explains that it was noted by the Dutch East Indies government census in 1930 that there were around 550,000 Hokkiens in Indonesia, with the vast majority of the population in Java and Madura, and more than half in the east of Indonesia (1965, p. 387). Hakka was the second majority population distributed mainly in West Borneo, Bangka and Belitung, Sumatera's East Coast, with some in East Java.

Hakka people originated from the provincial areas of Guangdong and Guangxi. Cantonese were evenly dispersed in East Coast and South Sumatera, East Borneo, and Sulawesi. Whilst, the Teochiu population was mostly distributed in Sumatera's East Coast, Jambi, Riau, with some in the Northwest of Borneo. However, despite there being no record of the origin and number of Chinese in Bali, it can be assumed that with half of all Hokkiens in Indonesia counted as being distributed in east of Indonesia, there would have been a Balinese Hokkien population. In addition to this, Salmon and Sidharta (2000) found that, in 1888, the Hainanese and Hokkien merchants were already inhabiting Tanjung Benoa (some 25 km to the South of Denpasar, Bali), as evident in an ancient inscription within a Chinese temple in Tanjung Benoa, where the Hokkien and Hainanese names are written as temple donors.

Chinese were already sailing regularly to Southeast Asia, Japan, and India in the Song era (960 - 1279 CE) and settling in Srivijaya during this period[5]. Further, Groeneveldt explains that a note by a Chinese geographical expert of the time of the Tang dynasty reveals that the Chinese had explored Bali Island in the Tang Dynasty (618 – 906 CE) and mentions geographic characteristics of Bali and the Balinese burial process:

> *Dva-ba-dan located in South Cambodia with two months of sea journey distance. This country located in East of Ka-ling (Java) and West of Mi-li-ju (Maluku). In the North is the border. Their culture is similar to Ka-ling. Paddy harvests every month.*
>
> *They have letters written on patra leave (lontar[6]). If one died, they are filling their mouth with gold and wearing gold bracelets. Once the dead body has added by camphor oil, camphor chalk and other oils, they stacked up the firewood and burned the body.*
> (Groeneveldt, 2009, p. 81).

This note explains that *Dva-ba-dan* is assumed to be Bali Island due to its location in the centre of Indonesian archipelago. The writing tradition on *lontar* indicates a reference to Balinese's ancient manuscripts, while the burial tradition indicates a *ngaben* ceremony, which is recognisable today.

[5] Srivijaya was an empire in eastern Sumatera Island and well-known for its maritime and commercial power, particularly over the exclusive course of travel between China and Southeast Asia (Gungwu, 1958; Wolters, 1970; Gipouloux, 2009). Despite there being few historical sources available, traces of a maritime trade relationship between Chinese merchants and Srivijaya Kingdom are recorded on archaeological discoveries, foreign visitors' travel notes, and dedications of funerary inscriptions.
[6] Lontar is a palm-leaf manuscript.



Figure 4: The harbours in the North and South Bali in the 1st Century
Source: Ardika (2009)

The remarkable Chinese maritime trading and commercial activities in the Indonesian archipelago have also provided vital evidence of the beginning of ethnic Chinese presence in Bali. By way of example, some archaeological evidence from the Han period such as bronze drums (202 BCE - 220 CE) in South Sumatra (Jusuf 2014) and potteries (206 BCE - 220 CE) in Sumatera, Borneo, Java, Sulawesi, and Bali (Kong, 2005), reveal the broad trading relationship between China and Indonesia has occurred since the 1st Century.

As it is located in the centre of the Indonesian archipelago, Bali became the destination for major trade of textiles, potteries, gold thread, and spices from China, India, and Moluccas (Nabholz-Kartaschoff et al., 2008). The archaeological remains of ancient ports in North, South, and East Bali are the prominent traces dating back to these commercial activities in the 1st century, connecting the eastern and western part of Indonesian archipelago, as evident on the finding of some archaeological objects (for example, potteries, carnelian beads, and metal objects) in nearby villages (Ardika, 2009) (see Figure 4).

Inscriptional and archaeological data found in Julah, Pacung, and Sembiran villages on Bali's north-eastern coast indicate at least one ancient port site was used for trade relations between Bali, India, and China (Ardika, 2008). Ardika (2009) also found that Blanjong could be an ancient port site in Southern Bali in early 10th century and seems to have been used for inter-maritime trade between China and Bali. This finding is in relation to archaeological evidence of Chinese ceramics from Tang, Song, and Yuan periods (7th - 10th century).

In addition, Beratha and Ardika (2011) also note that the presence of Chinese people in Karangasem Regency was not just acknowledged because of their economic function, but was also distinguished by their level of social status. In this sense, most of the Chinese were traders, harbourmasters, or tax collectors, as representatives of local rulers (Balinese lords and king) at Padangbai harbour in Karangasem, the eastern part of Bali. The local rulers generated a harbour institutional system by hiring a Chinese market leader (*Ser Pasar*) and merchant supervisors (*Juru Wanigrama* and *Wanigrami* or *Juru Wayanga*) to work and run the harbour's trade. Moreover, they also issued trading regulations to supervise and control the harbour's trade activities. The Chinese also maintained a good relationship with the local government by giving goods and presents to obtain legal permits for supervising and managing the harbour, warehouses, and commercial activities amongst visiting merchants from across Southeast Asia.

As the remarkable socio-economic relations between the Chinese people and Balinese royal courts of lords and kings were generated due to the Chinese skills in trading and commerce, the Chinese had leading economic roles and high social standing compared to other ethnic groups and locals (non-Royal Balinese). The networks created through these relations also gave privilege to the Chinese community to establish Chinese settlements. As noted by Van Eck cited in Hauser-Schäublin (2014), during the pre-colonial and early colonial eras, the Chinese had lived in all the harbours in Northern Bali, along with other ethnic communities (Buginese, Javanese and Sundanese). However, these other ethnic communities did not have the same privileges from the local rulers, compared with the Chinese community (Hauser-Schäublin, 2014, p. 88). In addition to this, the royal family of *puri* also gave privileges to Chinese people to live around the palace and local markets (Sulistyawati, 2008; Beratha et al., 2011, p. 37). These were the important

locations used as central government and commerce districts, so they meant the local government was able to supervise Chinese activities and lives effectively, whilst at the same time Chinese could support the local government's income. For instance, representative evidence of what was happening in North Bali harbours at the time was a benefit given to the Chinese harbour supervisor in Buleleng to live exclusively in a community house in northern side of the local market, as well as to erect a Chinese temple. The Chinese community was also given lands as a present from the *puri* to establish other Chinese settlements or cemeteries.

In addition, the Chinese settlers were also dispersed broadly into villages in Bali, including Padangbai, Baturiti, Carangsari (Beratha and Ardika, 2014), and Pinggan (Sulistyawati, 2011b; Armini, 2013; Sukarsih, 2019). The contemporary Chinese communities in three cultural villages or *desa adat* in Bali - Baturiti, Carangsari, Padangbai - have lived there since the 18th century (so most likely for four or five generations). While the Chinese in Padangbai village preferred to settle near to Padangbai harbour, as they were obtaining superordinate authority from the local rulers to supervise the harbour and collecting taxes, the Chinese settlers in Baturiti and Carangsari villages mostly worked as farmers and agricultural merchants. They also developed a strong network with the royal courts, giving them privilege to live around the local markets.

Another village in Bali, Pinggan Village, has a historic connection to local royalty dating to King Jayapangus from Warmadewa Dynasty who ruled between 1177-1188. This village was the centre of King Jayapangus' new kingdom after he married a Chinese merchant's daughter named Kang Ci Wie. Since then, many Chinese people have been living in this village for generations and most of them were born in Bali, blending with local population and culture.

2.3 The Adaptation of the Chinese to Hindu-Balinese Culture

2.3.1 Society and Culture

The existence of Chinese people as a minority ethnic group has been identified across regions of Bali, from the coastal area to the villages and cities; however, to be accepted by Hindu-Balinese community, Chinese community blended into Hindu-Balinese society's daily life and culture to varying degrees. Beratha and Ardika's

(2014) observation of Chinese people in three villages in Bali found that the Chinese in Carangsari and Padangbai villages are all registered as *desa pakraman* members; whereas the Chinese in Baturiti Village are excluded from being *desa pakraman* members. *Desa pakraman,* otherwise known as *desa adat*[7], in this sense, is the unified legal cultural community which upholds Hindu-Balinese teachings as well as the traditions and manners of a Hindu-Balinese community (Surpha, 2002). According to Bali Provincial Regulation No. 4 Year 2019, there are three types of *desa adat* members - *krama desa adat*, *krama tamiu*, and *tamiu*[8] - distinguished by their socio-cultural and religious status, also their rights, and obligations in relation to the *awig-awig* or traditional customary laws and regulations.

The *awig-awig* of *desa adat*, in this sense, governs members' rights and obligations in relation to the notion of *Tri Hita Karana* - the three essential relationships to the God(s) (*parahyangan*), communities (*pawongan*), and land (*palemahan*) where the members living. In other words, the members have responsibilities for conducting rituals and rites in Hindu-Balinese temples, for maintaining relationships to other members, and for maintaining their lands or properties, as well as the village's facilities. However, these three essential relationships are required solely by the Hindu-Balinese, whereas the non-Hindu-Balinese members are obligated to maintain *pawongan* and *palemahan* only, excluding *parahyangan*, as they are outside devout Hindu-Balinese belief system. On this point, these essential relationships apply to the three villages here, whether the Chinese are *desa pakraman* member or not.

As explained further by Katriani (2018), in practice, most of Balinese cultural villages categorise the people who live in their village into *krama desa* (the host) and *tamiu* (the guests), by which the guests are distinguished by their rights and obligations, either as Hindu-Balinese and non-Hindu-Balinese. By way of example, the Chinese in the Carangsari village are not obligated to prepare the offerings and participate in

[7] The change of Bali Province Local Regulation Number 6 Year 1986 into Bali Province Local Regulation Number 3 Year 2003 was followed with the change of the *Desa Pekraman* term into *Desa Adat*, yet with the same substance. This regulation was re-updated in Bali Province Local Regulation Number 3 Year 2019, governing the *Desa Adat* in Bali.

[8] *Krama desa adat* refers to those the Balinese and Hindu-Balinese who are registered as *Desa Adat* members. Members of *desa adat* are understood to have been living for generations in the bond of *Kahyangan Tiga* (three main temples) or called *Kahyangan Desa* (village temples) that possess and have the right to manage a certain region and their own property. *Krama tamiu* refers to those the Balinese and Hindu-Balinese who are not registered as *Desa Adat* members. *Tamiu* refers to those non-Hindu-Balinese who live temporarily in the village and are not registered as *Desa Adat* members.

the many Hindu-Balinese rituals in the *Pura Puseh* (temple of origin), yet they can provide funds to renovate Hindu-Balinese shrines and *bale banjar* (village's public meeting hall) adjacent to this temple. However, the Chinese in this village are able to participate in maintaining the *Pura Dalem* (a temple related to the cemetery) and in the temple festivals (*odalan*) held in the *Pura Dalem* as a service. In return they have been allowed to establish a Chinese shrine within the *Pura Dalem* and set up the Chinese graveyard adjacent to the *Pura Dalem*. Beratha et al. (2011) further explain that the efforts of these Chinese people in giving contributions to the d*esa adat* are so they are accepted by the Hindu-Balinese and can obtain security as a minority ethnicity. In addition to this, the Chinese status in participating in the temple festival rituals in the *Pura Dalem* is as Hindu-Buddhist believers. Beratha and Ardika (2014, p. 261) explain further that the Chinese in Carangsari Village practice their traditional beliefs of respecting their ancestors and Hindu-Balinese rituals[9].

The Chinese people in the Padangbai village also participate in maintaining a *bale pawedan* within Segara temple (one of five major temples in Padangbai Village) (Beratha et al., 2014, p. 265). A *bale pawedan*, in this sense, is a Balinese traditional open pavilion used as a seat for the Hindu-Balinese priest during leading a ritual. This building was initiated by the King of Karangasem, who hired Chinese people who settled in Karangasem to construct it. The Chinese people in this village maintain the *bale pawedan* to show respect to the royal family and their ancestors. Finally, the Chinese in Baturiti Village participate in giving donations or building materials for shrine developments in Baturiti Village and surroundings, because they see themselves a part of the wider Hindu-Balinese community; so, the wider Hindu-Balinese community also see them as a part of the community. They also follow the local customs in participating temple festival rituals, particularly in the Batu Meringgit temple, where a Chinese shrine called Kongco Batu Meringgit had been established within this Hindu-Balinese complex[10].

Intermarriage between the Chinese and Balinese has been a common practice in Bali since Chinese migrants settled in Bali. This interethnic marriage generates a combination of culture and practice of rituals. For instance, there are Chinese altar(s)

[9] This compatibility between the Chinese and Hindu-Balinese religions and beliefs is explored fully in Chapter 3.
[10] The manifestation of this type of Chinese shrine is fully discussed in Chapter 6.

and Hindu-Balinese shrine(s) established within the house courtyard. Both the Chinese altar(s) and Hindu-Balinese shrine(s) are worshipped by the Chinese-Balinese couple and their family. Moreover, as a result of result of this intermarriage, many Chinese people have also changed their names or give their children names to sound more Balinese, such as I Putu Liong, Wayan Encik, Tjik De, and so on (Sulistyawati, 2011b)[11].

In connection to this, both Chinese and Balinese cultures practice patrilineal descent; hence, the children from a Chinese or Balinese man will be considered as inheriting their father's properties or cultural practices (Beratha & Ardika, 2014, p.259). In other words, those of Chinese male descent will inherit their father's property or business and continue their father's rituals and rites; the descendants of Balinese males will get their father's properties or lands, continue being a *desa pekraman/desa adat* member and follow the *awig-awig*, as well as practice Hindu-Balinese rituals and rites.

2.3.2 Arts

Due to this long history of engagement and shared settlement, some elements of Chinese culture have also been adopted into Balinese dances, folklore, arts, and architecture (Sulistyawati, 2011b; Hauser-Schäublin, 2014; Artanegara, 2018). *Baris Cina* dance and *Gong Beri* musical instruments (Eiseman, 1990; Santoso, 2001); *Barong Landung* puppets and dance (Sulistyawati, 2011b); and *geguritan* Sampik and Ingtai folklore (Puja, 2012) are all evidence of this mixture. *Gong Beri*[12] is played during the performance of *Baris Cina* dance on temple festivals at some Hindu-Balinese temples in Denpasar city (Pura Ketapang Kembar, Pura Kusuma Jati, Pura Cemara Geseng, Pura Giri Kusuma, Pura Merta Sari, Pura Dalem Pengembak, and Pura Blanjong).

[11] In relation to ethnic Chinese in Bali, the adoption of Balinese names like *I Wayan*, *Ni Putu*, *I Gede*, or *Ni Made* is determined according to gender and order of the children. The first name '*I*' and '*Ni*' is associated with male and female respectively, while '*Wayan*', '*Putu*', '*Nengah*' or '*Gede*' are associated with the first children (Temaja, 2018).

[12] *Gong Beri* musical instrument was mentioned in the Blanjong inscription – a stone inscription found in Blanjong, in the southern part of Bali that is well-known as an important port site in the early 10th century. This inscription explains about the involvement of Balinese port sites in maritime trade and state construction and conflicts under the King of Kesari Warmadewa (Ardika, 2009). Unlike Balinese *Gong*, the *Gong Beri* musical instrument is similar to a Chinese gong that has a flat surface form. Balinese *Gong* has a bump in the middle and to play this musical instrument the player must hit this bump.

Baris Cina dance represents a story of war and is played by 26 males divided into two groups (one group wears white costumes, and another group wears black costumes) (see Figure 5). This sacred dance is performed as a ritual medium and as a gift to the deity(s), if someone had met their wishes. People also believe that performing *Baris Cina* dance will give protection to the village. During the performance, all the dancers will be in a trance, through which the white costumed dancers will speak in Chinese language and the dancers in black costume will speak in Arabic.





Figure 5: (L) Baris Cina dance
Source: Rohmat (2011)
Figure 6: (R) Barong Landung puppets
Source: Sari (2020)

Another element of Chinese culture in Balinese culture can be found in *Barong Landung* puppets (see Figure 6) created in appreciation of the Balinese King of Dalem Balingkang (Shri Aji Jaya Pangus) and his Chinese wife (Chung Kang/Kang Cie Wie) - the same as ruler of Pinggan Village. These puppets take a form of a couple; the black male puppet represents Shri Aji Jaya Pangus and the white female puppet represents Kang Cie Wie. They perform together in a Hindu-Balinese ritual to repel bad things; for instance, an outbreak of pandemic disease.

2.3.3 Architecture

As discussed in Section 2.2, the contributions of Chinese to *puri* led to privileges being given to live near the *puri* or the market, as they were expected to contribute to developing economic growth for both the kingdom and its society. The potential skills of the Chinese in managing trading ports and commerce, as acknowledged by the royal court of kings, also attracted them to hire the Chinese to contribute to palace

construction. By way of example, during two generations of the Karangasem Kingdom (1894 - 1908 and 1908 - 1941), the King used Chinese craftmanship skills and incorporated Chinese architectural forms into a palace by hiring a Chinese craftsman and builder (Sulistyawati, 2008; Achmadi, 2016). This mixture of architectural forms can be seen in the design of *candi kurung* and the use of ornaments in some individual buildings within the Karangasem Palace.



Figure 7: Candi kurung within Puri Karangasem, Bali
Source: https://jalbum.net/en/browse/user/album/1979586

Candi kurung (Figure 7) is a variation of the Balinese traditional gate *candi bentar* and is modified by taking the form of three-tiered pagoda (Salain, 2000; Mahastuti, 2018). *Candi bentar* refers to a Balinese traditional gate type in which a central entrance is divided into two part; whereas a *candi kurung* does not divide the entrance into two parts. C*andi kurung* has the function of connecting the public area to the private area where the King stayed, called *Bale Maskerdam,* otherwise known as *Saren Agung.* It uses red brick material with a few of Balinese traditional ornaments of *pepatran* and *kekarangan*, and also is decorated with reliefs depicting story of Mahabrata and Ramayana.

The *Bale Maskerdam* has Dutch and Chinese architectural influences, particularly its modern structures (with large dimensions, and use of a mixture of concrete, wood and steel materials) and Chinese ornaments (see Figure 8). The name *Bale Maskerdam* originally came from *Bale Amsterdam*, altered by local pronunciation. The architectural design of this building takes a form of *Bale Gunung Rata*, a Balinese traditional building for the King, comprising of a bedroom and terrace, and supported by 22 columns (Gelebet, 1986; Saraswati, 2009).

As noted by Kalam (cited in Sulistyawati, 2008), the Chinese ornaments on the main door of *Bale Maskerdam* have the following specific characteristics:

(1) these ornaments adopt a form of *krawangan* relief;
(2) these ornaments adopt animal, plant, human, and cloud patterns;
(3) these ornaments are designed as symmetrical compositions of shape and line; and
(4) and these ornaments represent Chinese geographic characteristics.

Kalam also adds that *Bale Maskerdam's* doors and windows leaves are carved in the pattern of *patra cina*[13], *patra mesir*[14], and *karang sae*[15]. These patterns have also been adopted as ornaments in other individual buildings within Puri Karangasem, such as the *Bale Sumanggen, Bale Pawedan, Bale Bengong*, and the Balinese traditional gate of *angkul-angkul*.

[13] A Balinese traditional carving pattern adopting a hibiscus flower form.
[14] A Balinese traditional carving pattern adopting a geometrical pattern. This ornament is usually used as a wall gate frame, wall plinth, or wall partition.
[15] A Balinese traditional ornament that adopts the form of giant bat, with fangs. Basically, *Karang Sae* is almost the same as *Karang Boma* (taking a form of giant monster head showing its hands, fingers, and sharpened nails, and surrounded with floral patterns). This ornament is usually placed above a door leaf.



Figure 8: Bale Maskerdam within Puri Karangasem, Bali
Source: http://tourism.karangasemkab.go.id/

2.3.4 Rituals, Rites, and Shrines

As noted in Section 2.2 , the prominent skills of Chinese people in Bali had convinced the local rulers to give them vital roles, particularly as harbourmasters (*subandar*) to supervise harbours and trade, as well as collecting taxes for the rulers (Geertz, 1980; Pringle 2004). As reported by a Siamese merchant junk of the time, the *subandar* had privileges from the King of Buleleng to access the King's palace and enjoyed the full confidence of the king (Graves & Kaset-Siri, 1969). However, after the Balinese harbours were declared as free ports, starting with Buleleng harbour in 1861, the function of the *subandar* as a commercial and economic officer was slowly made redundant; hence now, there are no more *subandar* (Nordholt, 2010). Nevertheless, the Balinese maintain some respect for the *subandar* by building Hindu-Balinese shrines to them called *Pelinggih Ratu Subandar* (Sulistyawati, 2011b; Hauser-Schäublin, 2014; Suyoga, 2018).

Pelinggih Ratu Subandar is a symbolic representation of the former harbourmaster that is associated with their trade and economic skills, and usually worshipped by Hindu-Balinese or Chinese-Balinese traders or businessman to obtain a wealthy life (Santosa, 2011; Sulistyawati, 2011b). This type of Hindu-Balinese shrine can be found in particular Hindu-Balinese temples in Bali, such as at Pura Ulun Danau Batur, Kintamani Village; Pura Dalem Balingkang, Pinggan Village, Kintamani; Pura Penulisan, Sukawana Village, Kintamani; Pura Negara Gambur Anglayang, Kubutambahan Village, Buleleng; Pura Besakih, Pura Silayukti, Karangasem

(Artanegara, 2018); Pura Sekar Tejakula, Rendang, Karangasem Village (Budilana, 2019); and Pura Tuluk Biyu Batur, Kintamani Village (Eri, 2018). A *pelinggih Ratu Subandar* takes a form of a *gedong* or *tugu*[16], one of the Hindu-Balinese worship buildings, and is believed to be a place of abode for a particular deity. It also embeds Chinese cultural elements, such as Chinese lanterns, Chinese coins, stupa, and red textiles, despite taking the overall *gedong* or *tugu* form.

In addition, Salmon and Sidhrata (2000) also identify two *subandar* shrines in two locations adjacent to Padangbai port in East Bali. The first *subandar* shrine is within the Tanjung Sari temple, designed in a form of *tugu* with Chinese elements in form of a spirit tablet or *shenwei* (more formally known as *shanke senhwei* or spirit tablet of the Guest of the Mountain) inside the shrine's compartment.

The second *subandar* shrine is in the courtyard of a Hindu-Balinese private temple in Padangbai village. This shrine is designed in the style of a miniature Chinese temple with a Chinese tablet called *gongzu shenwei*, or Spirit Tablet of the Ancestor, placed inside the shrine's compartment. Historically, these two shrines were particularly visited regularly by Hainanese and Hokkien ships during pre-colonial times. Until the mid of 1960s, Chinese sailors used to ask protection from these shrines before their sea voyages.

The influence of Chinese cultural elements also can be seen through the use of *kepeng* money as ritual objects along with Balinese traditional offerings (*canang*). *Kepeng* money, otherwise known as *pis bolong,* refers to an element of material culture that has long had a prominent role in Balinese people's lives. At the excavation on Gelang Agung site in Badung regency by Denpasar Archaeological Institute, there were more than 15,000 archaeological items of *kepeng* money found, mostly originating from China and from various period of time, from Tang dynasty (8th - 10th century), Ming dynasty (13th - 14th century), and Qing dynasty (17th - 20th century) (Astiti, 2014).

This *kepeng* money had been used as a medium of exchange in Bali since the 10th century and was the basis of the monetary system of the local community to impose taxes or fines, also for complementary offerings and property during the ceremonies

[16] This type of Chinese-Balinese shrine manifestation is explored fully in Section 3.3.3

of *ngaben*[17], completion of the building, or purification of a place until present (Astiti, 2014). Eiseman (1990) adds that in this contemporary era, *kepeng* money is also used as a main material in creating holy statues. For instance, the Rambut Sedana statue, a single famous statue as a manifestation of the Hindu-Balinese God of generosity, is made from 15,000 pieces of *kepeng* money, while a particular small effigy is made of 108 pieces of *kepeng* money. This small effigy will be burned along with the deceased body during *ngaben* ceremony.

Long-established maritime trade and commerce activities of the Chinese have generated close relationships with the local rulers. The local rulers welcomed the Chinese to live and blend with the local population and culture, as well as demanding their loyalty, particularly in economic contribution. This opened the opportunity for the Chinese to express their ancestral homeland's cultures and values in the host land they settled, and to be accepted by the locals as they adapted to the Balinese environment. In this sense, the Chinese temple is one representative form of Chinese traditional cultural expression that also embodies cultural mixture with the host culture. This cultural mixture of Chinese temples in Bali is the core of this study and will be elaborated more fully in the chapter 6 - case studies - focusing on their sites, layouts, and architectural forms.

2.4 The Status of the Chinese in Indonesia

2.4.1 Chinese-Indonesians' Identity

During the Colonial era, the Dutch distinguished between the Indonesian people and ethnic Chinese in regard to their roles in the government and economy (Coppel, 2002; Darini, 2008). The Dutch divided the communities into tripartite classifications:

- class one (the Dutch and white people, including Japanese in 1877, due to political reasons);
- class two (Indian, Arabian, Chinese, and other foreign Orientals); and
- class three (the *pribumi* or native Indonesians[18]).

[17] *Ngaben* is a Hindu-Balinese sacred cremation ritual.
[18] The *pribumi* notion, referring to the Indonesian native people with identifiable homelands, is one of the important elements in anti-colonial struggle and nation-building, and despite tribal and local identities also remains essential in Indonesia nowadays; this 'nativeness' is usually used to claim a native homeland (Setijadi, 2019).

In respect to this, the Dutch appointed royal leaders or local noblemen as the Dutch governmental representatives, whilst the Chinese were appointed to act as the Dutch economic representatives.

Although the Dutch classified the Chinese as different to the *pribumi* and placed them in a higher status within the colonial hierarchy, they still experienced legal discrimination from the Dutch. In this sense, the Dutch tried the Chinese in the same courts as *pribumi* for criminal cases; yet for civil cases the Chinese were tried following the European court system (*Raad van Justitie*) (Coppel, 2015).

In addition to this, discrimination towards the Chinese ethnic group was also practiced by the Dutch at the end of 19th century, by issuing *passenstelsel* and *wijkenstelsel* regulations (Coppel, 2003; Darini, 2008, p.54). The *passenstelsel* regulation, restricted ethnic Chinese mobility by requiring all Chinese merchants to obtain legal permission from the Dutch for every trade and commerce trip as their trade and commerce activities had proliferated, compared with other ethnicities and local people (Purcel, 1965). Whilst the *wijkenstelsel* regulation enforced Chinese community settlements to gather into designed areas, particularly in selected locations in big cities that today have become well-known as *pecinan* or China towns (Dahana, 2000; Darini, 2018).

In 1930, the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia were specifically divided by the Dutch into two divisions - *Cina totok* and *Cina peranakan* (Purcell, 1965; Dahana, 2000; Beratha & Ardika, 2014; Makmur, 2018). Since then, this classification has also broadly been used by the Indonesian government to distinguish the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia. *Cina totok* refers to the Chinese who were born in China and migrated to Indonesia, yet their nationalism is orientated by the Indonesian government towards their country of origin and still culturally Chinese[19].

[19] Marzali (2017) notes, until the late 19th century Chinese migrants to the Indonesian archipelago had four significant characteristics. First, almost all of the migrants were males. Before 1930 amongst all of the Chinese in Indonesia, Chinese women were fewer than men due to few women being included in the migration process; however, according to the census the majority of Chinese born in Indonesia were women (Purcell, 1965, p.387). Therefore, as a result of few women in Chinese migration process, the Chinese men often married local women. Second, they mostly originated from the Hokkien group in South Fujian Province. Third, all the migrants initially wished to return to China after making a wealthy life. Fourth, most of the migrants intermarried with the locals, and from them were born the mixed generations of *Cina peranakan*.

Cina peranakan are the descendants from Chinese and local parents, or those who were born in Indonesia and sometimes still practice Chinese rituals, also usually with a combination of Chinese and Indonesian names.

After Indonesian independence, the percentage of *totoks* significantly decreased compared with the *peranakans,* due to the limited number of Chinese migrants permitted into Indonesia (Purcell, 1965, p. 383). In 1959, the Indonesian government issued new regulations banning Chinese people from engaging in particular occupations. Consequently, the Chinese population decreased as many left Indonesia; however, the Chinese who still lived in Indonesia had to choose their nationality as written in the new national regulation and agreement between China and Indonesia in regard to dual citizenship. In the main provision, the Chinese who lived in Indonesia had to decide their permanent nationality within two years after 1959. However, if they failed in choosing their nationality within two years and their fathers originated in China, they were considered of Chinese nationality.

Although the Chinese in Indonesia, and their descendants, have been settled for centuries, they are still classified as of foreign descent (Coppel, 2003; Soebagjo, 2019). Moreover, despite the fact that they have been accepted as Indonesian citizens, their Indonesian law status is still ambiguous. In other words, the classification and administration towards Chinese-Indonesians is still creating discrimination. The Indonesian government issued Indonesian Law No. 12 in 2006, stating that an Indonesian citizen is anybody born in Indonesia, regardless of their parents' citizenship, who has never become other country’s citizen of their own will. Thus, an Indonesian of Chinese descent who is born in Indonesia automatically is now an Indonesian citizen and defined as *Indonesia asli* (native-born Indonesian).

Makmur (2018) contends that ethnic Chinese divisions in Indonesia are not relevant anymore because the Chinese have lived in some regions of the Indonesian archipelago for more than three generations and blended with the local culture. Accordingly, these Chinese people have been recognised as Chinese-Indonesian or classified based on the region where they are settled, for instance, as ethnic Chinese-Javanese or Chinese-Balinese. Kwartanada (2010) also points out that the term *Cina peranakan* in Java has changed to *Muslim Tionghoa* (Chinese-Moslem) because they have blended into the local culture and embraced Islamic religion.

Hence, these Chinese people have largely lost their Chinese identity and merged with the native-born Indonesian culture.

2.4.2 Chinese-Balinese Ethnicity

According to the census result in the National Statistical Data of Indonesia 2010[20], the number of ethnic Chinese in Bali was 14,970 people and males outnumbered females (Provinsi, 2011; Ananta et al., 2015). This data was collated using a self-identification method allowing the respondents to define themselves according to their own perception of ethnicity. In this census, Chinese-Indonesians are classified into three categories.

(1) The *Cina*[21], Chinese people who were born in Indonesia and have no connection with their Chinese origins.
(2) The *Cina* PRC (People's Republic of China), referring to those Chinese who were not born in Indonesia and were originally citizens of PRC.
(3) *Cina* Taiwan, indicating those Indonesians who were previously citizens of Taiwan (Republic of China).

Coppel (2017) further notes that the previous census in 2000 may have underestimated the Chinese population of Indonesia due to being conducted two years after the 1998 anti-Chinese riots, meaning that many Chinese hesitated to identify themselves as being of Chinese descent at that time. By the time of the 2010 census, the result showed that the Chinese were still reluctant to identify themselves as Chinese, for fear of discrimination. Thus, many Chinese-Indonesians have been identifying themselves as part of local ethnicities or as Indonesians rather than Chinese.

In contrast to other indigenous ethnicities in Indonesia, the ethnic Chinese are classified as a non-indigenous ethnicity as they have no particular home province - being scattered across Indonesia's provinces - despite living for generations in these

[20] According to Indonesian Statistic Centre (2015), the Indonesian government had just started conducting population census in the New Order period, but must be stopped by the government due to 'political taboo' regarding the collection of ethnicity data were deemed able to threat the unity of the nation. Just after the New Reform era, in 2000 and 2010, the Indonesian Statistic Centre continued the population census. The latest census was conducted in 2020, but the result has not published in detail yet by the government, until this research has been completed.
[21] Following the Presidential Decree No.12/2014 the term *Cina* (the Chinese) in *Bahasa Indonesia* has been replaced by *Tionghoa,* as it is claimed to be more appropriate and polite.

places and adapting to local cultures. The Chinese in Indonesia, therefore, are very heterogeneous and their ethnic identity is formed from a diverse range of hybrid Chinese-local cultures where they live (Yudha, 2014; Sukayana, 2015; Sari et.al., 2018). For instance, some Chinese who live in Java, Sumatera, or Bali, have blended into local communities; hence, they have adopted local languages along with *Bahasa Indonesia*. In connection to this, the ethnic Chinese in Bali are an example of this cultural mixing: many Chinese-Balinese also follow Hindu-Balinese rituals, use Balinese names, and speak in Balinese.

In the 2010 census, each respondent had a choice to decide their ethnicity based on the kinship of either their mother's or father's line. As explained in Section 2.3.1, both Chinese and Balinese people are patrilineal, hence their children must continue their father's rituals. However, due to particular circumstances of intermarriage between Chinese and Balinese, some of these couples or their descendants practice both cultures' rituals. The Chinese-Balinese families in Carangsari Village, Badung Regency, for instance, have built Hindu-Balinese and Chinese deities' altars or shrines side-by-side within the same house compounds (Beratha et al., 2011). Consequently, they have both Chinese and Balinese traditional elements in their architecture and rituals. Other examples of how ethnic Chinese in Bali identify themselves as being Chinese-Balinese can be found in Pupuan[22] and Kuta[23] villages.

The everyday life interactions for generations between Chinese and Balinese cultures mean they have constructed a new Chinese-Balinese cultural identity for themselves. The reflection of their mixture of identity can be seen in their belief and religion. In this sense, many of Chinese-Balinese are devout Hindu-Balinese and/or follow Buddhist religions due to cultural and political reasons, although, they also simultaneously practise Chinese rituals and rites as an essential effort to preserve their ancestral homeland's culture. Chapter 3 explores more fully Chinese-Indonesian beliefs and religions, in general and how the Chinese and Hindu-

[22] See Yudha, I. P. P. K. (2014). *Perubahan Identitas Budaya Etnis Tionghoa di Desa Pupuan Kecamatan Pupuan Kabupaten Tabanan.* (Masters thesis). Udayana, Denpasar, Bali.
[23] See Septiarana, N. M. A. (2017). *Integrasi Etnik Tionghoa dengan Etnik Bali di Kuta 1968-2000*. *Humanis, 21*(1).

Balinese belief systems are syncretised and practised by the ethnic Chinese-Balinese.

2.5 The Political History of Chinese Religions in Indonesia

Chinese religions in Indonesia officially comprise Confucianism or *Agama Khonghucu*, *Tri Dharma*, and Buddhism[24]. The establishment, development, and definition of these Chinese religions has been influenced by the political history of Indonesia. A history of political conflict regarding the ethnic Chinese has led to a history of discrimination and influenced the recognition of Chinese religions in Indonesia. Given the fact that this discrimination started in the Colonial era and has continued in the Postcolonial era, the following Sections elaborate on the political history of Indonesia since the Dutch colonial era and in the three post-independence regimes, and how these have related to the framing and definition of Chinese religions as Indonesia's official religions.

2.5.1 The Emergence of Chinese Religions During the Colonial Era (1900 - 1945)

Confucianism was started as a basic philosophy and value system in Chinese culture before being transformed into a Chinese religion. Established by Confucius, Confucianism was not focused on the relationship between people and God, but emphasised on human relations, particularly creating a harmonious orderly society. Before the twentieth century, there was no significant evidence of Confucianism being established as a religion in Indonesia, although several books about Chinese religion in Malay language had written by the Chinese[25] (Coppel, 1981). Similar to Coppel, Suryadinata (2005) also notes that although the existence of Confucianism in Indonesia was started before the twentieth century, it was not established as an organised religion.

[24] The differences between these three Chinese religions will be explored more fully in the context of religion and architecture in Chapter 3.
[25] These several books are *Hari Raja Orang Tjina* by Tjoa Tjoe Koan, mentioning the celebration of a Chinese religious festival in Surakarta; *A Life of Confucian* published by Lie Kim Hok; and translation of Confucian Classics into Malay, written by Chinese officer, Njio Tjoen Ean, in Ambon between 1897-1899.

In the 19th century, several high social class *peranakans* in Batavia[26] initiated a Confucianist movement, due to the emergence of cultural and social issues amongst the local Chinese (Lan, 1940; Suryadinata, 1972; Coppel, 1981; Liu, 2011). They claimed that as a result of assimilation with the local cultures, many *peranakans'* knowledge of the Chinese root culture had started to degrade. Moreover, the establishment and development of particular Chinese community based on their origins was unsuccessful in unifying all the Chinese ethnic groups based on their Chinese root culture. This movement was also supported by some Western-educated *peranakans*, as they were concerned regarding the discrimination policies towards the Chinese community by the Dutch, particularly the discriminatory legal and travel policies (Suryadinata, 1972, p.53). Accordingly, to overcome these socio-cultural issues, these *peranakan* communities established the *Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan* (*THHK*) - an ethnic Chinese organisation based on the Confucian teachings.

The *THHK* was established on 17 March 1900 in Batavia, aiming to promote Confucian teachings by establishing Chinese schools and publishing a Confucian weekly newspaper called *Li Po*[27]. This organisation also encouraged the Chinese people to abide by Confucian teachings by preventing superstitious practices and expensive spending upon funeral and marriage ceremonies. Since this time, the *THHK* rapidly developed; after 15 years there were 25 *THHK* branches in Batavia and other provinces of Indonesia - Borneo, Sulawesi, Central Java, West Java, and Sumatera. In addition to this, the *THHK* also established a *THHK* school in 1901 in Batavia. By 1908, the number of *THHK* schools had increased to 54. However, the main purpose of promoting Confucianist belief and practices had been forgotten, as *THHK*'s objectives were focused more upon being an educational institution and political instrument (Suryadinata, 1988, 2005; Kitamura 2019), although this is congruent with Confucianism, which at its source is considered by Chinese scholars to be a philosophy rather than a religion, and had practical applications for Chinese-Indonesian society at the time.

[26] Batavia was found by the Dutch in 1619 and became the Capital of Dutch East Indies. Now, Batavia is known as Jakarta, the Capital City of Indonesia.
[27] By publishing a Confucian weekly newspaper, the Chinese-Indonesians were expected to understand Chinese characters and language in order to understand the book of Confucius (Coppel, 1981, p. 183).

In 1918, *THHK* established a Confucian association, namely Khong Kauw Wee, in Solo, Central Java, focusing more on promoting Confucianist belief and practices. They also held their first congress in 1923 in Yogyakarta, Central Java. This congress was attended by various Confucian organisations, resulting in the establishment of Khong Kauw Tjong Hwee as a general headquarters for Confucian associations.

In this congress, Confucianism, otherwise known as Khong Kauw[28], was also inaugurated as a formal religion by establishing the concept of *Thian* as God and Confucius as their prophet. In 1934, a rival organisation, Sam Kauw Hwee, was established to promote the three religious' doctrines of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism (Suryadinata, 2005; Kitamura, 2019). These two Chinese religious associations are discussed further in the development of Chinese religions in Indonesia in the following Sections.

2.5.2 Integration of Society, Culture, and Politic: Old Order Regime (1945 - 1965)

During the Old Order regime under the first President of Indonesia Soekarno, the state policy emphasised national integration. This policy was constructed according to the state's ideology of *Pancasila*[29], aiming to manage the nation's diverse society and generate Indonesian national identity (Suryadinata, 1988; Kitamura, 2019). Through this policy, the Indonesian government included the Chinese ethnic group as an official Indonesian ethnic group. At this time, Soekarno also introduced the notion of *NASAKOM (Nasionalis, Agama, Komunis* - Nationalism, Religion, Communism) to unify the Indonesian political group of parties - secular nationalist, Islamic nationalist, and communist - though it was unsuccessful. Conflict between pro-Communists - the secular nationalists and communists - and anti-Communists - the Islamic nationalist and Indonesian Military - emerged and generated a coup on 30 September 1965 (Van Der Kroef, 1972; Hamid, 2012; Zhou, 2014). Soekarno was then pressured by the Indonesian Military to issue the recognition of six Indonesian

[28] Before the New Order regime, Confucianism was known as Khong Kauw and the three religious doctrines as Sam Kauw.
[29] *Pancasila* is an Indonesian state ideology formulated by Soekarno on 1 June 1945. It incorporates five principles: the first principle is Belief in One Supreme God, aiming to embrace all Indonesian religions without specifying a particular belief; the second principle is National Consciousness; and the last three principles are Humanism, Social Justice, and Democracy.

official religions as an instrument against Communism, because at that time, the government viewed Communism as atheist and anti-religious.

Soekarno published The Presidential Determination of Indonesia Republic Number 1/PNPS in 1965 and legitimised six official religions in Indonesia - Islam, Protestant Christianity, Catholic Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism (Penetapan Presiden RI, 1965). The Indonesia government required every citizen to embrace one of these six religions and include it on their identity card, so they would not be considered a Communist. At this time, Confucianism had met the requirements as a formal religion in Indonesia, which meant having a sacred text and a prophet, belief in one supreme God, as well as religious and ritual manners for their followers (Liemanto, 2014). Until the Soekarno era the Chinese were able to express their Chinese traditional practice of ritual and rites openly in public[30] (Bastian, 2018).

2.5.3 Assimilation Policy: the New Order Regime (1965 - 1998)

The 1965 coup movement led to the end of Soekarno's power, and the state authority was replaced by Soeharto as the second Indonesian President. During this New Order regime, government attitudes shifted and emphasised an assimilation policy (Suryadinata, 2005, 2008). The Indonesian government forced the Chinese to be assimilate further and give up on their 'Chinese-ness' as they considered the Chinese to be a foreign minority group and loyal to China, as well as being suspicious that they were linked with Communists. Such an assimilation policy can also be traced back to the Colonial practice of differentiating Chinese and indigenous Indonesians, in which the Chinese were appointed by Dutch colonial patronage under which they were placed in higher social status than the indigenous Indonesians.

The emergence of such an assimilation policy was due to the Indonesia government claiming that the existence of ethnic Chinese could threaten Indonesia's national identity and integration. In respect of this, everything related to Chinese culture - religion, tradition, custom, language, literary expression - were considered as a

[30] Three Chinese cultural pillars - Chinese schools, organisations, and mass media - were also allowed to be operated during the Old Order regime (Suryadinata, 2005).

negative influence by the Indonesian government. This assimilation policy was particularly aimed at *Indonesianising* the ethnic Chinese. For instance, the Chinese were urged to change their Chinese names to Indonesian-sounding names or to anything, as long as it did not represent Chinese identity[31]. As Setijadi (2019, p. 195) notes, "Chinese-ness was ideologically suspect, and Chinese-Indonesians who did not voluntarily erase their Chinese identities risked being accused of disloyalty or worse political subversion". Further, Suryadinata (2008, 2014) argues that the definition of Indonesian-sounding names is unclear, thus the Chinese adopted Arabic, Sanskrit, or Western names considered to be Indonesian-sounding.

The three Chinese cultural pillars[32] - Chinese schools, organisations, mass media - were also eliminated, yet the Confucian associations still existed. However, Confucianism and the three religious doctrines were transformed, both in terms of language and some contents to make them acceptable to Indonesian nationalism and political development. Khong Kauw Wee was changed to *MATAKIN* or *Majelis Tinggi Agama Khonghucu Indonesia* (Supreme Council for Confucian Religion in Indonesia), and Sam Kauw Hwee was changed to *GTI* or *Gabungan Tri Dharma Indonesia*[33] (Indonesian *Tri Dharma* Association) (Suryadinata, 2014; Susanti, 2014; Diklat, 2016; Sandhy & Christiana, 2016; Kitamura, 2019). It was also followed with the change of Khong Kauw into *Agama Khonghucu*[34] and the term *Tri Dharma* being used to refer the three religious doctrines and *Tempat Ibadat Tri Dharma* (*TITD*) being suggested as the name of the Chinese temple[35].

[31] The regulation to change Chinese names into Indonesian-sounding names had been issued earlier during the Soekarno regime in 1961, before Soeharto re-introduced this regulation in 1966. Nevertheless, some Chinese people used their Chinese and Indonesian names as unofficial and official names respectively (Suryadinata, 1988).
[32] The Chinese religion was also included as the fourth Chinese cultural pillar (Suryadinata, 2008, p.9). The Indonesian government issued Indonesian President Instruction Number 14 1967 on 6 December 1967 about Chinese Religion, Belief, and Custom, noting the limitation of Chinese customs allowed to be performed in public.
[33] The term *Tri Dharma* was adopted from Sanskrit and automatically accepted as an Indonesian word (Diklat, 2016; Sandhy & Christiana, 2016; Susanti, 2014; Suryadinata, 2014).
[34] *Agama Khonghucu* is an Indonesian term referring to the Chinese-Indonesian religion adopted from the name of the founder of Confucianism (Hokkien language), Confucius or Kong Zi or Kongce or Kong Hu Cu (Diklat, 2016; Aprilia & Murtiningsih, 2017). Whilst *Agama* is an Indonesian word for religion.
[35] In 1979, the Indonesian Religion Ministry announced that *Tempat Ibadat Tri Dharma* (*TITD*) must be added to every Chinese temple name[35] (Susanti, 2014), for instance, *TITD* Seng Hong Bio, *TITD* Kwan Kong Bio, and so on.

However, during this New Order regime, the Indonesian government claimed *Agama Khonghucu* to be a teaching of manners and a form of philosophy, instead of a religion (Aprilia and Murtiningsih, 2017). Thus, the Indonesian government found it significantly necessary to generate a regulation to limit Chinese cultural activities as part of the assimilation process (Indonesia, 1967). Soeharto issued the law to de-recognise Confucianism and ban all the practice of Chinese rituals and rites in the public[36]. Through this law, the Indonesian government announced that Chinese religions, traditions, and customs could be improper influences on the psychology, mental and moral aspect of the Indonesian people. In addition to this, the fact that the discrimination towards *Agama Khonghucu* was against the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia articles 28E and 29 about the freedom of Indonesian citizens to embrace a religion was neglected by the Indonesian government. The Indonesian government persistently continued the assimilation policy and announced only five official religions in 1978. These Indonesian official religions were Islam, Protestant Christianity, Catholic Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism[37].

However, despite the Indonesian government de-recognizing Confucianism as an official religion, this Chinese religion was not eliminated explicitly. The believers were still able to practice their traditions and customs as private individuals or families, whilst simultaneously registering themselves in one of Indonesian official religions. In this respect, *Pancasila* was the primary reason to not eliminate Confucianism. *Pancasila* in Soeharto's regime referred to as religious pluralism, giving freedom for Indonesian citizens to choose their religion and belief in this multi-religious country[38] (Suryadinata, 1988). Therefore, due to this Indonesian government-issued religious pluralism policy, the ethnic Chinese tended to maintain their minority identity behind a religious identity. In other words, even though Confucianism represented a Chinese-ness not acknowledged by the government, some Chinese communities

[36] Instruksi Presiden No. 14 Tahun 1967 (Presidential Instruction Number 14 of 1967).
[37] Due to Soeharto's assimilation policy, the population of *Agama Khonghucu* in Indonesia has declined (Suryadinata, 2005). In 1971, around 0.94% (1,073,088) of the Indonesian population were Buddhist and 0.8% (954,584) were *Agama Khonghucu*, compared with the census of Indonesian population in 2000, when Buddhist believers were 0.84% (1,689,173) and other religions (excluding the 'big five' religions) were 0.24%. Assuming half of these other religions were *Agama Khonghucu*, the number of Confucians or *Agama Khonghucu* believers were less than one third (281,528) in 2000, than in 1971, excluding other factors of discrimination.
[38] Therefore, in the citizen census in 2000 and 2010, they give 'others' religion to the citizen who does not choose one of the official religions.

converted their religion into other official religions and still used their ethnicity in promoting ethnic solidarity. This position between official religions and cultural practices is echoed by FitzGerald, as follows:

> *There is no uniformity about cultures and traditions of the native inhabitants. Religions and customs also vary widely. Although there are Chinese Christians or Buddhists (Mahayana), their outstanding characteristic is not their religious belief but the common and essentially national culture to which they all adhere. Nowadays, this statement reflects what happens in Indonesia where some of them profess to be followers of one of the Indonesian officially recognised religions, but in fact they still practise their own traditions and customs* (1982, p. 82).

This assimilation policy also forced all Chinese temples to convert to being vihara (Buddhist temples) and urged to remove non-Buddhist deities (Suryadinata, 1988). In 1984, the director of the Hindu-Buddhist section of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and *WALUBI* (*Perwakilan Umat Buddha Indonesia* or the Representative of Indonesian Buddhist Believers) proposed that *klenteng*[39] should be converted into vihara (Suryadinata, 2005). The main reason for this conversion was that the *klenteng* were claimed to be Chinese traditional places of worship for Confucianist and Daoist followers and so represented Chinese culture rather than a religion. Accordingly, the Director of Hindu-Buddhist divided *klenteng* into three types:

(1) Full vihara: with a Buddhist statue or Bodhisattva, dragon, or deities in the *klenteng*.
(2) Vihara - a *klenteng,* which has some Buddhist elements.
(3) Chinese traditional place of worship: a *klenteng* without any Buddhist elements, but which could become Buddhist.

In these categories, the third type was required to be converted into vihara, as it represented Chinese culture, rather than religion. Consequently, many Chinese temples in Indonesian provinces changed their Chinese names into Sanskrit Buddhist names. Moreover, they also altered their building design style and removed their Chinese deities (Suryadinata, 2005, p. 84).

By way of example, an old Chinese temple in Jakarta, Kim Tek Jie, changed its name to Vihara Dharma Bakti. Another Chinese temple in Jakarta changed to Vihara

[39] *Klenteng* is the Indonesian term for a Chinese temple, originating from the bells' sound used during rituals. The architectural differences between *klenteng* and vihara will be explored fully in Chapter 3.

Dharma Cakra and renovated the building as the Chinese elements (ornaments and deities) had to be removed. A Chinese temple in East Java also removed its main deities of Guan Gong and Ba Xian, as these deities were not acknowledged as Indonesian official religious elements by the Director of Hindu-Buddha Affairs of Religion Ministry[40]. In addition to this, every *klenteng* was also registered and administrated under *WALUBI* as a vihara. It was followed by a circular letter published by Indonesian Ministry of Religion in 1990, instructing all Buddhist followers to not have celebrations for Chinese feast day(s) or Chinese New Year in a vihara as these cultures were not (officially) related to Buddhist religion (Wibowo and Ian, 2010).

2.5.4 The Resurrection of Chinese Religion: Reformation Era (1998 - present)

After the fall of Soeharto in 1998, the third Indonesian President, Habibie, instructed the of ban discrimination towards ethnic Chinese (Kitamura, 2019). The three Chinese cultural pillars have since been revived (Dawis, 2008; Lembong, 2008; Soebagjo, 2008) and The Minister of Religious Affairs announced verbally in 1998 that *Agama Khonghucu* was re-declared as an official religion (Suryadinata, 2005). Three political parties - *Partai Reformasi Tionghoa Indonesia, Partai Pembauran Indonesia, and Partai Bhineka Tunggal Ika Indonesia* - that represented Chinese-Indonesians, were also established, although they were dissolved after *Partai Reformasi Tionghoa Indonesia* did not meet the requirements in general elections in 1999, and the other two parties were also unable to join in 2004's election (Suryadinata, 2008, 2014).

Instead of establishing another political party, the Chinese-Indonesians decided to establish Chinese Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO), such as *Paguyuban Sosial Marga Tionghoa Indonesia* (*PSMTI*), *Perhimpunan Keturunan Tionghoa Indonesia* (*INTI*), and other small Chinese NGOs[41]. Suryadinata (2008, p. 3) further describes the major reasons for this preference were that the Chinese-Indonesians are diverse in political and cultural orientations. As well as this, the Indonesian government under Soeharto regime eliminated the Chinese political leaders, and

[40] In connection to these architectural alterations the Chinese temples in Bali is discussed in depth in Chapter 6 - case studies.
[41] These two Chinese NGOs are the most prominent amongst other Chinese NGOs and have evolved by establishing their branches in some major cities in all over Indonesia provinces.

only the Chinese-Indonesians from the economic elite class were able to survive. In addition, the Chinese mass media was also revived[42], and a Chinese TV news program Metro Xinwen, otherwise known as Metro News, started to air.

In 2000, the fourth Indonesia President, Abdurrahman Wahid, repealed the ban of Chinese culture and linguistic expressions (Suryadinata, 2014; Kitamura, 2019). The assimilation policy was abolished, and Confucianism was recognised as an Indonesian official religion by issue of the Presidential Decision[43]. The Chinese people have since been allowed to practice their Chinese cultural and religious events in public.

Further, under Megawati Soekarno Putri as the Indonesia's fifth president, Chinese New Year was announced as a national holiday under the Confucian religion (Indonesia, 2002; Suryadinata, 2008); however, some people are unhappy with this policy as Confucianism is used as a religious basis for the Chinese New Year holiday, instead having an ethnic Chinese basis. The Indonesian government argues the Chinese New Year national holiday is considered as a link to Confucian religion to prevent the other ethnicities in Indonesia from making their new year day(s) as Indonesian national holidays.

Moreover, due to this latest policy on Chinese cultural expressions given by the government, some Chinese cultural activities such as celebrating the anniversary of a Chinese temple, Chinese lion dances, cultural parades, as well as social and charity activities have also been performed openly in the public and involve non-Confucianist believers in their celebration. However, the acknowledgement of Confucianism as an Indonesian official religion in identity card was not accepted until the sixth Indonesian President's regime issued the 2006 citizenship law (Winarta, 2008; Suryadinata, 2014, Marshall, 2018).

In addition to this, as noted in Section 2.5, the Chinese religions in Indonesia incorporate Buddhist, *Agama Khonghucu*, and *Tri Dharma*, yet only *Agama*

[42] Five prominent Chinese dailies (*Guoji Ribao*, *Yindunixiya Shang Bao*, *Heping Ribao*, *Shijie Ribao*, and *Qiandao Ribao*) were published mainly in Jakarta, Surabaya and Medan.
[43] The publication of Presidential Decision No. 6 of 2000 repealed the *Instruksi Presiden No. 14 Tahun 1967* (Presiden Instruction Number 14 of 1967) and allowed all Chinese religious activities, beliefs, and traditions to be performed in public without special permission (Presiden Republik Indonesia, 2000; Ningtyas, 2015).

Khonghucu (*Khong Kauw*) and Buddhism[44] are registered as Indonesian official religions[45], whereas *Tri Dharma* (*Sam Kauw*) is included as a Buddhist sect[46]. Thus, *Tri Dharma* followers are registered automatically under Buddhist religion. In addition, these Chinese religions are also under different affiliated councils (Diklat, 2016). Buddhism registered under *WALUBI* (*Perwakilan Umat Buddha Indonesia* or Representatives of Indonesian Buddhists), *Tri Dharma* is registered as *Buddha Mahayana*[47], and *Agama Khonghucu* is administrated under *MATAKIN* (*Majelis Tinggi Agama Khonghucu Indonesia* or Supreme Council for Indonesian Confucian Religion) at the province level and *MAKIN* (*Majelis Agama Khonghucu* or the High Regional Council of Confucian Religion) at the regency level (Haetami, 2015).

2.6 Chapter Summary

The complex history of the Chinese presence and their status and development in Indonesia, since pre-colonial times, has provided evidence in that, despite their status as 'the Other' within the host land and amidst Indonesian shifting policies forcing the Chinese people to be assimilated into the Indonesian-native population, Chinese-Indonesians have found their ways to maintain their ancestral homeland's cultures and practices. This chapter has outlined a number of socio-cultural and political ways in which Chinese-Balinese culture has developed, including in architecture and their belief systems. In the next chapter the most significant aspects of these will be outlined, along with the development of Chinese temples in Bali.

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[44] Due to Buddhism being more accepted than other Chinese religions in Soeharto era, the Chinese-Buddhists had the self-confidence to establish two modern Buddhist temples, The Dharmasagara and Vihara *Mahavira Graha Pusat* in Jakarta in the early 1990s (Suryadinata, 2005).

[45] According to the Determination of Indonesia Republic President Number 1/PNPS Year 1965 there are six official religions in Indonesia: Islam, Protestant Christian, Catholic Christian, Buddhist, Confucianism or *Agama Khonghucu*, and Hindu-Balinese (Indonesia, 1965).

[46] The three most popular Buddhist sects adopted in Indonesia are *Theravada, Mahayana,* and *Tantrayana* (Diklat ,2016, p.xvii). *Theravada* sect, also known as *Hinayana*, is a sect claimed to be similar to the early development of Buddhism. *Tantrayana* is a sect developed in Tibet and lead by the Dalai Lama. *Mahayana* is a sect closely related to Chinese tradition and adopted in Indonesia, with its characteristic of openness into local tradition and the freedom in finding the way to reach Buddhism. Amongst these sects, *Buddha Mahayana* is itself divided into five sects: *Tri Dharma*, *Maitreya, Nichiren, Satya Buddha*, and *Buddhayana*. Therefore, the *Tri Dharma* followers are registered automatically as Buddhist and are separated from *Agama Khonghucu*.

[47] The Buddha Mahayana councils comprise of *Majelis Agama Buddha Tri Dharma Indonesia* (Indonesian *Buddha Tri Dharma* Religion Council) and *Majelis Rohaniawan Tri Dharma Seluruh Indonesia* or *MATRISIA* (Indonesian *Tri Dharma* Believer Council).

CHAPTER 3: CHINESE AND HINDU-BALINESE TRADITIONAL RELIGIONS AND BELIEFS AND THEIR ARCHITECTURES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the emergence and development of Chinese religions and beliefs in Indonesia, and how they have changed as the result of shifting Indonesian policies. The compatibilities of Chinese and Balinese beliefs and religions will also be elaborated in this chapter. Following this will be an exploration of the temples of Chinese and Hindu-Balinese religions and beliefs.

Overall, this chapter outlines aspects of Chinese-Balinese religious characteristics and their architectures, as these will be used in framing Chapter 6 on the case studies of Chinese temples in Bali.

3.2 Chinese-Indonesians Religions and Their Architectures

3.2.1 Indonesian-Buddhist, *Agama Khonghucu*, and *Tri Dharma*

The Chinese belief system is widely known to have developed on the basis of three major teachings - Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. Although having separate identities, Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism complement each other as China's three religious' doctrines (Chen, 1993; Lip, 2009). These three religious' doctrines have been merged since the Eastern Jin Dynasty (Kao, 2000) and became well known in China as Three Great Teachings and constitute the nucleus of a combined Chinese faith (Mou et al., 2017).

Their interrelationships reflect on Daoism's teachings and philosophies that are not merely focused upon superstitious practices, yet also stress morality by adopting Confucian philosophical teachings (Teiser, 2002). Lasiyo (1992) and Kao (2000) further add that Buddhism also absorbs the conception of filial piety from Confucianism - in a form of veneration for ancestors as an ethical value - and

incorporates Daoist's nourishment of life; whereas Daoism adopts the Buddhist teachings of ritual, thought, organisation, and principle.

Both Confucianism and Daoism were philosophies rather than religions in their origins (picked up on later in Indonesian policy making, see Section 2.5.3) complementing each other in pre-Buddhist times. They both emphasise harmony, although with contrasting methods. Buddhism, at its essence was more philosophical than religious, complemented them. Practices of deification developed in all three traditions, and it is with this development that the combination seems syncretic. Moreover, as religion has connotations of exclusivity, this development from philosophy to deification of founders is perhaps a clue to the malleable nature of Chinese belief, and also to the ability of Chinese temples to take different and sometimes contradictory forms.

In Indonesia, the combination of these three Chinese religious doctrines was called *Sam Kauw,* before being changed into *Tri Dharma* to sound more Indonesian during the New Order regime. *Tri Dharma* in Indonesia is included within Mahayana-Buddhism, as it is closely related to the Chinese tradition and most Buddhist adherents in Indonesia are of Chinese background (Diklat, 2016). *Tri Dharma*'s basic teachings are focused upon three aspects:

(1) teaching how to live in balance with nature and creating balance between positive and negative elements, as represented in the *yin yang* symbol;
(2) teaching harmony of individual life with society; and
(3) worshipping multiple deities and teaching *Trikaya*[48].

The multiple deities worshipped within the *Tri Dharma* temples usually include the three doctrines' deities, and other local deities (if available) that are adopted either from local honoured figures or local cultures (Septyana, 2012; Kustedja et.al., 2014; Susilo, 2018).

[48]Mahayana-Buddhism practices a triad concept called *Trikaya,* incorporating *Dharmakaya*, *Samboghakaya*, and *Nirmanakaya* (Yogi, 2000; Aziz, 2010). *Dharmakaya* or the essential body is the basis of other two terms, manifesting the principle of the nature as abstract, invisible, eternally self-existing and essentially of Bodhi or divine being-ness. Whilst *Samboghakaya,* or the reflected body, and *Nirmanakaya*, or the apparitional body, present as parts of the concrete and visible physical body. *Samboghakaya* is associated with Buddha's meditation place and the dwelling of other enlightened people. *Nirmanakaya* refers to the origin of the human form during Buddha's life.

Since the beginning of its nation-building, the Indonesian government has required that an official religion in Indonesia must have belief in one God, possess a holy scripture, a prophet/holy figures, established rituals or liturgy, and a system of regulation/law for its followers (Lasiyo, 1992; Marshall, 2018; Haryanto, 2018); further, that a religion could not be limited to a single ethnic group (Picard, 2011). In this sense, the principle of one God adopts the first principle in *Pancasila* - belief in one supreme God (as explained in Section 2.5.2, *Pancasila* as an Indonesian state ideology incorporates five fundamental principles), requiring all the Indonesian official religions to be monotheistic. By this, the Indonesian government emphasises the uniformity of all Indonesian official religions, adopting the world's major religions and requires all citizens to register their religious affiliation in order for them to be eligible for the state's supports and protections.

As explained in Section 2.5.2, despite Chinese religions being recognised as official religions after Indonesian independence, it was not until the New Order regime that the Indonesian government included Chinese religions in the state's assimilation policy. In this point, *Agama Khonghucu* - which incorporated three Chinese religious' doctrines into what would become *Tri Dharma* - and Indonesian-Buddhist religion were considered incompatible with the first principle in *Pancasila*.

Consequently, *Agama Khonghucu* enforced the concept of 'belief in one supreme God' as the Indonesian government recognised *Agama Khonghucu* more as a philosophy and value system rather a religion, despite it also being considered by the Indonesian government as a Chinese folk-religion due to its practice of rituals and rites representing Chinese culture (Lasiyo, 1992). Therefore, to be accepted by the state, *Agama Khonghucu* introduced *Thian* as their supreme God, Confucius as their prophet, the Four Classics (*Shishu*) or *Kitab yang Empat* as the holy books, and the Confucian temple as the temple/worship building (Suryadinata, 2014).

According to Lasiyo (1992), the Confucian temple[49], in this sense, is basically built as the abode of Confucius as the main deity, depicted in a form of statues or images placed on the main altar. Suryadinata (2014, p. 24) further adds that ritual activities in a Confucian temple in Indonesia are modelled with sermons and singing of

[49] According to the government data of Indonesian official worship building types, a Confucian temple in Indonesia is named *klenteng* (Bali Provincial Statistics Centre, 2017).

religious hymns. The adherents of this religion also use the Confucian temple as a place to conduct religious teachings and cultural developments, wedding ceremonies, Sunday schools, and community gatherings (Affandy, 2000; Haryanto, 2010).

The Indonesian-Buddhist religion also formulated the concept of one supreme God, namely *Shang Hyang Adhi Buddha*, to be compatible with the first principle of *Pancasila* and being recognised by the state (Brown, 1987; Kimura, 2003). This term was introduced and interpreted by Ashin Jinarakkhita[50], an Indonesian post-independence Buddhist leader and the first modern Indonesian-Buddhist bhikkhu in Indonesia. He found this term as referring to God in an old Javanese script, *Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan*, written during the reign of Mpu Sindok (the last King of Sanjaya Dynasty and the first King in East Java) in the 10th Century. This ancient script is known as the manual guide for Mahayana Buddhism, specifically in Indonesia (Utomo, 2018). The Indonesian-Buddhist religion also codified its prophets and holy books to be fully recognised as an Indonesian official religion[51].

Ashin Jinarakkhita also established *PERBUDDHI* (*Persatuan Buddhis Indonesia* or Indonesian Buddhist Association) in 1958, stressing Buddha's central teachings of *karma* and focusing upon mediation practice and compassion of spirit. This association has reformed Buddhism's traditional rituals and rites in Indonesia to be simpler, or arguably, have caused it to lose its Chinese folk-religious elements (Brown, 1987). Since this time, a vihara - a temple for Buddhist adherents - was to be built to hold religious services[52], read the holy book of *Tipitaka*, and practise meditation. A vihara was no longer a place to burn Chinese paper, ask for fortune or good luck, or facilitate other Chinese traditional rituals and rites.

[50] Ashin Jinarakkhita was a monk for both Theravada and Mahayana schools, and also grew up in a Chinese traditional combination of three religious' doctrines (Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism) (Kimura, 2003).
[51] Their completed religious formulation was published in the book entitled *Ketuhanan Dalam Agama Buddha* (*God in Buddhist Religion*) by Ashin Jinarakkhita's adherent, Dhammaviriya, as follows: *Adi Buddha* is their supreme God, Buddha Gautama and the Boddhisattvas are their prophets, and the holy books are *Tipitaka*, *Dhammapada*, and *Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan.*
[52] Devout Buddhism call its worship activities *puja bakti* (Diklat 2016:164). *Puja* is means respect and *bakti* is means the practice of Buddha's teaching in daily life. *Puja bakti* activities include reading the holy scripture (*Parita*) and bowing down to Buddha as a tradition of showing great respect. All of these worship activities are performed in congregation.

3.2.2 Chinese Temple Architecture

There is an ancient Chinese belief that Chinese traditional architecture, in general, must follow *feng shui* - an ancient Chinese fundamental practice of geomancy that aims to harmonise the cosmic breath of *yin* and *yang* - with respect to geographical characteristics, orientations, spatial planning, and architectural building elements. The term of *feng shui* in Chinese refers to wind and water. According to Skinner, feng shui is:

> *The art of living with the land, and deriving the greatest benefit, peace and prosperity from being in the right place at the right time. Together, they [feng shui] express the power of the flowing elements of the natural environment, and this power expressed in, and derived from the flow of energy not only on the surface, which has been sculpted by wind and water, but also through the earth. Placing oneself in a favourable feng shui environment will bring good fortune, peace and a longer life* (1989, pp. 5-6).

Citing Lao Zi's book, Zhu Zi, Lip (1994) notes that the *yin* and *yang* is not the sole consideration in creating oneness through duality; it also involves trinity (the *yin*, *yang*, and harmony), suggesting the interaction and blending of duality in generating harmony of all things. Citing Lao Zi here is also citing the founder of Daoism, in which (as with Confucianism) is concerned with finding balance and harmony in human relations with the world.

In respect to this, Chinese architectural forms are the embodiment of cosmic patterns represented in the balanced relationship between nature elements, directions, seasons, and colours (see Table 1). Chinese traditional architecture is essentially influenced by local geographical characteristics, hence, affecting the layout planning and architectural forms. The five fundamental principles of Chinese layout planning that apply widely, to houses, temples, palaces or city ensembles are:

(1) north-south orientation;
(2) axiality;
(3) courtyard planning;
(4) wall enclosure; and
(5) geomancy (Boyd, 1962; Lip, 1983).

Table 1: The balanced relationship of Chinese cosmic pattern

Element	Wood	Fire	Earth	Metal	Water
Direction	East	South	Centre	West	North
Season	Spring	Summer	-	Autumn	Winter
Colour	Green	Red	Yellow	White	Black

Source: Lip, 1994, p. 13

Almost all buildings in China, from the city-scale downwards, from the palace and the temple to the house, are ideally constructed in rectilinear complexes and aligned north-south. According to Chinese geomancy, auspicious land should be flat and is surrounded with hills on three sides; by which the north, east, and west orientations should be mountains or hills to hinder the evil influences, whilst lake or river views should be to the south of the site to obtain blessings - meaning the site and building must be oriented to the south and blocked to the north (Lip, 1994; Run et.al., 1999; Yan & Zaijun, 2016) (Figure 9).

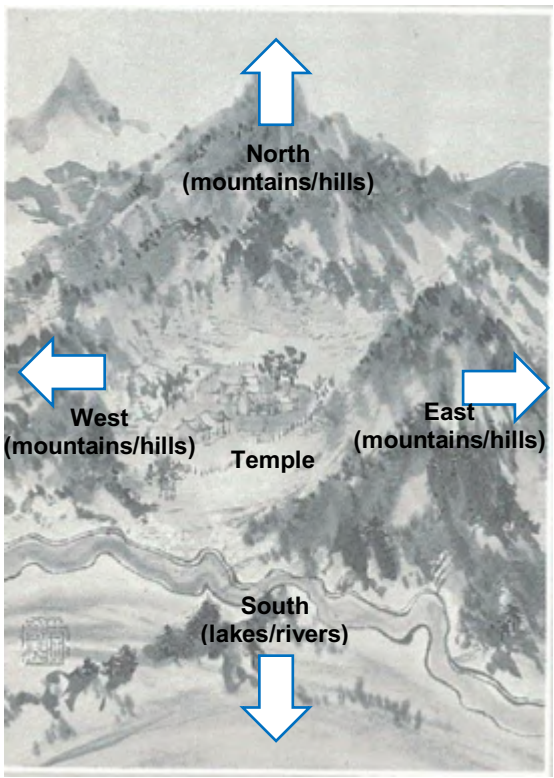


Figure 9: The Chinese traditional cosmo-geographical directions
Source: Modified from Lip (1994)

Such a geomantic formation provides benefits for the site and building in obtaining warmth of the sun from the south, as well as cooling summer breezes from lakes or rivers, whereas the cold and dusty wind is blocked by the mountains and hills to the three sides. Further, this north-south orientation generates a central axis line, dividing the space and territory in symmetrical balance. The main building or the most important building is traditionally built upon the central axis line in the north with the long side facing to the south, whereas the other less important buildings are placed in the east and west (Jiang, 2014; Zhou et al., 2018). In connection to this, Lip (1938) adds that the principle of axiality is related to the function of the temple as the abode of Gods or Goddess of three religious' doctrines that must be respected, and also reflects a sense of monumentality.

Another significant element in Chinese layout planning is the courtyard. This open space within the building complex delivers natural air and light into the buildings. Lip (2009; Zhang, 2013) has generally classified Chinese traditional courtyard form plans (see Figure 10) as follows:

(1) the *siheyuan*, where there is symmetry, axiality, north-south orientation, and walled enclosure;
(2) the *sanheyuan*, where there is symmetry, axial line, but there is no north-south orientation or walled enclosure;
(3) the mixture of *siheyuan* and *sanheyuan*; and
(4) the 'L' or 'I' formation with a front courtyard.

The numbers of courtyards also determine the level of importance of the building and the building's internal hierarchies (the sacred and profane zones, the public and private zones).

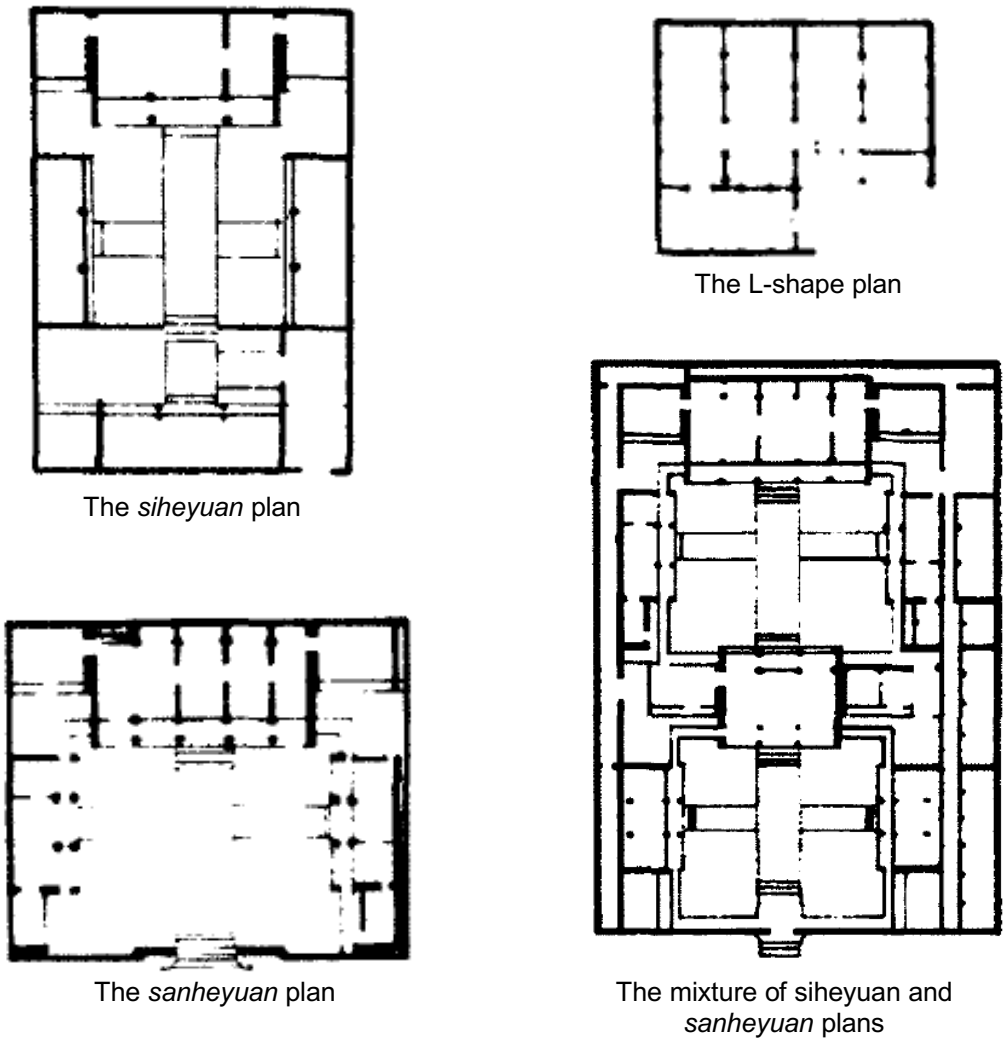


Figure 10: The variations of Chinese traditional courtyard form plans
Source: Zhang (2013)

According to Jiang (2014, p. 34), the southernmost courtyard functions for profane or public activities, whereas the northernmost courtyard or the deeper courtyard in the north is more sacred or private. In connection to this principle, the concept of layout planning in the Chinese temple is basically solely distinguished by the temple's scale and level of importance (Lip, 2009). This differentiation can be identified through the number of courtyards and the elaboration of roof tiers. The more important the temple, the more courtyards and greater elaboration of the two-tiered or three-tiered roofs, for instance.

In addition to this, the layout of the Chinese courtyard takes a rectangular form surrounded by a walled enclosure. Cody et al. (2011) point out that, despite the enclosed spaces of Chinese traditional architecture taking quadrilateral shapes, sometimes merely three sides of buildings are walled, and the architectural elements

of gates, pillars, screen walls are able to generate a psychological experience of enclosing walls on four sides.

Individual buildings within the courtyard may be rectangular, square, round, or combination of geometric shapes. For instance, the pavilion is a significantly representative form of Chinese traditional building. As a form it has evolved constantly from in its function (originally as a place for sending warnings or rest place for travellers to a more aesthetic building in the park/garden) and forms, from fairly large sizes to small sizes, and having various patterns (Figure 11) (Boyd, 1962; Lip, 2009; Yanxin et.al., 2010). They are usually open on all sided, supported with round columns, and designed with pyramidal or hipped roof and upturned eaves corners.

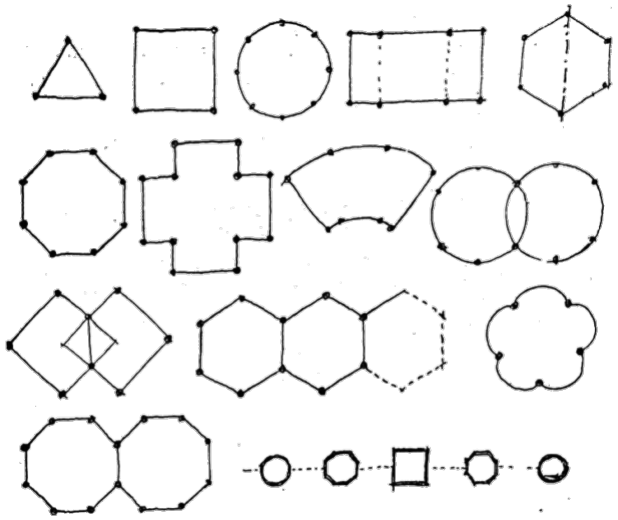


Figure 11: The variations of Chinese pavilion form plans
Source: Boyd (1962)

Chinese traditional architecture also emphasises the application of traditional ornaments (see Figure 12). There are basically seven types of Chinese traditional ornaments that have adopted particular forms. Lip (2009, p. 43) notes:

(1) mythical animal forms, such as phoenix, dragon, tortoise, and lion;
(2) plant and tree forms, such as bamboo, pine, orchid, chrysanthemum;
(3) human or supernatural figures, such as Chinese heroes or Daoist deities;
(4) natural forces, such as lighting, thunder, storm;
(5) geometric patterns;
(6) Chinese auspicious words; and
(7) Chinese precious utensils or objects, such as Chinese coins or pearls.

In addition, brush paintings and wall murals of Chinese landscapes, Chinese deities or Chinese religious stories, as well as Chinese lanterns are also used as ornaments and decorative elements in Chinese temples.

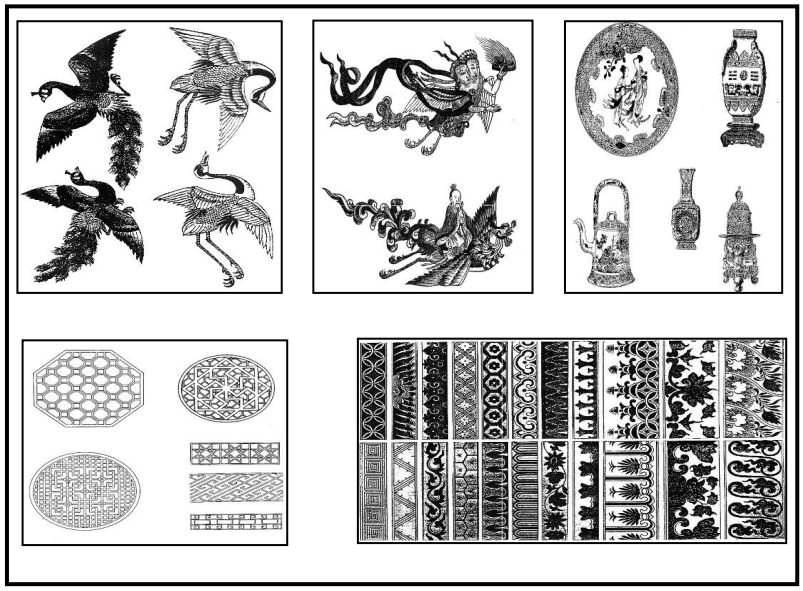


Figure 12: Some variations of Chinese traditional ornaments
Source: Schimdt et.al (2004)

The application of Chinese traditional colours is a significant characteristic in Chinese traditional architecture. Painted colours are used to protect the timber materials on the Chinese buildings, as well as colours being associated with natural elements and conveyed symbolic meanings. The colours used, and their meanings, are as follows:

(1) red colour, associated with the fire element and represents truth and sincerity, also prosperity, good fortune, and happiness;
(2) yellow or gold colour, associated with a royal colour and the earth element representing grandeur, power, and authority;
(3) green colour, associated with the wood element and used to symbolise longevity;
(4) black colour symbolises darkness and is associated with the water element;
(5) white colour, associated with the gold element and having meaning for mourning, sorrow, and death; and
(6) blue colour symbolises heavenly blessings and represents the colour of sky. (Kohl, 1984; Lip, 2009, p. 46)

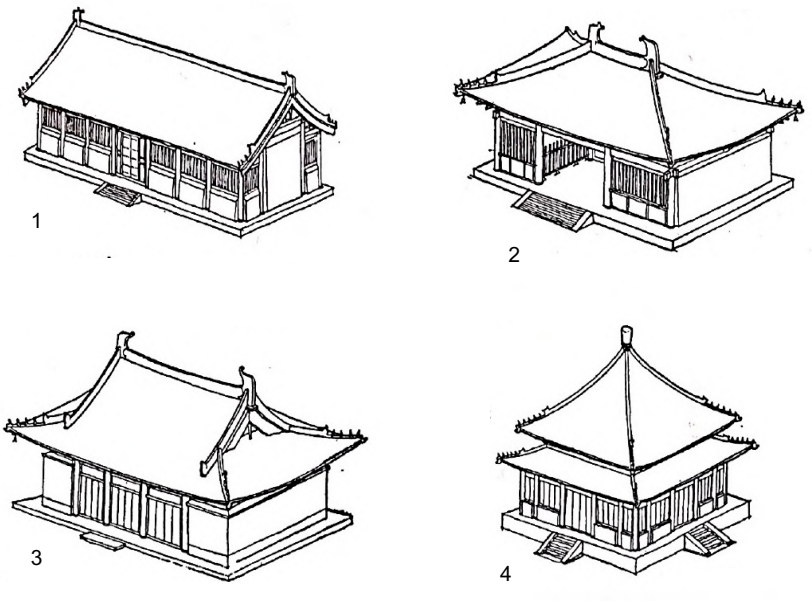


Figure 13: Variations of basic roof form in China
(1. Gabled roof; 2. Hipped roof 3. Half-hipped/half-gabled roof; 4. Two-tier pyramidal roof)
Source: Boyd (1962)



Figure 14: Variations of roof ridges and roof corners in South China
Source: Lip (1995)

Another striking characteristic of Chinese traditional architecture can be seen on the building's roof. Chinese traditional roofs are generally comprised of the gabled, the hipped, the half-gabled or half-hipped, and the pyramidal (see Figure 13) (Boyd, 1962; Lip; 1995). The number of roof tiers represents the importance of the building; the more roof tiers the more important the building. In addition to this, the important aspects of design of these roofs can be identified through the ridge and roof corner. Basically, there are three variations of ridge and roof corner according to their geographical origins (Lip, 1995). In North China, the roof ridge is straight, and the

gable end corner ribs are tilted slightly upwards. In Central China, the roof ridge is also straight, whereas the gable end corner ribs are tilted-up. In South China, the roof is designed with a curved ridge roof and the roof corner is tilted and curved upwards (see Figure 14), as can be seen in Nanputuo temple (see Section 1.2 and Figure 1).

Further, these roof ridges and roof corners are also designed with various ornaments (Figure 15), usually taking a form of mythical animals such as phoenix, flying dragon, chimera, lion, horse, and unicorn; floral forms; or deity figures such as Gods of rain and thunder. The materials used in Chinese traditional architecture essentially derive from the local resources like stone, brick, wood, and bamboo. As explained by Kohl (1984) stone is an abundant local resource in China associated with the earth element and primarily usually used in constructing the base for pillars or building platforms or buildings in courtyards, houses, temples, tombs, or monuments. Wood is another abundant material associated as a middle position between earth and heaven, thus is common to be used for columns, beams, brackets, and eaves.

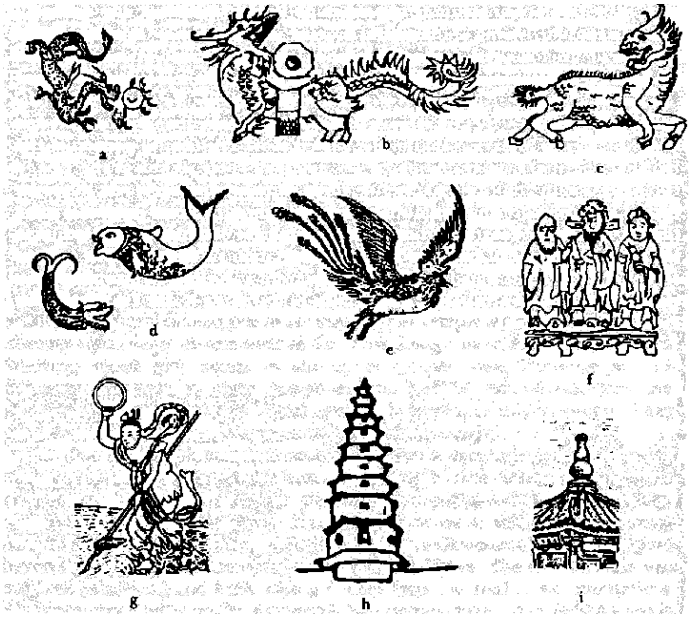


Figure 15: Some variations of Chinese roof ornaments
Dragon with pearl; b. Dragon horse; c. Chi-lin; d. Carp; e. Phoenix; f. The three-star Gods; g. Cha; h. Pagoda; i. Gourd)
Source: Kohl (1984)

In regards to the geomancy of *feng shui*, a Chinese temple has to meet some essential requirements. According to Lip (1983) these are:

- it must be placed higher than the surrounding ground to bring good luck[53];
- the location of a Chinese temple must not be at the end of narrow road, as it is believed to bring misfortune and bad luck;
- it must not be oriented to north-east or south-west, as these orientations are understood as 'the doors of devils'; and
- a Chinese temple must have the main roads on the west or south.

All of this geomancy applied on the Chinese temple suggests a combination of logical and mythical factors in creating a balance between the built and natural environment.

3.2.3 Vihara, *Klenteng*, and *Tempat Ibadat Tri Dharma (TITD)*

Lip (2009) describes that, in general, the names of Chinese temples across the whole of China are classified into five categories according to religious denominations; these are *Si*, *Gong*, *Miao*, *Ci*, and *An*. The character of these categories are as follows:

(1) *Si* is the largest temple among all the categories and used for Buddhists;
(2) *Miao* is smaller than *Si* but larger than *Gong* and functions for the giving of offerings or sacrifices to the ancestors or for the worship of the syncretic deities;
(3) *Gong* is the third largest temple and often used by Daoists;
(4) *Ci* focuses on giving respect to Confucius; and
(5) *An* is a temple for nuns who are Buddhist vegetarians.

The different deities in Chinese temples are also basically classified according to which of the three doctrines they belong (Lip, 2009, p. 95). These classifications are:

(1) Confucius is the main figure in the Confucian temple;
(2) Daoist deities comprise of Queen of Heavens, the God of Literature, the Monkey God, the God of Longevity, the God of Luck, the Eight Immortals, the God of Wealth, and the Kitchen God; and

[53] In general, Chinese traditional buildings are built on a raised podium to avoid rising damp due to building materials being predominantly timber; also, a higher podium in Chinese traditional architecture denotes a higher level of importance (Lip, 2009, p. 41).

(3) Buddhist deities include Amitabha, Shakyamuni Buddha, Maitreya Buddha, Ananda and other disciples, Cheng Huang or City God, the Goddess of Mercy, and the Diamond Kings.

Lip (2009, p. 96) also notes that Chinese temples with denominations other than listed above may include temples that incorporate the three traditions within a single building or complex, including the worship of local deity(s) or legendary figure(s).

According to Susilo et al. (2018), culturally, temples for Chinese religions in Indonesia are usually referred to as *Miao/Bio*, *Ci, Yuan, Gong, Guan,* and *Si*/*An*. These categorisations are similar to Chinese temples names in China in that are classified according to their religious denominations. As explained further by Herwiratno (2007)

- *Miao* and *Ci* are used to worship Confucius (for example, Kong Miao and Guan Di Miao*)*;
- *Yuan*, *Gong*, and *Guan* are used for worship Daoist Gods and Goddesses (for example, Jin De Yuan Temple in Jakarta and Ci An Gong or Cu An Kiong Temple in Lasem*)*; and
- *Si* or *An* are categorised as Buddhist temples (for example, Da Jue Si or Tay Kak Si Temple in Semarang).

Otherwise, Chinese temples in Indonesia are categorised according to the principal deity or type of relics or Buddha icons. For instance, the Kwan Kong Bio temple in Denpasar, Bali is named after its principal Daoist deity of Hyang Mulia Kongco Kwan Kong; and Ong Ya Kong temple in Sukawati, Gianyar, Bali has Ong Ya Kong as its main Daoist deity. However, officially, the Indonesian government currently classifies temples for Chinese ‘religions’ into four types:

(1) *klenteng* or Confucius temple for *Agama Khonghucu* adherents;
(2) vihara;
(3) *cetya*; and
(4) *Tempat Ibadah Tri Dharma* (*TITD* or *Tri Dharma* temple) for Indonesian-Buddhist adherents (Bali Provincial Statistics Centre, 2020).

Their significant differences are discussed in the following paragraphs.

A *klenteng* is basically well-known as a generic Indonesian term for a Chinese temple to accommodate the practice of worshipping Chinese deities and ancestors. As explained in Section 2.5.3, during the Soeharto's regime, *klenteng* was referred by the Indonesian government as a Chinese traditional place of worship with Chinese traditional elements and without any Buddhist elements. However, after the fall of Soeharto's era, the government's definition of a *klenteng* changed as a temple used by *Agama Khonghucu*; thus, a Confucian temple that has an altar for Confucian statue or figure as the main deity.

A vihara is a Buddhist temple complex used for religious and cultural activities. There are usually several individual buildings within a vihara complex, such as the Buddha's altars and multipurpose rooms or halls. A vihara in Indonesia is usually designed with the interior as a place for preaching (*Dharmmasala*) and one main altar for a Buddha statue (Irawan & Padmanaba, 2015). The type of Buddha statue in a vihara depends on which sect the vihara belongs to; for instance, a vihara for the Theravada sect places only a Buddha Gautama statue along with candles, water in glasses, some food and beverages as offerings on the altar. Whilst a vihara of the Maitreya sect places Buddha Gautama in the middle and other Buddha statues on the left and right side. Prevalent ornaments in a vihara are basically less colourful than in a Confucian temple and represent Buddhist symbols, such as the lotus, stupa, and *dharmachakra* (wheel of *Dharma*).

A *cetya,* or *cetiya,* is a mini version of vihara, and is a hall used to held *puja bakti* for devout Buddhists incorporating *dharmmasalla*[54] and an altar (Tjandradipura & Sugata 2016). Both vihara and *cetya* emphasis their architectural forms by adopting Buddhist features and have fewer Chinese traditional features than a *TITD*.

A *TITD* is used by the adherents of the combination of three religious' doctrines (Suryadinata 2005, p. 83) in which Chinese traditional architecture is elaborated in its roof forms, colours, and ornaments. A *TITD* usually comprises three buildings or rooms to represent the three doctrines religion. Some deity altars and offering tables are placed in these rooms or buildings. A number of altars or offering tables are designed according to their types of deity(s) worshipped within the temple (Irawan & Padmanaba, 2015, p. 515). A *TITD* also incorporates Chinese traditional elements,

[54] A place for preaching.

such as Chinese incense jars, Chinese drum or bell, Chinese gods or goddesses or heroic statues, Chinese traditional mythical animals or plant ornaments, and Chinese calligraphies (Khotimah & Alpizar, 2014).

These differences in characteristics of Chinese religions' temples imply that the government's definitions are politically aimed to classify people's religions and decide which ones are approved and/or supported by the government. The complexity of Chinese traditional religions in Indonesia have also been simplified by the government, and the classifications process has changed over the decades with different regimes, which is why some of the temples have been re-classified with different regimes.

In particular, since the re-emergence of *Agama Khonghucu* after the fall of Soeharto, some *klenteng* that were using vihara as their temple designation were re-established as *TITD* (Susanti, 2014). They also reverted their Chinese traditional practices and architectural features, though some of them kept their name as vihara instead of *TITD* (Kurniawan et al., 2017; Kholis, 2015; Primayudha et al., 2014). By way of example, the coordinator of Amurva Bhumi temple in Bali states that their temple was registered as vihara under the Ministry of Religious Affairs during the New Order era, and it does not matter now to keep the temple name as vihara, as their followers already know that they practice the three religious' doctrines[55].

In regards to the variations of terms on Chinese temples to the present day, the classification of Chinese religions' worship buildings remains unclear as they are used by different religious adherents and impacted by the political changes over time. Thus, the definition of Chinese temples in Indonesia is still debatable as there are several temples that have been removed (taken off the register) or re-classified, as reported by government statistical data about Number of Facilities for Worship by Regency/Municipality in Bali Province between 2019 and 2020 (Bali Provincial Statistics Centre 2019, 2020).

There is also the possibility that the changes have followed the altering of the architecture physically and the definition in future years might be different (as someone might revise these definitions). Thus, it can be said that the designation of

[55] Personal communication with the coordinator of Amurva Bhumi temple.

Chinese temples in Indonesia may never be fixed; however, some Chinese community members designate their temples as *TITD* - Chinese temples with Chinese traditional features embedded and used to worship multiple deities - although the government has classified their temple as a Confucian or Buddhist temple[56].

Thus, my argument/proposition in this study and thesis is that I agree with the communities' definition of their own temples'. In other words, I classify their temples as *TITD* as it is the communities' ways to classify their own temples', and this thesis will use the concept *TITD*.

3.3 Hindu-Balinese Religion and Their Architecture

Prior to the Reformation Era starting in 1998, the Indonesian government's position was that Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, and Chinese religions - Buddhism and Agama Khonghucu - were Indonesian legitimate religions. After Bali started to integrate with the Indonesian Republic in 1950, the government classified the religion of the Balinese people as 'tribal' and claimed Balinese religion was limited to a single ethnic group (Howe, 2001; McDaniel, 2010). The Balinese people were also said to be *belum beragama* or not having religion yet as their belief and religious practice were not based on a monotheistic notion and were not supported with a holy book, prophet, and universal ethical teaching.

Consequently, to be recognised as a legitimate religion by the Indonesian government, the Balinese, as represented by some Balinese intellectuals and local religious organisations, argued that the Balinese religion was a variant of Indian Hinduism. They also formulated Sang Hyang Widhi as the one supreme God, Vedas and Bhagavadgita as their holy books, and Vedic sages or rishis as their prophets. At that time, President Soekarno accepted their formulation, despite this religion seeming to be polytheistic by the Indonesian government and not meeting the definition of religion as a central in Indonesian nationalism. Not until 1958, did the Indonesia government officially declare Agama Hindu Bali or Hindu-Balinese as the

[56] Personal communication with some representatives of Chinese community in Bali.

Balinese religion, and changed its name into Agama Hindu or Hindu Religion in 1964 to universalise the religion, so it did not represent a particular ethnic group.

In respect to this, the fundamental principle of Agama Hindu Bali is named *Panca Sraddha* or five fundamental faith principles (Ardika et al., 2018); namely:

(1) belief in one almighty God called Sang Hyang Widhi;
(2) belief in the concept of *atman* (the eternal spirit);
(3) belief in *purnarbhawa* (the cycle of rebirth of the soul);
(4) belief in *karma phala* (that every action has its consequences); and
(5) belief in *moksa* (the freedom of the soul from the death/rebirth cycle).

In this principle, the Hindu-Balinese worship Sang Hyang Widhi in the form of *Trimurti*, referring to God's three manifestations of Brahma, Visnu, and Shiva:

- Brahma is associated with God as the creator of the universe;
- Visnu is associated with God as responsible for nurturing, protecting, and preserving the universe; and
- Shiva is associated with God as responsible for the destruction of the universe.

Such worship implies that despite the fact that Agama Hindu has been recognised as an Indonesian official religion due to its belief in a single deity; Agama Hindu followers practically practise worshipping multiple deities.

Howe (2001) contends that the Hindu-Balinese religion can be classified according to government's and communities' definitions as Adat Hindu, Agama Hindu, and devotional Hinduism.

- Adat Hindu, in this sense, refers to customary practise emphasising the interrelation amongst Balinese and their ancestors, as enacted through rituals and rites in communities or temples.
- Agama Hindu is the official government version of the Hindu religion in Indonesia as a monotheistic religion.

- Devotional Hinduism refers to newly imported Hindu sects in Bali from about 1980, in the form of Shri Sathya Sai Baba and Hare Krishna[57].

Amongst these three Hinduism variations in Bali, Balinese mostly practise Adat Hindu as they continue their traditional rituals and rites, as well as venerating ancestors - which is considered outside Agama Hindu. As a part of Adat Hindu, some Balinese are also known for practising a Shivaist-Buddhist belief (Friederich, 1876; Eiseman, 1990; Picard, 2011; Ardika et al., 2018). Since the 10th century, there have been two predominant beliefs embraced by the Balinese:

(1) Shivaism (a Hindu sect emphasised to the devotion of God Shiva); and
(2) Mahayana Buddhism – although the majority of followers were Shivaists (Ardika et al., 2018, p. 220), who have then merged into Shivaism-Buddhism since the thirteenth century (Friederich, 1876, p.166; Eiseman, 1990, p.40).

The intermixture of these belief systems was mentioned in an old Javanese Buddhist script - *Shang Hyang Kamahayanikan* - describing Shivaist-Buddhist teachings. Utomo (2018) explains that this script is in Sanskrit and comprises of three versions - two of them are Buddhist Mahayana teachings and the last one is a Shivaist teaching. Brown (1987) notes that I Gusti Sugriwa - a Hindu-Balinese scholar - translated *Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan* into Bahasa Indonesia, published in 1956. In his introduction, Sugriwa mentions that Balinese Hinduism is a mixture of Buddhist and Shivaist philosophies, and his intention for the translation is to give a better understanding of Mahayana-Buddhism as part of the Hindu-Balinese tradition and philosophy. Moreover, the Balinese Hinduism mentioned by Sugriwa is clearly the popular Adat Hindu practised by the Balinese, as stated by Howe (2001).

In addition to this, Sugriwa also notes that the merging of Shivaist and Buddhist beliefs was mentioned in an old Javanese poem, *Kakawin Sutasoma,* composed by Mpu Tantular in the fourteenth century. *Kakawin Sutasoma* is known as the Mahayana Buddha epic poem, and stresses the sameness of both beliefs. Its well-known verse is as follows:

[57] Shri Sathya Sai Baba is an Indian who proclaimed himself the reincarnation of nineteenth-century saint and a manifestation of universal God. Hare Krishna is the manifestation of God emphasising devotion to Krishna, one of the deities in Hinduism.

Rwaneka dhatu winuwus wara Budha Wiswa
Bhineka rakwa ringapan kena parwanosen
Mangkang jinantwa kalawan siwatwa tunggal
Bhineka tunggalika tan hana dharma marwa

The one substance is called two, namely Buddha or Siwa
They say it is different, but how can it be divided by two
Such is how the teaching of Buddha and Siwa became one
It is different, but it is one, there are not two truths
(Eiseman, 1990, p. 41)

This verse from *Kakawin Sutasoma* emphasises the expression of '*bhineka tunggalika'*, meaning 'although Buddha and Shiva are two, but at the same time they are one'. This term *bhinneka tunggalika* is also used as Indonesian state official motto, translated as 'unity in diversity' to promote tolerance towards the archipelago's various ethnic groups.

Balinese-Hinduism and Mahayana-Buddhism have some essential similarities, particularly in their belief systems and practice of rituals. Balinese-Hinduism and Mahayana-Buddhism are both polytheistic beliefs and venerate ancestors. Hindu-Balinese and Mahayana-Buddhism name this concept as *Trimurti* and *Trikaya* (these terms are discussed in Section 3.2.1 and 3.3 on Indonesian-Buddhist and Balinese Hinduism).

Both beliefs share in the same end of life purposes, namely the deliverance of the soul incorporating *moksha*, *karma*, and reincarnation. *Moksha*, according to Mishra is "the extrication of an individual from this world and is believed to terminate all sufferings resulting from the repeated cycles of birth and death" (2013, p.23).

Similarly, Buddhist adherents also practice this notion; however, with a different term *nirvana,* referring to "a state of perfect peace of mind, which is free from cravings, anger and other afflicting states" (Mishra, 2013, p. 27). In addition, two religious values of *karma* and reincarnation are believed to be connected with each other. Kiriana (2016) describes *karma* a result of previous or currently person's actions deciding their fate in the future or after reincarnation - reborn in different form or body after death.

As these beliefs have similarities philosophically, some particular practices of traditional rituals and rites also show the intermixture between Hindu-Balinese and Mahayana-Buddhism. By way of example, the Balinese hire Buddhist and Shivaist *pedanda*s (priests) at the same time in a ceremony called *Pancawalikrama* (Friederich, 1876). *Pancawalikrama* is a purificatory ritual held every ten years requiring four Shiva *pedanda*s and one Buddhist *pedanda* to perform the devotions. In this sense, most of Hindu-Balinese *pedanda*s are Shiva *pedanda*s, and both p*edanda*s are devout Shiva-Buddhists (Eiseman, 1990, p. 42).

3.3.1 Balinese Traditional Architecture

The fundamental principles of Balinese traditional architecture follow Hindu-Balinese ancient texts' scripts, namely *asta bhumi* and *asta kosala-kosali* (PHDI, 1989; Dwijendra, 2008; Pulasari et al., 2008). These texts have been established since the eleventh century (Wicaksana, 2018). In the context of Balinese traditional sacred buildings, the *asta bhumi* refers to the rules of the temple's layout planning. This script considers the dimension and division of courtyards and the distance between shrines within the temple compound. The *asta kosala* governs the dimension, materials, and ornaments of Hindu-Balinese shrines and other buildings within the temple compound. The a*sta kosali* is a similar guideline to *asta kosala*, yet is focused upon the Balinese traditional house.

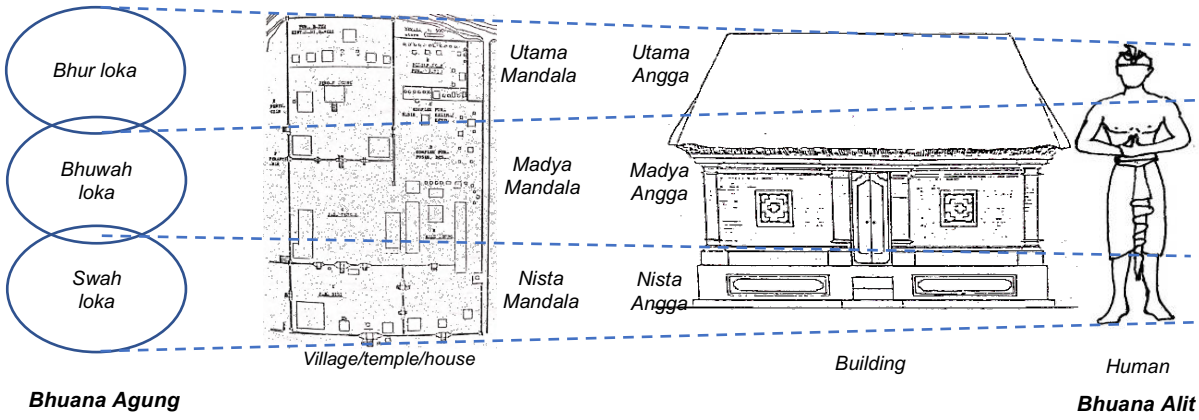


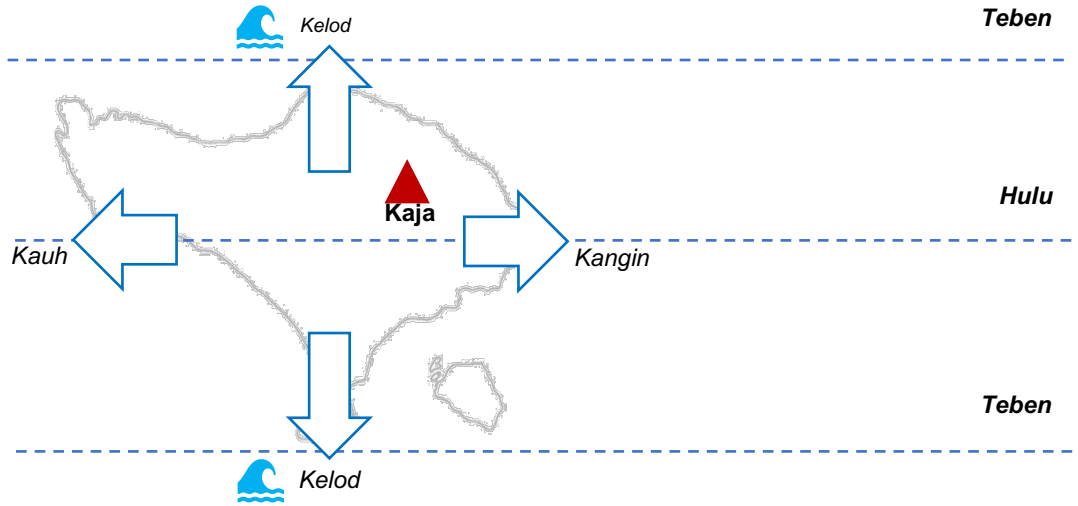
Figure 16: The concept of bhuana agung and bhuana alit
Source: Modified from Gelebet (1985)

The philosophical and practical values of *asta bhumi* and *asta kosala-kosali* emphasise the balanced harmony between macrocosm (*bhuana agung*) and microcosm (*bhuana alit*), representing the universe and the human within the

universe respectively (see Figure 16). *Bhuana agung* comprises of three levels, known as *Tri Mandala*, and all are implemented in structuring the zone of the village, temple, and house compound:

(1) *bhur loka* (the upper world of God and heaven) or *Utama Mandala*;
(2) *bhuwah loka* (the middle world of man) or *Madya Mandala*; and
(3) *swah loka* (the underworld) or *Nista Mandala*.

Bhuana alit is a human scale model of the universe divided into three parts, namely *Tri Angga*. The three divisions of *Tri Angga* incorporate head (*Utama Angga*), body (*Madya Angga*), and feet (*Nista Angga*) and adopted in constructing the building into podium, walls, and roof.



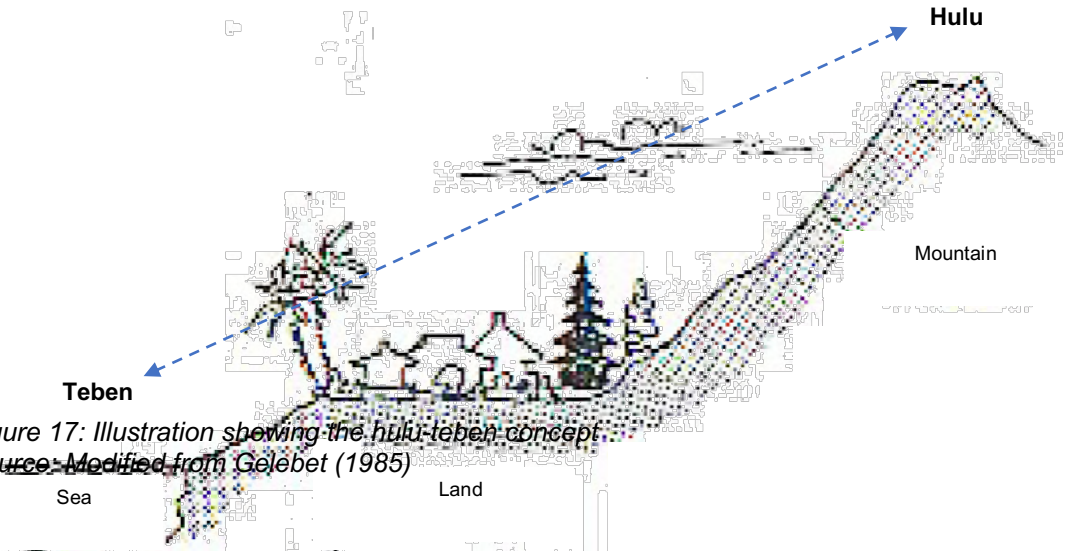


Figure 17: Illustration showing the hulu-teben concept
Source: Modified from Gelebet (1985)

In addition to this, *Tri Mandala* is used in structuring the local geography into mountain, land, and sea zones, generating a philosophical notion of *hulu-teben,* referring to mountain-sea direction (see Figure 17). In this sense, *hulu* or mountainward, is the most sacred zone and *teben,* or seaward, is the most profane zone.

Practically, *hulu-teben* encompasses cardinal orientations in Balinese traditional architecture, according to the existence of *Gunung Agung*[58] (Agung Mountain). The orientation towards *Gunung Agung* is believed as the earth's axis, namely *kaja*, whereas the antipode of *kaja* orientation is *kelod* as the least sacred direction. In this respect, *kaja* and *kelod* refer to the north and south for South, East, and West Bali inhabitants.

In contrast, inhabitants of North Bali refer to *kaja* and *kelod* as south and north orientations. Further, the other cardinal orientations are *kangin* and *kauh*. *Kangin,* or east, is the religious axis direction as the sun rises and is believed to be the manifestation of God. *Kauh* or west is the antipode of *kaja* as the less sacred direction.

Accordingly, the Hindu-Balinese compass comprises of *kaja, kelod, kangin, kauh*, and centre as the additional vertical cardinal point, generating nine cardinal points - *Dewata Nawa Sanga* - occupied by Hindu-Balinese Gods and associated Hindu-Balinese Gods' colours and their weapons[59] (see Figure 18).

[58] *Gunung Agung* is a Balinese sacred mountain located in the eastern central part of Bali Island and is believed to be the abode of Hindu-Balinese Gods.
[59] (1) *Kaja* (mountainward): Vishnu, Chakra, Black; (2) *Kaja-kangin* (mountainward-east): Sambhu, Trisula, Blue; (3) *Kangin* (east): Iswara, Bajra, White; (4) *Kelod-kangin* (seaward-east): Maheswara, Incense, pink colour; (5) *Kelod* (seaward): Brahma, Mace, Red; (6) *Kelod-kauh* (seward-west): Rudra, Moksala, Orange; (7) *Kauh* (west): Mahadewa, Sachi, Yellow; (8) *Kaja-kauh* (north-west): Sangkara, Rodri, Green; (9) Centre: Shiva, Padma, White.

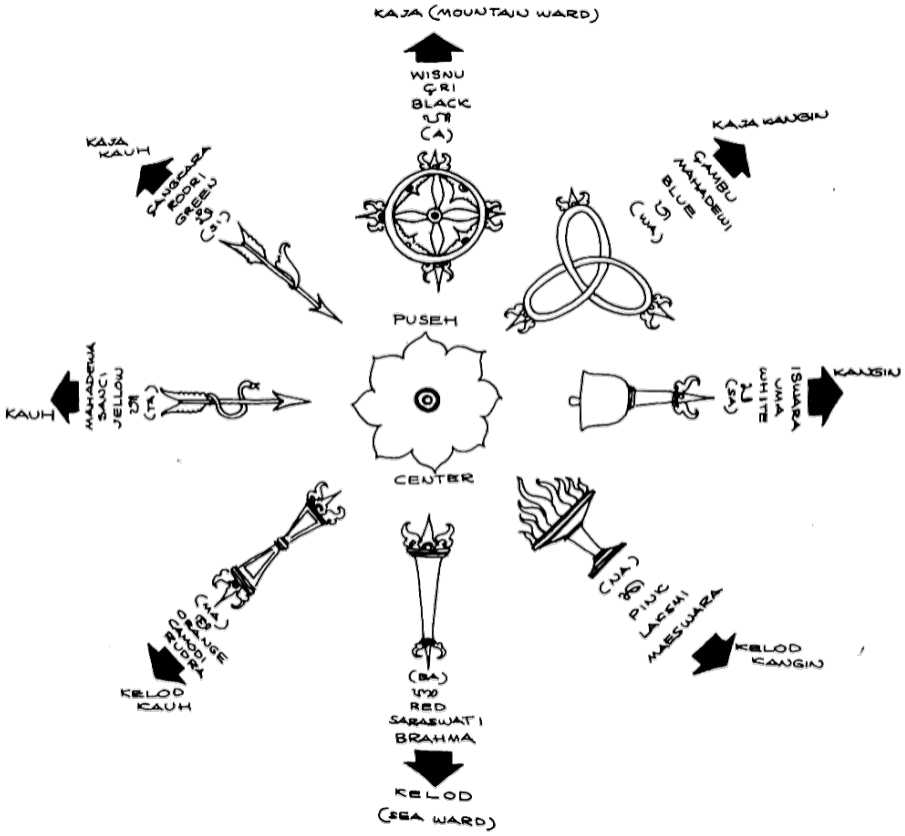


Figure 18: The Balinese compass of Dewata Nawa Sanga
Source: Eiseman (1990)

The Balinese traditionally use three approaches to traditional measurement, known as *sikut karang*, *sikut natah*, and sikut *gegulak* (Parwata, 2011). These measurement approaches use the human anthropometric dimensions of the Hindu-Balinese priest or building owner as the units of measurement (see Figure 19).

Sikut karang is used to measure the dimension of the house or temple courtyard using the stretch of the hand. *Sikut natah* is a measurement approach for the building dimensions within the house or temple courtyard using the footprint. *Gegulak* is used to measure the building dimension within the house or temple courtyard using palm, hand and fingers.

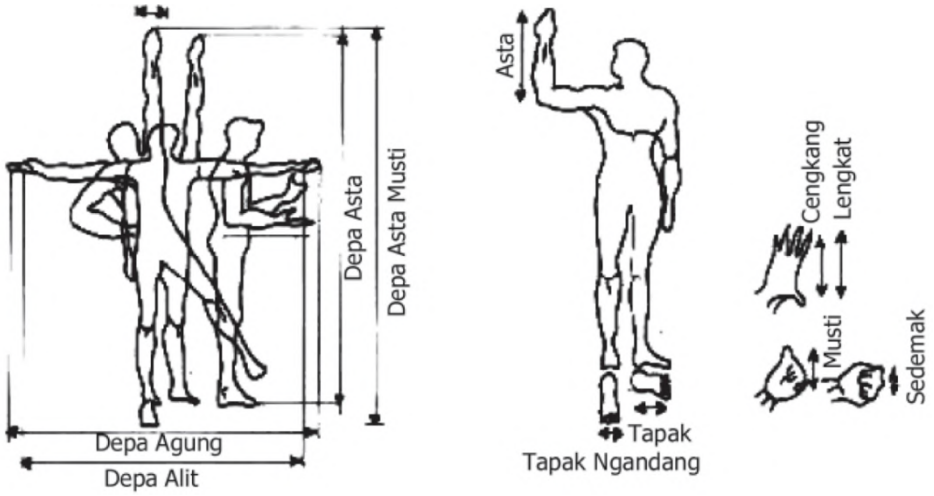


Figure 19: Balinese traditional measurement, according to human anthropometric attributes
Source: Adhika cited in Dwijendra (2008)

3.3.2 Hindu-Balinese Temple

Basically, there are three Hindu-Balinese temple categories distinguished by their social organisation, locality, irrigation, and descent group (Gelebet, 1986; Fox, 1987; PHDI, 1989). These temple's forms are separate and autonomous, but they influence one another. The locality form is marked by the Balinese 'world temples' or state temples (*kahyangan jagad*), the regional temples (*dhang kahyangan*), and the cultural village temples (*kahyangan tiga*); the irrigation organisation (*subak*) consists of individual and group subak temples; the descent group form is marked by the ancestor temples (*pamerajan*).

Each of these locality-based Hindu-Balinese temples is constructed according to cardinal orientations, historical backgrounds, and microcosmic values, respectively (Fox, 1987; Hauser-Schäublin, 2004; Soetoprawiro, 2019). Kahyangan jagad is constructed according to the philosophical values of cardinal directions within Bali Island: *rwa bhineda* (two directions), *catur lokapala* (four directions), and *sad winayaka* (nine cardinal directions). The *dhang kahyangan* as a regional temple is closely related to the history of religious journeys of a Hindu-Balinese saint (*dhang guru*) and was basically built as a residence or worship place by or for the *dhang guru* or to show respect to the *dhang guru*.

Finally, the *kahyangan tiga*, otherwise known as the Three Cultural Village Temples encompasses *Pura Desa* (the Temple of Origin), *Pura Puseh* (the Village Temple), and *Pura Dalem* (the Death Temple) - the abode of Brahma, Visnu, and Shiva,

respectively. These three village temples are associated as a Balinese traditional human-scale model of the universe, the *Tri Angga* incorporating head *(utama angga*), body (*madya angga*), and feet (*nista angga*) (see Figure 20).

The Pura Puseh and Pura Dalem are ideally located in the mountainward (*utama angga*) or eastern direction of the settlement and in the seaward (*nista angga*) or western direction, respectively; whilst the Pura Desa is established more or less in the centre of the inhabited territory (*madya angga*)[60]. Both *kahyangan jagad* and *dhang kahyangan* are accessible by all Hindu-Balinese adherents, regardless of their origin of territories and descent groups; *kahyangan tiga* is usually visited by all Hindu-Balinese adherents in particular villages. The access to all these temples also includes those who practice Shiva-Buddha belief.

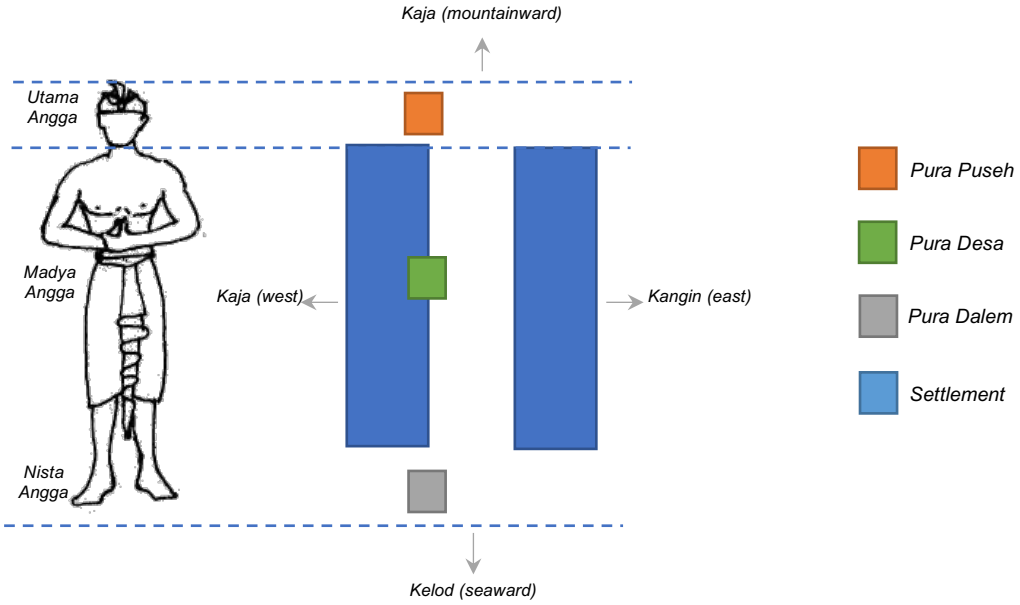


Figure 20: The human-scale model of the universe in the three cultural village temples
Source: Author

The Hindu-Balinese temple compound usually incorporates three courtyards, aligning with *kaja-kelod* (see Figure 21)[61]. The inner courtyard, or *jeroan,* is placed to the *kaja* edge of the compound as the most sacred direction, as it contains Hindu-Balinese shrines. The *jeroan* is usually positioned to be more elevated than the other

[60] In some Balinese cultural villages, *Pura Desa* is located next to *Pura Puseh*.
[61] Figure 21 shows a typical Hindu-Balinese temple layout in Bali, in general. Some variations are mostly found in the site dimension, building types, and their architectural forms.

zones and is connected with a Balinese traditional gate. In the *kelod* direction is the less sacred courtyard, namely *jaba sisi,* or the most outer courtyard. The *jaba tengah,* or middle section courtyard, is a transitional spatial area between *jeroan* and *jaba sisi* courtyards.

The building types in a Hindu-Balinese temple compound are essentially classified into main buildings, complementary buildings, and additional buildings. Hindu-Balinese shrines, or *pelinggih*s, are included as main buildings. These *pelinggih*s contain manifestations of Gods or Goddesses. There are also various complementary buildings used for supporting ceremonial activities. For instance, these may be for food and offerings preparations, storage and playing of Balinese traditional instrumentals, and other purposes. These buildings mostly take a form of Balinese traditional open pavilions (which will be described in subsequent paragraphs).

Finally, the additional buildings are Balinese traditional gates (*candi bentar, kori agung, angkul-angkul*), drum tower (*bale kulkul*), multipurpose hall (*wantilan*), and others.

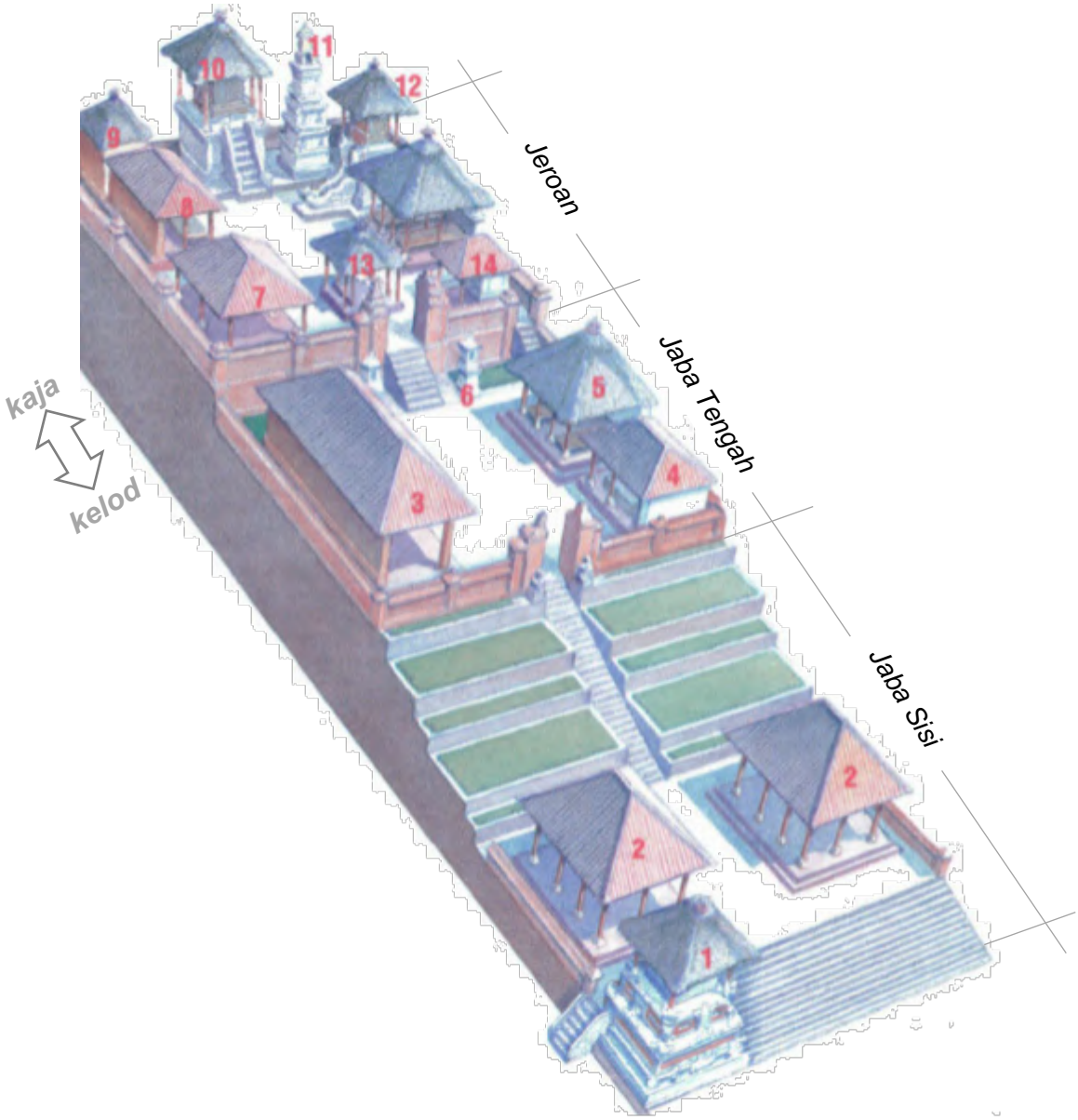


Figure 21: An illustration of Hindu-Balinese temple layout
Source: Davison et.al. (1999)
Key:

1. *Bale kulkul*, or drum tower.
2. *Bale gong* - pavilion for gamelan performances.
3. *Gedong sineb wastra* - for storing ritual paraphernalia.
4. *Peranteng* - kitchen for the preparation of food and offerings.
5. *Piasan pedanda* - pavilion reserved for priests.
6. *Apit lawang* - paired shrines flanking the gateways leading into each of the courtyards, where offerings are placed for the guardians of the temple precincts. They adopt the form of *tugu*.
7. *Pesartian* - pavilion for performing ritual invocations
8. *Piasan dauh* - pavilion for storing ritual paraphernalia.
9. *Piasan ratu gede* - pavilion for ritual paraphernalia.
10. *Pelinggih gedong* - pavilion dedicated to temple founder.
11. *Padmasana* - shrine dedicated to the supreme godhead and prime mover of the Universe, Ida Sanghyang Widhi Wasa.
12. *Pewedaan betara* - where the gods receive the prayer of the priests.
13. *Pewedaan pemangku* - pavilion where lay priests offer their prayers.
14. *Peselang* - pavilion for holding small-scale rituals.

The main rituals in Hindu-Balinese temples are conducted at the *pelinggih*s within the inner courtyard. According to Gelebet (1986), *pelinggih* is a generic Balinese term used for Hindu-Balinese shrine where *Sang Hyang Widhi*, or the almighty God, dwells with all its manifestations. These *pelinggih* are basically classified into four types: *tugu, candi, padma, gedong*, and *meru*, which are distinguished by the size, form, position, ornament and decoration. All of these *pelinggih* are designed with a square plan, but are different in vertical appearance. The differences are explained as follows.

A *tugu* is square in plan and positioned at the south or west of the compound (see Figure 22). It is the simplest form of Hindu-Balinese shrines as the abode of spirits/demons, otherwise known as *bhuta khala*. There may some *tugu* established within the temple compound. By way of example, this shrine is commonly used as *penunggun karang* or *tunggun karang* placed in the *kelod* or *kauh* of the middle courtyard, and *pelinggih apit lawang* built at the front Balinese traditional gates *kori* or *candi bentar*. Both shrines are the abode of a demon called *Kala Raksa* or *Bhatara Kala*, believed to watch over the site and property of the temple.

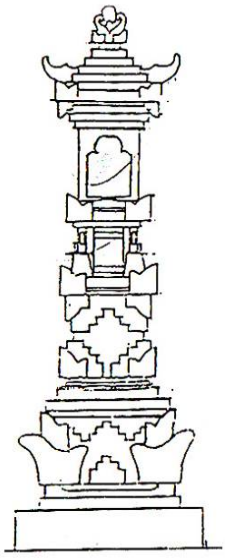




Figure 22: (L) A tugu
Source: Gelebet (1985)
Figure 23: (R) A candi as a shrine
Source: Abarai (2016)

In a Hindu-Balinese traditional temple there are two types of *candi*: *candi* as a shrine and *candi* as a gate. *Candi* as a shrine is similar to *tugu*, but is constructed with multiple crowns and used as the abode of particular Gods or Goddesses (see Figure

23). Its size can be the same as *tugu,* or can be varied from ten metres or higher, whereas c*andi* as a gate is used to connect courtyards within the temple compound.

Padma is a rectangular stone shrine and designed with one to three compartments. Its term originates from the Kawi language, and means 'lotus' (Dwijendra, 2008). *Padma* is the abode of Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa with its manifestations, reflecting the universe or *bhuana agung* (Eiseman, 1990; Titib, 2001). There may more than one *padma* within a Hindu-Balinese temple compound. The variations of *padma* can be classified according to location, number of compartments, and number of podium levels. It is important to distinguish between the different forms of *padma* to identify their types that may be present within the Chinese temples in Bali. According to location, *padma* variations are as follows:

(1) *Padmakencana* placed at the east facing west;
(2) *Padmasana* placed at the south facing north;
(3) *Padmasana Sari* placed at the west facing east;
(4) *Padmasana Lingga* placed at the north facing south;
(5) *Padma Asta Sedana* placed at the south-east facing north-west;
(6) *Padmanoja* placed at the south-west facing north-east;
(7) *Padmakaro* placed at the north-west facing south-east;
(8) *Padmasaji* placed at the north-east facing south-west;
(9) *Padmakurung* placed at the middle of the temple compound facing the main entrance.

According to compartment numbers and podium levels, five different forms of *padma* are:

(1) *Padmasana Anglayang*, *padmasana* with three compartments, seven podium levels and incorporating *Bedawang Nala*[62];
(2) *Padma Agung*, *padmasana* with two compartments, five podium levels and incorporating B*edawang Nala*;
(3) *Padmasana*, *padmasana* with one compartment, five podium levels and incorporating *Bedawang Nala* (see Figure 24);

[62] *Bedawang Nala* is an ornament on the base of *padmasana* or *meru* depicting a giant turtle twisted by a dragon (*Naga Basuki*) or two dragons (*Naga Basuki* and *Naga Anantabhoga*). The philosophical meanings of *Bedawang Nala* are closely related to the mythology of *Gunung Meru* (Meru Mountain) and the emergence of earthquakes in Balinese folklore (Paramadhyaksa, 2010; Idedhyana, 2020).

(4) *Padmasari*, *padmasana* with one compartment and three podium levels; and
(5) *Padmacapah*, *padmasana* with one compartment and two podium levels.



Figure 24: An example of padmasana with one compartment, five podium levels, and incorporating bedawang nala
Source: Idedhyana, 2016

A *Gedong* is a roofed shrine with compartments and is designed in rectangular form. The bottom and middle parts of the shrine are constructed in natural stone, and the roof part uses wood for construction and is covered with bamboo roof tiles or thatch (Figure 25). The position of a *gedong* within the inner courtyard can be in the north or the east. The number of compartments distinguishes these *gedong* types:

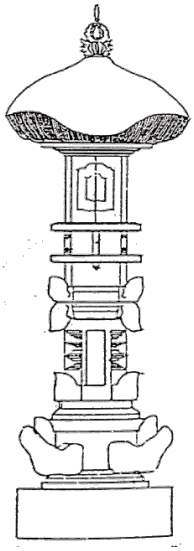
- *gedong kembar* - a *gedong* designed with two compartments; and
- *gedong rong telu* - a *gedong* with three compartments.

There is also a *gedong* with two tiers of roof, otherwise known as *gedong sari*.

These compartment variations of *gedong* shrine indicate the numbers of deity worshipped in each type.

A *Meru* is a roofed shrine to divinize ancestors and distinguished by the number of roof tiers (Figure 26) (PHDI, 1989). This shrine represents a *Mahameru* mountain in which the roof tiers must be in an odd number (that is, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11), and two roof tiers. These numbers convey a philosophical meaning representing the levels of

macrocosm and microcosm. The location of *meru* within the temple compound is at the east of the *jeroan* zone, aligned north-south facing west.



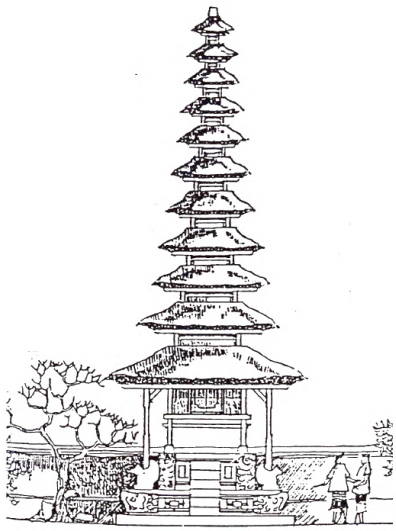


Figure 25: A gedong
Source: Gelebet (1985)
Figure 26: A meru with eleven roof tiers
Source: Gelebet (1985)

In general, Balinese traditional pavilions are rectangular in plan and distinguished according to their numbers of column (*sesaka*) (Gelebet, 1985):

- *bale sakepat* (a four columns pavilion),
- *bale sakenem* (a six columns pavilion),
- *bale sakutus* (an eight columns pavilion),
- *bale tiangsanga* (a nine columns pavilion), and
- *bale sakaroras* (a twelve columns pavilion).

Their variations usually can be seen through the construction of wooden platform(s) used for sitting or preparing the offerings, and their semi-closed walls, either on two sides or three sides.

Traditionally, a Balinese traditional pavilion lies on a brick or stone podium (see Figure 27), with the roof structures use coconut woods or bamboos and topped up with black thatch (*ijuk*) made from sugar palm. Black thatch is usually used on Hindu-Balinese religious buildings or individual buildings within the Hindu-Balinese temple compound, denotated as ‘above’ (meaning pure or sacred) as it grows on the sugar palm branch, whilst yellow thatch, *alang-alang,* is used for individual buildings within

the Balinese traditional house compound due to the fact it grows in the soil and is denotated as ‘below’ (therefore less sacred). However, due to the development of building materials and consideration on durability, many Balinese traditional pavilions are now usually used ceramic tiles for the floor, concrete column and roof structures, and clay roof tiles.

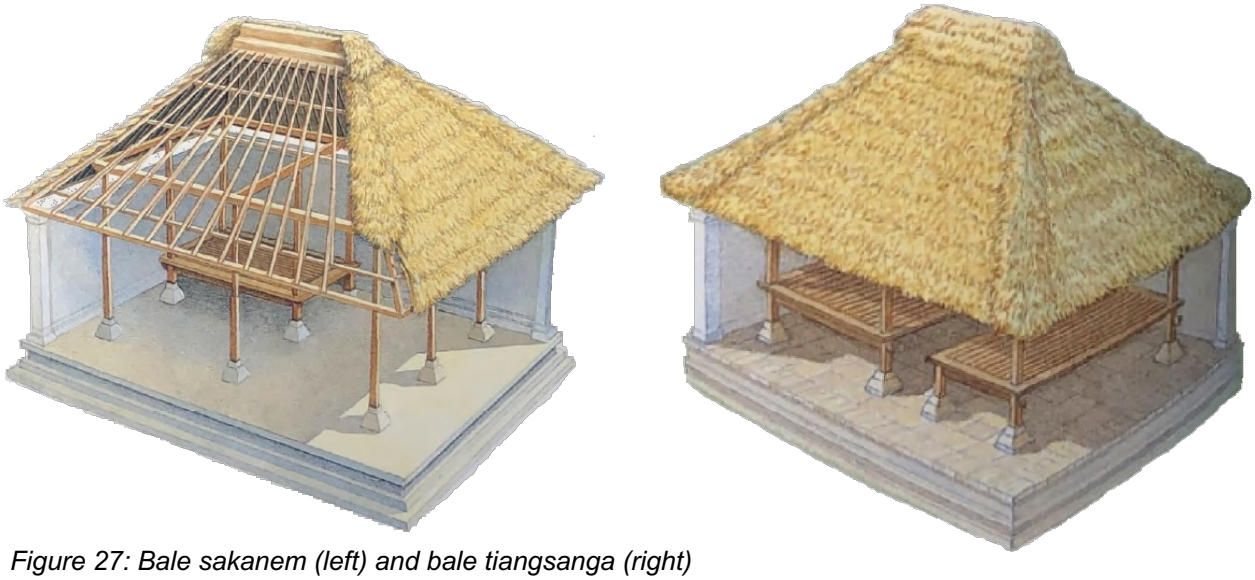


Figure 27: Bale sakanem (left) and bale tiangsanga (right)
Source: Davison et.al. (1999)

The Hindu-Balinese temple’s courtyards are connected and separated with Balinese traditional gates. There are three types of Balinese traditional gates distinguished by their size, form, and number of entrance openings (see Figure 28) (Gelebet, 1986). The first type is *kori*, the highest stratum level of the Balinese traditional entrance type, and used to enter the inner courtyard and usually opened during the auspicious days or temple festivals to welcome the deity(s).

For daily access, visitors can use the side entrances in either side of *kori* (*betelan*), designed in the form of *candi bentar*. This *kori* gate is designed with an entrance opening in the middle as its overall form is the manifestation of a mountain.

The second type is *candi bentar*, a similar form to *kori*, but the entrance in the middle splits the gate into two parts. This divided entrance is the manifestation of a cracked mountain that will capture every negative effect passing through it. A *candi bentar* is usually placed as the main gate connecting the outer and middle courtyards. Last is a*ngkul-angkul*, the simplest Balinese traditional gate, with the entrance opening in

the middle and designed with hipped roof. This simplest type of Balinese traditional gate is usually used as the side entrance from the outer to middle courtyards.

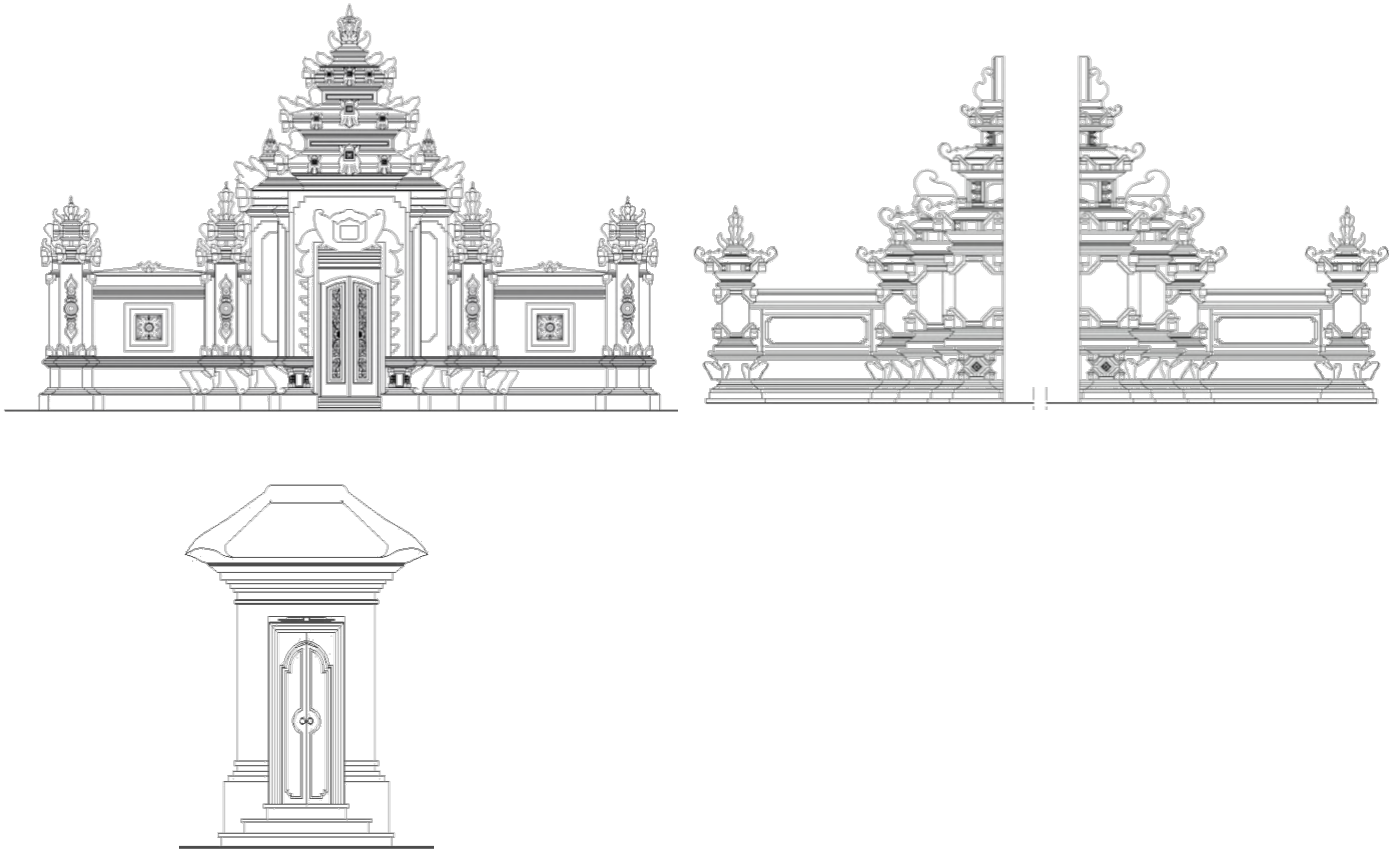


Figure 28: Kori (top L), candi bentar (top R), angkul-angkul (bottom)
Source: Hendrawan (2012)

The colours in Balinese traditional architecture essentially comprise natural and painted colours (Gelebet, 1986, p. 337), derived from the use of natural materials, such as red brick or sandstone, depending on the availability of local material resources. Moreover, the application of wood materials in Balinese traditional architecture is selected according to building classification, as written in *asta kosala-kosali* – Hindu-Balinese anciens texts' scripts governing fundamental principles of Balinese traditional architecture. The wood materials used for a sacred building are different from a residence, as they must be purified wood and have good scent. Following are the variation of wood materials from the highest to the lowest quality (Pulasari et al., 2008, p.48):

- *cendana* or sandalwood (*Prabhu* class),
- *manengen* (*Patih* class),

- *cempaka* or *Magnolia champaca* (*Arya* class),
- *kwanitan* (*Demung* class),
- *majegau* (*Tumenggung* clas), and
- *suren* (*Rangga* class).

Each class is used together in different parts of shrine structure:

- *cendana* or *manengen* are for tip of the roof (*petaka*) and ceiling;
- *cempaka* or *kwanitan* are used for beam (*lambang*) and rafter (*iga-iga*); and
- *majegau* or *suren* are used as pole/column (*sesaka*) material.

Further, the various paint colours in Balinese traditional architecture are adopted from the nine colours of *Dewata Nawa Sanga*, associated with each Gods' colours.

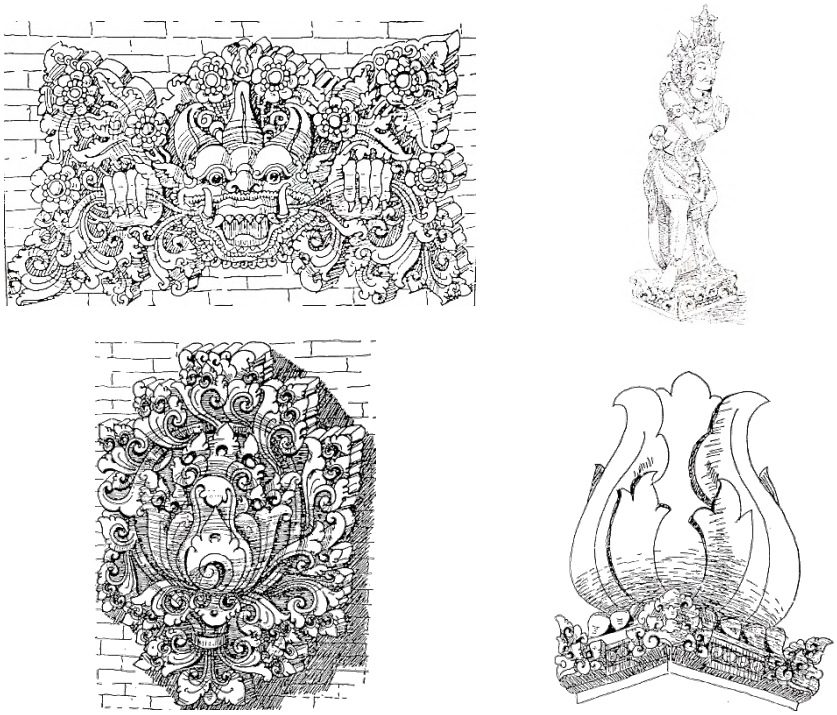


Figure 29: Some examples of Balinese traditional ornaments
Source: Gelebet (1985)

The ornaments in the Balinese traditional architecture mainly adopt plants, animals, natures, and human figures' forms (see Figure 29) (Gelebet, 1986, p. 331). Variations of flowers, tendrils, leaves, and forms of animals like *garuda*, dragon, lion, horse, monkey, cow, and other cattle animals are adopted into carved or painted ornaments.

The notion of natural elements called *Panca Maha Butha* has also been adopted for Balinese traditional ornaments. These five elements are *apah* (liquid), *teja* (light), *bhayu* (air), *akhasa* (sky), and *pertiwi* (earth).

Other ornaments in Balinese traditional architecture adopt the forms of figures, such as sacred giants or monsters, priests or holy persons, and Gods or Goddesses.



Figure 30: Some examples of Balinese traditional decorations
Source: Author (2019)

The *pelinggih*s within the temple are also usually decorated both as aesthetic and sacred elements (see Figure 30). In respect of this, the Hindu-Balinese treat a *pelinggih* as same as a human body, hence they need decent dress. The variation of these decorations are Balinese traditional textiles with nine colours of *Dewata Nawa*

Sanga or Balinese traditional textiles with particular patterns, such as foliage patterns or chessboard pattern.

There is also a Balinese sacred textile with *rerajahan*[63] motifs that is believed to function as an amulet. These textiles are usually used to cover the middle part of the shrine or placed at the roof part. Another Balinese traditional decoration placed at the *pelinggih* is a Balinese traditional umbrella called *pajeng* or *tedung*. Different types, dimension, and colours of *pajeng* are used for different ceremonies and *pelinggih* (Mudra, 2011).

3.3.3 Pelinggih Ratu Subandar: a Chinese-Balinese Shrine within a Hindu-Balinese Temple

As mentioned in Sections 3.3, Shivaist-Buddhist belief is broadly practised in Hindu-Balinese temples in some regencies in Bali. The intermixture of this belief can also be identified through the adoption of a Balinese traditional shrine *Pelinggih Ratu Subandar* as the abode of the Chinese figure known as *Ratu Ayu Subandar* - a manifestation of Chinese *subandar*/harbourmasters (as explained in Section 2.3.4).

The architectural characteristics of *Pelinggih Ratu Subandar* in some of Hindu-Balinese temples in Bali (for example, Ulun Danu Batur, Dalem Balingkang, and Tanjung Sari temples) are basically not very different from each other. This shrine has adopted the Balinese traditional architecture of *gedong* or *tugu*, although different in materials, application of Chinese ornament and decorative elements.

[63] *Rerajahan* is derived from *rajah*, meaning talisman and referred to a series of painting or drawing incorporating Hindu-Balinese mantras, scripts, or symbols that contain religious or magical supernatural powers (Gelebet, 1986, p. 405; Sudarma, 2015).

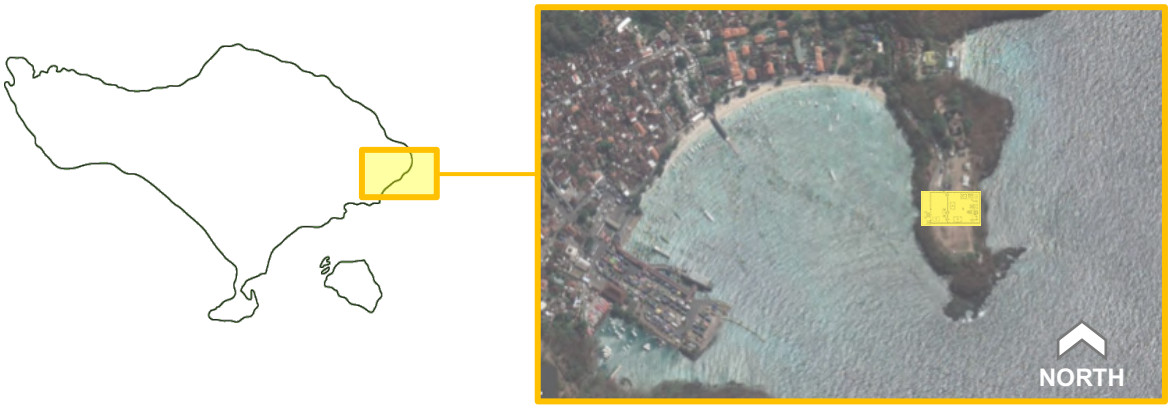


Figure 31: The location of Tanjung Sari temple, on a hill adjacent to Padangbai port, Padangbai Cultural Village, Karangasem Regency and surrounded by the Bali Sea
Source: Modified from Google Earth (2020)

In this section, the *Pelinggih Ratu Subandar* within Tanjung Sari temple is used as an example of a Chinese-Balinese shrine to further understand the significant features of this kind of shrine, and also the intersection of Balinese and Chinese beliefs that is more extensively represented by the case study temples in Chapter 6. Tanjung Sari temple is situated on the hill adjacent to Padangbai port, Padangbai Cultural Village, Karangasem Regency and is surrounded by the Bali sea (Figure 31).

This temple is recognised as an ancient Hindu-Balinese temple, although the date of establishment of this temple was unknown. Tanjung Sari temple was designed according to Balinese traditional precepts, comprising of three courtyards connected by Balinese traditional gates (see Figure 32). The fifteen-acre site of Tanjung Sari temple can be accessed through two entry gates: one in the west of *jaba sisi* courtyard and another in the north, next to what is now the parking area.

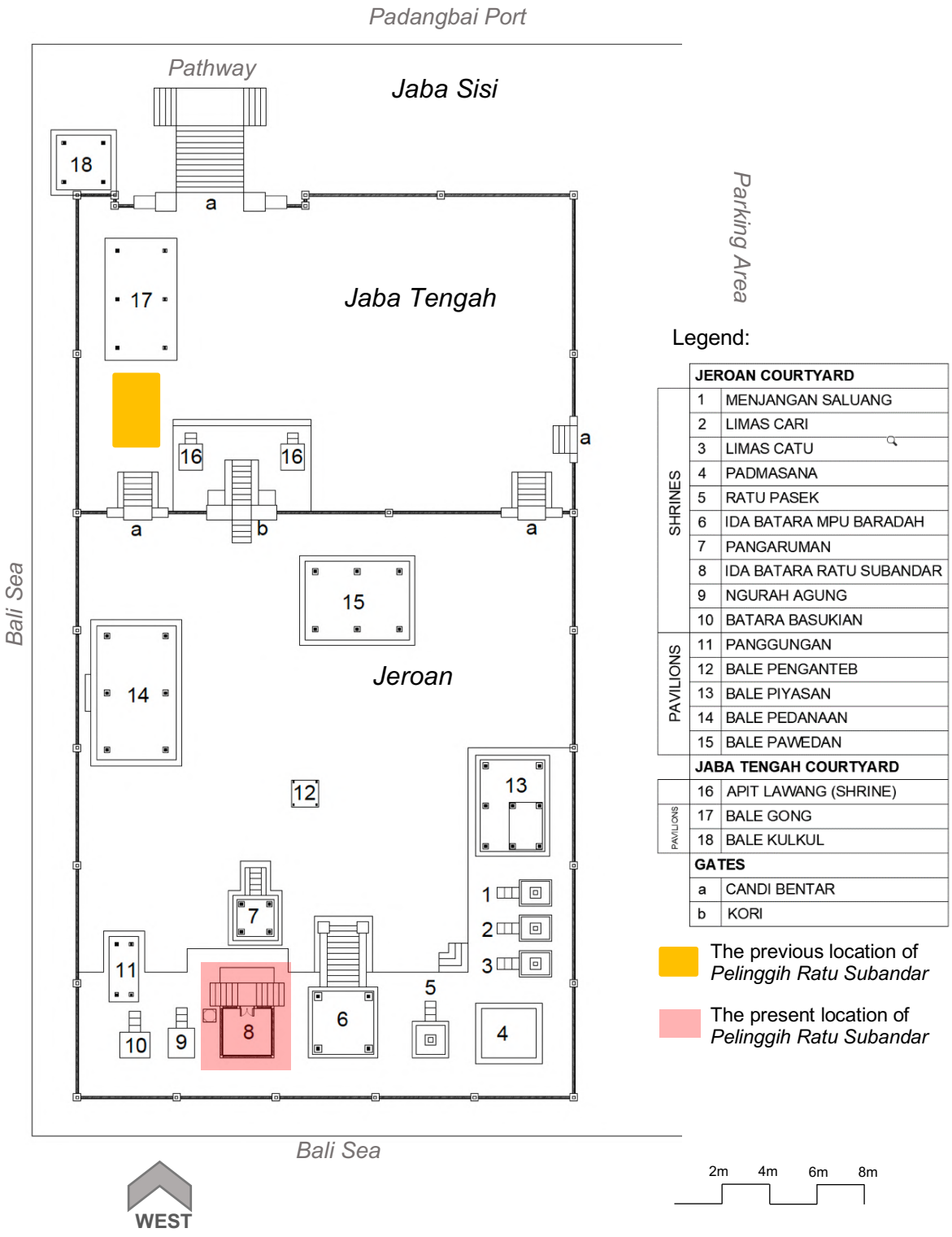


Figure 32: Tanjung Sari temple's layout
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 33: Pelinggih Ratu Subandar in 1990s within Tanjung Sari temple
Source: Tanjung Sari temple collections

Tanjung Sari temple had been developed twice: in the 1990s and again in 2016. The development in the 1990s was focused on removing the entry gate from the south (*kelod*) to the west (*kauh*) side and replacing the old entry gate with *candi bentar* and *kori,* as the Hindu-Balinese communities considered the main street in the west to be more convenient and safer, included the moving of *Pelinggih Ratu Subandar*. Previously, the *Pelinggih Ratu Subandar* was placed within the middle courtyard (*jaba tengah*) facing the sea in the south (*kelod*) (see the yellow square on the plan in Figure 32).

Its structure was then moved to the inner courtyard (*jeroan*) in parallel with the Hindu-Balinese shrines in the east (*kangin*) and the original form of *Pelinggih Ratu Subandar* was maintained - a *tugu* painted in red (Figure 33)[64]. The Hindu-Balinese adherents and community within Tanjung Sari temple believe that Shivaist and Buddhist beliefs are equal; therefore, they moved *Pelinggih Ratu Subandar* to the same sacred level as the other Hindu-Balinese shrines.

The second development in 2016 was focused on rebuilding all the shrines, including the *Pelinggih Ratu Subandar*. The coordinator of Tanjung Sari temple explains that

[64] Personal communication with the priest of Tanjung Sari temple.

the new designs of the *Pelinggih Ratu Subandar* were generated as the result of discussion between the Hindu-Balinese and Chinese communities with I Wayan Jantra - a local architect - as well as the coordinator of Padangbai cultural village.

They Initially intended to refer to the architectural design of *Pelinggih Ratu Subandar* in Ulun Danu Batur and Balingkang temples in Kintamani Village, Bangli Regency (see Figure 34). They believed that these two *Pelinggih Ratu Subandar* represent the ideal mixture of Chinese and Balinese cultural elements in Bali. The architectural forms of these *Pelinggih Ratu Subandar* adopt a form of *gedong* raised on stone podium, using wood for the columns and roof structures, sandstone or bricks for the walls, and the roof is topped with thatch. Chinese traditional features embedded on these *gedong* can be seen in the adoption of Chinese lion stones, Chinese lanterns, Chinese coins, Chinese incense jars, and the use of red textiles to cover the columns.

However, due to the previous individual buildings' construction and materials within the Tanjung Sari being too fragile for the sea climate, the *Pelinggih Ratu Subandar* was developed by adopting the form of a *candi* and using grey sandstone as the predominant material for durability and cost (Figure 35). This design idea was accepted by all the communities, particularly the Chinese communities, as long as this shrine embedded Chinese and Buddhist elements to represent their religion and culture[65].



Figure 34: Pelinggih Ratu Ayu Subandar within Ulun Danu Batur and Dalem Balingkang temples
Source: Dharmayasa (2017) and Enk (2017)

[65] Personal communication with the coordinator of Tanjung Sari temple.



Figure 35: The latest development of Pelinggih Ratu Subandar within Tanjung Sari Temple
Source: Author (2019)

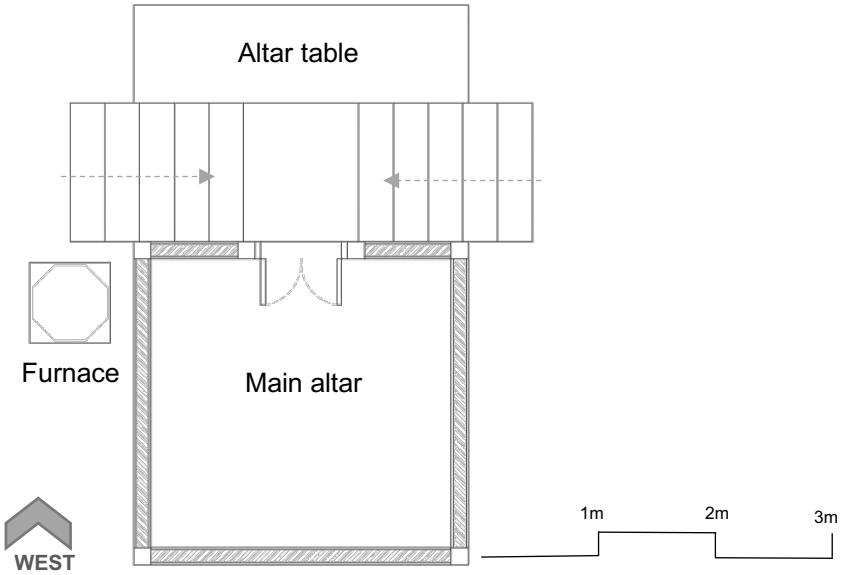


Figure 36: Pelinggih Ratu Subandar plan within Tanjung Sari temple
Source: Author (2019)

Pelinggih Ratu Subandar within Tanjung Sari temple is rectangular in plan, sitting on a raised podium and using grey sandstone as the predominant material (Figure 36). This shrine is a roofed, with a compartment to store a spirit tablet engraved with Chinese characters, which is believed to be a sacred object known as *pratima*[66]. The access to the compartment is by using two stairways on the left and right of the

[66] *Pratima* is derived from Sanskrit referring to any sacred objects as a manifestation of the God or Goddess.

shrine. An altar table and furnace to burn joss papers are erected next to this shrine. The significant Balinese traditional elements in this shrine can be identified through the application of *kekarangan* and *pepalihan* ornaments embedded in the podium, walls, and roof.

The compartment's entry gate is also a Balinese traditional engraved wooden door panel, adopting plant ornaments on its door frames (Figure 37). On the door leaves, there is another engraving depicting two figures of King Jaya Pangus and his wife, plus two deer in a forest background.



Figure 37: The compartment door of Pelinggih Ratu Subandar within Tanjung Sari temple
Source: Author (2019)

The ethnic Chinese also initiated the adoption of Chinese cultural and Buddhist religious elements into the *Pelinggih Ratu Subandar*. These elements are a stupa on the top of the roof, an altar table in the front of the shrine, and Chinese lanterns hanging from the shrine. The altar table is built on a raised podium and designed with a small compartment at the bottom to place incense and candles (Figure 38). On the altar table are the stupa, Buddha statues, and ritual objects. Another religious element is a small octagonal furnace to burn joss paper, made from grey sandstone.

This furnace is built on a raised podium placed at the south side of this shrine (Figure 39).

The altar table and furnace also use grey sandstone as the primary material. In addition to this, during particular ceremonies like Chinese New Year or temples' festivals (*odalan)*, *Pelinggih Ratu Subandar* is decorated with Balinese traditional textile of *wastra*, as are the other Hindu-Balinese shrines. Other Chinese elements are also added, such as red coloured textiles, a Chinese traditional textile depicting Chinese characters, saintly figures, and mythical animals (Figure 40).





Figure 38: (L) The altar table of Pelinggih Ratu Subandar within Tanjung Sari temple
Source: Author (2019)
Figure 39: (R) The furnace of Pelinggih Ratu Subandar within Tanjung Sari temple
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 40: The decorations on Pelinggih Ratu Subandar within Tanjung Sari temple during the Chinese New Year or temple's festival
Source: Author (2019)

3.4 Chapter Summary

Notable aspects of Chinese and Hindu-Balinese religions explored in this chapter indicate compatibilities between these two belief systems and some similarities in how cosmological understanding has influenced the location and characteristics of architectural elements mutually. Chapter 4 discusses a theoretical approach to understanding this mixture of religious and cultural elements in the context of the migrancy and in-between identities.

CHAPTER 4: MIGRANCY AND IN-BETWEEN IDENTITIES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines theories based on the cultural and religious backgrounds of Chinese community in Bali, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, and their relation to the postcolonial Indonesian state. The outline starts with the theoretical ideas of post-colonialism, in particular the relationship between Indonesia's assimilationist colonial and nationalist past, and the multiculturalist[67] national today.

Following this is an investigation of the problematic position of the Chinese-Indonesian in determining their identity within the nation of Indonesia, drawing on the discursive frameworks of diasporic identities and hybridity, to help understand the hybridity of the architecture of the case studies in Chapters 6 and 7.

4.2 Postcolonialism

Postcolonialism views the Global South as not homogenous[68] - it is heterogeneous by regions, humans, or cultures. In relation to this, postcolonialist discourses are used to criticise the ideologies of colonialism and any exploitative and discriminatory practices. The term postcolonialism has complexity in meaning and is rooted in the historical phenomenon of colonialism, as well as being associated with contemporary politics. In a simple definition, postcolonialism refers to:

> *… a chronological marker and method of periodisation that used most obviously and simplistically to demarcate the transition from colonialism to self-determination among formerly colonised nations* (Darian-Smith, 1996, p. 292).

[67] Multiculturalist in the Indonesian context refers to the recognition of Indonesian cultural diversity by the Indonesian state, particularly Indonesia as a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society. In this respect, the Indonesian state uses *Pancasila* as the official ideology and a way of life, with its motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* ('unity in diversity'), governing the diversity of ethnicity, beliefs, religions, languages, and customs scattered in all over Indonesian archipelago to create Indonesian harmony society.

[68] The Global South, otherwise known as the South, is a phrase referring to the regions outside Europe and North America that are often perceived economically, politically, and culturally marginalised. However, despite this phrase is also still closely related to terms of 'Third World' and 'Periphery', Dados and Cornell asserts that the Global South term "marks a shift from a central focus on development or cultural difference toward an emphasis on geopolitical relations of power" (2012, p. 12), offering equality with the North (regions) and part of the concept of globalisation.

Colonialism itself is related to a coloniser's mastery over their colony, that is sometimes driven by imperialism. In respect of this, although the terms colonialism and imperialism are linked with each other, Said carefully distinguishes them. Said defines colonialism as "the implanting of settlements on distant territory" (1994, p. 8); whereas imperialism refers to "the practise, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory" (1994, p. 9).

In this sense, the imperialist expands its territory either globally (external imperialism) or locally (internal imperialism), with qualitative or quantitative difference. They also exercise power over another (third or formerly colonised world), even after the independence of the former colony, although the systems of control become more systems of influence and hegemony, rather than direct hierarchy.

Although colonialism has largely ended in this contemporary era, its legacy has continued in particular forms of ideological, political, social, and economic practices (Said, 1994). In Indonesian history, the Dutch Indies government practised imperialist rule on a strategy of *divide et impera,* otherwise known as 'divide and rule' by distinguishing the population into tripartite racial classifications (*bevolkingsgroepen*) and establishing the hegemonic relationship between 'lords and subjects' to force non-Europeans to be subordinated (Coppel, 2002).

This colonial segregation policy was also intended to create delineations and competitions between the *pribumi* (native Indonesians) and the Chinese, by giving the Chinese communities certain economic monopolies, also the Chinese were made representatives of the Dutch Indies regime. As explained in Section 2.4.1, during the Colonial period in Indonesia, the Dutch set regulations to distinguish the coloniser and colonised by classifying the Indies population into three racial classes:

(1) Europeans, and those equated with Europeans as the upper class;
(2) Foreign Orientals (*Vreemde Oosterlingen*), including Chinese, Arabs, Japanese, and others, as the middle class; and
(3) Natives (*Inlanders*) and those equated with them, as the bottom class (Coppel, 2002; Ling, 2016).

Such imperialist practice generated a blueprint for post-independence nationalist sentiment against the Chinese (Coppel, 1983). This legacy marginalised Chinese-

Indonesians, making them unequal to the local society in social, culture, economic, and politics (Coppel, 2003; Purdey, 2006; Hoon, 2006; Setijadi, 2019).

The hegemonic relationship between European and non-European generated binary opposition, an example of what Said (2003) critically defines as orientalism. Said's definition of orientalism is "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Occident' and 'the Orient' (2003, p. 2). In this sense, orientalism was and is not just an academic construction, but a style of relationship between the Europeans (the Occident) as superior to non-Europeans (the Orient), using their power to dominate and also consequently seeing their power as natural.

In the Indonesian context, during the Dutch Colonial period, Europeans viewed the local society as outdated and uncivilized, and thus, this underpinned actions by the Dutch Indies to maintain their colonial order by generating innovative strategies through the Ethical Policy - a policy forcing non-Europeans to believe that European peoples' missions were to bring the global benefits to the non-European culture. As explained by Kusno (2000), the Ethical Policy was devised by the Dutch at the turn of the twentieth century in the Indies ostensibly to 'improve' the state of the native people on the basis of humanitarian concern and economic advantage. In this sense, the Dutch Colonials viewed themselves as an ideal standard of rational and modern civilization; thus, they needed to provide colonial guardianship by introducing the standards and values of modern European education, as well as promoting the Indies' 'traditional' civilization. This colonial 'benevolence' was also an innovative strategy of the Dutch Indies government to create an ideal place for European people for living and business interests. Kusno's opinion is this Ethical Policy could be seen as:

> *… a conquest through pacification, instituting a multicultural partnership in which all participants were ordered by, and ultimately in the interest of, "humankind" under a benevolent, of not patronizing colonialism* (2000, p. 29).

In addition to this, during the implementation of the Ethical Policy, Balinese traditional iconic architectures were constructed, visualised, and showcased at the Colonial Exposition in 1931 in Paris, in the form of the Dutch East Indies Pavilion. Balinese traditional temples, gateways, ornaments and decorative elements were

appropriated and reproduced in the design form of the Indies pavilion by covering an existing Art Deco pavilion with vernacular wallpaper as a 'cultural' marker (Achmadi, 2016). Achmadi argues that this Paris exhibition was also used as an agenda to introduce a cultural boundary notion, by focusing upon the existence of the Bali Majapahit and its ritual traditions regardless the historical background of multi-cultural and multi-social landscape of the Bali Island[69].

The intention of the Dutch colonial government was to promote a certain ideal of Indonesian traditional culture, grounded in its ancient monuments; in particular to simplify the complexity of traditional Balinese architecture for European consumption - reducing it to a simple and consumable image. So, the Paris Pavilion is an example of how local culture was packaged for Dutch consumption, and Balinese example specifically it shows that this attitude had architectural implications.

Hall (1992) further explains in *The West and Rest: Discourse and Power* that the binary opposition notion of the West and the Rest (or the Other) is characterised by absolute universalism of Western values in contrast to other 'different' cultures. He asserts that the West imposes their ideas of rationality and objectivity on other societies, presenting them as homogenous - as exemplified in the Paris Pavilion - as well as classifying the diverse societies and cultures according to their relation with these Western values. As Ashcroft et al (2007) describe this sameness or universalism as offering

> *… a hegemonic view of existence by which the experiences, values and expectations of a dominant culture are held to be true for all humanity. For this reason, it is a crucial feature of imperial hegemony, because its assumption (or assertion) of a common humanity – its failure to acknowledge or value cultural difference - underlies the promulgation of imperial discourse for the 'advancement' or 'improvement' of the colonized, goals that thus mask the extensive and multifaceted exploitation of the colony* (p. 216).

This universal notion resonates with the formulation of *Pancasila* as the Indonesian state's foundation and ideology. *Pancasila* was set up by the first Indonesian President, Soekarno, who intended to unify Indonesia as a nation by embracing the

[69] Prior to colonial conquest, Bali had been a place of settlement for some migration groups such as Javanese, Buginese, and even Chinese, Arabic, and Indian as a result of long-established trading relations between the Indonesian archipelago islands and adjacent regions. These trading opportunities attracted the colonials to exercise their power in Bali (Achmadi, 2016).

whole spectrum of the Indonesian heterogeneous societies on the basis of 'unity in diversity'. All the five principles within *Pancasila* are inseparable, yet interrelated implementing faith in God, humanity, unity, democracy, and social justice. In this sense, the first principle of *Pancasila* presents a foundation in governing religious pluralism in the frame 'belief in one and Almighty God' linking to other principles in order to create religious identity and religious tolerance, though within limits - as long as the subject adheres to one of the official religions.

In connection to this, the 1945 Constitution also governed the Indonesian citizen's right to embrace and practice particular beliefs and religions; however, the Indonesian state recognised and acknowledged six official religions to be chosen by the citizen and included in their ID card, despite there being diverse traditions and beliefs practiced by various ethnic groups. As echoed by Marshall (2018) the existence of traditional beliefs, otherwise known as *aliran kepercayaan*, have not been officially recognised by the Indonesian state; thus devotees of *aliran kepercayaan* usually combine their traditional beliefs with one of the official religions. This point will be discussed further in Section 4.3, on Indonesian national and religious identities

The practical impact of the implementation of *Pancasila* is a limitation on particular communities' power to publicly express their beliefs. On this point, the communities' power to narrate has pivotal significance in constructing their identities as marginalised peoples. Said (1994, p. xiii) suggests colonised people use narrative as a method in asserting their identity and existence in their own history. Narrative also represents power exercised in space involving the power to inhabit particular locations; thus it is vital to understand how minority identity is expressed through buildings. This 'power to narrate' is also echoed by Hall (1989), as 'practices of representation' involving 'the position of enunciation' - the subject's ability to speak or write based on their own experiences and specific places distinguished from other subjects.

Said (1994) further explains the significant intercourse between culture and imperialism or nationalism involving the power to block other narratives from forming and emerging. In this sense, the function of imperialism and nationalism is affirmed by suppressing other narratives from generating their spaces and places within a

nation. According to Said, the notion of nationalism emphasises selective narratives of belonging encompassing similar components of “their founding fathers, their basic, quasi-religious texts, their rhetoric of belonging, their historical and geographical landmarks, their official enemies and heroes” (1992, p. 359). In respect of this, minority communities' presence might disrupt the national narrative by intervening in historical accounts, thus influencing the history of belonging. Minority communities’ representation, therefore, is sanctioned and controlled by the national government in order to maintain dominant narratives in nation-building.

In the context of Chinese-Indonesian subject-hood, Setijadi (2019) argues that through the assimilation policy of the New Order regime, the state saw Chinese-Indonesians as a problem to be ‘fixed’ in the interest of national unity by ‘Indonesianising’ them to assimilate into the local population. Moreover, Coppel (1983) points out that due to this political history Chinese-Indonesians are usually criticised for being separate and exclusive as many Indonesians believe that Chinese-Indonesians feel superiority. On this point, longstanding prejudices towards Chinese-Indonesians often emerge in political, economic, and cultural forms. Although the Chinese-Indonesians have not completely assimilated, they are legally Indonesian citizens, expecting and demanding official recognition as citizens and to possess equal rights, particularly in maintaining and expressing their ancestral homeland cultures, customs, and traditions; for instance by establishing Chinese schools, Chinese organisations, Chinese newspapers, and Chinese temples. However, Indonesian governments have required them to integrate into the population and leave their exclusiveness behind.

Although the xenophobia towards the presence of Chinese-Indonesians mostly came from Indonesian secular national and Islam groups, Indonesian secular nationalists put Chinese-Indonesians’ loyalty to Indonesia into question, believing their nationalism is fully oriented towards China and Chinese culture. Moreover, Islamists also perceive the Chinese-Indonesians as ‘infidels’ due to their polytheist belief system and eating of pork.

Setijadi (2019) further argues that, to this day, Chinese-Indonesians still face discrimination and marginalisation, despite the Reform era occurring over two

decades ago; nothing much has really changed and xenophobic pro-*pribumi* (pro-native Indonesians) narratives are never far away from public discourse.

Indonesia indeed has become independent state, but the legacy of colonial attitudes and structures still remains. Moreover, the antagonism that was set up with the Dutch hierarchical system has influenced anti-Chinese governmental and public sentiment in post-independent Indonesia. Independence brings new rulers, but the idea of Indonesia as a single entity (as declared in the beginning of nation-building) had to be created.

Moreover, the universalism embodied within Indonesian ideology shows how the simplification and reification of complex traditional cultures had postcolonial effects on a national scale in Indonesia. In that post-independence the Indonesian government took on the role of centralising power previously held by the Dutch Indies regime, inheriting many of that regime's assumptions about the need for a universalising narrative for the country. As can be seen in the example of the Paris Pavilion, the efforts of the Dutch in reducing Balinese architecture to a simple image was emulated by the Indonesian government in reducing the complexity of Chinese religious expression to simplistic images.

4.3 Indonesian National Cultural and Religious Identities

Postcolonial Indonesia is marked by the construction of Indonesia as a nation, beginning after the founding fathers declared the proclamation of Indonesian independence on 17th August 1945:

> *Proklamasi.*
> *Kami bangsa Indonesia dengan ini menyatakan kemerdekaan Indonesia. Hal-hal yang mengenai pemindahan kekuasan dan lain-lain, diselenggarakan dengan cara seksama dan dalam tempo yang sesingkat-singkatnya.*
>
> *Jakarta, 17 Agustus 1945*
> *Atas nama bangsa Indonesia*
> *Soekarno-Hatta.*

> Proclamation.
> We the people of Indonesia hereby declare the independence of Indonesia. Matters which concern the transfer of power and other things will be executed by careful means and in the shortest possible time.
>
> Djakarta, 17th August 1945
>
> In the name of the people of Indonesia
>
> Soekarno-Hatta
>
> (Kahin, 2000, p. 2)

Soekarno, as the first Indonesian President ruling through this proclamation, stated that Indonesia had finally gained their freedom after centuries of dispossession, exploitation, and marginality, as well as gaining the right of self-determination as a nation. He also felt the need to develop structures that would hold Indonesia together as a nation, given its size and diversity. Soekarno initiated the conception of national integration in order to promote *Pancasila* as the state's foundation and ideology in integrating the multi-ethnic and multi-religious nature of Indonesian society (Suryadinata, 2018).

Soekarno's political conception emphasised the protection of human rights and equality to embrace diversity of religions and beliefs, despite this being opposed by Islamic groups demanding that Islam be the basis of the national political conception. In the end, the Islamic groups' proposal was rejected and not implanted into the formation of Indonesian nation.

Indonesia is a major subject of Anderson's (1991) discussion of how national identity needs to be constructed. Anderson describes that nationality, nation-ness, or nationalism are cultural artefacts that can be understood by considering "how they have come into historical being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time, and why, today, they command such profound emotional legitimacy" (p. 4). He also argues that the construction of nationalism in the end of 18th century was the extractive result of historical intersection into a singular idea that was transplanted to a great variety of social terrains to unify diverse political and ideological systems. In respect of this, Indonesian nationalism itself was constructed as a legacy of hundreds of years of oppression and then developed under conditions of shifting

political policy, notably (in the case of this study) towards the Chinese religious and cultural minority.

Anderson also proposes the definition of nation as

> *… an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion* (1991, p. 6).

The nation 'imagined as in inherently limited' means it has finite marking of the boundaries of its territory or possession, and sovereign means it is imagined as having centralised and independent government. Finally, the nation is also imagined as a community, in which (despite differences between the fellow-members who have never met or do not know each other) members share common history, traits, beliefs, and attitudes.

In connection to this, Soekarno constructed Indonesia as a nation in the form of a Republic, encompassing various ethnic groups or *suku*. He also intended to include all non-native groups into the construction of the nation along with the native groups, including the Chinese-Indonesians (*Peranakan Chinese*)[70] (Suryadinata, 2004). As Soekarno argues

> *Suku* [also] *means leg, Indonesian nation has many legs, just like a centipede, which possesses Javanese leg, Sundanese leg, Sumatran leg, Irian leg, Dayak leg, Bali leg, Sumba leg, Peranakan Chinese leg - Peranakan Chinese leg is one of the Indonesian national legs* (Siauw cited in Suryadinata, 2018, p. 48).

As the Indonesian state's foundation and ideology, *Pancasila* was generated to be dynamic and adaptable to any possible shifts and developments caused by new ideas or new cultures, yet without changing its fundamental value as the basis for Indonesian ways of life. However, *Pancasila*'s fundamental value of democracy was neglected due to the regime shifting, particularly during the new policies of the New Order regime. At that time, the Indonesian government was dominated by certain group or party interests, in particular Islamic groups and the Indonesian military.

[70] However, Suryadinata (2018, p. 48) contends that it was not clear if the *Peranakan Chinese* mentioned by Soekarno were Indonesian-born Chinese speaking in *Bahasa Indonesia,* or Chinese-Indonesians with Indonesian citizenship.

They classified all the Indonesian ethnic traditions[71], including the Chinese religion as cultural belief systems (*aliran kepercayaan*), despite the diverse ethnic groups dispersed in the Indonesian archipelago being characterised by their traditions and beliefs. It is important to note that this classification as cultural belief was lesser in status than religion, thus essentially demoting Chinese religion.

Moreover, as the state-defined religion (*agama*) was constructed based on the monotheistic notion, the Indonesian government asserted *agama* did not equate with *aliran kepercayaan*. Consequently, the Indonesian government excluded many ethnic spiritual traditions from the notion of *agama* and governed them by the notion of *agamanisation* or religionisation, making them conform to one of the other world religions.

This conception of ethnic and religious identities by the Indonesian government has been characterised since Dutch Colonial times, by which Muslim and Christian authorities regarded ethnic spiritual traditions pejoratively as animism and ancestor worship (Ramstedt, 2019), or as Kartapradja (1985) puts it, references to ancestral ways of life (*adat*), backwardness, and superstition. In respect of this, Nasution (2016) contends the negative stereotypes towards Chinese-Indonesians and social segregation between *pribumi* and Chinese-Indonesian in this contemporary era are not simply about racial discrimination, yet also based on religion as the majority of Chinese-Indonesians are non-Muslims.

Nasution further argues that the first principle of *Pancasila* and Article 29 (1) 1945 Constitution that states 'belief in one supreme God' asserts that Indonesia is not a secular country, yet also not a religious country (Nasution, 2016, p.386). This conception renders an ambiguity in which on one hand the Indonesian state guarantees the human right to embrace a particular belief and religion. On the other hand, the Indonesian state also marginalises certain minority groups and restricts their religious expression. As a consequence, despite some ethnic groups converting to one of Indonesia's official religions, many of them have reframed and transformed

[71] Balinese tradition is exceptional due to certain reasons: (1) Hindu-Balinese beliefs and practices are recognised as local variants of Hinduism; (2) The colonial orientalist scholarship acknowledged Balinese culture as part of world civilisation of 'Greater India' (universalist notion); (3) The Balinese leaders had successfully re-formulated Balinese Hinduism parallel to modern Indian monotheistic neo-Hinduism (Ramstedt, 2019, p. 266).

their beliefs and traditions to be state-defined *agama* in order to have their own rights acknowledged or protect them in continuing their traditional practices within the guise of particular state-defined religions (Ramstedt, 2019, p.280). This re-establishment of ethnic spiritual traditions indicates that what is publicly visible about ethnic spiritual traditions is partially a response to the state's attitude towards them, as happened with Hindu-Balinese and Indonesian-Buddhist beliefs more generally (as noted in Section 3.2.1 and 3.3).

The concept of religion-making advanced by Arvind-Pal S. Mandair and Markus Dressler (2011) is consistent with the notion of Indonesian state-defined religion (*agama*). They develop the concept of religion-making, in accordance with the intertwined natures of religion and secularism in the postcolonial period. Mandair and Dressler describe religion making as

> *… the ways in which religion(s) is conceptualized and institutionalized within the matrix of a globalized world-religions discourse in which ideas, social formations, and social/cultural practices are discursively reified as "religious" ones* (2011, p. 21).

Mandair and Dressler (2011) further distinguish religion making into three different levels and discourses:

(1) religion-making from above, when the state represents dominant and authoritative powers in legitimising particular things (symbols, practices, languages) both as religious and secular;
(2) religion-making from below, when a marginalised group movement re-establishes their religious identities to be recognised as legally social formations and their own rights acknowledged, also distinguishable from other social formations through religious difference; and
(3) religion-making from (a pretended) outside, where scholarly discourses give a justification to either one of these two processes of religion-making by systematising and thus normalising the religious or secular binary and its derivation.

The idea of state-defined *agama* requires Indonesian citizens to display their religious affiliation on their citizenship ID card to obtain state protection and funds, and also for the enjoyment of public facilities and civil rights, as noted by Marshall

(2018) to obtain birth or marriage or death certificates and apply for jobs. However, the Indonesian state tends to be lenient and ambivalent in relation to this monotheistic policy. The Indonesian state allows all citizens to leave their religion column blank; particularly adherents for whom the state does not yet recognise their religions, or who are followers of *aliran kepercayaan*. Yet, paradoxically, the possibility that they might be forced to fill the religion column with a religion they do not identify has led to stigma and discrimination in society (Bagir, 2019).

Moreover, while some ethnic groups demand to include their traditional belief on identity cards and be recognised as *agama* (they have also regarded their traditional belief separately as *agama*), others revive their practice of traditional rituals and rites without stating this as their religion on their identity cards (Ramstedt, 2019, p.277). In addition to this, Marshall (2018, p. 88) notes that on the 7th of November 2017, the Indonesia's Constitutional Court 'Believers of the Faith' was to be added to the citizen identity card as a seventh category of state religious status, although to this day this major advance in religious freedom is still considered as controversial, particularly by Muslim organisations. As noted earlier in this section, the critical reason for the majority of Muslim organisations' rejection is that they believe cultural belief systems do not correspond with the national identity as a monotheistic religion state.

Wibisono (2019) further points out that Indonesia seems to promote the intersection of identities, allowing their societies to adopt multiple social identities along with the national identity. The instance for this intersection of identities can be seen in which most of Indonesian society, including Chinese-Indonesians, identify themselves as legal Indonesian citizens; yet, at the same time express their ethnicity and religious identities. Chinese-Indonesians possess multiple identities as, according to the legal principle of *jus soli*, they are Indonesian citizens and embrace one of Indonesian official religions; also, following *jus sanguinis* they characterise themselves as Chinese descendants who are continuing to practise their ancestral homeland traditions[72]. As argued by Suryadinata (2004, 2018), Chinese-Indonesians' cultural

[72] Indonesia adheres to Law No. 12 of 2006 concerning Citizenship Law in which citizenship status is determined according to these two legal systems - *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* - and does not acknowledge dual citizenship status.

identity is not only identifiable through their ancestral homeland origin, but also identifiable through their ancestral homeland religion.

4.4 Diaspora Identities

> *On the one hand, 'home' is a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination…On the other hand, 'home' is also the lived experience of a locality. Its sounds and smells, its heat and dust, balmy summer evenings, or the excitement of the first snowfall, shivering winter evenings, sombre grey skies in the middle of the day …* (Brah, 1996, p.192)

The issues of marginality in the context of majority-minority groups' power relations in forming identity have been discussed within diaspora discourses. Diaspora, in its original definition, is associated with the dispersal of Jewish people from their original homeland, Israel (Butler, 2001); however, use of this term has proliferated recently as the construction of any transnational formation of individuals or groups of people who maintain links to common origin after they settle elsewhere (Clifford, 1994). This proliferation of diaspora definition transcends geographical states, as Butler puts, rooted in "geopolitical repartitioning, restructuring of the global economy, and patterns of warfare" (2001, p. 190). Brah (1996) also points out that despite the term diaspora being often linked to the imagery of traumas of separation and dislocation as a prominent aspect of migratory experience, it is also a symbol of hope and new beginnings in reconstructing new territories and contesting cultural and political terrains.

In respect to its background, Safran summarises the stereotypical view of those who are part of a diaspora as follows:

(1) They, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original 'centre' to two or more peripheral, or foreign, regions.
(2) They retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland, including its physical locations, histories, achievements, and, often enough, sufferings.
(3) Their relationship with the dominant element of society in the host land is complicated and often uneasy. They believe that they are not, and perhaps cannot be, fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it.

(4) They regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return - if and when conditions are appropriate.
(5) They continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity, which reach across political boundaries, are importantly defined in terms of the existence of such a relationship. That relationship may include a collective commitment to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its independence, safety, and prosperity. The absence of such a relationship makes it difficult to speak of transnationalism.
(6) They wish to survive as a distinct community - in most instances as a minority - by maintaining and transmitting a cultural and/or religious heritage derived from their ancestral home and the symbols based on it. In so doing, they adapt to host land conditions and experiences to become themselves centres of cultural creation and elaboration.
(7) Their cultural, religious, economic, and/or political relationships with the homeland are reflected in a significant way in their communal institutions (2005, p. 37).

Naujoks (2010) also categorises diaspora membership types according to their prominent roles in ethnic, nation, civic, and cultural realms. The first type is *diasporic-ethnic*, diasporas who play a role as 'a member of the ethnic community in the country of residence' (p. 4). In this sense, they have a feeling-attachment to co-ethnics either in the host country or even expanded to other countries, generating transnational networks.

Second is *diasporic-national*, referring to diasporas who 'having bonds with the home society as a nation and the people living in the country of origin' (p. 4). This type of membership category parallels the nation concept in that it is conceived as 'horizontal comradeship', in which each of a diaspora's fellow-members are tied based on community. Third is *diasporic-civic*, the role of diaspora as 'being a part of the state of origin with rights and responsibilities, also towards the government or political or state institutions' (p. 4). In this definition, the state expects loyalty and patriotic attitudes from the diaspora's members to show allegiance to the state.

Finally, is *diasporic-cultural* where members see themselves culturally attached to religions, traditions, norms, and values. Naujoks asserts that diasporic-cultural membership is a significant aspect in generating bonding across ethnic and transnational networks. These categories are overlapping, as exemplified by Naujoks discussion of ethnic Indians in the US simultaneously having a feeling-attachment to other Indian ethnic group(s) in the US, sense of belonging to the society in India, and loyalty to Indian state.

In connection to Safran's and Naujoks' categorisations, the majority of Chinese-Indonesians can be categorised in their roles as diasporic-ethnic and diasporic-cultural in the sense that they can feel attached to other Chinese-Indonesians across Indonesian provinces and also attached to their origin homeland cultures. Their desire to preserve and maintain their shared heritage culture involves ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity, as reflected in the communal religious affiliations and the construction of Chinese temples, for instance (as noted in Section 2.5.4).

In respect of this, the relationship between diasporas and homelands is being affected by the dominant element of society in the host land, requiring the diaspora to be adapt to the conditions and experiences of the host land. As has been exemplified through the desire of the Chinese diaspora in Indonesia and Bali to return to their original homeland having changed into a desire to recreate and/or transplant their original homeland's culture into the host land. This example is related to Clifford's (1994) view regarding homeland for emigrants: it is not something that is left behind nor even necessarily something with which migrants can or wish to maintain an active relationship. Regardless of if the diaspora's homeland no longer exists or has changed dramatically, homeland is the essential element in constructing the collective diaspora's identity, although diasporas may share complementary sources of common identity, such as language, religion, and others, with other diasporas (Butler, 2001).

However, despite Chinese-Indonesians are adaptable to the cultural and geographical differences by re-creating or elaborating their origin homeland cultures within the host land, sometimes cannot fully accepted by their host society. This complicated relationship between the diaspora group with the host land society is

seen in an anti-Sinicism attitude towards ethnic Chinese that is deep-rooted in Indonesia.

Cohen (2008) and Kusumaningtyas (2020, p. 153) note that the Chinese in Indonesia have been marginalised since the mid-nineteenth century by imposing the image of Chinese diaspora's homeland links to mainland China, and this is how other Indonesians often perceive the Chinese to the present day. Chinese-Indonesians' ethnic backgrounds are also often deemed by other Indonesians to have no connection with any of the Indonesian archipelago's areas or any local ethnic groups, despite the fact that Chinese-Indonesians and have their descendants have been settled in Indonesia for centuries and contributed to the building of Indonesia (Suryadinata, 2002, 2015).

On this point, referencing to Naujoks' categories of diaspora, Chinese-Indonesians are seen as diasporic-national and diasporic-civic in the sense that they still have attachment to the origin country politically; but many Indonesians are suspicious that this may link Chinese-Indonesians with Communists. Moreover, the prejudicial stereotypes and anti-sentiment towards ethnic Chinese amidst a Muslim-majority society (for example, in Java) was due to the longstanding historical relationship between the Chinese alliance with the Dutch Indies, particularly in economic terms, another factor influencing this marginalisation (Coppel, 1983; Claver, 2014). Consequently, Chinese-Indonesians have been perceived as aliens by the broader Indonesian community, along with the deep-rooted of ethnic-hatred and economic resentment that have become factors in the prejudicial attitudes towards Chinese-Indonesians.

In contrast, evidence showing a lack of anti-Sinicism can be seen in the pre-colonial relations between the Chinese and Balinese (local kingdoms) that also has a bearing on the present. The Chinese had long-established relationship with the Balinese rulers as resident merchants (Pringle, 2004) before the Dutch conquest of Bali in 1936 (Nordholt, 1996). Because of this relationship, the presence of ethnic Chinese in Bali was protected by the Balinese rulers, allowing them to settle in the areas adjacent to palaces or traditional markets (as noted in Section 2.2). Their settlements' history can be traced in the present through a complex of shophouses in Denpasar and Klungkung regencies, for instance (Achmadi, 2016). Moreover, as Bali

is a non-Muslim majority host society and the traditional practice of ancestor worship and belief in many gods is compatible with the traditional practice of the Chinese, both cultures have no religious conflict with each other. Specifically, as explored in Section 3.3, the intermixture of Hindu-Balinese and Mahayana-Buddhism belief systems in Bali opens the possibility of sharing sites and practices of rituals and rites.

Tan (2007) further argues that homeland for Chinese of Different Nationalities (CDN[73]) is not merely about the transnational networks between CDN and China, but it is also linked to individual social experience in a particular place. This localisation experience influences the definitions and meanings of homelands amongst CDN, as follows:

(1) homeland of residence, where the CDN inhabits;
(2) homeland of emigration, where they migrated from; and
(3) ancestral homeland; where the CDN may be attached or not feel attached anymore (Tan, 2007, p. 7).

As exemplified by Tan (2010), in his research study of (Balinese) local-born generations of Chinese experiences while in Bali, who returned to China as result of Indonesian political issues in the New Order regime, he uses the terms 'residing homeland' and 'cultural homeland'. These Chinese-Balinese had re-migrated to China as their ancestral homeland, which had then also become their residing homeland. Tan notes:

> *… Indonesia in general (and Bali particular) has become their immediate cultural homeland, the source of their cultural pride and interest in language and culture which was part of their Chinese cultural life before re-migrating to China. This interest in cultural Indonesia is passed down to their sons and daughters born in China. Thus, while in Indonesia, China was their only cultural homeland; after re-migrating to China, China has become their residing homeland, while Indonesia has become their cultural homeland* (2010, p. 563).

Tan's study shows that a diaspora community, particularly Chinese dispersed worldwide, are adaptable to developing their traditions. This study also resonates

[73] Tan Chee-Beng uses the term Chinese of Different Nationalities (CDN) to refer to the nexus of economic networks and socio-cultural dimensions between Chinese diaspora and the mainland, in post-reform China.

with Anderson's notion of 'imagined communities'. In this sense, diasporic identities are 'imagined' and diaspora itself represents 'imagined communities' (Gorp and Smets, 2015), and they are creatively based to meet people's needs, wants, or wishes (Kusumaningtyas and Cohen, 2020). Tan's study also illustrates the notion of an 'imaginary homeland' advanced by Rushdie (1991), in which a diaspora generates its imaginary homeland of origin, constructed as based on the confluence of narratives of collective memory and re-memory. Both of these 'imagining' notions share the same idea of diaspora's thoughts in presenting 'homeland' from different sources and contexts.

The diaspora movement entails traditions, beliefs, ideas, and practices, particularly religious practices. This condition can be seen through the presence of Chinese diaspora in Indonesia that involves their traditional practices and desires, to have their religious/cultural beliefs formally recognised by the state (as explored in Section 3.2.1). In respect to this, diaspora and religion are inextricably interwoven, as religion is the important element amongst diaspora members to share their collective identity (Vasquez, 2008) in new places and situations of practice that always involve the processes of religion transformation and remake (Johnson, 2012).

Hausner and Garnett (2010) further note that religion changes on the dispersal of diaspora, as social processes are also shifting over time. In other words, the diaspora's religious life shifts, as

> *… not only are communal practices dynamic, but theologies are, too, so as bring about not only enduring ties in dispersion but also a malleability and applicability of ideology for the purposes of finding new homes and new ways of constituting community lives in multiple locations* (Hausner and Garnett, 2010, p. 2).

Religion, in this sense, is inevitably dynamic, constructing social formations to conceive solidarity, resistance, connection, and disconnection of original homelands. Tan (2007) notes that, despite the fact that new generations of CDN have no cultural or kinship attachment of the origin homeland, most of them are still attached by religious networks in regard to their ties with ancestors and clan deities. Moreover, religious shift processes are closely related to the religious culture of traditional practices as well as shifts in new demographic, national, and political realities, as they construct connectedness and a sense of belonging. In respect of this, the

history of Chinese religions in Indonesia is illustrative of the dynamism of theological practice.

Chinese-Indonesians transform and remake their traditional belief system by following the requirements of state-defined *agama*. Chinese-Balinese, particularly, re-contextualise their ritual practices through the compatibilities between Chinese and Hindu-Balinese belief systems in which also influence their temple architecture.

Accordingly, it is noted that the diaspora re-makes 'home' locally or generates new forms of territorialisation in the host country in accordance their religious memories, narratives and practices. This point is used in Chapter 7 in parallel to the re-making of 'home' by Chinese communities in Bali, and how the processes of re-interpretation of their origin homeland cultures and traditional practices have adjusted to local geographical, socio-cultural, and political contexts.

4.5 Hybridity

> *hybrid*. *1*. the offspring of two animals or plants of different species, or (less strictly) varieties. *2*. a half-breed, cross-breed, or mongrel. *3*. anything derived from heterogeneous sources, or composed of different or incongruous elements. *4*. a compound formed of elements belonging to different languages. *hybridize/hybridise*. *1*. to subject (species or varieties of plants or animals) to cross-breeding. *2*. to cause to interbreed and thus to produce hybrids. 3.to form or construct (words) in a hybrid manner. *4*. to produce a hybrid or hybrids between two distinct species or varieties. *hybridism*. *1*. Also, hybridity. hybrid character. *2*. the fact or condition of being hybrid.
> (Online Oxford English Dictionary, 2020)

The conception of identity as a result of displacement, national ideology, cultural and religious ties asserts that identities are not singular but connected or hybrid. Such a concept resonates with Brah's view that the notion of diaspora is interconnected "multi-locationality within and across territorial, cultural and psychic boundaries" (1996, p. 197), thus the formation processes of diasporic identity suggest 'that identity is always plural and in process'.

In this sense, Brah (1996, p.208) proposes the notion of diaspora space, referring to an intersection point of diaspora, border, and dis/location where economic, political, cultural, and psychic processes are encountered. This diaspora space is 'inhabited' by migrated people and their descendants, as well as the 'native' peoples, generating cross-borders of cultural formations, not only between the diaspora and the dominant national groups (the Chinese and Indonesians) yet also equally the subordinated groups: the Balinese as they are also subordinate to the Indonesian state and majority, while being 'native'.

Brah states "the diaspora space is the site where the native is as much a diasporian as the diasporian is the native" (1996, p. 209). Brah's diaspora space notion is also echoed by Papastergiadis (2005), in that the politics of hybridity has a close relation to migration and dislocation discourses practiced by the native and diaspora in constructing and negotiating their identities either consciously or unconsciously.

Such a notion is illustrated by the *subandar* shrine (see Section 3.3.3), a Chinese-Balinese shrine within the Hindu-Balinese temple compound that represents the intermixture belief of Shivaist-Buddhist, also reflects the cultural translation and negotiation process between the Chinese and Balinese cultures and their belief systems.

The term 'hybridity' was utilised initially in biological and botanical contexts. This term was then appropriated to apply to social and cultural contexts, particularly in relation to the socio-cultural formation processes of diaspora, as they involve cultural creativity and negotiation in the host location of immigration as diasporas seek to inhabit part of a national space[74].

Hybridity is also articulated as a form of resistance towards homogeneity politics, particularly in response to the assimilation and integration policies of the nation of the host society, challenging the conception of a binary between native and other. As asserted by Bhabha (1985), hybridity is present through an active moment in resisting the culture of imperialism both through the imposed authority or its own claims to authenticity. Bhabha further asserts that hybridity is

[74] Kalra describes the idea of the host as a property claim, a claim to ownership, homeland, right, authority (2005, p. 88).

> *… a problematic of colonial representation and individuation that reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal, so that other 'denied' knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority - its rule of recognition* (1985, p. 156).

In this sense, hybridity presents borders as sites for performing and contesting identities, where the problem of representation and hegemony have emerged. However, the intention of the coloniser to assert its domination over the colonised opens the opportunity for the colonised to change its representation as 'the Other' and reclaim itself as a hybrid subject.

In the case of Chinese-Indonesians, instead of giving up on their 'authentic' cultural and religious identities because of the state's assimilation policy during the New Order regime, they challenged the dominant power by 'hiding behind' state official religions and simultaneously continuing their traditional practices. Chinese-Indonesians also speak of this resistance through the re-articulation symbols implemented in Chinese temple architectures. This is a creative effort in parallel to the political resistance by Chinese-Indonesians to countervail between the state assimilation policy and the practice of ancestral homeland traditions. Moreover, through this resistance, Chinese-Indonesians have been able to destabilise the homogenous identity enforced on them by the state.

Beside emerging as a form of resistance and subversive, this hybridity notion is also expanded to the ambivalence of mimicry. In *Of Mimicry and Man*, Bhabha (2004) introduces the conception of mimicry that is inextricably interwoven with the relationship between the colonised and the coloniser, as well as within immigrant minorities. In this sense, in colonial and migratory contexts, mimicry is understood as providing a significant opportunity for the colonised or minority communities to imitate the person of power's way of behaving, aiming for equality in accessing the same power. Bhabha describes it as follows:

> *Mimicry is, thus the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which 'appropriates' the Other as it visualizes power. Mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate, however, a difference or recalcitrance which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance, and poses an imminent threat to both 'normalized' knowledges and disciplinary power* (2004, p. 122).

This conception of mimicry can be exemplified through Chinese-Indonesians' history of having prominent roles as the Dutch Indies representatives during the Colonial

era, particularly economically. At that time, many Chinese-Indonesians used their important status to exercise power by imitating Dutch behaviours to provide them significant opportunity in obtaining equal access to education and quality of life. However, this behaviour also meant that Chinese were recognised and perceived by the Indonesian natives as Dutch allies, and generated a negative stereotype of Chinese-Indonesians. Coppel notes this negative stereotyping of Chinese-Indonesians:

> *Chinese who apparently identify with Indonesia are not genuine; they are only pretending to do so for opportunistic reasons, rather than from a true sense of identification with the country and its people. This opportunism is characteristic of a people concerned with money, trade and business. They are not, like Indonesians, dedicated to ideals. Having been given a favoured position by the Dutch, the Chinese dominate the Indonesian economy, oppressing the Indonesian masses and preventing the rise of a national (i.e., indigenous) entrepreneurial class. Not content with their dominant position, they also engage in economic subversion, since they are expert in bribery and smuggling* (1983, p. 5).

In the context of architecture, this notion of mimicry can also be exemplified in the architectural monuments of the Royal Palace of Karangasem and two water palace complexes - Taman Tirtagangga and Taman Ujung Sukasada - located in the northern corner of Bali Island. In contrast to the resistance movement made by the Badung, Klungkung, and Buleleng Kingdoms, the Karangasem Dynasty opted to form an alliance with the Dutch as a strategy to maintain their power and wealth throughout most of the late colonial regime (Achmadi, 2016).

During the reigns of I Gusti Gde Jelantik (1894-1907) and I Gusti Bagus Jelantik (1908-1941), the Dutch appointed them to the highest rank of indigenous members of the colonial representative government of the island. This representative position allowed them to travel to the Dutch East Indies in Java and witness the cosmopolitan urban and architectural developments of colonial settlements, such as in Batavia and Yogyakarta. These languages of cosmopolitanism and internationalism were then adopted in shaping Karangasem's Royal realm.

The Royal Palace of Karangasem, Taman Tirtagangga and Taman Ujung Sukasada were built by the King as the local *undagi* (traditional Balinese architect), European and Chinese architects integrated collages of vernacular and European building forms and Chinese ornaments and craftsmanship. These collaborations demonstrate

the King's alliance with the colonial government and Dutch East Indies' modernism, and also acknowledge the prominent roles of Chinese migrants in Bali in contributing and managing a long-established trading relationship.

Moreover, Achmadi (2016) argues that these architectural projects are a form of hybrid architectural composition, that attempts to contextualise Karangasem King's vision on his power and place contributing to shaping the colonial state in Bali. Arguably, referring to Brah's notion of diaspora space (as discussed earlier in this Section), diasporas (in this sense the Dutch and Chinese), influenced the 'native' culture. In respect of this, such mimicry notion in relation to the Chinese temples in Bali, particularly in their adoption of Balinese architectural elements, is discussed in Chapters 7.

These examples also relate to the Bakhtin's notion of 'dialogism', in which he notes that a particular dialogue is produced at specific places and times through the language used by two speaking people to one another (Bakhtin, 1981). In this sense, hybridity emerges from the specificity of this dialogue. Such a dialogue consists of a doubleness of utterance, speech patterns, and styles; a doubleness' that can be differed from its semantic and belief systems - that is combined to create a syntactic and syncretic whole, in particular where the mixture of speech patterns with the writer's own 'voice in an analysis of literary forms.

> *What is a hybridization? It is a mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single utterance, an encounter, within the arena of an utterance, between two different linguistic consciousnesses, separated from one another by an epoch, by social differentiation or by some other factor* (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 358).

This seminal concept of Bakhtin's emphasises that hybridity speaks in 'doubled-voice': hybridity has the ability to simultaneously be the same, but different. On this point, Bakhtin is speaking specifically about literature and the presence of different voices in a novel, but this concept can be useful applied in this study in relation to the result of Chinese-Indonesians' migrancy, particularly the confluence of different 'voices' within the unity of their temple architecture, as well as other cultural aspects. In addition to this, building from Bakhtin's notion, Young (1995, p. 25) further notes that hybridity also works through simultaneously in two ways: 'organically' and 'intentionally'. 'Organically' means the creation of hybridity occurred unintentionally

and unconsciously; ‘intentionally’ refers to the creation of hybridity involving the process of ‘cultural diaspora-isation’ through a form of subversion, translation, and transformation. In this point, organic hybridity involves intentional hybridity, as well as *vice versa*.

Bhabha (2004), in his seminal work, *The Location of Culture*, extends the notion of hybridity by interpreting the ‘Third Space’ as a hybrid site. As echoed by Bandyopadhyay (2020), the resistant hybridity is a form of renegotiating identities that occur in the liminal or in-between space, generating a third space of expression. Bhabha specifically discusses the possibilities of cultural production in interstices or in-between spaces through an articulation of cultural differences and negotiation processes of singular or communal identities and experiences. In this sense, he argues that cultural identities “must not be hastily read as the reflection of pre-given ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition” (2004, p. 3). Rather, the negotiation of cultural identities involves sustainable cultural engagement and exchange producing a recognition of cultural difference. Therefore, social differences cannot be ascribed solely through experience based on authenticated cultural traditions. They are conceived as signs of the creation of ‘imagined communities’ to the present political circumstances.

The representation of in-between space is also exemplified by Renee Green, an African-American artist, through the architectural metaphor of the attic:

> *I used architecture literally as a reference, using the attic, the boiler room, and the stairwell to make associations between certain binary divisions such as higher and lower and heaven and hell. The stairwell became a liminal space, a pathway between the upper and lower areas, each of which was annotated with plaques referring to blackness and whiteness* (Green cited in Bhabha, 2004, p. 5).

In this sense, the stairwell depicts a liminal space or intervened space of interaction generating in-between identity as a connection symbol of ‘the difference between upper and lower level, black and white’; in other words, the interstitial space between fixed cultural identities introduces a possibility of creative invention in constructing cultural hybridity. Moreover, cultural identities are constructed or reconstructed within this contradictory and ambivalent space, rendering the notion of ‘purity’ or ‘authenticity’ untenable. Thus, as Papastergiadis argues, “hybridity is not just a

metaphor for cultural negotiation, it is also a tool for examining the inequalities and exclusion that are established in the guise of cultural purity" (2005, p. 43).

4.6 Chapter Summary

In summary, hybridity involves complex entanglement aspects of mutual, exchanges, crossing, and borrowing, with the intention of negotiating the differences of intercultural confrontation, despite its processes occurring either with violence, or harmony. This complex entanglement emerges either on the basis of political or creative strategies that open up a space of negotiation where power is unequal, but its articulation may be equivocal.

Although hybridity is a complex ongoing process of cultural translation and negotiation, Hoon (206) suggests hybridity is a useful way to deconstruct the binary notion between 'Us' and 'Them' that might help to alleviate the essentialised segregation associated with 'Chinese' and 'non-Chinese' or '*pribumi*' or 'non-*pribumi*'. In addition, based on the last page of theorisation, the complexities of the Chinese-Balinese situation has led to a number of instances of liminal of interstitial cultural elements and spaces: the *subandar* shrine is one example, and others are examined, as case studies, in Chapter 6.

The postcolonial condition in Indonesia is reflected by the legacy of colonialism in which implementation of the conception of universalism is overlaid on the complex traditional cultures of Indonesia. In this case, Chinese-Indonesians, as evidenced by the history of Chinese religions in post-independence Indonesia, have been (had to be) adaptable in developing their traditions through the processes of translating and negotiating towards difference. The desire to maintain their homeland traditions within the homeland of residence has been accompanied by the conscious adopting of the local culture.

The theoretical discussions in this chapter are introduced to analyse the in-between identity of the architecture of the case studies in Chapters 6. Chapter 5 provides approaches undertaken to determine the case studies for this study.

CHAPTER 5: METHODS AND CLASSIFICATIONS

5.1 Introduction

Based on the socio-cultural, political, and religious backgrounds, as well as theoretical frameworks outlined in the previous chapters, this chapter describes the process undertaken to arrive at the case studies in generating the empirical basis of this study.

Proceeding from the initial findings, described in Chapter 1, this chapter explains the process of observation and parameters used to classify the Chinese temples in Bali as case studies.

5.2 The Research Design and Focus of the Thesis

The research design diagram (Figure 41) shows the research stages and sequences, including the components within each stage. It is important to note that, as explained in Section 3.2.3, regarding the complexity of Chinese temple designation in Indonesia, this study, and thesis, refers to *Tempat Ibadat Tri Dharma* (*TITD*) as the Chinese temples classified by their communities: the temples being surveyed in this research project are all *TITD* across Bali's regencies.

The subsequent sections within this chapter will describe the research approaches and details more fully.

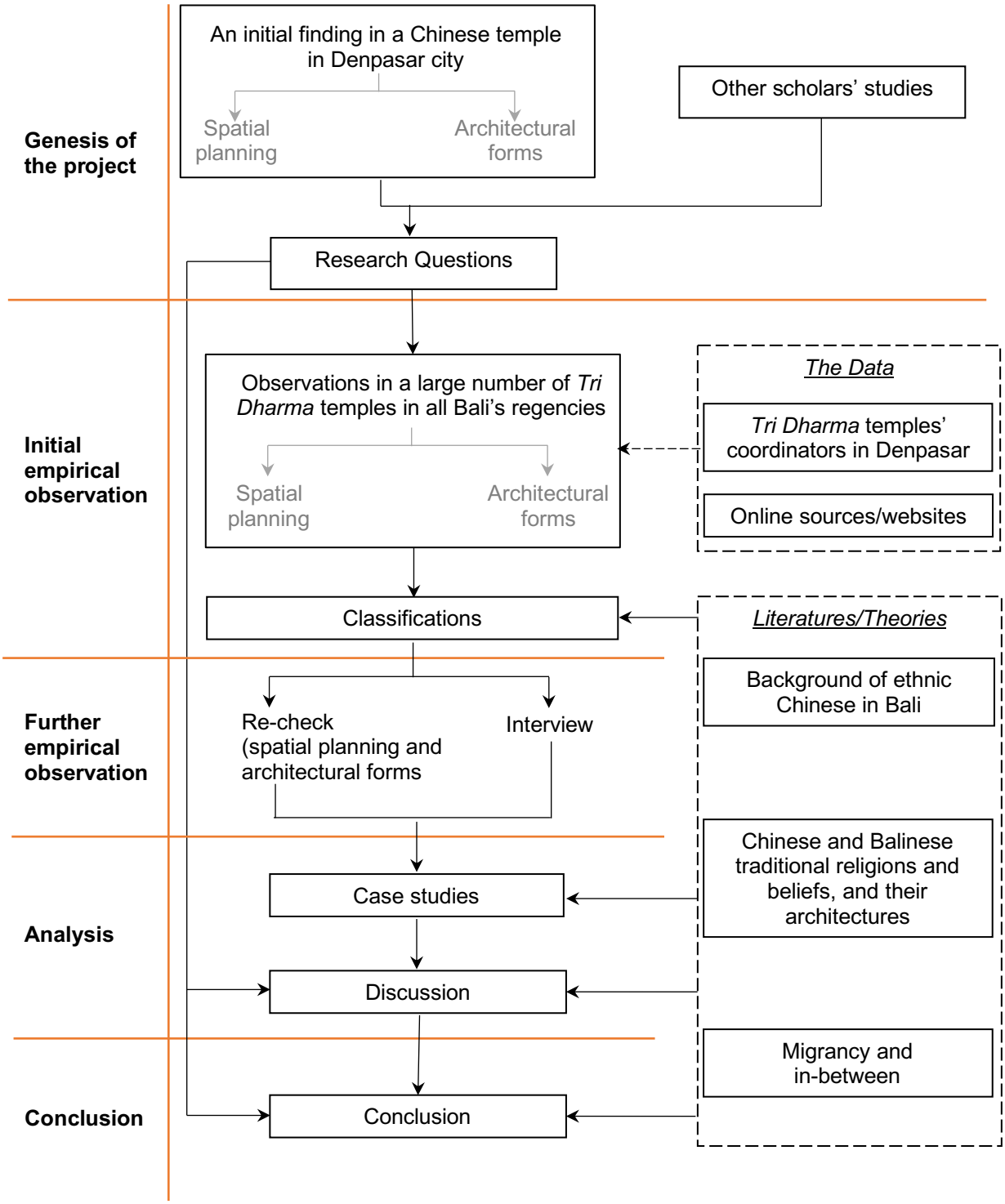


Figure 41: The research design
Source: Author (2019)

5.3 An Initial Finding and Empirical Observation

The genesis of this project, as presented in Section 1.2, has proceeded from the initial findings of a cultural mixture in a Chinese temple in Denpasar City, which is identified through its spatial planning and architectural forms. Moreover, previous scholars' concentration on architectural forms of this and other Chinese temples in Bali means there is still the opportunity for more analysis of cross-cultural implications.

In respect of this, as this study was to focus on the exploration and explanation of the widespread cross-cultural phenomenon of *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali, empirical observations were conducted in a large number of *Tri Dharma* temples distributed across all Bali's regencies; Denpasar, Tabanan, Gianyar, Badung, Klungkung, Jembrana, Singaraja, and Karangasem.

Prior to the empirical observations, the *Tri Dharma* temples' names and locations in each regency of Bali were collated from *Tri Dharma* temples' coordinators in Denpasar and available online sources or websites. During on-site observations, this collated data of the *Tri Dharma* temples' names and locations were also added to or reviewed by other *Tri Dharma* temples' coordinators or representatives to ensure the reliability of data[75].

Referring to all on the collated data list, only Karangasem Regency has no *Tri Dharma* temple, with the other *Tri Dharma* temples scattered across seven regencies with the total number of 14 temples (see Figure 42). The *Tri Dharma* temples are:

1. Denpasar: Oong Tay Jen, Kwan Kong Bio, Cao Fuk Miao, Satya Dharma temples
2. Badung: Caow Eng Bio and Leeng Guan Bio temples
3. Gianyar: Amurva Bhumi and Ong Ya Kong temples
4. Tabanan: Kong Co Bio and Kongco Batu Meringgit temples
5. Klungkung: Zhong Yi Miao temple

[75] It is important to note that these data were collated during research fieldwork from 2018 to 2019 and did not include the new on-going construction of *Tri Dharma* temples, as their spatial planning and architectural forms were unobservable.

6. Jembrana: Cung Ling Bio temple
7. Buleleng: Ling Gwan Kiong and Seng Hong Bio temples



Figure 42: The locations of 14 Tri Dharma temples in Bali's regencies
Source: Author

Three specific techniques - drawing, photographing, and measuring - were practised during the initial observations, as all temples were physically visited and observed. The main objective in these empirical observations is to identify and understand the variations of spatial planning and architectural forms in *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali's regencies, as appraised visually from observable and measurable building arrangements, building typologies, building elements, and interiors. A general introduction for each temple was made before more detailed analysis of the temple observations were done. The empirical observations also focused on identifying and observing the statuary, decoration, other temporary and permanent elements, and people using the *Tri Dharma* temples (but interviews were not conducted at this stage).

5.4 The Classifications

The empirical data found by the project's initial observations indicate that the spatial planning and architectural forms (building elements and interiors) of *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali's regencies are diverse and complex. As result, it was necessary to categorise this empirical data to identify and understand the significant features of these *Tri Dharma* temples' spatial planning and architectural forms. The most suitable approach undertaken in this classification was to generate matrix tables of important elements and characteristics.

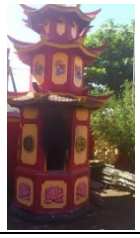
These matrix tables were constructed by comparing variations in each regency of all the *Tri Dharma* temples' visually and using key parameters to investigate their spatial planning and characteristics of their architectural forms of significance (see Table 5.1)[76]. The spatial planning parameters, in this sense, encompassed the site forms, building forms, and their orientations; and the parameters of the architectural forms encompassed building types, materials, colours, ornaments, and decorations, focusing on four main building categories within the *Tri Dharma* temples - the entrance gate, Hindu-Balinese worship buildings, *Tri Dharma* worship buildings, and supporting buildings. The key parameters of the temple were determined through the important factors influencing temple layout - site forms, building forms, and orientations - from previous discussion of Chinese and Hindu-Balinese temples, and the main building categories were the major architectural/functional/symbolic elements as surveyed.

All the most significant features both in the layout and architectural forms of *Tri Dharma* temples across Bali's regencies were then compiled again in matrix tables (Table 2)[77]. Proceeding from these matrix tables, the predominant features of Chinese or Balinese traditional architectures, or combinations of both features in their layout and architectural forms were able to be observed and determined using empirical works or by reference to literary sources. Through this compilation, three classifications of *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali were formed. These classifications are (Table 3):

[76] The full matrix tables of Chinese temple variations in Bali are in Appendix A.
[77] The full matrix tables of Chinese temple classifications in Bali are in Appendix B.

(1) *Tri Dharma* temple inside Hindu-Balinese temple;
(2) *Tri Dharma* temples being designed according to Chinese traditional architecture; and
(3) *Tri Dharma* temples being designed according to a combination of Chinese and Balinese traditional architectures.

Table 2: The matrix tables of Chinese temple variations in Bali

Architectural Elements		Kongco Batu Meringgit	Cao Fuk Miao	Oong Tay Jen
Gateways	Typologies			
	Materials	Grey sandstone, wood	Brick, concrete, teak wood, clay roof tile, and iron	Brick, concrete, ceramic, camphor wood
Hindu-Balinese shrines	Typologies			 
	Materials	Thatch roof, *cempaka* wood, concrete, grey sandstone	Grey sandstone	Grey sandstone, cempaka wood
Tri Dharma worship buildings	Typologies	 	 	 
	Materials	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile	Ceramic floor tile, concrete, camphor wood, brick, clay roof tile, ceramic floor tile	Brick, ceramic floor tile, concrete, camphor wood, ceramic roof tile, granite, bamboo mat, clay roof tile
Supporting buildings	Typologies			
	Materials	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile, ceramic floor tile, teak wood	Ceramic floor tile, clay roof tile, concrete, camphor wood, brick	Brick, ceramic floor tile, concrete, camphor wood, ceramic roof tile, granite, bamboo mat

Source: Author (2020)

Table 3: The matrix tables of Chinese temple classifications in Bali

TRI DHARMA TEMPLES	FOUR MAIN BUILDING CATEGORIES									
	Gateway					Hindu-Balinese Shrine				
	T	**M**	**O & D**	**C**	**Category**	**T**	**M**	**O & D**	**C**	**Category**
Kongco Batu Meringgit	*Candi bentar, kori*	Grey sandstone,wood	*Pepatran, pepalihan, kekaranggan*	Natural colour of materials (brick and grey)	**Balinese**	*Tugu, padma, gedong*	Grey sandstone, cempaka wood, thatch roof	*Murda, ikut celedu, karang gajah, karang goak, karang asri, tetaring, pepatran, pepalihan*	Natural colour of materials (grey sandstone)	**Balinese**
Cao Fuk Miao	*Paifang*	Brick, concrete, teak wood, clay roof tile, and iron	Chinese lion statues, geometric patterns, *yin-yang* symbol, *swastika* symbol, lotus symbol, *pepatran*, *pepalihan*, curve ridge	Natural colour of materials (grey sandstone) and painted in red, yellow, blue, white, and green	**Chinese**	*Tugu*	Grey sandstone	*Murda, ikut celedu, karang gajah, karang goak, karang asri, tetaring, pepatran, pepalihan*	Natural colour of materials (grey sandstone)	**Balinese**
Oong Tay Jen	*Candi bentar, kori, ang kul-ang kul*	Brick, concrete, ceramic, and champor wood	*Murda, ikut celedu,* Chinese lion statues, dragon & pearl statues, *pepatran*, *pepalihan,* stupa, curved ridge	Painted in red and yellow	**Combi-nation Chinese & Balinese**	*Tugu, padma, gedong*	Grey sandstone, cempaka wood, thatch roof	*Murda, ikut celedu,* lotus, dragon, *karang gajah, karang goak, karang asri, tetaring, pepatran, pepalihan*, Chinese incense jar	Natural colour of materials (grey sandstone) painted in red, gold, and green	**Balinese**

Source: Author (2020)

Table 4: The three Tri Dharma temple classifications

The Categories	Tri Dharma Temples
Tri Dharma temple inside Hindu-Balinese temple	Kongco Batu Meringgit
Tri Dharma temples being designed according to Chinese traditional architecture	Cao Fuk Miao, Satya Dharma, Caow Eng Bio, Cung Ling Bio, and Seng Hong Bio
Tri Dharma temples being designed according to a combination of Chinese and Balinese traditional architectures	Oong Tay Jen, Kwang Kong Bio, Kong Co Bio, Amurva Bhumi, and Ong Ya Kong

Source: Author (2020)

Representative examples from these *Tri Dharma* temple's classifications were then selected as case studies to answer the overall research questions and draw conclusions on the types of *Tri Dharma* sites, layouts and their architectural variations; background reasons for differing *Tri Dharma* temple designs, and the influence of political shifts towards the establishment and development of *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali. These representative temples are the main empirical works of the study, so it could be highlighted further. They were selected according to the presence of the most predomination features of Chinese or Balinese traditional architecture, or combinations of both features in their layout and architectural forms, also according to the detailed information obtained from the temple's representative(s). In addition, the *subandar* shrine described in Section 3.3.3 is also related to this categorisation due to being worshipped within a few of these temples.

5.5 Mixed Methodologies

Given the nature of this research involves heterogeneous data in both the processes of data collection and analysis, the overall research method used in investigating the case studies has been a mixed approach. Each representation of a case study focused upon the site, spatial planning, and architectural context as the first point of reference, added to which visual and textual discourses were also used to methodically investigate the case studies.

5.5.1 Data Types

The data in this research is divided into two types, primary and secondary, and different approaches were used to obtain each of these types. The primary data encompasses the spatial planning and architectural forms of 14 *Tri Dharma* temples in seven regencies of Bali. The data were collated first during the initial general visual observation, and then by returning to these temples to make detailed measurements. The measurement process was conducted to collect the dimensions of plans of precincts, individual pavilions, worship buildings, shrines, as well as their surrounding features.

Temples' layouts and building plans were sketched during the observation and finished using AutoCAD drafting software. All of these primary sources were used for identifying and analysing building dispositions and visual characteristics of building elements. These primary sources also include mapping spatial zones and orientations inside the temple compounds and also outside them: relations to immediate streetscapes, surrounding buildings, sites, and landscapes, as well as the interrelationships between building components. All of these empirical data were also re-checked by conducting visits to some temples to observe if there any alterations or developments on the layout or architectural forms since the initial empirical observation.

The secondary data in this research involves personal communication with sources related to the temples. Semi-structured interviews were undertaken with representatives of *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali. In these semi-structured interviews, predetermined questions were loosely structured[78], but the interviewer could still explore important issues or additional information addressed by the interviewee during the interview. All of these interview questions were devised according to the objective of obtaining detailed information to account for how each temple was established, motivations and design approaches practised; to interpret the meanings and origins of building forms and elements; as well as to identify the functions of buildings in relation to the sacred and profane activities within the temple.

The subjects of interviews were chosen by consulting with the coordinator of each temple, who recommended people knowledgeable about each *Tri Dharma* temple's

[78] The interview questions are in Appendix D.

architecture and history and so were able to provide information unavailable through documentary sources. These representatives of the *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali encompass the coordinators themselves, former coordinators, temple keepers, and temple priests. Full consent was obtained from these interviewees prior to predetermined questions being asked[79]. All the interviews were audio-recorded for later transcription in written documents.

In addition to this data gathering, historical, theoretical, and comparative texts were also consulted to inform analysis of the empirical data and answer the overall research questions. Some literary and other supporting documentations were also gathered from national archives, government policy documents on Chinese religion, and temple archives to inform analysis of the broader theological, cultural and political situation around the temples. These historical texts, literary, and other supporting documents (as described in Chapter 2) were used to identify and interpret the establishment and development of *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali.

Particular theoretical and comparative texts (Chapter 3 and 4)were also collected to analyse the quality of building design components and the background reasons for the mixture of Chinese and Balinese cultures, as described in Chapters 7 and 8. These theoretical and comparative texts are on the subjects of Balinese traditional architecture, Chinese traditional architecture, postcolonialism, diasporic identities, hybridity, and parallel situations in other locations.

5.6 Triangulation Method

The triangulation method used in this research project was necessary to ensure the trustworthiness of the data and the interpretation process. In this sense, the visual data of *Tri Dharma* spatial planning and architectural forms were integrated and interpreted using the sources obtained from interviews and relevant texts in order to unveil deeper meanings in the interpretation processes and data analysis. During the in-depth interviews, the interviewer approached more than one temple's representatives in most of *Tri Dharma* temples to get a broader understanding.

[79] The date and place of these interview conducted are in Appendix E.

Most of the interviewees had different job positions or status in the hierarchy of each the *Tri Dharma* temple, providing different views or answering questions that could not be answered by the previous interviewee(s). The literary and theory sources used in this study also involve different disciplines or contexts in socio-culture, beliefs and religions, and politics, bringing multiple perspectives in interpreting the heterogeneous data in this research study. Therefore, as noted by Thurmond (2001, p. 254), this triangulation method led to “increasing confidence in research data, creating innovative ways of understanding a phenomenon, revealing unique findings, challenging or integrating theories, and providing a clearer understanding of the problem”, which was necessary in the analysis process.

5.7 Chapter Summary

This research project shows diversity and complexity in empirical data of *Tri Dharma* temples' spatial planning and architectural forms. Therefore, the process in classifying the essential variations of *Tri Dharma* temples across regencies in Bali has been important to develop a depth-understanding of their critical features on each category.

This process also provides the basis of further discussion on their establishment and development backgrounds and processes within the broader socio-cultural and political aspects in Chapters 6 and 7.

CHAPTER 6: CASE STUDIES

6.1 Introduction

The case studies in this chapter are derived from the classification of 14 *Tri Dharma* temples distributed across seven regencies in Bali. As noted in Section 5.4, several significant parameters are used to arrive at this classification. In this chapter, a few examples of each category will be explored fully, focused upon the exploration of their sites, spatial planning, and architectural forms, in addition along to their development processes.

6.2 Tri Dharma Temple within Hindu-Balinese Temple

In this first category, there is a Chinese shrine that has been identified as a worship building for devotion to *Tri Dharma* erected within an otherwise Hindu-Balinese temple layout. This Chinese shrine is located within Batu Meringgit temple in Pemuteran cultural village, Tabanan Regency. Batu Meringgit temple (Figure 43). is a Hindu-Balinese temple complex designed according to Balinese traditional precepts and located inside the Bedugul Botanical Garden, managed by the local government of Tabanan Regency. Surrounding by local settlements, shops, villas, and hotels, this botanical garden area is adjacent to *Ulun Danu* lake in the east and popular as a recreational place. From the main gate of the botanical garden, a driveway in the west leads to this temple.

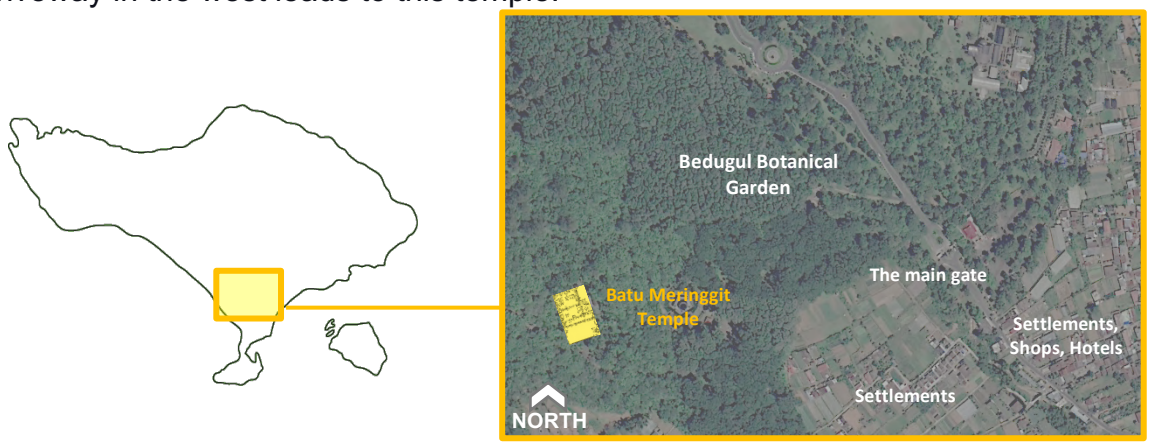


Figure 43: The location of Batu Meringgit temple, within the Bedugul Botanical Garden, Pemuteran cultural village, Tabanan Regency
Source: Modified from Google Earth (2020)

The forty-acre site of Batu Meringgit temple comprises three courtyards - *jeroan*, *jaba tengah*, and *jaba sisi* - aligning from north to south, with *jeroan* and *jaba tengah* surrounded by fences (see Figure 44). The distinction between these three courtyards is explained in Section 3.3.2. The *jaba sisi* courtyard as the profane zone within the Batu Meringgit temple is located in the most northerly part of the complex (*kelod*), whereas the parking area, kitchens, storage, waste bins, and toilets are placed in the most south direction (see Figure 45).

To enter *jaba tengah* the worshippers must access through the Balinese traditional *candi bentar* gate (see Figure 46). There are some pavilions in the *jaba tengah* courtyard built as a waiting area for the worshippers (*bale lantang*), a place for preparing the offerings during ritual (*pangubengan* and *bale punia*), and a place to play and store Balinese traditional instruments (*bale gong*) (see Figure 47). A drum tower, otherwise known as *bale kulkul,* used for summoning the worshippers during particular rituals, is also located in the *jaba tengah* courtyard.

Kori, as the highest stratum level perceived by the Hindu-Balinese, is the most sacred Balinese traditional gate and used to enter *jeroan* (Figure 48). At either side of *kori* are side entrances (*betelan*) in the form of *candi bentar*. This *kori* is also flanked by a pair of guardian shrines (*pelinggih apit lawang*) to its front side, associated as a pair of guards to protect the temple, particularly the *jeroan* courtyard. At the front of *kori* are Hindu-Balinese shrines and pavilions built in these courtyards. According to traditional precepts of the Hindu-Balinese temple, the most important or highest level of shrines are placed in north (*kaja*) and east (*kauh*) directions.

As explained in Section 3.3.1, the orientations *kaja-kelod* for North and South Bali inhabitants are different due to orientation towards Agung Mountain. In respect of this, as the Batu Meringgit temple is located in the south of Bali, almost all of the Hindu-Balinese shrines in Batu Meringgit temple can be found in the most north (*kaja*) and east (*kangin*) areas of the *jeroan* courtyard (see Figure 49). In this *jeroan* courtyard, three pavilions - *bale panganteb, bale paruman/piasan, bale lantang* - have also been built respectively as places for the priest to lead the daily rituals, prepare these rituals, and as a waiting or rest area for the priest (see Figure 50).

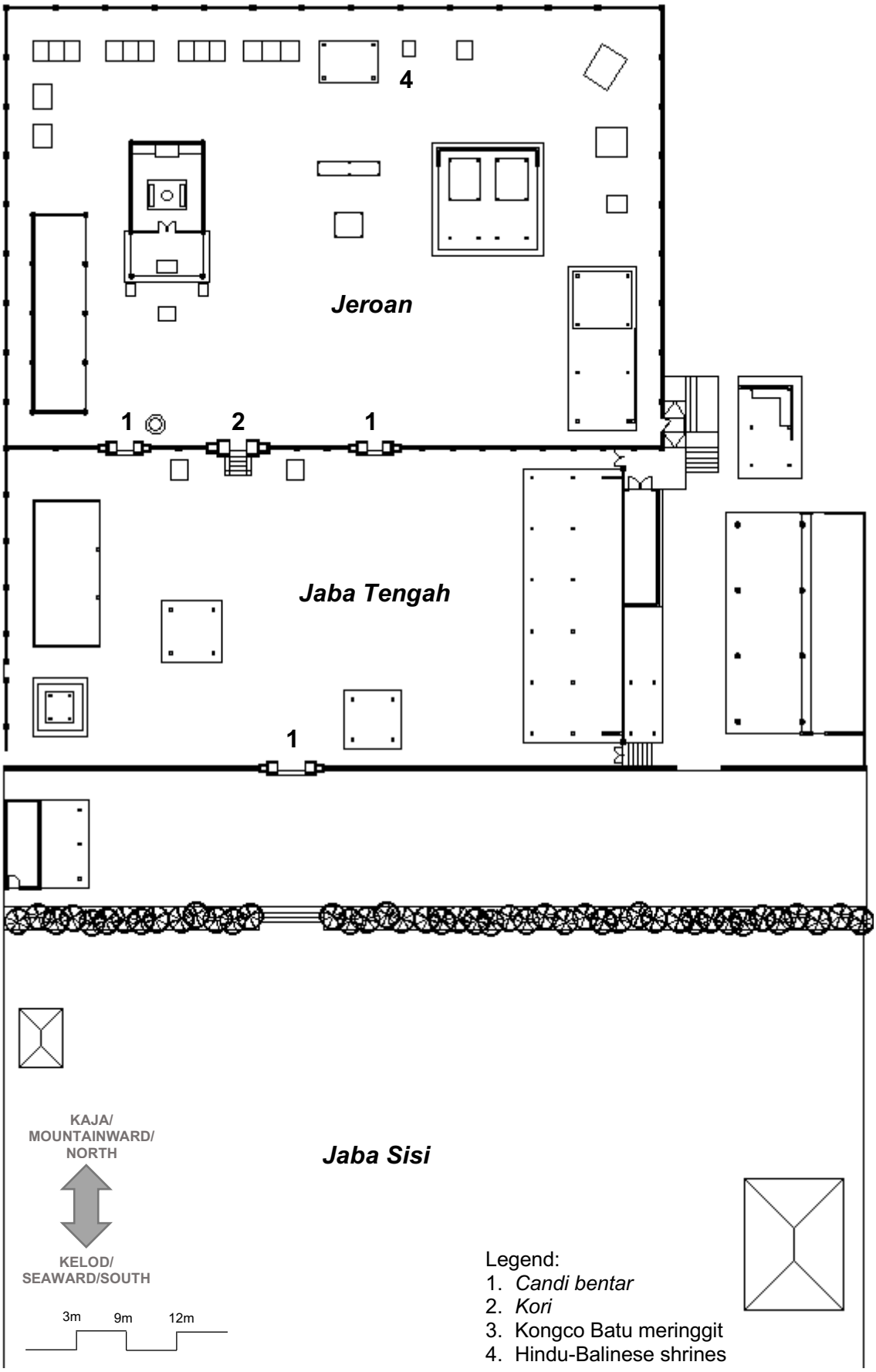


Figure 44: The current layout of Batu Meringgit temple
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 45: Parking area (top-left), kitchens & storage (top-right), waste bins (bottom-left), toilets (bottom-right) within jaba sisi courtyard
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 46: Candi bentar within Batu Meringgit temple
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 47: Bale lantang & bale pengubengan (left), bale punia (middle), bale gong (bottom), and bale kulkul (right) within jaba tengah courtyard
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 48: A kori in the middle, a pair of betelan in either side of kori, and a pair of pelinggih apit lawang at the front sides of kori
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 49: Hindu-Balinese shrines in kaja (left) and kauh (right) areas of the jeroan courtyard
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 50: Bale Panganteb (left), Bale Paruman/Piasan (right), Bale Lantang (bottom) within jeroan courtyard
Source: Author (2019)

Among the otherwise Hindu-Balinese shrines within the *jeroan* courtyard, a Chinese shrine known as Kongco Batu Meringgithas been erected[80]. The establishment history of Kongco Batu Meringgit can be found in a historical text, or *purana,* written

[80] The term *Kongco* is derived from Hokkien dialect referring to the saint (Tohari, 2018).

by Batu Meringgit temple's elders. According to this *purana*, Batu Meringgit temple was built in 1201 by Shri Jaya Kasunu - a descendant of King Shri Aji Jaya Pangus[81]. He also built a Chinese shrine within the Batu Meringgit temple complex to show respect to King Jaya Pangus and his Chinese wife - Kang Cie Wie. The main deity within this *Tri Dharma* shrine is called *Ida Betara Kongco,* meaning the saint of Shivaist-Buddhist belief system.

As this temple is dedicated to Shivaist-Buddhist believers, the visitors to Kongco Batu Meringgit include Hindu-Balinese adherents who usually visit this *Tri Dharma* shrine once they finished praying at the Hindu-Balinese shrines. The adherents of *Tri Dharma* within this temple have the same attitudes as Hindu-Balinese about the similarities between belief systems[82]. Both the adherents of Hindu-Balinese and *Tri Dharma* followers equate Shivaist deities with Buddhist deities, and this is evident in the sharing of their deities housed within each Batu Meringgit temple and *Tri Dharma* shrine - Shang Hyang Akasha equates to the God of Sky, and Sri Manik Galih equates to Guan Yin - and practice of rituals and rites that involve Hindu-Balinese and Buddhist priests. Also, both the Batu Meringgit and Kongco Batu Meringgit temple's festivals are held at the same time; both Chinese and Hindu-Balinese communities help and support each other in preparing the ceremonies.

The elders of Pemuteran cultural village re-discovered Batu Meringgit temple in 1938. At that time, all the shrines built from stacked stones had been ruined. After being re-founded in 1938, Batu Meringgit temple was then redeveloped a few times, though the period of the initial development is unknown. However, according to the coordinator of the temple and the Chinese community, the temple's initial development was focused on the developing of some Hindu-Balinese shrines, the Kongco Batu Meringgit altar, gates, fences and pavilions[83].

During this initial development, the main altar of Kongco Batu Meringgit was developed in the form of a pavilion. This main altar was built on a raised concrete podium and designed in rectangular form (1m x 1m), using wooden columns and walls as the main materials. The main altar's roof had a pyramidal design covered

[81] As noted in Section 2.2, Shri Aji Jaya Pangus was a King of Dalem Balingkang Kingdom in Bangli Regency and married a Chinese woman. He was one of the most influential Kings in Bali in the 12th century.
[82] Personal communication with the Hindu-Balinese priest and Kongco Batu Meringgit coordinator.
[83] Personal communication with the coordinator of Batu Meringgit temple.

with zinc material and a Balinese traditional ornament of *murda* (crown) on the top (Figure 51). A furnace to burn joss paper, made from concrete (Figure 52), was also erected in the front of this main altar, adopting a form of *tugu.* Next to this main altar, a Balinese traditional open pavilion with eight wooden columns called *bale sakutus* was built for preparing the offerings. This pavilion was built on a raised concrete podium supported by wooden columns and a pyramidal roof topped with clay tiles (see Figure 53).



Figure 51: The old main altar of Kongco Batu Meringgit
Source: The Batu Meringgit temple collections



Figure 52: The old furnace building of Kongco Batu Meringgit
Source: The Batu Meringgit temple collections



Figure 53: The old Balinese traditional open pavilion of Kongco Batu Meringgit
Source: The Batu Meringgit temple collections

In 2000, *Kongco* Batu Meringgit had further development by enlarging the main altar, as well as building a new furnace and pavilion. Prior to this development, the leader of Pemuteran cultural village had offered to help the Chinese community to develop their shrine as the building was too small in dimension, too old, and in poor condition. The leader of Pemuteran cultural village also asked them to provide the new design of the shrine and allowed them to expand the building area as much as the Chinese community required.

Given the offer to develop *Kongco* Batu Meringgit, the Chinese community decided to build three buildings - a main building for the deities' altar, a furnace to burn joss paper, and a pavilion as a place to prepare the offerings and storage. These three buildings are deemed sufficient to accommodate their traditional religious activities and easy to maintain by their community[84]. Moreover, due to the Chinese community perceiving the *Kongco* Batu Meringgit as being part of Batu Meringgit temple, their socio-cultural activities or events are usually held in their community members' residences, or they hire a multipurpose building rather than holding these activities or events within the temple complex.

During the design process, the Chinese community members encountered some difficulties in designing and building a Chinese temple due to their limited knowledge

[84] Personal communication with the Kongco Batu Meringgit coordinator.

and experience. This issue mainly emerged because of most of the Chinese communities' generation was born as Chinese-Balinese and their elders passed down the knowledge of rituals and rites; but not the knowledge of Chinese temple design. The Chinese communities, therefore, consulted the coordinator of a Chinese temple in Denpasar city regarding their temple design and asked them to supervise the building construction. The coordinator in Denpasar suggested referring to the architectural design of Cao Fuk Miao and Seng Hong Bio temples (each located in Denpasar and Singaraja regencies[85]) as these temples are seen to represent Chinese traditional architecture. The Chinese communities also consulted a Hindu-Balinese priest regarding the dimensions of the temple, as required by the leaders and Hindu-Balinese communities in Pemuteran cultural village. This was mainly aimed at obtaining the temple's dimensions according to Balinese traditional measurement approaches (see Section 3.3.1).

In respect of this, the Kongco Batu Meringgit was developed within the established *jeroan* courtyard of Batu Meringgit temple; thus, a combination of *sikut natah* - a measurement approach for the building dimensions within the temple courtyard using the footprint - and *gegulak* - a measurement approach for the building dimensions within the temple courtyard using palm, hand and fingers - approaches were used.

These building dimensions were then converted into a metric system, so it would be easy to read and understand during the building construction. This use of Balinese traditional measurements indicate that the Kongco Batu Meringgit was part of a Hindu-Balinese temple compound since it was founded; thus, it is a socio-cultural requirement that this *Tri Dharma* shrine's dimensions must follow the Balinese traditional architecture precepts.

[85] These temples are discussed further in Section 6.3.1.

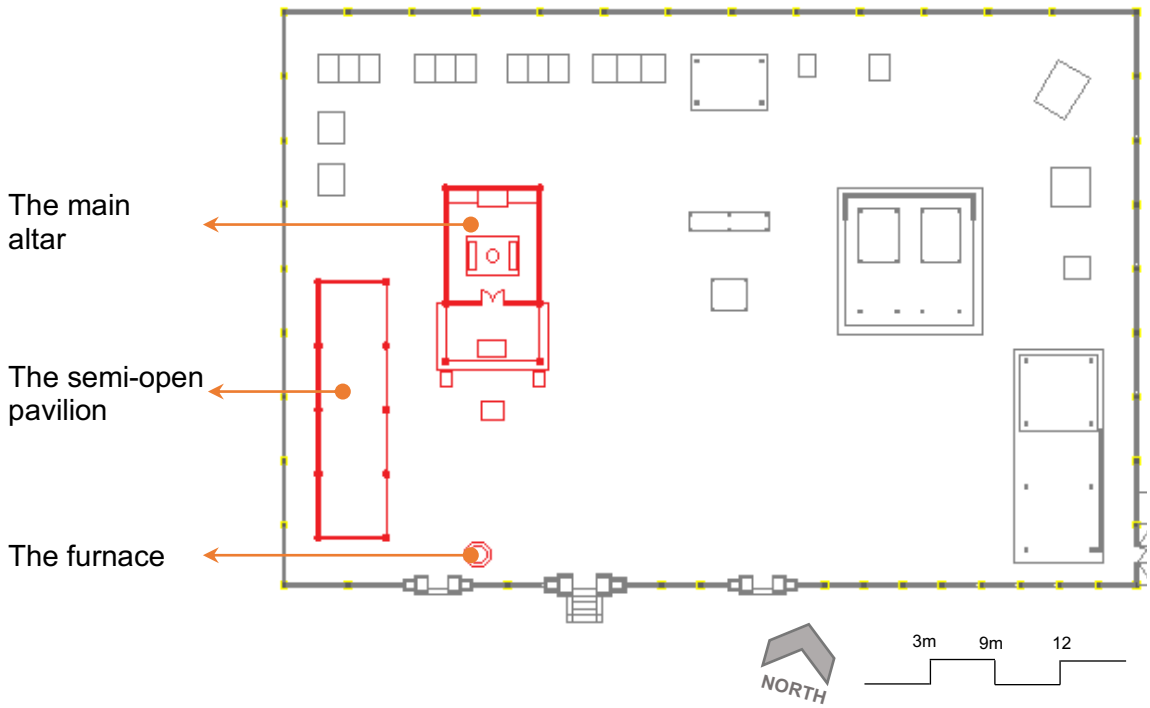


Figure 54: The layout of Kongco Batu Meringgit (the red plans) within the jeroan courtyard
Source: Author (2019)

The latest construction development of the *Kongco* Batu Meringgit was finished in 2008 by building entirely anew and replacing all of the previous individual buildings. Three individual buildings of the Kongco Batu Meringgit have been established within the south-west jeroan courtyard (Figure 54). The main altar faces to the side entrance (*betelan*) in the west and quadrangle in plan. In general, this main altar design represents Chinese traditional architectures as can be seen in the curved roof design and the predominant use of red and yellow colours.

To enter the main altar, visitors must access the open terrace supported by red cylindrical columns (see Figure 55). A pair of Chinese lion stone statues sit on Balinese traditional podiums placed at the front side of this main altar's open terrace. Two altar tables at the front of the main altar are used to place offerings and Chinese incense jars.



Figure 55: The latest architectural design of main altar within Kongco Batu Meringgit
Source: Author (2019)

On the left and right sides of the main altar's entry door are a pair of windows in the form of *bagua*. *Bagua*, in this sense, are the eight points of a compass in Chinese traditional culture, determining the divination of fortune (Lip, 1994). Such a Chinese traditional compass consists of 'cosmic algebra', the combination of symbols broken line (_ _) for *yin* and solid line (__) for *yang* (Zhang, 2019). Each combination conveys the eight compass directions or orientations and eight natural phenomena (Table 5). The *bagua* shape is adopted for the main altar's windows otherwise known as *baguachuang* (Lip, 2008). A *baguachuang* is formed by the opening (*chuang*), the window frame (*chuang kuang*), and the latticework (*chuang ling*). The latticework is designed with *bagua* symbols and combined with *yin yang* symbol in the middle. Instead following the Chinese compass directions, the *bagua* symbols on the latticework of main altar adopts natural phenomenon directions, emphasising the heaven and earth directions. The top and bottom latticework adopts the heaven and earth directions, associating the north and south directions (*kaja-kelod*) in the Balinese traditional cosmo-geographical compass as sacred and profane directions (Figure 56). The other directions within the latticework adopt the other natural phenomenon elements.

Table 5: Bagua symbols and meanings

Symbols	Directions/orientations	Natural phenomenon
☰	North-west	Heaven (*qian/tian*)
☷	South-west	Earth (*kun/di*)
☳	East	Thunder (*zhen/lei*)
☵	North	Water (*kan/shui*)
☶	North-east	Mountain (*gan/shan*)
☴	South-east	Wind (*xun/feng*)
☲	South	Fire (*li/huo*)
☱	West	Marsh (*dui/ze*)

Source: Modified from Lip (1994, p. 24) and Zhang (2019, p. 5).



Figure 56: The bagua symbols on the main altar's windows within Kongco Batu Meringgit
Source: Author (2020)

The exterior walls of this main altar are painted brown, whereas the interior walls are covered with red ceramics. This main altar is designed with an exposed concrete ceiling and painted in red and yellow. Other decorations representing Balinese traditional elements can be seen in some Balinese traditional umbrellas (*pajeng*), placed at the Chinese lions stone statues and main deity altar. A Balinese traditional decorative fabric, known as *ider-ider,* is also attached to the fascia board. There are several deities residing within the main altar. The main deity is Ida Betara Kongco

placed at the main altar (Figure 57). Below the main altar is a compartment as an altar for a tiger deity. Another deities‘ statues representing Shivaist-Buddhist belief along with ritual objects are also placed at the right side of the main altar (Figure 58). These statues are Buddha, Guan Yin (also known as Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva) and Shiva.



Figure 57: The main altar within Kongco Batu Meringgit
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 58: Deity statues represent Shivaist-Buddhist belief within Kongco Batu Meringgit
Source: Author (2019)

A pavilion next to the main altar is designed as a semi-open pavilion with walls on three sides of the building. This pavilion is used as storage and for preparing the offerings during rituals (Figure 59). This pavilion has the same architectural features as the main altar. The furnace to burn holy papers in the front of the main building resembles a gourd-shaped form with an octagonal crown at the top, and is made from concrete and painted in red and yellow (Figure 60). In this sense, gourd-shaped forms otherwise known as *hu lu* are associated with longevity and its interior is believed containing a miniature mountain paradise that can be entered by a soul and wander in a state of bliss, also wards off bad evils (Kohl, 1984).



Figure 59: A semi-open pavilion within Kongco Batu Meringgit
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 60: The furnace to burn holy papers within Kongco Batu Meringgit
Source: Author (2019)

6.3 Tri Dharma Temples Designed According to Chinese Traditional Architecture

The second category in this chapter explores examples of *Tri Dharma* temples designed according to Chinese traditional architecture. This section focuses on one representative temple - the Cao Fuk Miao - and also highlights particular elements of some other temples - the Satya Dharma, Caow Eng Bio, Cung Ling Bio, and Seng Hong Bio. Instead of providing complete accounts of these other five temple's history and architectural precedents, this section emphasises selected elements to obtain salient information on these examples.

6.3.1 The Cao Fuk Miao Temple

Cao Fuk Miao temple is one of the *Tri Dharma* temples in Denpasar city with a Chinese traditional architecture. It is situated in Northern Denpasar, amidst a sub-urban environment some six kilometres from the centre of Denpasar City (Figure 61). Surrounded by a mixture of residential and cargo storage uses, this temple is located 250 metres from the major thoroughfare (Figure 62). From the major thoroughfare of Cargo Road, a gate with the temple's name sign in the west leads to a minor road (Cargo Taman Suci Road) towards to this temple. The temple itself is on the south of a side street and surrounded by a residential area, comprising single and double storey modern houses (Figures 63 and 64).

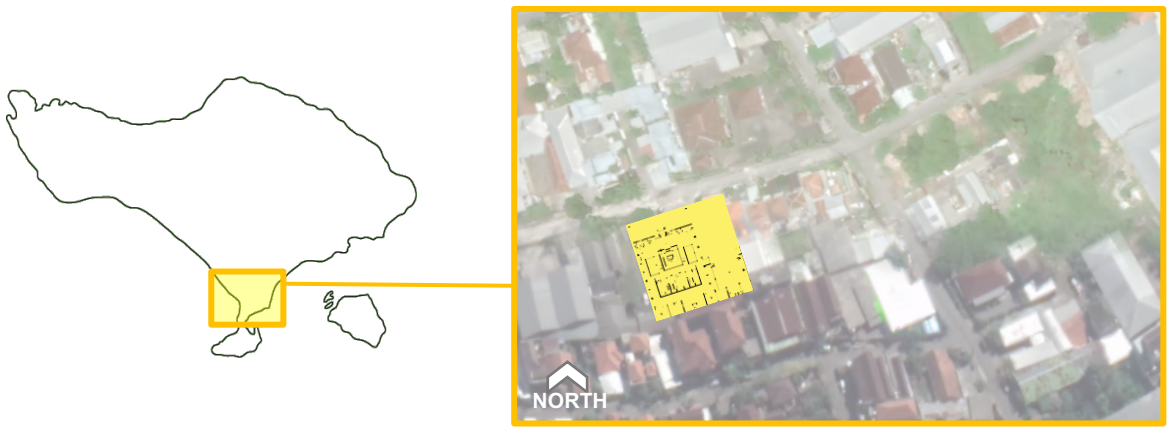


Figure 61: The location of Cao Fuk Miao temple, amidst a mixture of residential and cargo storage, Northern Denpasar City
Source: Modified from Google Earth (2020)





Figure 62: View eastward from thoroughfare
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 63: View northward along Cargo Taman Suci road
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 64: View southward along Cargo Taman Suci road
Source: Author (2019)

The Cao Fuk Miao was built in 2003 as an initiative of the Chinese community to provide a *Tri Dharma* temple in North Denpasar. It was inaugurated and opened to the public on 7 March 2007, or 2588 Cia Gwee 15 in Chinese calendar, by the Head of Religion Department of Bali Province. This 7-acre temple is the abode of Sue Wie Shen Niang, or Goddess of the South Sea as the main deity.

As suggested by the Chinese community's elders, a quiet area was selected as the temple's site to avoid the noise that could disturb the tranquillity of religious activities. Moreover, the elders also suggested conducting a ritual of *Sio Poe* to provide the main deity's consent regarding the temple's site location and orientation[86]. *Sio Poe,* otherwise known as *Po Poe*, in this sense, is a Chinese traditional ritual by throwing two crescent-shaped wooden blocks (called *jiao* or *beijiao*) to provide a yes or no answer from divine spirits (Smith, 2012; Martini, 2019). The ritual was led by the elders and started with praying to the main deity and continued by proposing a few particular sites and orientations to establish this *Tri Dharma* temple. Through this *Sio Poe* ritual, the main deity approved the site that is surrounded by some residences and faces a minor road in the North.

The idea for the Cao Fuk Miao design was derived from the coordinator of the temple, who was also an architect and a civil contractor. According to the temple's representative, the layout planning of this temple was designed by the architect following the oral tradition of Chinese temple architecture in China that has been passed down from their ancestors. This oral tradition mentions that a Chinese temple must incorporate a deity altar, an auditorium, and a priest house; however, due to the limited site area of the temple, it was not possible to design all the individual buildings within multiple courtyards similar to a Chinese temple's spatial planning in China, hence, all of these individual buildings have been established within a single courtyard.

In addition to this, the dimensions of individual temple's buildings were determined using a Chinese tape measure. Such a tape measure uses a *feng shui* approach, displaying red colour for good dimensions and black colour for bad dimensions. Prior to the building construction, the Chinese community selected an auspicious day to conduct a ritual and buried Chinese coins in order to obtain blessings from the main

[86] Personal communication with the coordinator of Cao Fuk Miao temple.

deity. They also hired some local experienced and skilled artists from Singaraja regency during the building construction to carve the temple's ornaments and paint deities' figures on the walls.

> *In determining the temple's zones and individual building types, we followed the knowledge that is passed down by our predecessor referring to Chinese temples in China. However, we can only follow the partial of the essential requirements as the land to establish a Tri Dharma temple is limited and expensive to procurement extra land. At least a Chinese temple must consist of a deity altar, an auditorium, and a priest house, and we decided to build all of these individual building within a single courtyard. We also used a Chinese tape measure in determining the individual buildings within the temple* (the Cao Fuk Miao representation, personal communication, 12 January 2020).

Cao Fuk Miao temple comprises of several individual buildings and are all rectangular in plans (see Figure 65). From the north to south, there is a main entrance, a pair of furnaces to burn holy papers; a Hindu-Balinese shrine; a main building with two pavilions at the right and left sides; some supporting facilities like kitchen, storage, priest bedrooms, and toilets placed at the most back of the temple (see Figure 66).

All of these buildings, including parking areas, were constructed in 2003. In 2015, a two-storey multi-purpose building was erected on a new additional site at the east side of the temple as a place to hold wedding ceremonies, practising Chinese martial arts and lion dances, and Sunday school.

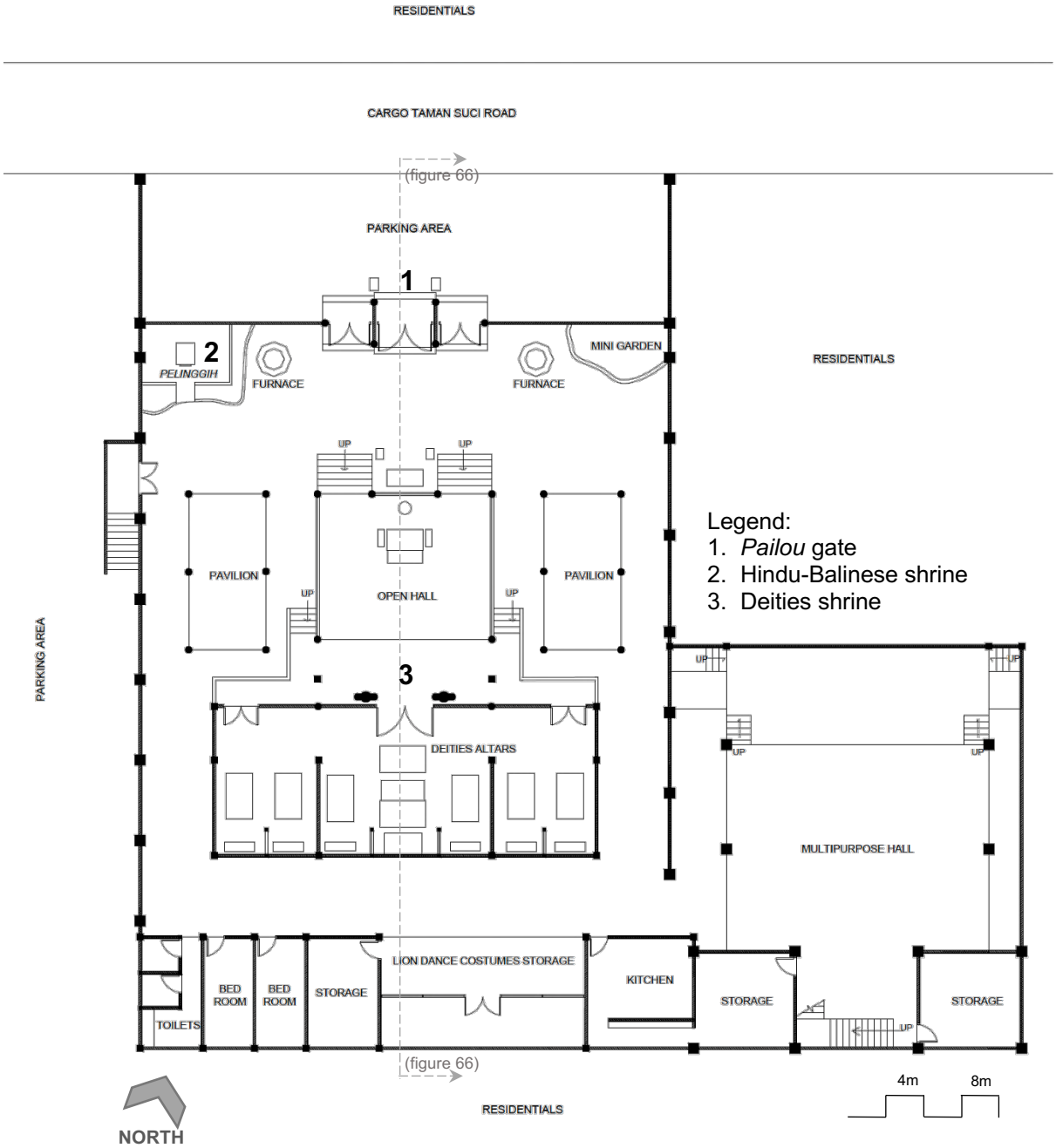


Figure 65: The Cao Fuk Miao temple's layout
Source: Author (2019)

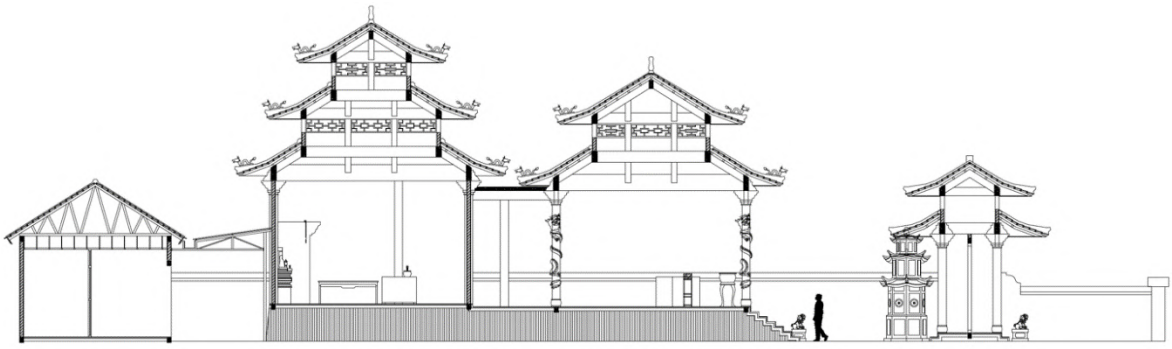


Figure 66: The section through individual buildings within Cao Fuk Miao temple
Source: Author (2019)

Entry to the temple is accessed from the paved parking area at the north and grass parking area at the west side of the temple (Figure 67). The north parking area is relatively small and connected with the main gateway. The Cao Fuk Miao main entrance gate takes the form of *pailou* - a Chinese traditional gate with roof structure (see Figure 68). According to Kohl (1984), Chinese gateways have two types, *pailou* and *paifang*. Both types are common in Southern China, having been built in China since Buddhism was introduced. They function as gateways to the tomb, palace, or temple, and are distinguished by the number of bays. Jian (2014) further notes that *pailou* have odd numbers of roofed bays (three, five, or seven bays) and even numbers of pillars, emphasising the central bay as having the widest opening and the tallest pillars. *Paifang* only has a single opening entrance usually dedicated to women who are honoured by the public due to their charity or other good works (Kohl, 1984, p. 119).



Figure 67: Parking areas of Cao Fuk Miao temple
Source: The Cao Fuk Miao temple collections



Figure 68: Cao Fuk Miao temple's main entrance gate
Source: Author (2019)

The Cao Fuk Miao's *pailou* has a three-bay three-tier roof in design and is predominantly red in colour. The central bay is designed as rectangular with two wooden leaf doors, depicting two demigods' figures. According to Jian (2014), these two demigods are *Shentu* and *Yulei*, a pair of guardians who stand at the Chinese gate superintending all the ghosts and giving them punishment. On the top of this opening entrance, a Chinese temple board name written in Chinese and Roman letters is also hung. The other two bays at the right and left sides are round in shape and use two steel trellises with ornaments of octagonal and *yin yang* symbols as the doors.

The Cao Fuk Miao's *pailou* traditional gate is constructed of concrete material applied mostly to the columns, beams, and roof ridge. Wood materials are only used for the common rafters, purlins, and facias of the gate. The roof of the gate is topped with clay tiles. From the parking area in north, visitors can see a pair of Chinese lions' statues made of stone sitting on the podium at the front side of the main entrance along with some geometric ornaments and *Tri Dharma* association symbols embedded in the front fences at the left and right of the main entrance.

The west parking area is bigger than in the north, connects to the side entrance, and able to accommodate cars or other large vehicles of the visitors. The side entrance in the west is designed in a round shape with two steel doors and can be accessed by stepping the stairs to the temple (see Figure 69). The round shape used in the main entrance and side entrance is known as the moon gate. The moon gate, in this sense, is a round-shaped gate that may be used in Chinese walled gardens or

interior buildings (Kohl, 1984, p. 40), reflecting a symbol of perfection and movement series (Xue and Gibson, 2019).



Figure 69: The access from west side entrance within Cao Fuk Miao temple
Source: Author (2019)

Entering the main entrance of Cao Fuk Miao temple, there are two furnaces to burn holy papers at the right and left sides. These furnaces are octagonal in plan and adopt the form of the *pagoda* in their designs with three-tier roofs (Figure 70). Some ornaments depicting lotuses, Chinese coins, and some Chinese traditional objects are painted on these concrete furnaces' walls, and coloured in red and yellow.



Figure 70: Cao Fuk Miao temple's furnace
Source: Author (2019)

Adjacent to Cao Fuk Miao's furnace in the north-west is a *pelinggih penunggun karang* (Figure 71) - the simplest Hindu-Balinese shrine, adopting a form of *tugu* - surrounded with a small pond and guarded with a dragon statue. Some decorations, including a Hindu-Balinese umbrella and textiles with a checkered pattern of black and white, as well as a sacred textile with *rerajahan,* are embedded in this Hindu-Balinese shrine. In the sense of religious context, the deity manifested in *pelinggih penunggun karang* is associated with the God of Earth in Chinese belief system. The temple representative explained that the adoption of *pelinggih penunggun karang* in Cao Fuk Miao temple is evidence of the practice of *Tri Dharma*'s teaching to adopt local wisdom, particularly in this respect being Hindu-Balinese religion and culture[87].



Figure 71: Pelinggih penunggun karang within Cao Fuk Miao temple
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 72: An open hall within the Cao Fuk Miao
Source: Author (2019)

[87] During the interview, the temple representative also stated in that the Chinese community, as the ethnic minority, always respects or follows the local custom of those who live where they have settled, as mentioned in a popular Indonesian proverb "*dimana bumi dipijak, disitu langit dijunjung*"; in English this is similar to "when in Rome, do as the Romans do".

An open hall connected with the deities' altars is erected within the middle of Cao Fuk Miao courtyard (Figure 72). This building sits on the podium and is designed with two stairs and a wall depicting Chinese figures, mythical animals, and Chinese traditional building on both sides. A Chinese temple's inauguration plaque on the stone within a mini garden and a pair of Chinese lions are placed in the front of the open hall. This open hall's roof is two-tier and half-gabled in design and supported by four round concrete columns. Chinese mythical animals' ornaments are carved on these columns as well as being embedded on the rooftop and roof corners.

The roof structure of this open hall mostly uses concrete topped with clay tiles. In the middle of this open hall, there is an altar table with ritual objects devoted to *Tien Kung*[88]. Geometric wooden railings are designed at the left and right of this building with oval railings' columns depicting flying dragons. The exposed ceiling of the building is also decorated with Chinese lanterns and a chandelier.

At the right and left sides of this open hall are two open pavilions on the raised podium (see Figure 73). Each of these pavilions is supported with six round concrete columns coloured in red. These pavilions' roofs are hipped-roof in design with slightly upturned ridge roof and roof corners, and predominantly painted in red, yellow, and blue colours.
These colours are common in Chinese temples, signifying good fortune, power, and heavenly blessings. The main material on the roof beam and ridge roof is concrete, whereas the common rafter, purlin, and fascia use wooden materials. Some decorations of geometrical wooden patterns are also embedded below the beam encircling the pavilions, along with Chinese lanterns.

[88] Tien Kung is a Daoist deity, associated with the power of cosmology.



Figure 73: A pavilion within the Cao Fuk Miao
Source: Author (2019)

The main building within the Cao Fuk Miao is the abode of deities. This building can be accessed either through the open hall or by using the other two stairs adjacent to the pavilions. This main building comprises three entrances. Visitors usually enter the main building through the central entrance and exit through the other two entrances at the left and right sides. Each entrance is designed with double swing doors painted in brown and handles in the form of lion heads. The central entrance is guarded by a pair of demigods' statues of *Shentu* and *Yulei* at the left and right sides (Figure 74). On the left and right wall of each entrance, some figures representing three religious doctrines are also painted. This main building is exposed in its ceiling and is designed in three-tier hipped-roof with mythical animals' ornaments on its curved ridge roof and roof corners.



Figure 74: The central entrance of the main building within Cao Fuk Miao temple
Source: Author (2019)

Altars manifesting three doctrines' deities can be seen inside the main building separated with walls (Figure 75). On the central altar is placed Sui We Sen Niang or Goddess of the Sea - the main deity of Daoist doctrine - flanked by Boddhisatva altars at the right and left sides. The left (west) and right (east) altars are respectively occupied by Confucian and other Daoist deities. Each of these altars has a number according to their order in conducting the ritual and a table to place offerings and ritual objects. This order shows the status rank of the deities within the Cao Fuk Miao. These deities' altars and tables have designed with some carved ornaments of mythical animals and floral patterns. The interior wall of this main building is predominantly red. Some decorations depicting Chinese deities' weapons, longboards with wisdom quotes written in Chinese and Indonesian, Chinese traditional textiles, Chinese lanterns, vases with palm leaves, a Chinese drum and bell, chandeliers, and candle holders are also placed around the interior of this main building.



Figure 75: The interior of the main building within Cao Fuk Miao temple
Source: Author (2019)

Behind the Cao Fuk Miao's main building is a supporting building (see Figure 76). This supporting building comprises kitchen, storages, priest bedrooms, and toilets. The space between the main building and supporting building is also connected by a roof and is usually used as a place for preparing the offerings or dining area for the worshippers. Unlike the other individual buildings within the temple, Chinese traditional features in this supporting building can only be seen in the kitchen area. The windows in the kitchen area are circular and covered with a geometric trellis. An altar devoted to the God of Wealth is also placed in the kitchen.



Figure 76: Cao Fuk Miao temple's supporting building
Source: Author (2019)

The latest individual building erected within the east of Cao Fuk Miao temple is a multipurpose building (Figure 77). This multipurpose building was built in 2015 and finished in 2016 to accommodate some non-religious activities. It is a two-storey building comprising a hall with a stage and storages on the first floor, and another hall on the second floor. The Chinese traditional elements are mostly applied on the stage walls. The gabled wall at the stage is painted with mythical animals of dragon and phoenix, and twelve Chinese zodiac symbols. The stage podium wall also depicts a pond full of koi fishes.



Figure 77: The multipurpose building within the Cao Fuk Miao
Source: Author (2019)

6.3.3 Variations

There are some significant variations of individual buildings within the other *Tri Dharma* temples in this category that can be identified through their layouts, entrance gates, furnaces to burn joss paper, deities' and Buddha's altars, as well as the presence of Hindu-Balinese shrines. These individual buildings are diverse in scales, ornaments, materials, and colours.

In the following Sub-sections, their significant variations are explored, with illustrations.

6.3.3.1 Spatial Planning



Figure 78: The layout variations of Tri Dharma temples in the second category
Source: Author (2020)

The significant variations of spatial planning of *Tri Dharma* temples in this category can be seen on their site forms, number of courtyards, and temple's orientations[89] (see Figure 78). In this instance, only the Cung Ling Bio and Satya Dharma have rectangular site forms, whilst the others have not. Mostly, these *Tri Dharma* temples consist of a single courtyard, except the Ling Gwan Kiong and Satya Dharma with three and two courtyards. In addition, the orientations of most *Tri Dharma* temples in this category are to sea directions - the Satya Dharma, Caow Eng Bio, Seng Hong Bio, and Ling Gwan Kiong - with a few of temples facing to main roads and far from the sea - the Cung Ling Bio and Zhong Yi Miao.

Besides some *Tri Dharma* temples' orientations were determined in accordance the pragmatic response as different geographical features than in China, other temples' orientations were determined based on the temples' historical backgrounds. This point will be returned to for further analysis in Chapter 7. Further, all of these temples' directions are also aligned to the position between the main gates and main building in one axial line, flanked with a pair of furnaces to burn holy papers. So, this is the most important directional aspect of a temple to be maintained, whatever the other compromises or variations.

6.3.3.2 Entrance Gateways

Most of *Tri Dharma* temples in this category also have a *pailou* gate with three bays in design. Each bay for all these gates is topped by roof in which the central bay has larger opening entrance than the side bays, and a taller roof either in one or two tiers. These *Tri Dharma* temples' *pailou* use bricks and concrete as the prevalent materials, and the colour schemes applied to these *pailou* gates are predominantly orange, red, and green. Such *pailou* gates also have variations in dimensions, roof designs, and ornaments (see Figure 79).

Amongst these *pailou* gates, only the Satya Dharma' *pailou* is designed to be accessible for large vehicles connecting to the temple's parking area, whereas the others are smaller and not designed for larger crowds of persons. On this point, the dimension of the Satya Dharma' *pailou* also seems to be designed so it is proportionate to the size of the site. The *pailou* within the Satya Dharma also has the

[89] Completed plans are in Appendix C.

most elaborate design in comparison with the others, that are designed with fewer Chinese traditional ornaments. In addition, only the Caow Eng Bio and Seng Hong Bio temples of the *Tri Dharma* temples have been designed with a pair of lion stone statues to the front sides of their main entrances.



Satya Dharma temple



Caow Eng Bio temple



Cung Ling Bio temple



Seng Hong Bio temple

Figure 79: The variations of pailou gateways in the second category
Source: Author (2019)

6.3.3.3 Furnaces



Caow Eng Bio temple



Seng Hong Bio temple



Cung Ling Bio temple

Figure 80: The variations of furnaces in the second category
Source: Author (2019)

The design of the furnaces to burn holy papers within the *Tri Dharma* temples in this category has a common shape, with octagonal plans and the adoption of the pagoda form. Bricks and concrete are the prevalent structural materials for these furnaces, with ornaments and roof tiles sculpted from cement. The diversity of these furnaces can be seen through their dimensions, heights, roof designs, ornaments, and colours (Figure 80). The dimension and heights of these furnaces are adjusted due to the dimension of the sites.

In other words, *Tri Dharma* temples with large site areas, like Satya Dharma, for instance, have their furnaces design with larger dimensions than those of the *Tri Dharma* temples with smaller site areas. These furnaces have been architecturally designed in pairs (for example, the Satya Dharma furnaces) (see Figure 81), except for in the Cung Ling Bio's and Zhong Yi Miao's temples that each only have one furnace designed with a one tier-roof and taking the form of tea pot. The variation of ornaments on these furnaces include painted and/or carved florals, leaves, Chinese coins, and scenes from nature.



Figure 81: A pair of furnaces within the Satya Dharma courtyard
Source: Author (2019)

6.3.3.4 Hindu-Balinese Shrines

Of the *Tri Dharma* temples in this category, only the Cao Fuk Miao and Satya Dharma have an established Hindu-Balinese shrine within the temple complex. The Satya Dharma has built a small compound of Hindu-Balinese temple buildings on a raised podium with a small *candi bentar,* flanked by a pair of Hindu-Balinese figures,

surrounded with fences, and consisting of two Hindu-Balinese shrines adopting a form of *tugu* and *padmasari* (a type of *padma* with one compartment and three podium levels) (see Figure 82). The *tugu* within this temple is a *pelinggih penunggun karang*, the same as the *tugu* within the Cao Fuk Miao, believed to supervise and guard the temple site, whereas the *padmasari* is the abode of the Sun God. Some Chinese incense jars are also used within this small Hindu-Balinese temple complex.



Figure 82: A Hindu-Balinese temple complex within the Satya Dharma
Source: Author (2019)

6.3.3.5 Deities' and Buddha's Shrines



Satya Dharma temple



Caow Eng Bio temple



Seng Hong Bio temple



Cung Ling Bio temple

Figure 83: The variations of deities' shrine in the second category
Source: Author (2019)

Most of the deities' shrines within these *Tri Dharma* temples are connected to an open hall that is raised on a podium and supported with round columns (Figure 83). The roof design variations of both the open hall and main buildings are half-gabled, hipped, and pyramid; also, they comprise one-, two-, or three-tiered roofs. Dragon mythical animals are also prevalent, seen on the curved ridge of the roof and eave corners. In addition to this, instead of using timbers and stones as used in Chinese temples in China, concrete is preferred to be used on the columns and roof structures for reasons of durability and lower cost[90]. From the open hall, the deities' shrines are slightly elevated, representing the most sacred area. The deities' altars may be built with separate walls (for example, the Cao Fuk Miao) or separate tables (such as the Caow Eng Bio) to distinguish the principal deity(s) in the centre and secondary deity(s) in either side of principal deity(s).

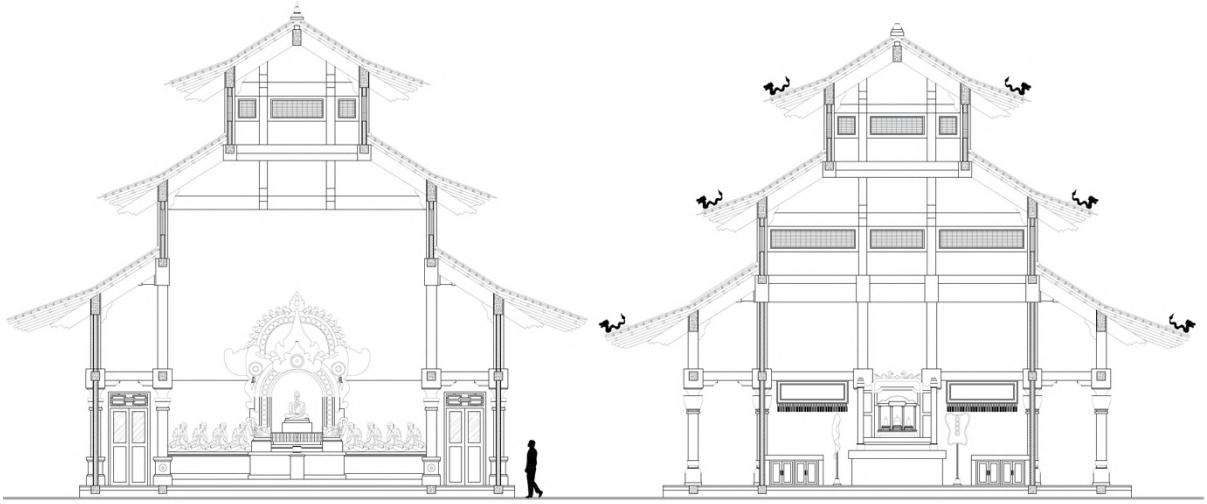


Figure 84: The section of Buddha and deities' shrines within the Zhong Yi Miao temple
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 85: The interior of Buddha (left) and deities' shrines (right) within the Zhong Yi Miao
Source: Author (2019)

[90] Personal communication with the *Tri Dharma* temples' representatives.

In addition, only the Caow Eng Bio and Zhong Yi Miao have established a Buddha's shrine designed separately next to the main building. By way of example, the Zhong Yi Miao has a Buddha's shrine side-by-side with the main building, designed with a three-tier hipped-roof, and the floor of both buildings are on the same level (Figure 84). These two buildings are distinguished by the roof ornaments and interior design (Figure 85). The main building uses mythical animals' ornaments on the roof corners, whereas the Buddha's shrine places two stupa statues on the rooftop. Moreover, the Buddha's shrine consists of a Buddha altar raised on a podium with a background wall made of grey sandstone and a hall, sufficiently large for congregation rituals. The main building is the abode of *Kwan Kong* as the main deity with a big altar table in the middle of interior main building to place offerings and ritual objects. Some Chinese features, such as Chinese lanterns and Chinese traditional textiles, are hung across the main building, as well as predominantly red and yellow painted colours on the walls and columns. In contrast, the Buddha's shrine has no Chinese traditional features, and the walls are painted in brown. In respect of this, the Caow Eng Bio's architecture is similar to that of Zhong Yi Miao.

6.3.3.6 Supporting Buildings

Supporting buildings within the *Tri Dharma* temples in this category are diverse in building types. These building types are pavilions, abbot's residences, toilets, storages, multipurpose halls, and kitchens. They have no Chinese traditional features in architectural design, except for the multipurpose halls. Most of the *Tri Dharma* temples have multipurpose halls that are used for most socio-cultural activities. Examples are the Caow Eng Bio and Seng Hong Bio multipurpose halls' architectural design. Both multipurpose halls have been designed with two tiered roofs and are on elevated podiums (see Figure 86). The former has slightly upturned eaves corners painted in yellow, whilst the latter has curved ridge roofs and Balinese traditional ornaments on eaves corners called *murda*.

Columns in these multipurpose halls are cylindrical and made of concrete, the same as the others temples' multipurpose halls; yet, only the Seng Hong Bio columns have embedded Chinese traditional mythical animals, and the others are plastered and painted. Further, only the Caow Eng Bio has established a pair of pavilions on both side of the main building, functioning as a waiting area and for preparing the offerings for rituals (see Figure 87).

These pavilions are square in plan, raised on podiums, the columns are concrete round, and designed with one tier pyramid roofs and upturned eaves corners depicting blue curly waves.



Figure 86: The multipurpose halls within the Caow Eng Bio (top) and Seng Hong Bio (bottom)
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 87: A pavilion within the Caow Eng Bio
Source: Author (2019)

Tri Dharma temples in this category were all established catering to religious and social activities of *Tri Dharma* adherents in particular areas or districts. The selection of the temples' sites and orientations was determined by conducting particular rituals to the main deity or by the position of the main roads or waterways. Most of these *Tri Dharma* temples were established in a single courtyard, although only some of their site forms are rectangular. The notion of symmetrical balance in all of temples is applied through the individual buildings' arrangement of the main altar, pavilions, and furnaces to burn holy papers, reinforced by the conception of axiality by placing the main entrance and main building in an axial line.

Further, the application of Chinese traditional elements onto these temple's individual buildings is diverse in dimension, colours, ornaments, and decorations. The dimensions of the individual buildings follow the dimensions of their sites. In this sense, Satya Dharma temple has largest site and individual buildings compared with the other *Tri Dharma* temples. The Satya Dharma also has the most elaborate ornaments. The community wealth and backgrounds are the factors for these temples' different architectural designs and their developments.

In addition to this, two *Tri Dharma* temples in this category - the Cao Fuk Miao and Satya Dharma - also establish Hindu-Balinese shrines within the temple, particularly to guard and oversee the temple complex. Such Hindu-Balinese shrines have followed Balinese traditional architecture precepts, although using Chinese traditional ritual objects of Chinese incense jars. The adoption of Hindu-Balinese shrines is related to the background of most Chinese community as Chinese-Balinese, their knowledge regarding Hindu-Balinese belief system and their architecture; also their particular locations. This point is discussed further in Chapter 7.

6.4 Tri Dharma Temples Designed According to Mixed Chinese and Balinese Traditional Architectures

The final category in this case studies chapter looks at an example of a *Tri Dharma* temple - the Oong Tay Jen - as the representative of mixed Chinese and Balinese traditional architecture, followed with significant architectural features in four other

temples in the same category – the Kwang Kong Bio, Kong Co Bio, Amurva Bhumi, and Ong Ya Kong. In this sense, the mixture of traditional architectures within these *Tri Dharma* temples is identified through the expression of spatial planning and architectural forms. Similar to the previous categories, the aim is not to provide complete accounts of each temple's history and architectural precedents. Instead, it emphasises the obtaining of salient information on these examples to establish their categorisation and, by extension, the basis for understanding the architecture of these *Tri Dharma* temples.

6.4.1 The Oong Tay Jen Temple



Figure 88: The location of Oong Tay Jen temple, at the front of Tukad Badung reservoir, Southern Denpasar city and surrounded by mangrove forest
Source: Modified from Google Earth (2020)

In South Denpasar, a *Tri Dharma* temple - the Oong Tay Jen otherwise known as Griya Kongco Dwipayana - appears to combine Chinese and Balinese traditional elements. From By Pass Sanur Road, a driveway with a free-standing sign of the temple's name in the south leads to this temple traversing the mangrove preservation forest of Denpasar city. This temple's site is at the front of Tukad Badung reservoir and is surrounded with mangrove forest in the east and south-east, a governmental building complex - the Ceramic Assessment and Application of

Technology Centre - in the north, and Candi Narmada Hindu-Balinese temple in the south-west (see Figure 88).

The initiators of the Oong Tay temple were a Hindu-Balinese priest couple called Atu Mangku Lanang and Atu Mangku Istri - Balinese terms referring to male and female Hindu-Balinese priests. Both are the offspring of Balinese parents and practise the Hindu-Balinese system of belief. Their intention to establish a *Tri Dharma* temple was initiated when they underwent spiritual experiences between 1987 and 1990. During these three years, they received instructions and clues from the main deity to discover an ancient inscription in a site called *alas mutig*. The main deity's name - Oong Tay Jen - is written on this ancient inscription and it is claimed by this Hindu-Balinese priest couple that this inscription was created as far back as the Qing dynasty (221 BC - 226 BC)[91].

Further, they explained that as they are blessed with the sixth sense, it is natural for them to be visited by spirits or deities and have spiritual experiences, and be mediums for them; however, they have no particular explanations for why a Chinese deity visited them. Since the finding of the ancient inscription, the main deity instructed them to establish a *Tri Dharma* temple on this site. Accordingly, the couple reported this finding to the *alas mutig* site supervisor from the Bali Provincial Forestry and Environmental Service Department, and they obtained a written legal permit to establish a *Tri Dharma* temple on the selected site.

Both Atu Mangku Lanang and Atu Mangku Istri have no in-depth knowledge of Chinese temples, but they knew of a few significant elements of Chinese traditional architecture in general, such as Chinese traditional colours and some ornaments. Therefore, their ideas to build all the altars and shrines within the Oong Tay Jen, including their types, locations, and orientations, relied on the main deity's spiritual messages and clues. By way of example, the main deity showed a vision of a Buddhist symbol of *pagoda* implicitly in a particular location within the temple compound to either Atu Mangku Lanang or Atu Mangku Istri.

Other visions were transcribed visually through ornaments and paintings, embedded on the deities' altars or individual buildings' walls. In contrast, Atu Mangku Lanang or

[91] Personal communication with Atu Mangku Lanang - the male Hindu-Balinese priest of the Oong Tay Jen.

Atu Mangku Istri initiated the design ideas for supporting buildings within the temple such as gateways, pavilions, storages, and others, to complete the temple's design and support the practice of rituals and rites. These ideas were developed from their basic knowledge of Chinese and Hindu-Balinese traditional architectures. Atu Mangku Lanang transcribed these ideas into sketch drawings and hired a Hindu-Balinese priest to generate building dimensions using the Balinese traditional approach (*sikut*) before giving them to a local contractor and sculptors to be converted and finalised in the form of construction drawings[92].

All of these ideas were generated and developed gradually. Oong Tay Jen's building construction was started in 1990 by erecting a main deity altar, a Buddha altar, and Hindu-Balinese shrines in the east, followed by other individual buildings in the west within the temple complex in the following years. Although the building construction was not completed until 1999, the Oong Tay Jen was opened for public from the beginning of construction.

During the temple's construction from 1990 to 1999, the local government representative warned *Atu Mangku* and his wife twice to take down the Chinese temple name board, as well as give up the practise of daily rituals and Chinese dragon dance performance. This was part of the assimilation policy of the New Order regime from 1965-1998 (as discussed in Section 2.5.3). Despite these warnings, they persistently opened the temple for public and led the daily rituals, and there were no more warnings or penalties from the local government. The reason for this presumably was because the assimilation policy was mostly exercised strictly in the Islamic majority regions like in Java, rather than Bali, where Hindu-Balinese belief systems predominate. This example of the political influence on temple practices and architecture will be returned to in Chapter 7.

The Oong Tay Jen occupies an 11-acre site divided into three courtyards. This divisions of courtyards are influenced by Balinese traditional layout principles - *Tri Mandala* (*utama*, *madya*, *nista*) (as explained in Section 3.3.1). From east to west within the Oong Tay Jen are *utama* (*jeroan)*, *madya* (*jaba tengah*), and *nista* (*jaba*

[92] Personal communication with Atu Mangku Lanang.

sisi) zones. Each zone is connected with gateways and comprises deities' shrines and supporting buildings (Figure 89).

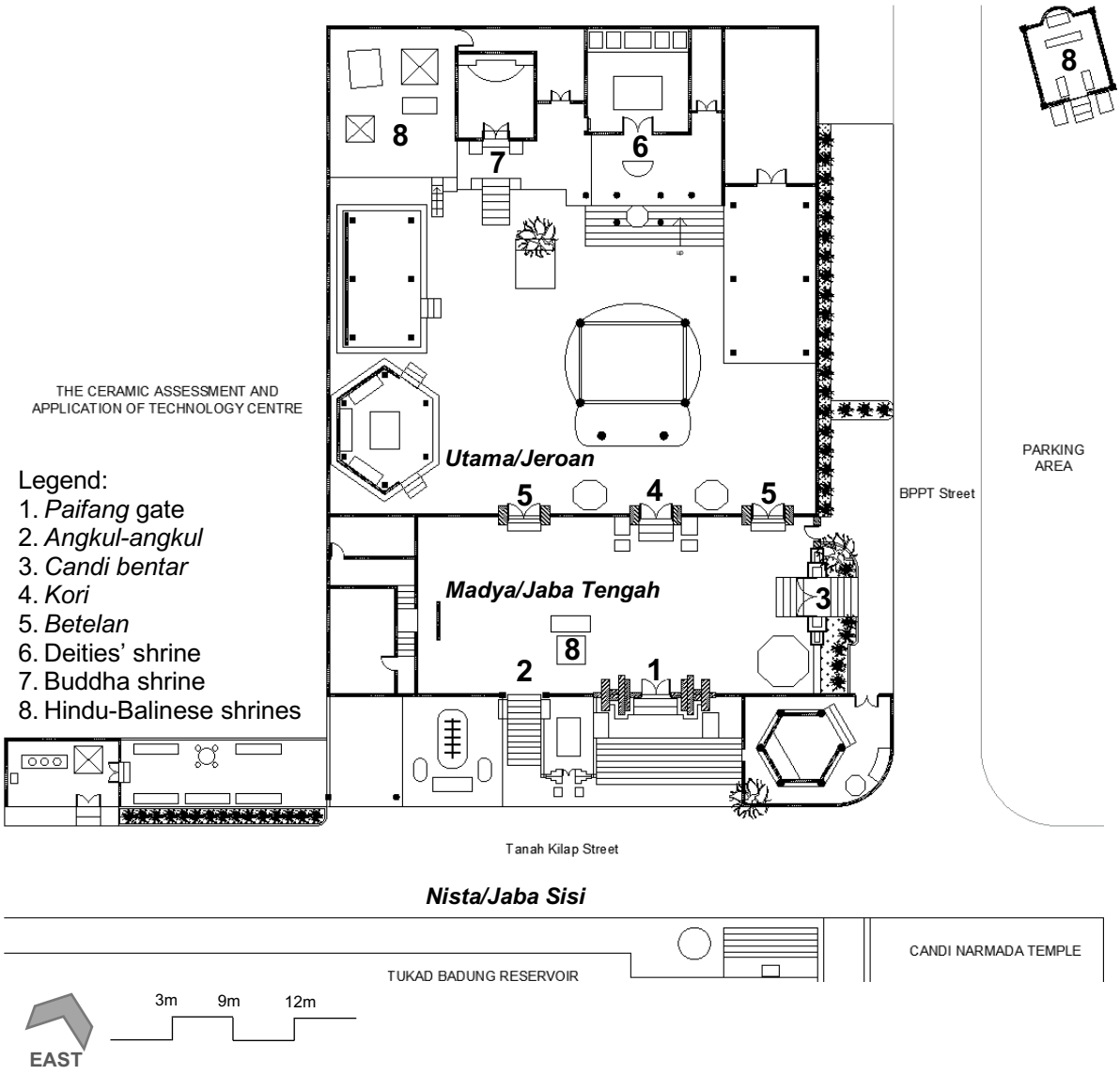


Figure 89: The Oong Tay Jen temple's layout
Source: Author (2019)

The *utama* zone encompasses Daoist deities' shrine, a Buddha's shrine, Hindu-Balinese shrines, pavilions, and storages. To the west is *madya* zone, connected with a side entrance from the parking area, and comprises a pagoda, a Hindu-Balinese shrine, and an abbot's residence. The *nista* zone is an outer area of the temple encompassing the main and side entrances, a garage, and some Daoist deities' altars.

Entry to the temple's site can be accessed from Tanah Kilap Street in the west via the main entrance (Figure 90). This main entrance is *paifang* in design, as it has single opening entrance. This Chinese traditional gate is covered with red ceramics on the walls and has a three-tiered concrete hipped-roof moulded in the form of terraces, and is painted in gold. Chinese traditional ornaments on this main entrance are a pair of Chinese lions on raised podiums at the front left and right sides, and a pair of mythical dragon animal chase a fireball on the rooftop. The door frame and leaves of the opening entrance are designed with Balinese traditional carved wood. This main entrance is also denotated by the addition of signage mounted on the top of the opening entrance. Next to the main entrance is a side entrance adopting the form of a Balinese traditional gate *angkul-angkul* (see Figure 91). This side entrance is usually used as an exit for the abbots and visitors.

Traditionally, *angkul-angkul* is designed in a raised podium with a one-tier hipped roof or solid stone roof, topped with thatch or clay tiles, using exposed brick or sandstone materials, as well as adopting Balinese traditional ornaments and decorative elements. However, the *angkul-angkul* design within the Oong Tay Jen is modified with plastered walls, painted in red and gold, and has lower red door leaves designed in the form of a stupa; representing Chinese traditional features.



Figure 90: The main entrance in the west of Oong Tay Jen temple
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 91: The side entrance in the west of Oong Tay Jen temple
Source: Author (2019)

In front of the main entrance are the dragon boat's and commander's altars erected on raised podiums (see Figure 92). The dragon boats' altar depicts a big dragon headed boat flanked by two small boats, with a concrete altar table set up at the front of these boats. Next to the dragon boat's altar is an enclosed wall altar for deification of a Chinese historic military person who is riding a horse with a small opening entrance, flanked by two soldier figures on raised podiums and stupa statues on the top of the fence's columns. To the left (west) side of the main entrance is another

altar of a historic military figure (the Gold Commander), designed in a form of enclosed pavilion with a furnace to burn holy papers built in this altar's front (Figure 93).



Figure 92: The dragon boat's altar (left) and the riding horse commander' altar (right)
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 93: The Gold Commander's altar within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)

To the east of *nista* zone is the *madya* zone (see Figure 94), the middle area within the temple that can be accessed from the parking area in the south via a *candi bentar* and a small side entrance (see Figures 95 and 96). From this south side, visitors can see signage of a Chinese temple and the *Tri Dharma* organisation's name along with Buddhist symbols of stupas, ornaments of dragon mythical animal and lotuses embedded in the fences (see Figure 97). The visitors usually enter the

small side entrance for the daily ritual, as the *candi bentar* only opens during particular rituals such as Chinese New Year, temple festival (*odalan*), and full moon festival. Instead of using exposed brick or sandstone materials, as applied in the Balinese traditional architecture, this *candi bentar* is plastered and painted in red and yellow. There are also mixtures of stupas and Balinese traditional ornaments of *kekarangan* and *pepalihan* in this *candi bentar*. Two elephant statues flank this *candi bentar*, representing deities' vehicles of the God Indra in Hinduism (Harshananda, 2002) and associated with Buddha's mental strength on the path toward enlightenment (Choskyi, 1988).

In Balinese traditional architecture, a *candi bentar* is designed on a raised podium and without door leaves in the opening entrance; however, the *candi bentar*'s opening entrance within the Oong Tay Jen is designed with a set of fabricated double swing trellis door leaves. Next to the *candi bentar* is a small side entrance designed with *pepatran* ornament on the top and steel trellis door leaves.

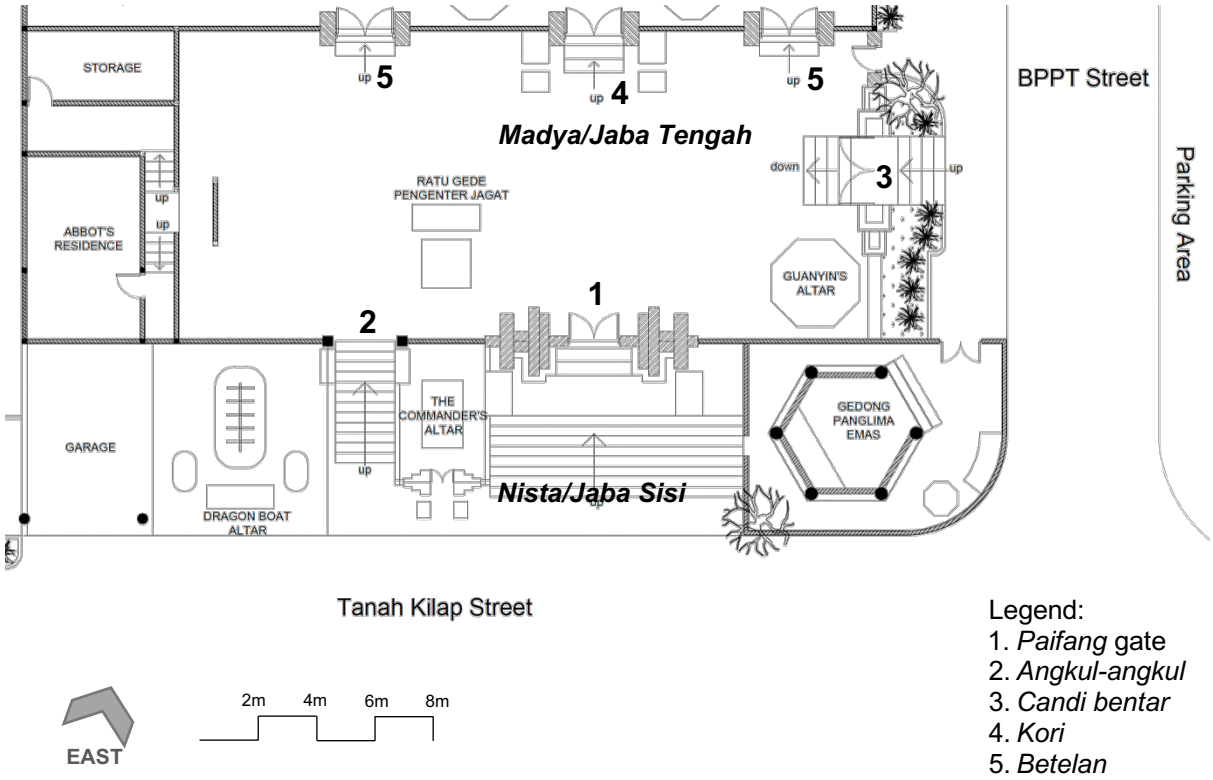


Figure 94: The nista and madya zones within Oong Tay Jen temple
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 95: The candi bentar in the south of Oong Tay Jen temple
Source: Author (2019)

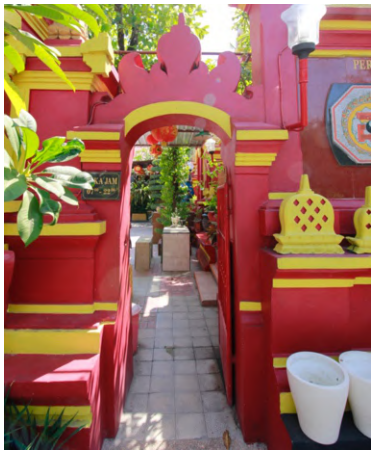


Figure 96: A small side entrance in the south of Oong Tay Jen temple
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 97: The south side fences within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)

The *madya* zone is surrounded with fences and connected with Balinese traditional gates of *kori* and *betelan* (a pair of side entrance flanking a *kori*) to the *utama* zone (Figures 98 and 99). These types of Balinese traditional gates are designed with concrete roofs and painted in red and yellow, and are also distinguished in size, height, and door leaves' design. The *kori* in the middle is bigger and taller than the *betelan*s and designed with *apit lawang*[93] shrines. A pair of Chinese figures, believed by Atu Mangku Lanang to be the God of the War's commanders' guards, are at the right and left front sides of the *kori*. On the top of *kori* are Buddhist symbols of sitting Buddhas and stupas. The *kori*'s opening entrance is designed with a Balinese traditional door frame and short wooden dual swing door leaves, taking the form of a stupa. For daily access from the *madya* zone to the *utama* zone, visitors use *betelan* gates, whereas the *kori* is used for the deities' gateway.





Figure 98: (L) The kori within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)
Figure 99: (R)The betelan within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)

[93] A Hindu-Balinese shrine in the form of *tugu* as the abode of *Bhatara Kalla* or *Ganapati* is usually built at the front of *kori* or *candi bentar*, or embedded in the *kori* and *candi bentar* walls.

In this *madya* zone, there is a Hindu-Balinese shrine - *pelinggih* Ratu Gede Pengenter Jagat and Ratu Mas Rajeg Bumi - a pagoda as the abode of the Guishan Guanyin of the Thousand Hands, and an abbot's residence. The Hindu-Balinese shrines adopts a form of *tugu* with an altar table in the front of shrine to place a Chinese incense jar, offerings, and ritual objects (Figure 100). A pagoda in the south-east within this temple is octagonal in plan with a roof of seven concrete tiers (Figure 101). It is raised on a lotus podium, supported with round concrete columns, painted in gold, and all sides of the octagonal walls are designed with carved glass on the windows and Balinese wooden carvings as ventilation holes. These carvings take a form of tendrils and flowers.

In the front of this pagoda is an arch-shaped table used to place a Chinese incense jar and offerings. In the north of *madya* zone is the abbot's residence built on an elevated podium and painted in yellow (see Figure 102). A short red and yellow wall designed with *pepatran* and flower ornaments in the front of this building is built as the partition to hide the kitchen area.





Figure 100: (L) The pelinggih within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)
Figure 101: (R)The pagoda within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 102: The abbot's residence within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)

The *Utama* zone as the most inner zone within the temple, comprises of deities' altars and some supporting buildings (Figure 103). In the most easterly part of the *utama* zone are a main building for the deities' shrine, a Buddha's shrine, and three Hindu-Balinese shrines, and storage (Figure 104). The front façade of the deities' shrine consists of a veranda supported with six round concrete columns; also, two round columns imitating yellow bamboo and four round columns designed with gold phoenix and dragon ornaments (Figure 105).

In the middle of the veranda is a crescent-shaped incense jar raised on a pagoda and a crescent-shaped altar table to place offerings and candles. There are also some statues around this veranda representing mythical animals of tiger, snake, monkey, and a pair of horses with lion heads.

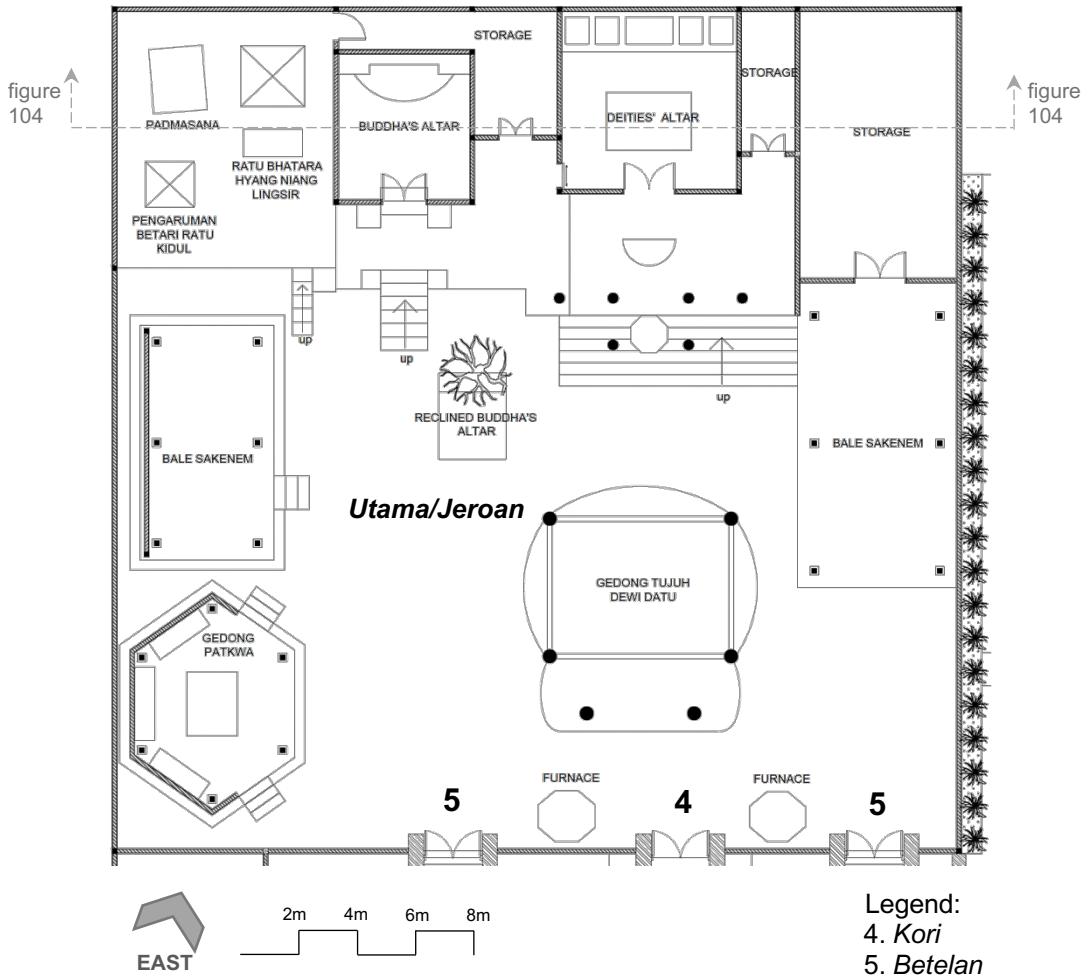


Figure 103: The utama zone within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)

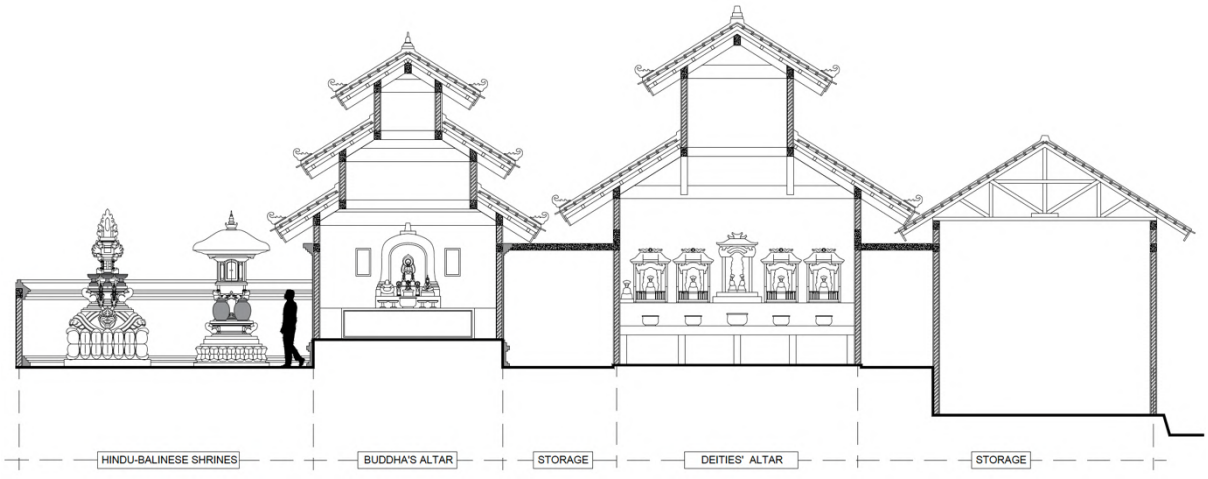


Figure 104: The deities' shrine, Buddha's shrine, and Hindu-Balinese shrines east section within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 105: The deities' shrine façade within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 106: The front wall of the deities' shrine within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)

On the front wall of the deities' altar is a three-dimensional painting, depicting a story of people sailing on the sea to reach the land (Figure 106). This painting is Atu Mangku Lanang's idea, adopting the Confucian philosophy that life is not easy: so that a human must give their best efforts in fulfilling their desires[94]. To either side, symmetrically arranged, are octagonal trellis windows and Chinese wisdom written on boards. The main opening entrance to this main deity's altar is curved in design with two swinging wooden door leaves painted in brown, and two signs with the temple's name are mounted on the top of the entrance opening.

Entering the building, the walls are covered with red ceramics, and the wall ventilations are designed in geometrics and *yin yang* symbols. Some Chinese traditional textiles and lanterns hang from the top of the exposed ceiling. There are multiple Daoist deities' altars raised on a podium within this building. The main deity

[94] Personal communication with Atu Mangku Lanang.

is placed in the centre, accompanied with other supporting deities at the right and left sides (Figure 107). These deities' altars are designed in the form of pavilions with mythical animals' ornaments painted in gold. In the front of these deities' altars is a long table to place incense jars, candles, and flowers, with some additional deities' altars occupying the compartments below this long table (Figure 108). A big wooden square altar table in the room's middle is used to place offerings and ritual objects. Under this altar table is a *yin yang* symbol within an octagonal form embedded in the floor (Figure 109). To the right (south) side of this room is a donation box and wall shelves used to place fortune papers (Figure 110).



Figure 107: The deities' altars within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 108: The deities' altar below the altar table within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 109: Yin Yang symbol under the altar table within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019



Figure 110: The donation box and wall shelves within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)

Adjacent to the main building is Buddha's building, designed with a three-tiered pyramidal roof (Figure 111). The Buddha's altar floor level was designed by Atu Mangku Lanang to be slightly higher than the main building, as he believes in the *Tri Dharma* belief system's nirvana where Buddha is higher in the hierarchy than the other deities in heaven. This altar's front façade shows two Balinese traditional wooden columns (*sesaka*) sitting on the round concrete bases supporting the veranda's roof. Five colours of the Buddhist flag (sapphire blue, white, red, yellow, and orange) are hung between these columns, representing the aura colours that emanated from Buddha's body as he achieved enlightenment (Padmakumara, 2018).

The exterior walls of Buddha's building are constructed of exposed bricks with some carving in form of lotus and Balinese traditional ornaments of *pepalihan* and *kekarangan*. The gold colour was chosen in the Buddha's exterior walls by Atu Mangku Lanang to emphasis Buddhist representation. The opening entrance is curved in a design with double layer frames - the outer frame is concrete, adopting the form of a stupa, and the inner frame and door leaves are designed with Balinese traditional wooden carvings. A pair of stupas and Buddha head statues flanks this opening entrance.

Entering the interior with yellow ceramic walls, a seated Buddha statue occupies a stupa on a raised podium altar (Figure 112). At front of the Buddha are Bodhisattva statues, ritual objects, an incense jar, candles, and offerings. To the left (north) side is a small wooden window with Balinese traditional features. Another Buddha figure, a reclined Buddha altar raised on a concrete podium, has also been established in the front of this Buddha's building. It is designed with a yellow ceramic altar table used to place a Chinese incense jar and offerings (Figure 113).





Figure 111: (L) The Buddha's shrine façade within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)
Figure 112: (R) The interior of Buddha's shrine within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 113: The Reclined Buddha altar within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)

Three Hindu-Balinese shrines to the north of Buddha's building are *pelinggih Pengaruman Betari Ratu Kidul*, *padmakencana*, and *Ratu Bhatara Hyang Niang Lingsir* (Figure 114). The *pelinggih Pengaruman Betari Ratu Kidul* is placed in the north facing south and adopts the form of *tugu*. It is the abode of the local Goddess of the South Sea, otherwise known as *Ratu Kidul,* and is associated with green colour.

Another Hindu-Balinese shrine is the *padma*. This shrine is placed in the east facing west and is classified as *padmakencana*. These two Hindu-Balinese shrines use sandstone as their main material. Next to the *padmakencana* is a Hindu-Balinese shrine for *Ratu Bhatara Hyang Niang Lingsir*. It adopts *gedong*, a roofed shrine with one compartment. This *gedong*'s compartment and roof structures follow Balinese traditional architecture precepts by using purified woods that have a good scent. In addition, some Chinese features in these shrines can be seen in the adoption of Chinese ingots as an incense jar and an altar table, and a deity name board written in Chinese.



Figure 114: The three Hindu-Balinese shrines of Pengaruman Betari Ratu Kidul (left), Padmakencana (middle), and Ratu Bhatara Hyang Niang Lingsir (right) within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)

Another deity altar in the *utama* zone within the Oong Tay Jen is an altar for the Seven Datu Goddess (see Figure 115). This deification of the Seven Datu Goddess is originally from the Hindu-Balinese system belief, in which Datu is a Balinese term meaning power. This altar is also usually visited by the Shivaist-Buddhist believers, as Shiva and Buddha's figures occupy this altar. The Seven Datu Goddess altar is in

a pond surrounded with walls and glass ornaments in the east, north and south sides. This altar is built at the front of the main building and is designed with a two-tiered concrete pyramidal roof with slightly uptilted eaves. On the top of the roof is a pagoda ornament with roof tiles representing a lotus pond. An altar table on the west side is used to place offerings and ritual objects (Figure 116). At the front of Seven Datu Goddess's altar is a pair of furnaces to burn holy papers (Figure 117). These furnaces adopt a form of pagoda with three-tiered roofs and are designed with Balinese traditional flower pattern as their ornament. The colours used in these furnaces are black, red, blue, green, and yellow.



Figure 115: The Seven Datu Goddess altar within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 116: An altar table in the west within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 117: The furnace in front of the Seven Datu Goddess altar within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)

There are also pavilions erected on raised podiums in the left (north) and right (south) sides of this *utama* courtyard. A pavilion in the south is an open rectangular pavilion designed with a hipped roof and supported with six round concrete columns. Several tables in the middle of the pavilion are used to prepare the offerings and a long cupboard at the left (south) side is used to store incenses, paper josses, and other ritual paraphernalia. In the north side are two Balinese traditional pavilions with hipped roofs and rectangular plans, called *bale sekenem* and *bale sakepat* (Figure 118). Their names derive from the number of columns - *bale sakenem* has six columns and *bale sakepat* has four columns.

In Balinese traditional architecture, both *bale sakenem* and *bale sakepat* within the Hindu-Balinese temple complex are also called *bale piyasan*, functioning as storage for ritual paraphernalia; however, their functions within the Ong Tay Jen temple are modified. The *bale sakenem* is used to store dance costumes and instruments, as well as having a wooden altar adopting a form of *pailou* with three bays. And the *bale sakepat* is occupied by some Daoist deities placed on a long altar table. The left and right sides of this *bale sakepat* are cupboards filled with Buddha, Boddhisattva, and pagoda statues. Further, despite these pavilions using stone and bricks on the

podium and walls as in Balinese traditional architecture, these podium and walls are painted in red and yellow to represent Chinese identity. In addition, the *bale sakepat* plan has also been altered into a hexagonal plan, adopting Chinese traditional architectural forms, instead of a rectangular plan that would follow Balinese traditional architecture precepts.



Figure 118: The bale sakenem (left) and bale sakepat (right) within the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)

The Ong Tay Jen has also some shrines outside these three courtyards. A Hindu-Balinese shrine in the southeast of the temple's site is claimed by Atu Mangku Lanang to have been there prior to the temple being established, and it is Atu Mangku Lanang's responsibility to maintain this shrine as this shrine adjacent to the Oong Tay Jen (Figure 119).



Figure 119: (L) The front façade Ratu Tu Guan altar adjacent to the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)

Figure 120: (R) The Ratu Tu Guan altar adopts tugu, adjacent to the Oong Tay Jen
Source: Author (2019)

This Hindu-Balinese shrine is the abode of Ratu Tu Guan altar, also known as Ratu Ayu Mas altar (Figure 120). It takes a form of a *tugu* made from sandstone material and has not been modified or altered since it was founded. Atu Mangku Lanang initiated building gateway, fences, and an altar table for this shrine. The front façade of this shrine shows an *angkul-angkul* gate flanked by a pair of Chinese lion stone statues on raised podiums. This *angkul-angkul* design is generally similar to the side entrance gate within the east of the temple; however, it is covered with red ceramic wall, the roof is painted in red and yellow, it uses two lotus ornaments on the rooftop and a *yin yang* symbol on the gate. The fences are also designed with lotus ornaments, Chinese coin, and Chinese ornaments; all painted in red and yellow.



Figure 121: The Sumur Tridatu (left) and Zao Jun Gong (right) altars
Source: Author (2019)

After the temple's construction finished in 2009, there were another temple re-development in 2017 and 2020, addressing more visions from the main deity. In 2017, the *Sumur Tridatu* (*Tridatu* Wells) and Zao Jun Gong altars were built in the north of the temple. These altars are placed in one area surrounded by short fences (Figure 121). The *Sumur Tridatu* altar consists of three wells with lids and incense jars in black, red, and yellow representing the three *Tridatu* Gods - Visnu (the keeper), Brahma (the creator), and Shiva (the destructor). Originally, Shiva is associated with white color; however, instead of using white colour on the lids and incense jar, Atu Mangku preferred adopting a yellow colour as he believes this colour is symbolic of Buddhism and has the same meaning as the white colour[95].

[95] Personal communication with Atu Mangku.

Next to the *Sumur Tridatu* altar is the Zao Jun Gong altar, also known as the God of Kitchen. It adopts a form of *tugu* made from sandstone materials with the deity statue occupying the compartment. The latest development of Oong Tay Jen temple was conducted in 2020 by erecting a rest area with numerous benches for visitors, a furnace to burn holy papers, and a small opening port in the west to conduct *fang sheng* ritual - a Chinese tradition to release animals, commonly fishes and birds, particularly in the Chinese New Year (Figure 122). The concrete furnace is designed in a round shape with ornaments depicting lotus on the top and fire around the fireplace hole.



Figure 122: The rest area (left) and an area to conduct fang sheng ritual (right)
Source: Author (2019)

6.4.2 Variations

The significant variations of mixture of Chinese and Balinese cultures within the *Tri Dharma* temples in this category can be identified mainly through their entrance gates, deities' shrine, Buddha's shrine, and Hindu-Balinese shrines, whilst the temple's layouts mostly show their pragmatic response towards the local geographical features. In the following paragraphs, their significant variations are discussed.

6.4.2.1 Spatial Planning

All the *Tri Dharma* temples in this category are established on asymmetrical sites due to the influence of their urban environment. Some examples of their site forms are displayed in Figure 123[96]. Each of these *Tri Dharma* temples' courtyards has a single courtyard, which is not always in the centre of the site or enclosed by

[96] Completed plans are in Appendix C.

buildings. These *Tri Dharma* temples also apply the axiality notion by placing the entrance gate and main building in one axial line to express monumentality. However, the requirement for a symmetrically balanced conception as applied in Chinese traditional architecture has not strictly been met, as the other individual buildings within the temple were built following the site form.

The most conspicuously contrasting principle in these *Tri Dharma* temples' layouts is their orientations. In this sense, the locations of these *Tri Dharma* temples are within urban landscapes with most having fulfilled the requirement to have the main road to the west of the temple.



Figure 123: The layout variations of Tri Dharma temples in the third category
Source: Author (2020)

6.4.2.2 Entrance Gateways

The other *Tri Dharma* temples in this category also adopt Balinese traditional gates as their entrances. The Kwan Kong Bio and Kong Co Bio, for instance, adopt a *kori* with some modifications on the ornaments. Similar to the *kori* in the Oong Tay Jen, the *kori* in the Kwan Kong Bio in Denpasar City is usually opened on particular rituals for welcoming all the deities into the temple. The visitors enter the temple's site via the main entrance with standing signage next to the *kori* (Figure 124). This *kori* within the Kwan Kong Bio is designed with three towers and one opening entrance in the middle. In the front of *kori* is a pair of dragon statues which flank a central stair.



Figure 124: The kori within Kwan Kong Bio temple in Denpasar city
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 125: The kori within Kong Co Bio temple in Tabanan regency
Source: Author (2019)

This pair of dragon statues is usually can be found on the main entrance's stairs connecting the *madya* zone to the *utama* zone within a Hindu-Balinese temple complex and traditionally symbolised a rainbow bridge for human towards the holy realm where deities settled (Paramadhyaksa, 2009). To either side, symmetrically arranged, is a pair of *apit lawang* shrines and a pair of red and black Chinese lion stone statues on raised podiums. Overall, this *kori* maintains its Balinese traditional features as can be seen through the use of exposed brick and sandstone materials. There are also a few ornaments on the top of the *kori* depicting Buddhist symbols of sitting Buddhas and stupas.

Another variation of *kori* can be seen in the Kong Co Bio temple in Tabanan Regency. The establishment of this *kori* was initiated by the local government in 1985 as a grant program in developing Indonesian worship building facilities. This *kori* is flatter, wider, and shorter than the *kori* in the Kwan Kong Bio (Figure 125). It is designed with three opening entrances and a few steps of stairs in the middle entrance. Balinese traditional ornaments embedded on Kwan Kong Bio's *kori* have a more elaborate design than the Kong Co Bio's *kori*, including several stupa statues on the top of the *kori*.

Other types of Balinese traditional gates are also adopted within the Amurva Bhumi in Gianyar Regency. From the parking area, visitors can see a *candi bentar* painted in red and white leading to the stairs towards the temple's site (Figure 126). This *candi bentar* seems like the mini version of a *candi bentar* within the Hindu-Balinese temple. There are also two *angkul-angkul* used as a main entrance and a side entrance. Each *angkul-angkul* comprises of a two-tiered roof with curved ridge and slightly upturned eaves on roof corners, and their opening entrances are flanked by Chinese lion stone statues. Despite these similar designs in general, their slight differences can be seen on their door frames and leaves.

The red wooden frame of the main entrance is designed with Balinese traditional wooden carving painted in gold (Figure 127). This main entrance has a pair of short iron door leaves on the outer side and a pair of plain wooden leaves on the inner side. Temple signage and Chinese lanterns are mounted on the top of this opening entrance, whilst the temple's side entrance is designed without door frames and use a different style of iron door leaves. A sandstone relief panel depicting floral patterns combined with stupas is embedded on the top of opening entrance. This side

entrance is also flanked by a pair of *Dharma Chakra* symbols, representing wheels of *Dharma* (Figure 128).





Figure 126: (L) The candi bentar at Amurva Bhumi's parking area
Source: Author (2019)
Figure 127: (R) The main entrance of Amurva Bhumi temple
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 128: The side entrance of Amurva Bhumi temple
Source: Author (2019)

6.4.2.3 Furnaces

The furnaces of *Tri Dharma* temples in this category also show variations in forms, sizes, ornaments, and colours (Figure 129). The Amurva Bhumi temple has the highest and most colourful furnace. It adopts a form of a pagoda with a three-tiered roof painted in red, yellow, blue, white, and orange. The furnace's ornaments comprise of lotuses and *patra mesir* patterns on the podium, flowers on the furnace walls, and a crown on the furnace's top.

Similarly, the Oong Ya Kong temple's furnace is a three-tiered concrete roof with a stupa ornament on the top painted in grey, red, and yellow. The Kwang Kong Bio and Kong Co Bio temples' furnaces both adopt the form of a water gourd on octagonal raised podiums painted in red, with Chinese coins' ornaments on the podium and a pavilion on the top furnace, respectively; however, unlike the Oong Tay Jen with a pair of furnaces, all of the other *Tri Dharma* temples in this category have a single furnace.

According to the representative of Kwan Kong Bio and Ong Ya Kong, their activity in burning papers joss is sufficiently accommodated solely by a single furnace[97]. It means that the efficient number of furnaces to accommodate their ritual activity is more important than the symmetrical balance of furnaces within the temple courtyard, which also suggests the pragmatism of Chinese temple designers, and may also account for compromises on other aspects of traditional temple design, for instance symmetrical balance of structures within a compound.

[97] Personal communication with the representatives of Kwan Kong Bio and Ong Ya Kong temples.



Figure 129: (from left to right) The furnaces withinthe Amurva Bhumi, Ong Ya Kong, Kwan Kong Bio, and Kong Co Bio
Source: Author (2019)

6.4.2.4 Hindu-Balinese Shrines

All the *Tri Dharma* temples in this category also adopt Hindu-Balinese shrines (*pelinggih*); however, despite the fact that these Hindu-Balinese shrines have followed Balinese traditional precepts in positions and orientations, they are varied in types and materials. By way of example, the Kwan Kong Bio has built Hindu-Balinese shrines in the front of *kori*, within the courtyard, and next to Buddha's shrine. In the front of *kori* and within the courtyard are Hindu-Balinese shrines in the form of *tugu*. Some modifications on these *tugu* can be seen on the podium bases that use red ceramic tiles, and an altar table in front of each *tugu* that adopts the form of a Balinese traditional podium painted in red (Figure 130).

The other Hindu-Balinese shrines next to Buddha's building are three *gedong* and a *padma* (categorized as *padmasaji*), using exposed bricks and sandstone materials (Figure 131). The podium on each *gedong* is extended and used as an altar table for placing Chinese incense jar and offerings.



Figure 130: The tugu within the Kwan Kong Bio' courtyard
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 131: The gedong (three figures from left) and padma (the most right) next to Buddha's shrine within the Kwan Kong Bio
Source: Author (2019)

Another example is the Amurva Bhumi, adopting a *tugu* form made from exposed bricks and placed at the parking area in front of the main entrance (see Figure 132).

Similarly, the Kong Co Bio also adopts a *tugu* form within the courtyard using sandstone materials and placing an altar table at the front of *tugu* (see Figure 133). These *tugu* are placed in these areas that are enclosed by fences or trees to separate the profane and sacred areas within the temple complex.



Figure 132: The tugu at the Amurva Bhumi's parking area (left) and front of the main entrance (right)
Source: Author (2019)

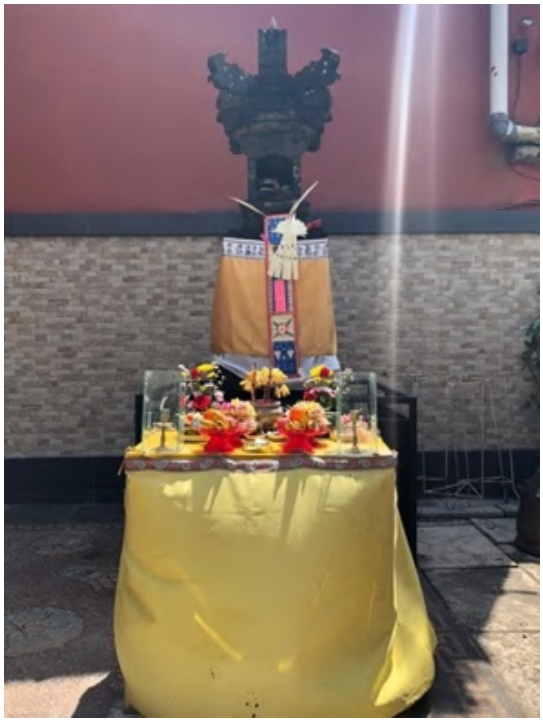


Figure 133: The tugu within the Kong Co Bio's courtyard
Source: Author (2019)

Whilst the examples of *Tri Dharma* temples mentioned above have adopted Hindu-Balinese shrines that are dispersed within the temple site, the Ong Ya Kong in Gianyar Regency has established a Hindu-Balinese temple complex within the courtyard, called *pamerajan* (Figure 134). In this sense, *pamerajan* refers to a family Hindu-Balinese temple complex built in the north-east within the Balinese traditional house compound (Gelebet, 1982, p. 120). The *pamerajan* within the Ong Ya Kong comprises Hindu-Balinese shrines of *tugu* and *gedong* forms with some podiums

covered with red ceramic tiles. One of these shrines is the abode of *Ratu Subandar*, a deity derived from the history of *subandar* or harbourmasters, as a result of long-established maritime trade between Chinese and Balinese (as noted in Section 2.3.4).

This shrine adopts a *gedong* form with a concrete roof and Balinese traditional ornament of *ikut celedu* on the ends of the roofs and a lamp on the rooftop (Figure 135). In the front of this *gedong* is a red ceramic altar table on a concrete raised podium supported with two wooden columns and topped with a zinc roof. This *pamerajan* was built at the same time as the main altar, as the temple's representative grandmother was the offspring of Chinese-Balinese parents and the intention was to build both religious sacred buildings to respect her ancestors and maintain both traditions and beliefs[98].





Figure 134: (L) The pamerajan within the Ong Ya Kong
Source: Author (2019)
Figure 135: (R) A pelinggih Ratu Subandar within the Ong Ya Kong's pamerajan
Source: Author (2019)

[98] Personal communication with the Ong Ya Kong temple representative.

6.4.2.5 Deities' and Buddha's Shrines

The variations of deities' shrine within this *Tri Dharma* temples' category can be identified through their roofs, columns, ornaments, materials, and colours. The Amurva Bhumi, Kong Co Bio, and Kwan Kong Bio, for instance, have Chinese traditional types of roofs, yet with differences in roof tier and curve of eaves on their roofs (Figure 136). The Amurva Bhumi deities' shrine has a single-tier roof, whilst the Kong Co Bio has a two-tiered roof. Both roofs are designed with slightly upturned eaves on roof corners and dragon mythical animal ornaments on the top.

In contrast, the deities' shrines within the Kwan Kong Bio have half-gabled roofs attached to a gable wall. Their eaves corners are not upturned, and the Chinese mythical ornaments are embedded on the gable wall. In addition, amongst these deities' shrines' variations, only the Kwan Kong Bio has square columns without mythical animals' ornaments embedded; whereas the others temples' columns are round and decorated with mythical animals' ornaments. The materials used in these individual buildings are generally concrete for the column and roof structures; wood for the common rafters, purlins, and fascia boards; plastered and painted walls in red and yellow. In respect to this, the Kong Co Bio also adopts a mixture of Balinese and Chinese traditional carved ornaments in sandstone materials applied on some exterior and interior walls.



Figure 136: The variations of deities' shrine within the Amurva Bhumi (left), Kwan Kong Bio (middle), and Kong Co Bio (right)
Source: Author (2019)

The Buddha's shrine variations in these temples' examples are that they are designed with a veranda and enclosed walls, except the Kwan Kong Bio Buddha's shrine that is built as a semi-open pavilion (Figure 137). The variations of columns in these Buddha's shrines are red round or brown square, and made from concrete.

Only the Kwan Kong Bio Buddha's altar embeds ornaments of dragon mythical animals and lotuses on the columns. The front façade within the Amurva Bhumi and Kong Co Bio Buddha's shrines shows the use of exposed brick and sandstone that is carved into *pepatran* and *kekarangan* patterns, also dragon mythical animals, lotuses, *dharma chakra*, and Buddha figures.

All of these interiors of Buddha's shrines are designed with raised podium altars, occupied by a sitting Buddha and spaces sufficient to conduct congregation rituals on regular or special occasions, such as *Vesak* (Buddha's birthday). In addition to this, the positions of these deities' and Buddha's shrines are mostly erected side-by-side at the same elevation. The Kwan Kong Bio is an exception, as the Buddha's shrine lies at the back of deities' shrine due to its site's form and limited space.



Figure 137: The variations of Buddha's shrine within the Amurva Bhumi (left), Kwan Kong Bio (middle), and Kong Co Bio (right)
Source: Author (2019)

6.4.2.6 Supporting Buildings

Some *Tri Dharma* temples in this category have also built supporting buildings to support their religious and socio-cultural activities. Their significant Chinese or Balinese features can be seen through their Chinese pavilions and Balinese traditional drum towers. As can be exemplified by the Amurva Bhumi and Kong Co Bio, these *Tri Dharma* temples built pavilions in octagonal form with Chinese traditional features of concrete upturned eaves on roof corners (Figure 138).



Figure 138: The pavilions within Amurva Bhumi (left) and Kong Co Bio (right) temples
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 139: The bale kulkul within Kwan Kong Bio temple
Source: Author (2019)

These pavilions are distinguished by size, columns, ornaments, and colours. The Amurva Bhumi's pavilion columns are octagonal, raised on podiums, and painted in red and yellow; whereas the Kong Co Bio pavilion's columns are round and painted in red. A Buddhist feature of a stupa can be seen on the rooftop of Kong Co Bio pavilion. In addition to this, a Balinese traditional tower, otherwise known as *bale kulkul*, is adopted into the Kwan Kong Bio. A wooden girder (*kulkul*) within this *bale kulkul* is usually sounded and beaten as a signal for the commencement of particular

temple ceremonies or rituals[99]. The materials used in this *bale kulkul* are mixtures of exposed brick and sandstone for the podium, and wood for columns and roof structures. There are a few modifications to this Balinese drum tower compared to a traditional Hindu-Balinese one, as it has adopted lotus ornaments and Chinese lion statues on the podium (Figure 139).

6.5 Chapter Summary

Each of the *Tri Dharma* temples in this category shows the mixture of Chinese and Balinese architectures, to varying degrees. The temples' layouts indicate a pragmatic response towards local geographic features by which waterways or main roads are used as layout orientation, instead of north-south orientation as in Chinese traditional precepts. These orientations were determined for these *Tri Dharma* temples either through the ritual practise of asking the main deity about the temple's appropriate orientations, or due to the site forms as the temple's locations are amidst urban environments. These *Tri Dharma* temples also maintained the concept of axiality by placing the deities' altar and main entrance in an axial line to generate the monumental expression of the temple as a sacred place; however, due to site forms and limited space, the individual buildings within the temple could not all be arranged in symmetrical balance. Moreover, only Oong Tay Jen temple comprises three courtyards and adopts the *Tri Mandala* notion, whereas the other temples have been established within single courtyard.

The Balinese traditional gates adopted by most of these *Tri Dharma* temples in this category are the most obvious elements visible from outside the temples, although there are some combinations of Chinese traditional colours and ornaments depicting Buddhist symbols, lotuses, and Chinese lions. Their front façades are significant architectural elements in *Tri Dharma* temples, to show their identity as Chinese temples and distinguish with Hindu-Balinese temples. The presence of Balinese traditional gates with a mixture of Chinese and Balinese cultures raises the questions of how the Hindu-Balinese sacred values embodied within these Balinese traditional

[99] For more detail on the use of *bale kulkul* in Balinese culture see Gantini (2020), *'Bale Kulkul' architecture as the Representation of Balinese Autonomy Tradition*.

gates are maintained, and how these have fused with Chinese traditional beliefs: this is discussed further in Chapter 7.

The other architectural combinations in some deities' and Buddha's shrines within the *Tri Dharma* temples revealed through the application of Balinese traditional ornaments of *pepalihan, pepatran* and *kekarangan* along with mythical animals and Buddhist symbols, either on the exterior or interior walls. In addition, some minor alterations also appear on the Hindu-Balinese shrines' podiums, which are painted in red or covered with ceramics. This means the alteration of Hindu-Balinese shrines has been undertaken on the less sacred sections of shrine buildings as considered by the Hindu-Balinese, referring to *asta kosala-kosali*.

As explained in Section 3.3.1, *asta kosala-kosali* values are focused on the balanced harmony between macrocosm and microcosm and implemented broadly from villages to buildings. In this sense, a Hindu-Balinese shrine is the manifestation of microcosm divided the building components into three division - *utama, madya, nista* - in which the less (impure) and most sacred (or pure) of shrine components are applied on the bottom and top of Hindu-Balinese shrine.

The ideas for negotiating these two cultures into *Tri Dharma* temple architectures are closely related to the backgrounds of the founder or designer and/or the Indonesian political issues in the past. In this sense, the socio-cultural, religious, and/or occupational backgrounds of each temple's founder or designer has contributed to this mixture between Chinese and Balinese cultures. The historical state's assimilation policy has also contributed to these *Tri Dharma* temple's identities, and this continues to this day. All of these points are discussed more fully in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

Building from Chapter 6, this chapter discusses the critical features of each category of *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali. Each category of *Tri Dharma* temples' sites, spatial planning, and architectural forms will be fully discussed within the broader socio-cultural and political contexts. The particular concern in this thesis project is to examine how both cultural elements are combined and implemented into *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali. This discussion chapter also includes the correlation between the *Tri Dharma* temples' establishment backgrounds and their users to understand their implications.

7.2 Siting Differences

As explored in Chapter 6, the three categories of *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali show clear differences in their siting. This section, therefore, presents an in-depth understanding on how and why these temples come to be sited, involving analysis in examining the application of Chinese traditional principles to different geographical situations.

7.2.1 Tri Dharma Temple within Hindu-Balinese Temple

As explored in Chapter 6, a Hindu-Balinese temple complex - the Batu Meringgit - was established by Shri Jaya Kasunu in the 11th century. It is written in the Batu Meringgit's historical text that Shri Jaya Kasunu received clues from a holy spirit to establish a Hindu-Balinese temple on this site, leading him to be a saint to obtain a peaceful life. In respect of Batu Meringgit's historical background and referring to the Hindu-Balinese temple categories explained in Section 3.3.2, the Batu Meringgit can be categorised as a *dhang kahyangan* temple - a temple built as a residence or worship place by or for the *dhang guru* (a Hindu-Balinese saint) during their religious journeys or to show respect to the *dhang guru*.

As the offspring from a Balinese father and a Chinese mother, Shri Jaya Kasunu also established the Kongco Batu Meringgit within Batu Meringgit temple compound.

On this point, the combination of practices of both Chinese and Hindu-Balinese belief systems within Batu Meringgit temple complex represented Shivaist-Buddhist.

Beratha (2007, 2014) asserts that the Chinese community have inhabited Pemuteran cultural village - the location of Batu Meringgit temple - since the 18th century, or for four to five generations. They have been using Kongco Batu Meringgit since before Indonesian independence. Currently, the Kongco Batu Meringgit is also not merely visited by the nearby communities, who are adherents of *Tri Dharma* and Balinese-Hinduism, but is also visited by broad communities across regencies in Bali, including Shivaist-Buddhist believers.

> *We have been living in this village for about four or more generations. I remembered when I was a kid, my grandfather and grandmother worked as merchants for several agricultural products, like carrots, cabbages, and peanuts. We and Chinese community from this village have also been using Kongco Batu Meringgit within the Batu Meringgit temple since a long time for practising our Chinese traditional rituals and rites, presumably before the Indonesian independence. We are appointed by the coordinator of cultural village and Hindu-Balinese society within this village to take care the Kongco Batu Meringgit. We have no objection with this responsibility because we practice our rituals and rites in the Kongco Batu Meringgit* (the coordinator of Chinese community in Pemuteran village, personal communication, 24 December 2019).

Given the historical background of Batu Meringgit temple, the presence of the Kongco Batu Meringgit within a Hindu-Balinese temple compound has the same historic connection with a *dhang guru's* religious journey who established Batu Meringgit Temple due to his practice of Shiva-Buddha belief[100], although it seems that the locating of Kongco Batu Meringgit is slightly different to the siting of the overall temple complex. Further, in reference to the re-discovery year of Batu Meringgit temple, the Chinese community presumably started worshipping here from the re-establishment of the temple.

[100] The parallel case of a Hindu-Balinese temple built according to an historical event can be also seen in Tanjung Sari temple, as explored in Chapter 3. The Tanjung Sari was built by a Hindu saint from Java - Empu Baradah - in the 11th Century as his residence and a worship place during his journey to Bali. Interestingly, a *pelinggih Ratu Subandar* was also established within Tanjung Sari temple, dedicated to the Chinese harbourmaster who existed at the beginning of the 19th Century as the powerful harbourmaster (*subandar*) in Padangbai port adjacent to the temple. This case shows an interesting difference between the siting of the overall temple complex - where a saint stopped on his journey - and the presence of the *subandar* shrine - because the place was also a port location.

7.2.2 Tri Dharma Temples Designed According to Chinese Traditional Architecture

All the *Tri Dharma* temples in this second category have been established not merely to cater the practice of the communities' religious belief, but also to hold some social activities, such as Sunday schools, wedding ceremonies, art and cultural development classes. This suggests that there is not a clear distinction between religious and secular activities amongst the Chinese community. Each of these *Tri Dharma* temples is mostly visited by nearby community, with some community coming from the other regencies, the wider urban area, and surrounding suburbs to practise their religious and socio-cultural activities. Thus, these temples are sited according to Chinese community needs, not Hindu-Balinese cosmology, or historical events.

There are specifically two clear reasons why the *Tri Dharma* temples in this category are situated on different kinds of sites. First, the Caow Eng Bio, Leeng Gwan Kiong, and Seng Hong Bio were built adjacent to the harbourside locations - Buleleng and Tanjung Benoa ports - by the Chinese sailor-traders and harbourmasters (*subandar*) between 16th to 19th Century[101]. These harbourside locations were suitable to establish a *Tri Dharma* temple dedicated to the Sea God or Goddess as a return service for helping the Chinese sailor-traders and harbourmasters arrive safely - sea voyages generally, as well their initial voyage from China to Bali - and have wealthy lives. In respect to this, the prominent roles of Chinese migrants in contributing and managing long-established trading relationships with the local rulers and/or the Dutch might also be an essential reason as to how and why these temples came to be sited. As explained in Section 2.2, due to this long-established relationship in maritime trade and commerce activities, the Chinese had privileges from the local rulers or the Dutch, who presented them with land or allowed Chinese people to establish a *Tri Dharma* temple.

[101] The Leeng Gwan Kiong was built, in 1873, adjacent to the Buleleng harbour by the Chinese sailor-traders from China to worship and respect the Sea God or Goddess for helping them arrive safely and have wealthy lives. A Chinese harbourmaster also built the Seng Hong Bio, another temple located 200 metres from the Leeng Gwan Kiong, in 1909. It was a small shrine as the abode of the main deity statue - Seng Hong Ya - brought by the Chinese harbourmaster from China. In 1945, two Chinese traders developed this temple as a return service after arrived safely at the Buleleng port from four months sailing. The Caow Eng Bio was also built in 1879 by the Hainanese merchants residing in the Tanjung Benoa, a peninsula in South Bali.

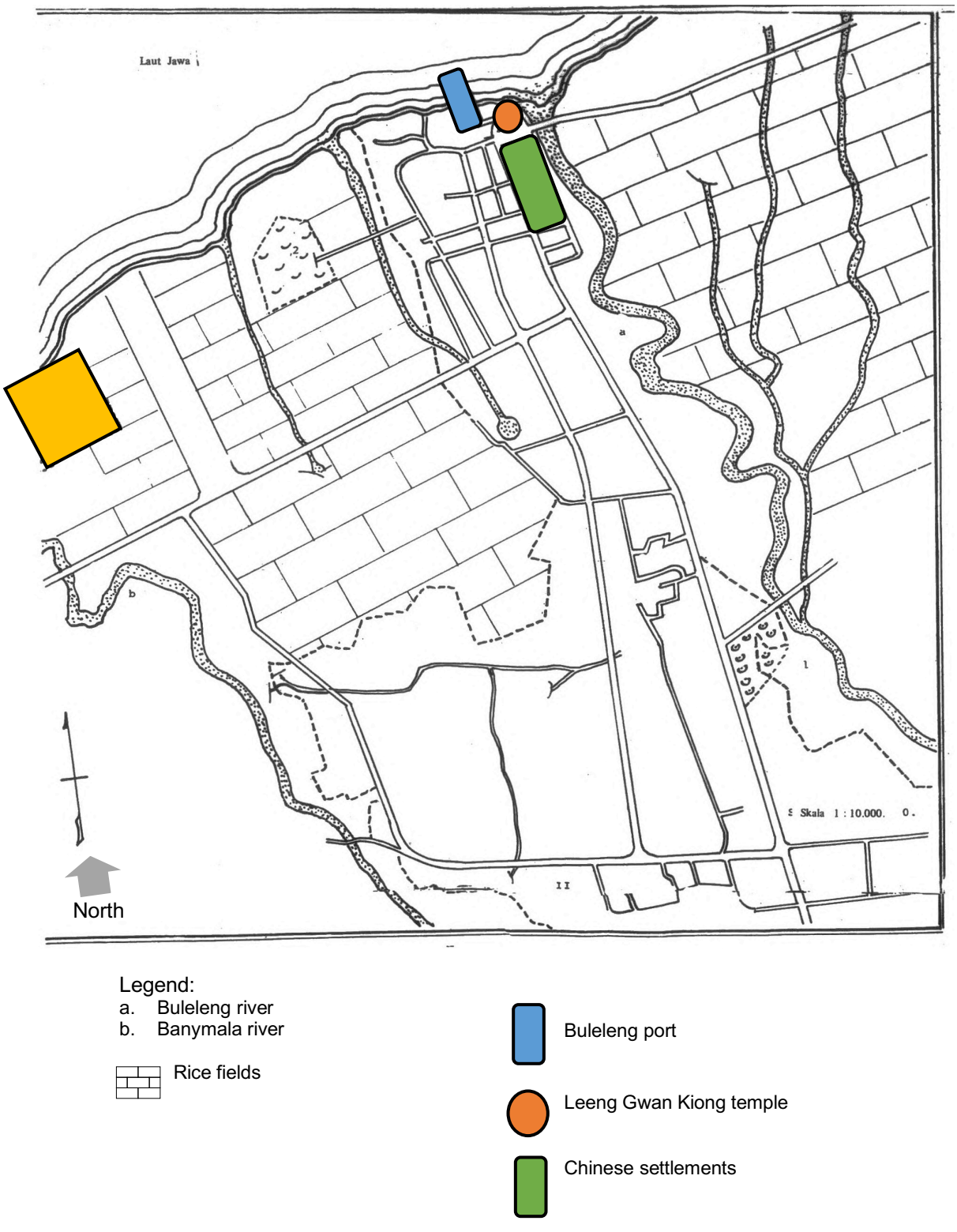


Figure 140: Mapping data on distribution of Chinese settlement in Buleleng port (adjacent to the Leeng Gwan Kiong) in 1962
Source: Agung et.al. (1984)

In addition to this, the significant populations of the Chinese around the harbourside locations (these locations were trading ports, so the Chinese were generally merchants of the goods being shipped in), can also be argued as a reason beyond Chinese sailor-traders and *subandar* having a temple. Salmon notes in the beginning of the 19th century that the Chinese population in Buleleng - particularly around the harbourside location - was already significant, as indicated by the presence of a temple and a Chinese cemetery.

Mapping data of Buleleng port and its surroundings in 1962 generated by Buleleng's Public Works Office shows that the Chinese settlements were concentrated near to the harbour and temple (Figure 140). To the present day, the Chinese settlements adjacent to ex-Buleleng port and *Tri Dharma* temples - the Leeng Gwan Kiong and Seng Hong Bio - remain and have developed into a China town (*pecinan*), mixed with the settlements of some local and other ethnic communities, such as Balinese, Javanese, Buginese, and others.

Salmon (2000) also notes that since the 16th Century, Tanjung Benoa (some 25 km to the south of Denpasar) became a significant harbour in South Bali, similar to the Padangbai and Buleleng harbours. By the 1870s and 1880s, Tanjung Benoa had been inhabited by majority Hainanese merchants' community, also with some Hokkiens, and few from Guangdong provinces (Jiaying, Guangzhou, Zengcheng, and Gaozhou). Evidence is seen on an old inscription within the Caow Eng Bio temple (less than 1 km from Tanjung Benoa port) with the temple's donors names written on it (Figure 141).



Figure 141: An old inscription within the Caow Eng Bio
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 142: Mapping data on distribution of Chinese settlement in Tanjung Benoa
Source: Modified from Google Map (2020)

Salmon's findings are echoed by Ongelina's (2014) observation on territoriality and multiethnic interaction in Tanjung Benoa in that the Chinese started to visit Tanjung Benoa around 16th century and they were the first ethnic community that settled in Tanjung Benoa, as indicated by the establishment of the Caow Eng Bio temple in 1546. The priest of the Caow Eng Bio temple also notes that three areas within the Tanjung Benoa village, adjacent to the temple and harbour, were the initially Chinese settlements. This correlation between temple locations and community concentrations is illustrated in a mapping data on distribution of the Chinese settlements in the Tanjung Benoa (Figure 142).

> *According to the elders, this temple (Caow Eng Bio) was built in 1546 as written on the ancient inscription place within the temple courtyard. The Chinese communities were the first ethnic group who inhabited Tanjung*

> *Benoa. Majority of them initially settled in the area of Banjar Panca Bhineka, Banjar Tengah, and Banjar Purwa Santhi, adjacent to the temple and harbour. However, today we cannot see where their settlements concentrated as many of them moved to other districts or cities or regencies. Also, many different ethnic groups have been settled in Tanjung Benoa and blended altogether* (the priest of Caow Eng Bio temple, personal communication, 2 January 2020).

Second, the establishment of the Cao Fuk Miao, Satya Dharma, and Cung Ling Bio were initiated by particular communities in order to have a nearby temple to worship a particular deity(s) and organise socio-cultural activities. Each Chinese community within these temples appointed its elders as knowledgeable members to suggest the temples' sites, according to the oral traditions in regard to Chinese geomancy and their personal experiences in visiting some Chinese temples (either in Indonesia or China). Whilst the siting of the Satya Dharma and Cung Ling Bio were determined according to the particular deity worshipped and the main road direction (to be discussed in Section 7.3.2), the elders of the Cao Fuk Miao suggested holding particular rituals, asking for guidance from the main deity to determine the Cao Fuk Miao temple's sites, because of the temple community faced difficulties in finding ideal and affordable sites.

In this sense, an ideal site must follow Chinese traditional geomancy and be orientated based on the main deity's instruction. Thus, the community considered finding affordable land and meeting the requirement on the temple's orientation that determined by the main deity[102].

Consequently, despite the site not meeting Chinese geomancy, the temple is still able to service large areas, as the members are dispersed in different areas. It means that this temple's site is quite conveniently located in relation to its community (easy to access by the temple's members) but not *ideally* located.

Further, each temple is located in accordance to the spatial hierarchies of traditional Balinese village; most importantly, a location in relation to each of the Three Cultural Temples of the village. By way of example, the Satya Dharma is established in the far south of the village adjacent to Pura Dalem, which is associated with the impure area (Figure 143). On this point, the desire to establish a *Tri Dharma* temple was

[102] Personal communication with the Cao Fuk Miao temple's representatives.

combined with a determination to not take more sites considered more sacred by Hindu-Balinese.

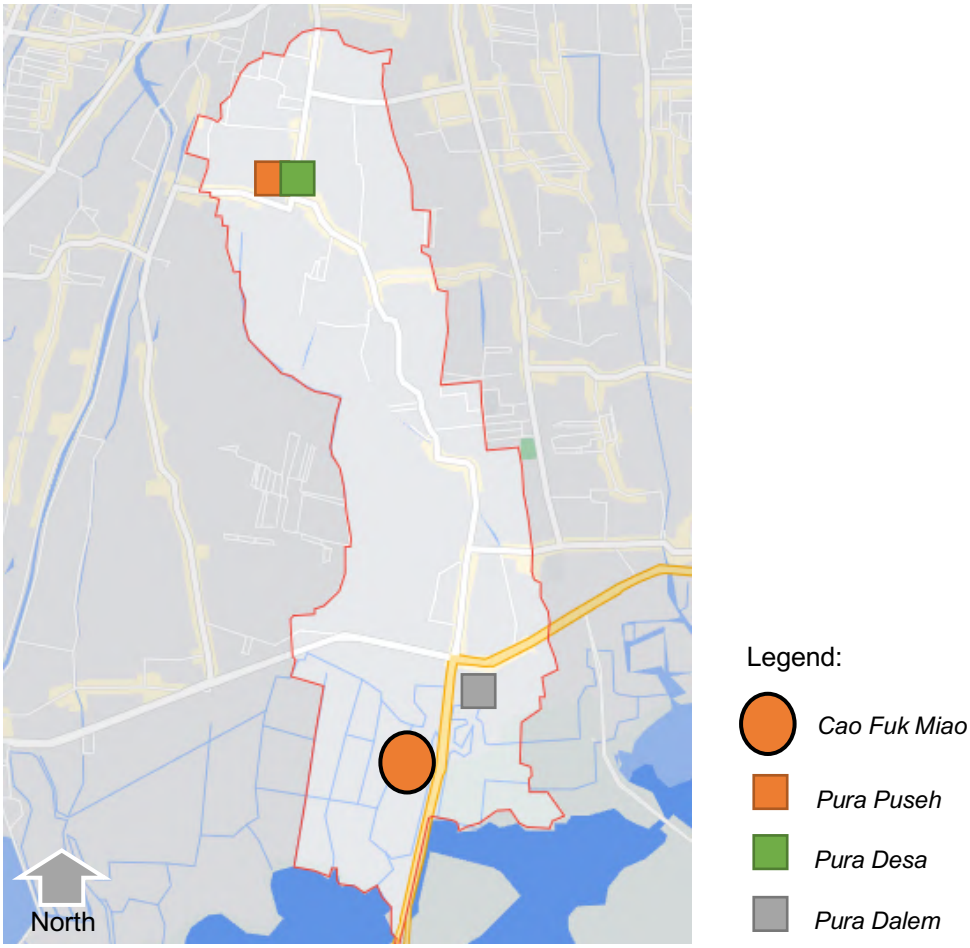


Figure 143: The position of Satya Dharma temple and the Three Cultural Villages Temples
Source: Modified from Google Map (2020)

7.2.3 Tri Dharma Temples Designed According to Mixed Chinese and Balinese Traditional Architectures

The background for the establishment of *Tri Dharma* temples in this third category is underpinned by a mixture of instigation processes and the proximity of surrounding communities of worshippers. In this sense, some of these temples - the Amurva Bhumi, Leeng Guan Bio, Kong Co Bio - were initiated by the communities in order to have a religious and socio-cultural place; others - the Oong Tay Jen, Kwan Kong Bio, and Ong Ya kong - were initiated individually, underpinned by the founder's spiritual experiences and lines of descent. Each of these temple's services the nearby community and surrounding suburbs' community, with some coming from other regencies in Bali.

By way of example, the Amurva Bhumi was built around the 19th century in proximity to the Chinese community of Blahbatuh that initiated the temple. Historically, Chinese people have been settled in Blahbatuh village since before the 1820s. As the temple's coordinator puts it:

> *According to the Chinese community's elders, Chinese people have presumably been lived in Blahbatuh Cultural Village before 1820s as evident of the oldest Chinese couple graveyards that they found at Chinese cemetery adjacent to the temple, written their year of death in 1875 and 1878. However, we have no clues when the temple was established* (the coordinator of Amurva Bhumi temple, personal communication, 30 December 2019).

In regards to the Chinese community member's obligations in Blahbatuh village, they do not have the same obligations as the local regarding their contribution to particular rituals or rites. For instance, while the Hindu-Balinese hold the temple's festivals and rituals, the Chinese community usually provide funds or help preparing the festivals. On this point, as mentioned in Section 2.3.1, the *awig-awig* (traditional customary laws and regulations) of cultural village governs Chinese obligations to be excluded from certain activities in regard of the relationship with the Hindu-Balinese God(s) (*parahyangan*), as they are not devout Hindu-Balinese. In this sense, their status within the broader Hindu-Balinese communities is understood as being guests (*tamiu*), distinguished by their rights and obligations as non-Hindu-Balinese.

This situation is parallel to the case of the Chinese community in Carangsari village explored in Section 2.3.1, in that their contributions as non-Hindu-Balinese involve renovating Hindu-Balinese shrines and the village's public meeting hall, as a service in return for the land given to them by the local ruler to set up their Chinese worship building and graveyard. In connection to this, despite the detailed historical background of the temple site being unknown, the coordinator of the Amurva Bhumi temple mentioned that the temple site, including a Chinese cemetery in the east of the temple, belongs to the Blahbatuh Royal family. Given the status of the Chinese community in Blahbatuh village, it is speculated that the Amurva Bhumi siting is due to Blahbatuh royal patronage as a result of a long-standing relationship between the local rulers and the Chinese community, in the pre-colonial period.

Whilst the status of Chinese community in Blahbatuh village is seen as 'other' by the broader Hindu-Balinese population, it is necessary to understand how this idea of 'otherness' influences the temple siting. The Amurva Bhumi site is established adjacent to the *Pura Dalem* and Balinese cemetery in the western direction (seaward). As explained in Section 3.3.2, the *Pura Dalem*, otherwise known as the Death Temple, is a part of the *kahyangan tiga*, the fundamental structure of cultural village temples. This temple is dedicated for Shiva and ideally located in the profane area (*nista angga*) in the seaward or western direction within the village, also usually adjacent to the Balinese cemetery (Figure 144).

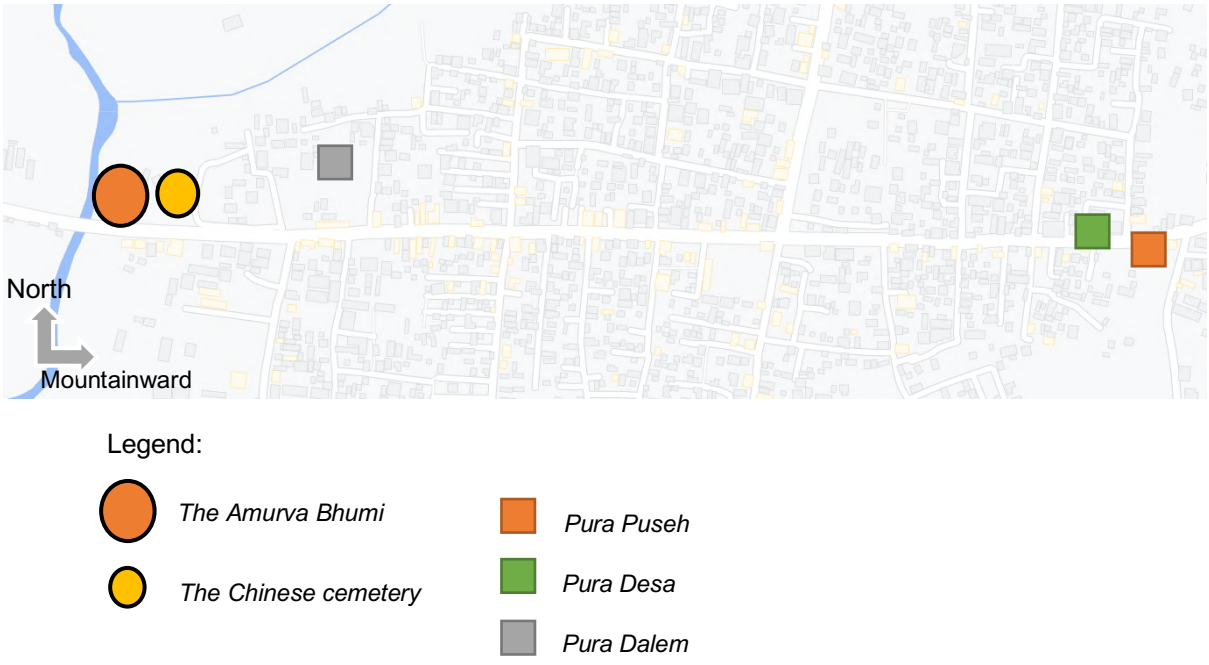


Figure 144: The location of Three Village Temples, the Amurva Bhumi, and Chinese cemetery
Source: Modified from Google Map (2020)

The Amurva Bhumi also lies on the edge of Petanu river[103], known as a sacred site by the Balinese. Rivers, in the Balinese culture, are believed the abode of local deities (McDaniel, 2020) and perceived as a source of life and purity, influenced by Indian culture (Ardana and Wijaya, 2017). McDaniel (2020, p. 12) also notes that the river has an essential meaning in Hindu-Balinese and Shivaist-Buddhist belief

[103] The Petanu River is one of the important rivers in Balinese history used for an irrigation system (*subak*) and a site for some heritage temples on the riverbanks. One of these heritage temples is the *Pura Goa Gajah* (the Elephant Cave Temple), reflecting Shivaist-Buddhist belief. This *Pura Goa Gajah* has two complexes: the Shiva relics in the north and Buddha relics in the south (Ardana and Wijaya, 2017, p. 82).

systems as the river provides holy water (*tirtha*). Therefore, many Hindu-Balinese temples are established on rivers' edges, and a well or a fountain (*beji*) is built to directly flow the water down from the river to be used for ritual activities. Based on Chinese cosmology, the Petanu River adjacent to the Chinese cemetery is also a sacred site suitable to establish a Chinese temple. This site has met the Chinese temple layout requirements, particularly as facing the river is believed to carry positive vibrations and ward against bad energies[104].

Given the composition of *kahyangan tiga* and the river direction within the Blahbatuh village, the selection of the temple site has considered both cultural and religious values. In this sense, despite the temple and cemetery being established in the profane zone according to Balinese traditional precepts, the river direction has the same sacred values in both cultures. The temple siting also seems to be the confluence of suitability for Chinese religious purposes, and a degree of integration into Hindu-Balinese society, as determined by where the local ruler has allowed them to build, despite the fact that the Hindu-Balinese and local ruler has accepted them to blend into the local environment and allowed them to express their original homeland culture. In other words, similar to the temple siting in the Section 7.2.2, the site was determined to cater to Chinese needs while not taking any sites considered more sacred by Hindu-Balinese.

To take another example, the Kong Co Bio siting was also determined considering the religious and socio-cultural services for the nearby community, as the temples' location lies close to the China town (*pecinan*) and has a significant Chinese community (Figure 145). The Kong Co Bio's site is also located in the border of the Three Village Temples' precinct. From the *feng shui* geomancy viewpoint, the main road of the Kong Co Bio is on the east instead of the west, following the site shape amidst urban landscapes. This indicates a pragmatic compromise due to local cultural and local geographical features.

[104] Personal communication with the coordinator of the Amurva Bhumi temple.

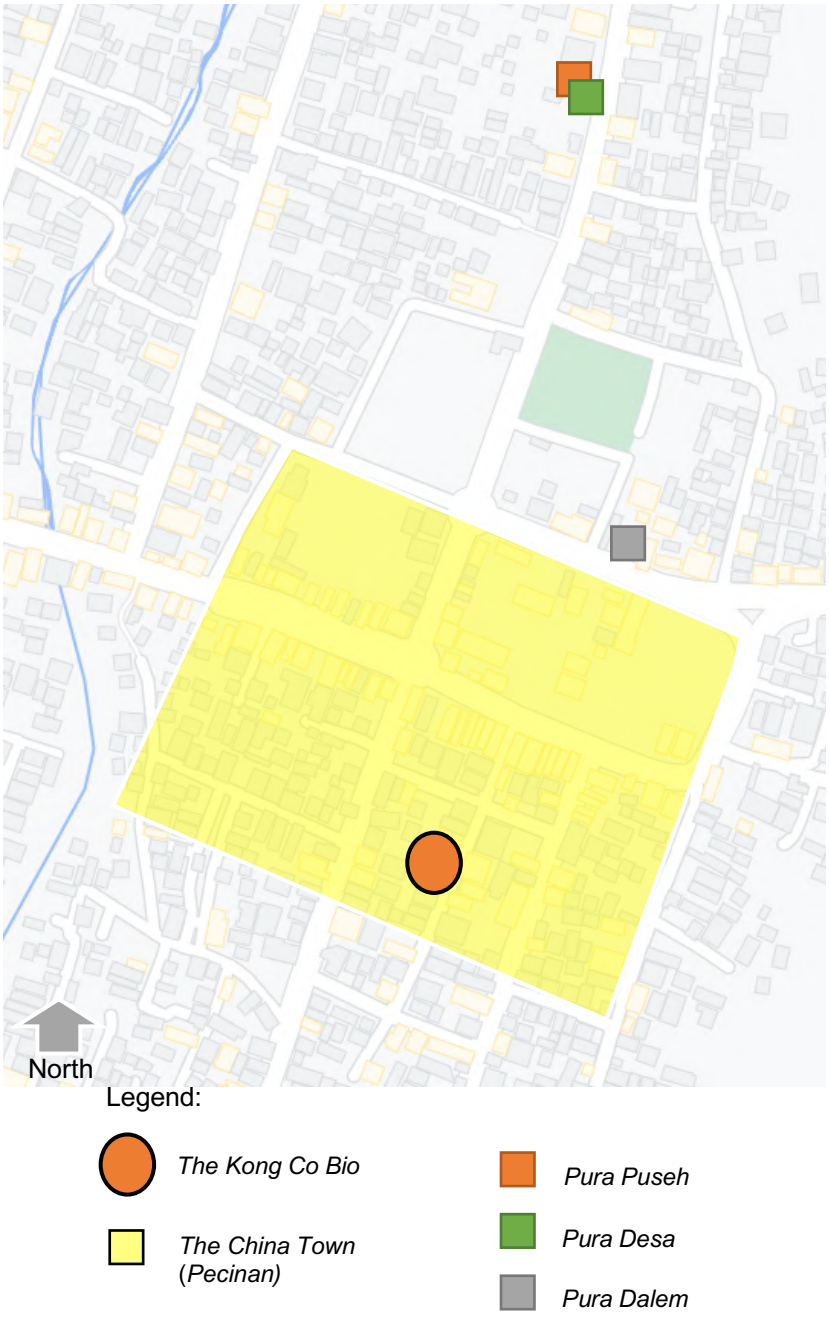


Figure 145: The position of Kong Co Bio temple and the Three Cultural Village Temples
Source: Modified from Google Map (2020)

The other temples within this category are initiated by individuals either for spiritual journey purposes or for continuing their religious predecessors' practices. The determination of siting of the Oong Tay Jen and Kwan Kong Bio temples involved the founders' spiritual experiences in curing their critical illness by following the main deity's clues and instructions. Beyond the founders' spiritual experiences and personal interest, these temples' sites have met the essential geomantic requirements of *feng shui*. Their sites are higher than the surrounded ground, not at

the ends of narrow roads, not oriented north-east or south-west, and with main roads to the west. In respect to this, their main deity's clues and instructions were used to substitute for consultation with a *feng shui* expert, as both the founders of Oong Tay Jen and Kwan Kong Bio temples are Hindu-Balinese priests and lack of *feng shui* knowledge, also they relied on oral traditions from other Chinese communities.

Furthermore, the Ong Ya Kong lies next to the founder's residence due to the temple being initially established as a family temple. This temple is also close to traditional markets as their predecessors were copra merchants. Although these temples were initially established by individuals for personal interests, the nearby community started to visit these temples and currently these temples service broad community. Similar to the Oong Tay Jen and Kwan Kong Bio, the Ong Ya Kong has also followed the principle of *feng shui* in its siting.

To summarise, the differences in siting of *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali in general have been determined by a number of factors: the religious historical journey conducted by a Shivaist-Buddhist saint, Chinese harbourmasters' and merchants' histories, also the instigation to cater to community needs and proximity to a significant population of worshippers. Their broader siting in relation to Hindu-Balinese temples and Balinese cultural villages also shows similarity in that their locations are on the borders of villages, reflecting the status and position of Chinese-Balinese community as 'the guest' who does not take the central territories or areas of 'the host'. Or in this sense, the locations of *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali could be analogous to being within the guest wing of a house.

7.3 Spatial Planning

A Chinese temple has its fundamental principles in spatial planning, underpinned by the local geographical characteristics and philosophical values (as explored in Section 3.2.2). The establishment of *Tri Dharma* temples amidst Bali's geographical features and Hindu-Balinese values raises critical questions about how these temples' layout principles have been implemented and negotiated. Are there any significant differences or similarities in their conceptions and practices between *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali? In the following sections, their implementations in each temple case are discussed.

7.3.1 Tri Dharma Temple within Hindu-Balinese Temple



Figure 146: The directions of Hindu-Balinese shrines and the Kongco Batu Meringgit within the inner courtyard of Batu Meringgit Temple
Source: Author (2020)

The Kongco Batu Meringgit is established in the inner courtyard (*jeroan*/*utama mandala*) within the Batu Meringgit temple compound. All of the most important Hindu-Balinese shrines (*pelinggih*) also lie within this inner courtyard and are erected along the *kaja* (mountainward) and the *kangin* (east) directions, whereas the Kongco Batu Meringgit is in the south-west (Figure 146).

As explained in Section 3.3.1, the construction of a Hindu-Balinese temple uses the nine cardinal orientations, otherwise known as *Dewata Nawa Sanga,* to determine the directions of individual buildings within the temple compound, particularly the Hindu-Balinese shrines (*pelinggih*). In this sense, the *kaja* (mountainward)*, kangin* (east), and *kaja-kangin* (north-east) directions within the inner courtyard are the most sacred directions where most of the Hindu-Balinese shrines have been erected.

The *kaja* (mountainward) and *kaja-kangin* (mountainward-east) directions have also a higher hierarchy level than the east, as they are believed to be the abode of the most important Hindu-Balinese deities. From the viewpoint of Hindu-Balinese temple layout principles, the position of the Kongco Batu Meringgit within the inner courtyard means it is lower in the hierarchy than the significant Hindu-Balinese shrines in the *kaja* (mountainward) and *kaja-kangin* (north-east) directions. This also indicates that the Hindu-Balinese shrines possess strict religious and belief values, thus maintaining their directions according to the nine cardinal orientations is required as part of an established identity.

From the viewpoint of Chinese temple layout principles, the Kongco Batu Meringgit met almost all the fundamental requirements, such as lying within the most sacred courtyard and being surrounded by wall enclosures. As noted by Jiang (2014), the northernmost or deeper courtyard in the Chinese layout planning essentially functions as sacred or private activities; although in this sense, coming from different cosmological ideas about orientation, by which in this case Chinese adherence to north-south relating to *feng shui*/Chinese geography/Chinese imperial hierarchy has been overlaid on Balinese belief in *kaja-kelod*, which (as this temple is in South Bali), equates to north-south. However, the Kongco Batu Meringgit has not met the concept of axiality due to following Hindu-Balinese temple layout planning. It is argued that there is an analogy with the broader siting of *Tri Dharma* temples in Balinese village as discussed above, yet at a smaller scale, in which the Kongco Batu Meringgit has deferred to the Hindu-Balinese host by not taking the most sacred location in the deeper courtyard within Batu Meringgit temple. So, although a Chinese shrine cannot take any Hindu-Balinese shrine's positions, this seems a better relative position than the broader siting of *Tri Dharma* temples being near the *Pura Dalem* in a village.

7.3.2 Tri Dharma Temples Designed According to Chinese Traditional Architecture

In the second category, all of *Tri Dharma* temples have followed the Chinese temple layout principles, though they have not met all the fundamental requirements, which implies these requirements might not be so fundamental. In this sense, these temples are not all in north-south orientation for different reasons. First, as in the Cao Fuk Miao, the temple's orientation was determined by the main deity's instructions and clues through a Chinese traditional ritual of *Sio Poe*[105]. This ritual was conducted mainly to obtain the main deity's consent in considering the temple's site and/or the main deity's altar orientation.

Second, some temples face the sea to worship the Sea God, for instance, the Caow Eng Bio, Ling Gwan Kiong, Seng Hong Bio, and Satya Dharma temples. The sea is the most suspicious direction, particularly for Chinese maritime traders and

[105] Personal communication with the representation of Cao Fuk Miao temple.

harbourmasters in Bali during the pre-colonial times and for those who worshipped the Sea God or Goddess.

Third, the Cung Ling Bio's main road direction influenced the temple's orientation, which met the requirement that a Chinese temple must have the main roads on the west. It can be argued that whilst the west direction is significant in Chinese geomancy, the main road orientation is also essentially pragmatic because this direction is the convenient direction for visitor accessibility.

As explained in Section 3.2.2, the axial planning in a Chinese temple layout derives from the concept of the north-south orientation. Philosophically, this concept conveys a spatial hierarchy; practically, it divides the space and territory within the temple into symmetrical balance. In connection to this, despite all the *Tri Dharma* temples not being in a north-south orientation, the main altars mostly established in a central axis alignment with the main entrances, reflecting a high respect from the worshippers to the main deity who is residing in the most sacred or important building, and expressing a sense of monumentality as this God occupies the temple.

Further, the symmetrically balanced formation generated from this axial planning has been implemented within most *Tri Dharma* temples by placing a pair of furnaces to burn holy papers and/or pavilions to the front right and left of the main altar, whereas the other less important buildings - the kitchen, multipurpose hall, priest bedrooms, storages, and toilets - have been constructed not in symmetrical formation, but following the shape of the existing sites.

Although these *Tri Dharma* temples adhere the Chinese layout principles by placing the other less important buildings in either side of the most important buildings within a courtyard, the central axis within these temples indicates that the internal axial relationship is more important than overall north-south orientation.

These *Tri Dharma* temples' layouts followed the existing site due to their locations within the urban landscape; they were also developed according to the growth of community, community's demands, and available funds. The Cao Fuk Miao, Cung Ling Bio, Satya Dharma, Zhong Yi Miao are all examples of this. These temples have limited space, and required expanding and purchasing of extra space or additional sites to build or develop further individual buildings within their courtyards to accommodate their particular religious or socio-cultural activities. These temples'

communities also lacked funds to defray the building construction process; thus, they decided to focus the early stage of the spatial planning on the construction of the most important elements of the temples, such as the main altars, furnaces to burn holy papers, main gates, and fences. In addition to this, the community never had a finished draft of the layout planning as their planning has been incremental. Thus, the existing symmetry or balance of composition on their whole sites have changed over time due to expanding their land and adding of more individual buildings.

All of these *Tri Dharma* temples' layouts are generally designed following Chinese traditional layout principles; however, the Cao Fuk Miao and Satya Dharma show Balinese traditional influence by erecting Hindu-Balinese shrines within their courtyards. Whilst the Cao Fuk Miao built a single *pelinggih penunggun* karang within its courtyard, the Satya Dharma has a *pelinggih penunggun karang* along with a *padmasari* for the abode of the Sun God (in Hindu-Balinese belief system) within a small Hindu-Balinese temple complex.

From the Chinese belief system's viewpoint, there is an official veneration of the spirits of the sun in the morning (Boone, 1852; Parker 1905), representing *yang* with its bright side and qualities (Teiser, 2002). Accordingly, the building of a *padmasari* in the east of the temple courtyard seems to have a close connection to the temple's orientation to the sea in the east, where the sun rises. Further, *pelinggih penunggun karang* within these temples were built as the Chinese-Balinese associate this Hindu-Balinese shrine as the God of the Earth.

In Chinese belief system, the Earth God is a Daoist deity also known as Tudigong - a tutelary deity - carrying the main function of protecting the living from inauspicious spirits (Lee, 2003). The *pelinggih penunggun karang* is also believed by Chinese-Balinese to be able to protect the site and individual buildings within the temple complex from bad energies/evils/intentions (the same belief as the Hindu-Balinese). Both the positions and orientations of *pelinggih penunggun karang* and *padmasari* within these temple courtyards have followed the Balinese traditional precepts. The presence of Hindu-Balinese shrines within a few of the *Tri Dharma* temples in this category, indicates the cultural consciousness of Chinese communities as having Chinese-Balinese descent, and a religious consciousness in regard of having a compatible belief system with the Hindu-Balinese, as well as a definite process of appeasing local gods.

7.3.3 Tri Dharma Temples Designed According to Mixed Chinese and Balinese Traditional Architectures

The *Tri Dharma* temples in this third category - the Ong Ya Kong, the Kwan Kong Bio, and the Kongco Bio - mostly face the main roads' directions, and the Oong Tay Jen and Amurva Bhumi face waterways. Ideally, the directions of the main roads and waterways according to the *feng shui* geomancy are in the west and south. On this point, while the main roads' directions are considered as the main access to the site, as well as expressing the axial planning between the main gate and main altar, waterways in both Chinese and Balinese cultures are associated in similar ways, despite their distinctive cosmo-geographical directions (see Figures 147 and 148).

In Chinese culture, a lake or river view in the south is an important cosmo-geographical direction believed to protect the site against evil forces. Similarly, a river in the Balinese culture is believed to be the abode of the deity, and the source of life and purification; producing holy waters from the mountain flowing to the river. In this sense, Bali's centralised cosmo-geography in Balinese culture is orientated towards *Gunung Agung* (Agung Mountain), believed as the most sacred direction.

The waterways-facing direction of these *Tri Dharma temples* implies that, despite Bali having different cosmo-geographical features from China, local nearby waterways are adopted to substitute for a Chinese lake orientation, suggesting a pragmatic adaptation.

However, beyond this pragmatic adaptation, it is argued the siting in these non-ideal orientations indicates that they had to negotiate with Hindu-Balinese to establish sites due to accepting their Chinese status as 'the guest' within the broad Hindu-Balinese environment ('the host').

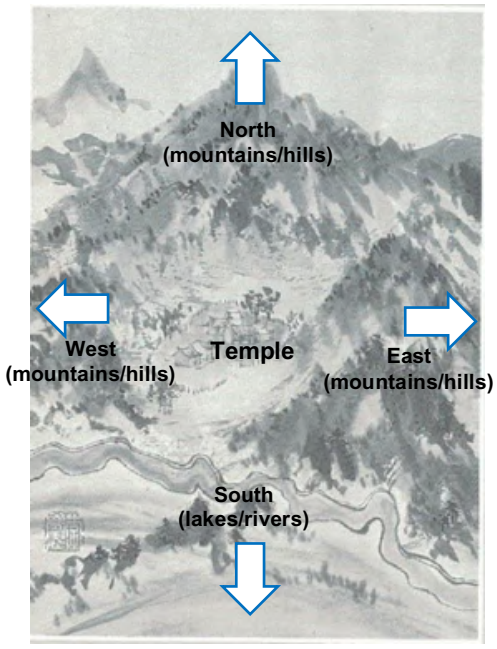


Figure 147: The Chinese traditional cosmo-geographical directions
Source: Modified from Lip (1987)

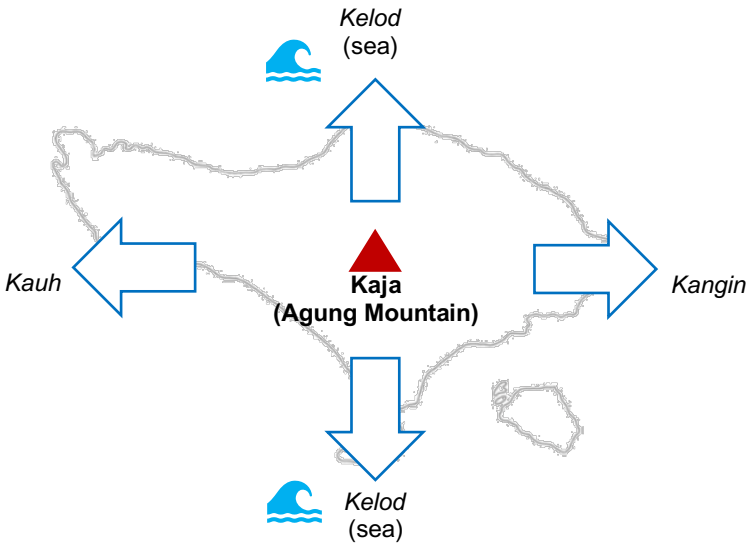


Figure 148: The Balinese traditional cosmo-geographical directions
Source: Author (2019)

The incremental growth of some *Tri Dharma* temples - the Oong Tay Jen, the Kwang Kong Bio, the Kong Co Bio - contributed to the asymmetrical formation in their spatial planning. Similar to the second category, these temples did not have a finished layout planned prior to the temples being constructed. These temples also developed according to available funds to defray extra land and/or construction processes. However, despite these temples being been developed without any original plans, the sacred value of the axial line between the main

altar and main entrance has been maintained, indicating again that the internal axial relationship is more important in value than overall north-south orientation.

The presence of Hindu-Balinese shrines within these *Tri Dharma* temples' layouts is diverse in positions and types, and in general have followed Balinese traditional precepts. The Oong Tay Jen and Kwan Kong Bio temples have established some variations of Hindu-Balinese shrines within the inner, middle, and outer courtyards. The Amurva Bhumi and Kongco Bio erected a *pelinggih penunggun karang* within the front courtyard, and the Ong Ya Kong built a *pamerajan* within the inner courtyard. The variations of these Hindu-Balinese shrines within each *Tri Dharma* temples have been determined according to the founders and communities' backgrounds and knowledge in Hindu-Balinese culture.

The Oong Tay Jen and Kwan Kong Bio, for instance, were each established by Hindu-Balinese priests. Their advanced knowledge of Hindu-Balinese temples assisted them in interpreting the main deity's instructions to establish Hindu-Balinese shrines within the Tri Dharma temple. To take another example, the Amurva Bhumi has *pelinggih penunggun karang* that is also prevalent its community members' residences and Hindu-Balinese residences. The Amurva Bhumi community is mostly the offspring of Chinese-Balinese parents and have fundamental knowledge in regards to the importance of a *pelinggih penunggun karang* to protect their house or temple from bad evils or spirits. Moreover, as explained previously, the *pelinggih penunggun karang* has compatibilities in function and meaning in both Chinese and Hindu-Balinese belief systems.

Finally, the *pamerajan* in the Ong Ya Kong was built at the same time as the Chinese main altar by a Chinese-Balinese family's descendant to respect their ancestors and maintain both Chinese and Balinese traditions and belief systems. The Ong Ya Kong neighbourhood is also surrounded by majority Hindu-Balinese residences with a *pamerajan* within their courtyards. The presence of a *pamerajan* within the Ong Ya Kong seems is also a connection with the prevalent situation in surrounding environment, which also initiated the Chinese-Balinese family's descendant to establish a *pamerajan* within the family courtyard.

In summary, the different levels of knowledge between the founders and Chinese communities, in regard to Hindu-Balinese culture, has influenced the

determination and intention to establish particular types of Hindu-Balinese shrines. The relationship between the Chinese and Hindu-Balinese communities around the temple has also become a significant influence. In this sense, the Hindu-Balinese have recognised the Chinese-Balinese intention in presenting Hindu-Balinese shrines within their Tri Dharma temple as their shared characteristic between Chinese and Hindu-Balinese belief systems. The Chinese-Balinese also aware of the importance of respecting their Chinese-Balinese predecessors in continuing their practice of traditions and cultures by presenting Hindu-Balinese shrines side-by-side with Chinese shrines within a temple courtyard. In addition to this, it seems the intention to present Hindu-Balinese shrines within the temple's courtyard was also accompanied by a process of mimicking the prevalent cultural features in their surroundings, yet one that is applicable to Chinese-Balinese belief and tradition, suggesting a definite process to be accepted into local culture and society.

As most of *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali are situated within urban landscapes, these landscapes have influenced the implementation of Chinese temple layout principles. In this sense, adapting Chinese orientations to the different cosmo-geographical features of Bali led to pragmatic responses and compromises, by orientating the *Tri Dharma* temples to the waterways or main roads. Moreover, due to limited space, the internal axiality within these *Tri Dharma* temples is more essential than the north-south orientation. In addition to this, having different cultural elements of either a Hindu-Balinese shrine in the corner of an otherwise architecturally Chinese temple or the Hindu-Balinese temple with a small Chinese shrine in the corner provides a contrasting visual appearance (architecturally). This is because the small (minority) elements/culture overlaid on the dominant (majority) elements/culture assert a difference (even if it is only a slight difference), implying that these buildings are the results of cultural and social negotiations.

However, the compatibilities of both Chinese and Hindu-Balinese belief systems have provided shared symbolic and philosophical meanings, in which architectural elements are applicable to both cultures and show equality of meaning. In this sense, these viewpoints are also dependent on the quality of mutual relationship between majority (Balinese) and minority (Chinese) cultures in each location - sometimes the Chinese are economically needed (as in the

ports) and so have royal patronage; or through the intermarriage between the Chinese and Balinese, as they share both cultural practices - and the openness of their subjects towards difference.

7.4 Architectural Forms

This section discusses the critical features of architectural forms in each temple category, focused on the five types of individual building - the main gates, the furnace to burn holy papers, the Chinese and Buddhist shrines, the Hindu-Balinese shrines, and the supporting buildings - and emphasised by their shapes, materials, colours, ornaments, and decorative elements. In the following paragraphs, the discussion concentrates on the combination of Chinese and Balinese cultural elements, and examines how each cultural element is implemented, negotiated, and maintained.

7.4.1 Tri Dharma Temple within Hindu-Balinese Temple



Figure 149: The deities' shrine within the Batu Meringgit Temple
Source: Author (2019)

Located amidst Hindu-Balinese shrines within the inner courtyard of a Hindu-Balinese temple compound, the Kongco Batu Meringgit presents as the most different element within a Hindu-Balinese temple complex. The Kongco Batu Meringgit has Chinese traditional architecture, as can be seen through the curved roof designs on the deities' shrine and pavilion, and also by the furnace to burn holy papers that takes the form of gourd. These buildings are also painted in red and yellow, though with fewer Chinese traditional ornaments than in other temple categories. A few Balinese traditional ornaments and decorations elements are

mostly used on the deities' shrine (Figure 149). This deities' shrine also shows the combination of both cultural elements (cosmo-geographical compass) is implemented on the symbolical meaning of *baguachuang* (deities' shrine windows).

In addition to this, the Shivaist-Buddhist belief system practised within the Batu Meringgit temple is also represented visually and symbolically by the Balinese traditional gate of *kori*. The *kori* connecting the middle courtyard and inner courtyard displays sitting Buddha and Shiva statues above the lintel of the opening entrance. These religious statues present on the south side of the *kori* and can be seen from the front entrance direction (Figure 150).

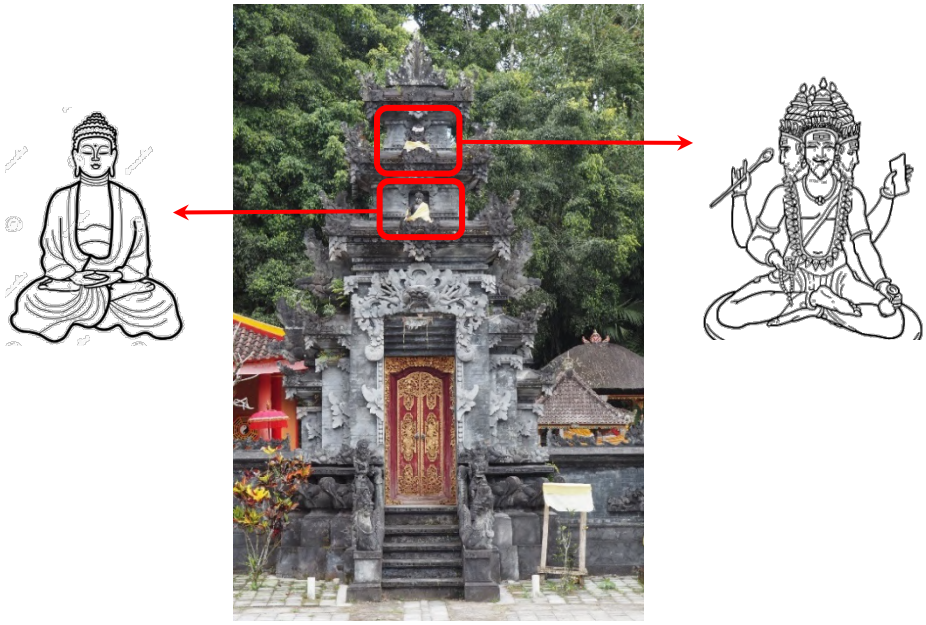


Figure 150: The Sitting Buddha and Shiva statues on the Kori within the Batu Meringgit Temple
Source: Author (2020)

These critical architectural features show that the deities' shrine altar uses Chinese architectural expression with a few Balinese influence, whereas the *kori* is more traditionally Balinese with a mixture of Shivaist and Buddhist elements; thus, it seems there are significant reasons why choices are made in each individual building. The deities' shrine is the most important individual building of the Kongco Batu Meringgit as the abode of the main deity and his subordinates, and in this sense, the established identity of Chinese culture is essential.

On this point, a little Balinese influence can be said to not fundamentally alter or change its overall Chinese traditional architectural forms. The modification of the *bagua* symbols on the *baguachuang* (deities' shrine windows) also reflects the

compatibilities of Chinese and Balinese principle elements. In addition, a historic connection of *dhang guru* in establishing Batu Meringgit temple that is dedicated to the devotion of Shivaist-Buddhist belief (this mixed belief system explained in Section 3.3) is represented in the Shivaist and Buddhist elements on the *kori*. This *kori* is the most sacred gateway, and is used and believed to welcome both the God of Shiva and Buddha entering the inner courtyard within the temple. Also, this Shivaist-Buddhist representation on the *kori* is used to signify to the visitor that the Shivaist-Buddhist belief system is practised within this Hindu-Balinese temple.

7.4.2 Tri Dharma Temples Designed According to Chinese Traditional Architecture

All of the *Tri Dharma* architectural forms in this second category generally have followed Chinese traditional architecture precepts. It can be seen on their building shapes, colours, ornaments, and decorative elements. However, some *Tri Dharma* temples also show the influence of Balinese culture through the presence of Hindu-Balinese shrines and adoption of a few Balinese cultural elements that are applied mostly to the interior buildings.

The Satya Dharma and Cao Fuk Miao have established Hindu-Balinese shrines adopting a form of *tugu* and *padma*. Both types of Hindu-Balinese shrine are rectangular in plan, use natural exposed materials, and also have Balinese traditional ornaments and decorative elements. Overall, these shrines have followed Balinese traditional architecture precepts and have not been altered or modified, as their Balinese traditional expressions are maintained. The sole Chinese influence in both of Hindu-Balinese shrines is the use of a Chinese incense jar placed on the shrine's compartment or podium. Traditionally, the Hindu-Balinese place the incense on the top of the Balinese traditional offerings (*canang*), instead of sticking it in a jar.

It is also important to note that the establishment of Hindu-Balinese shrines within these *Tri Dharma* temples have connections with the temple's community backgrounds, particularly the elders who are the Chinese-Balinese descendants with fundamental knowledge of both cultures (although they are not of the clergy of either culture). Moreover, they also have understanding that they cannot alter or modify the Hindu-Balinese shrines, as these are considered as the most sacred buildings for Hindu-Balinese.

A few of the Balinese traditional elements in some *Tri Dharma* temples' interiors are applied mostly to the Chinese deity altars, taking the form of *pepatran* ornaments carved on the temples' name's boards, Chinese deities' name boards, and altar tables' brackets (see Figure 151). The Buddha's altars interiors within the Caow Eng Bio and Zhong Yi Miao are also designed with Balinese traditional features. The Caow Eng Bio's Buddha's altar displays the Buddha's features, such as stupa, lotus, and mandala wheel, with few Chinese cultural elements.

Similarly, the interior of Buddha's altar within the Zhong Yi Miao is designed with Buddha's features and few Chinese traditional elements, while also taking the form of a Balinese traditional *kayon*, along with having *pepatran* and *kekarangan* ornaments (Figure 152). *Kayon* or *kekayon*, in this sense, is a tree-shaped puppet played in a Balinese traditional shadow puppet show.

This tree-shape takes the form of Bodhi tree in the Buddhist belief system and is also known as *kalpataru* or *kalpawrksa* in Indian-Hindu (terms also adopted by Hindu-Balinese). This refers to the species of *Ficus religiosa* (Sacred Fig) that has religious significance in Buddhism and Hinduism (Muhajirin, 2015; Idedhyana, 2018).



Figure 151: The pepatran carved ornaments on the temple's name boards, deities' name boards, and tables' brackets
Source: Author (2019)



Figure 152: A form of kayon on Buddha's altar within the Zhong Yi Miao
Source: Author (2019)

In respect of this, the Zhong Yi Miao community intended to distinguish between the Chinese main deity altar and the Buddha altar within their temple to assert the origin of religious identity - the former deriving from Chinese traditional culture and the latter from Indian traditional culture where Buddha originated[106] - and their difference in regard of the main deity and religious activities. The community also perceives the Indian and Balinese cultures to have compatibilities in belief systems, as Hinduism and Buddhism both originated in India and have been adopted into Hindu-Balinese culture; thus, *kayon* and other Balinese traditional ornaments are applicable to the Buddha's altar.

Further, the use of Balinese craftspeople in constructing the Buddha's altar wall has contributed to the hybridity of Chinese-Balinese-Indian cultural elements. In this sense, the Balinese craftspeople have shared their knowledge and skills in regard to Balinese cultural elements that suit to the community's design ideas. For instance, the ornaments of *karang gajah*[107] and Balinese floral pattern were proposed to be attached to the *kayon*, as this type of ornament is applicable broadly within Balinese traditional residences, palaces, and Hindu-Balinese temples.

[106] Personal communication with the Zhong Yi Miao representative.
[107] A Balinese traditional carving ornament adopting a form of an elephant face and trunk.

7.4.3 Tri Dharma Temples Designed According to Mixed Chinese and Balinese Traditional Architectures

The last category of *Tri Dharma* temples in this study shows the combination of both Chinese and Balinese cultural elements on the gateways, the deities' and Buddha's shrines, Hindu-Balinese shrines, and supporting buildings. The following paragraphs will discuss their prevalent mixture of features and the significant variations of individual buildings within the *Tri Dharma* temples.

All the *Tri Dharma* temples gateways in this category take the form of Balinese traditional gates *kori/candi bentar/angkul-angkul*. The *kori* as the highest stratum level amongst the other Balinese traditional gates is ideally designed to connect the middle and inner courtyards, approaching the most sacred zone within a Hindu-Balinese temple (as explained in Section 3.3.2). However, due to most of the *Tri Dharma* temples in this category having merely a single courtyard, the *kori* within the Kwan Kong Bio and Kong Co Bio is used as a gateway connecting the main road to the inner courtyard towards the deities' shrine. On this point, in practice, the *kori* has the same function approaching the most sacred zone within the temple, though without connecting to multiple courtyards.

As a sacred gateway, a *kori* is also ideally designed with a *betelan* (side entrance) and a pair of *pelinggih apit lawang*. In this sense, the *betelan* is used for daily access due to the *kori* being usually opened during auspicious days or temple festivals to welcome the deity(s). Unlike the Oong Tay Jen, the *kori* within the Kwan Kong Bio is not designed with a *betelan*, whilst the Kong Co Bio has a *betelan* in its *kori* design in which all the opening entrances can be used as the daily main entrance.

Further, there is a *pelinggih apit lawang*, a Hindu-Balinese shrine believed to be a manifestation of Shiva in a form of a pair of demigods' figures - Hyang Mahakala and Sang Nandiswara (Raka et.al., 2015; Sukrawati, 2019). This shrine takes a form of compartments embedded into both sides of a *kori*'s opening entrance, or a pair of *tugu* or statues placed to the front sides of a *kori*. A pair of figures flanking a *kori* is known as Dwarapala - a pair of warriors or fearsome giants holding a pair of maces – with their main duty being to protect the temple from bad or evil energies and intentions. In respect of this, only the Oong Tay Jen and Kwan Kong Bio have this *pelinggih apit lawang*. A pelinggih apit lawang within the Oong Tay Jen is designed in a form of compartments, whilst the Kwan Kong

Bio adopts a pair of tugu. In each of the Oong Tay Jen and Kwan Kong Bio temples there are also placed a pair of Chinese demigods' stone figures and Chinese stone lions at the front sides of their *kori*. In Chinese traditional architecture, a Chinese traditional gateway or building opening entrance is also guarded by a pair of demigods' figures either in a form of statue or painting on the wooden door leaves. According to Jiang (2014, p. 102) these Chinese demigods' figures are Shentu and Yulei, believed to be guarding the sole passage between the ghost and human worlds, and warding against bad energies or intentions entering the temple. In this point, despite these Chinese and Balinese guard figures have differences in architectural forms, they have the same sacred values and can be said to be equivalent to each other due to compatibilities in their main duty and function.

In addition to this, whilst a few of *kori* within these Tri Dharma temples maintain their Balinese traditional identity by using natural exposed materials and also *pepatran* and *kekarangan* ornaments, the others have modified their *kori* gate by adding Buddhist religious features - sitting Buddha and stupa statues - and using Chinese cultural elements of red and yellow painted colours. This Balinese traditional gateway's modification with Buddhist and Chinese features is also implemented on the other types of Balinese traditional gate of *candi bentar* and *angkul-angkul*. Given this mixture of Chinese and Balinese features applied to these Balinese traditional gates, it is noted that despite there being small aspects of Chinese cultural elements adopted by these Balinese traditional gates, the overall gates' shapes and Balinese traditional ornaments still assert their identities as essentially Hindu-Balinese.

There are numbers of reasons why these *Tri Dharma* temples have established particular types of Balinese traditional gates. In some cases, there is instigation from the founders' or communities' in constructing Balinese traditional gateways influenced by their cultural and religious backgrounds. In this sense, the founder with Hindu-Balinese background initiated the building of a *kori*, whereas the Chinese-Balinese communities selected a *candi bentar* or an *angkul-angkul* design.

The founders of the Oong Tay Jen and Kwan Kong Bio, who are Hindu-Balinese, instigated and actively designed a *kori* emphasising Balinese traditional architecture expression with a few Chinese influences. They believe a *kori* is

suited to be placed within their *Tri Dharma* temple as a sacred gateway, connecting the most sacred courtyard where the deities' shrines are located - the same as is implemented within a Hindu-Balinese temple complex[108]. Thus, their intention to build a *kori* within *Tri Dharma* temple can also be argued as the desire to express their knowledge of Hindu-Balinese culture and represent their background identity as being Hindu-Balinese. Further, the *Tri Dharma* temples with Chinese-Balinese communities as the founder - for instance, the Amurva Bhumi and Ong Ya Kong - mostly have a *candi bentar* or an *angkul-angkul* as their temple's main entrance, with some influences of Chinese traditional features.

From the Chinese-Balinese viewpoint, it seems that their initiative to build a *candi bentar* or an *angkul-angkul* within the *Tri Dharma* temples is due to these types of gates being perceived as having less sacred values than a *kori*; thus, modifications and/or alterations can be made to express Chinese traditional features. Moreover, if there are greater modifications to the less sacred forms of Balinese architecture, this does indicate an understanding of that tradition and respect for it. This point clearly shows in that the different origins and knowledge between particular communities of varying background, expertise, and knowledge across both traditions have influenced the instigation and selection of Balinese traditional gateway's types to be implemented within *Tri Dharma* temples.

[108] Personal communications with the founder of Oong Tay Jen and Kwan Kong Bio temples.



Figure 153: The architectural design of the deities' shrine within the Kong Co Bio in 1973
Source: The Kong Co Bio temple collections

In addition to this, the Balinese traditional gateways within the Kong Co Bio and Ong Ya Kong were constructed due to the influence of the political regime at the time. A *kori* within the Kong Co Bio was initiated by the local government as a part of assimilation policy during the New Order Regime in 1965-1998. This included the injunction to not use Chinese traditional ornaments on the main altar, the replacement of Chinese deities with Buddha figures, and changing the temple name to Vihara Dharma Cattra, instead of Kong Co Bio (Figure 153 depicts the deities' shrine in 1973, that was designed with fewer Chinese traditional elements)[109].

Just after the fall of Soeharto's regime around 2004, the temple community developed the deities' shrine by adding Chinese traditional elements (see

[109] Personal communication with the representative of Kong Co Bio temple.

Figure 154) - the curved roof design, the use of Chinese mythical animal symbols and Chinese traditional colours; all of the Chinese deities were returned, but they still used *vihara* - Vihara Dharma Cattra - along with the Chinese temple name - Kong Co Bio - as the temple is registered as Vihara under the Ministry of Religious Affairs.



Figure 154: The architectural design of the deities' shrine within the Kong Co Bio in the present
Source: Author (2019)

Prior to the *kori* construction during the New Order Regime, a negotiation between the local government and people within the temple was made to determine the *kori* design. A *kori* with three bays and using red exposed brick, also having stupa ornaments on the top to represent Buddhist religion - one of state's official religions used by the government to convert the Chinese-Indonesian religion - was agreed to be built within the Kong Co Bio. As mentioned earlier in this Section, the *kori* within the Kong Co Bio functions as the daily main entrance from the main road to the temple courtyard in line with the main altar, and without building a pair of *pelinggih apit lawang* at the either side of *kori*; although, the overall *kori* design suggested by the local government has Balinese traditional expression.

From the Balinese traditional architecture viewpoint, this *kori* has not embodied sacred values as implemented within Hindu-Balinese temple; however, according to Chinese traditional precepts, the *kori* has met the axiality requirement, placing the main road, the *kori*, and the main altar in one axial line.



Figure 155: The angkul-angkul gate within the Ong Ya Kong temple
Source: Author (2019)

Another instance of this political influence can be seen with the establishment of an *angkul-angkul* gateway within the Ong Ya Kong. Similar to the *kori* within the Kong Co Bio, an *angkul-angkul* within the Ong Ya Kong was also built during the New Order period. The assimilation policy that governed Chinese cultural elements expression in public during this period was worried the temple's founder would affect the presence of the Chinese family shrine within the residence courtyard, despite the surrounding society having no objection to this.

Consequently, the temple's founder intended to disguise the temple as a Balinese building by designing an *angkul-angkul* as the main entrance because this type of traditional Balinese gate was commonly found in their neighbourhood. At that time, the *angkul-angkul* was built using plastered bricks without any Chinese elements. Just after the fall of New Order regime - around 2004 - the *angkul-angkul* within the Ong Ya Kong was developed, along with the fences, by embedding Chinese elements and stupa (Figure 155).

These two examples clearly show that the political regime influenced the *Tri Dharma* temples expressions; however, the assimilation policy in Soeharto's regime, arguably, was ambivalent as it intended to limit the Chinese culture and religion by, on the one hand, exercising hegemonic power being to accelerate the Chinese-Balinese being integrated into the national identity. On the other

hand, the Indonesian state also acknowledged and allowed Chinese religious practices, despite limiting them to private or particular communities.

As noted in Section 6.4.1, in regards to implementation of this policy, there were no further warnings or penalties (after warning them twice) from the local government to the founder of Oong Tay Jen temple during the assimilation policy period (around 1990s) to take down the Chinese temple's name board and give up their practise of daily rituals and Chinese dragon dance performance. It seems that at that time the assimilation policy pressure was starting to relax.

Also, the compatibilities and mutual relationships between Chinese and Hindu-Balinese culture and society are the significant consideration that might have made this assimilation policy implemented less strict in Bali. The impact of the assimilation policy on *Tri Dharma* temple architecture (that has also a bearing on the present) is the view that connected Chinese architectural expression with Chinese culture, and perceived Confucianism and Daoism were philosophies, and not religions. So, either the Chinese elements were not seen as being sacred; or if so, the government primarily wanted to suppress Chinese identity and did not care about its sacred values.

In general, all the deities' shrines within the *Tri Dharma* temples in this category reflect Chinese traditional architecture, as can be seen through their architectural forms of uptilted roofs, elaborated ornaments of mythical animals on the roofs and columns, and the use of Chinese traditional colours. A few influences of Balinese cultural features are also represented through the use of *kekarangan* and *pepatran* ornaments on the natural exposed walls and wooden furniture, as exemplified in Kong Co Bio temple (Figure 156).

These Balinese traditional ornaments, applied on the deities' altars frame and relief panels, are combined with the Chinese traditional features, such as lotus, dragon and phoenix mythical animals, cloud patterns, yin yang, and swastika symbols.



Figure 156: The Balinese traditional ornaments on the deities' altars and relief panels within the Kong Co Bio
Source: Author (2019)

In contrast to the deity's shrine, all the Buddha's altars within these *Tri Dharma* temples show less Chinese cultural elements. By way of example, the Buddha's shrines within the Kong Co Bio and Amurva Bhumi are designed with three tiered roofs taking the form of a pagoda, and have predominantly Buddhist religious features in the form of the ornaments and decorative symbols (for example, stupa, lotus, Buddha statues, and Buddha's life stories), also using gold or yellow colours. These Buddha's shrines also have *kekarangan* and *pepatran* ornaments applied mostly on the front sides of the building, along with the use of red brick and grey sandstone reflecting the predomination of Balinese traditional architecture (Figure 157).



Figure 157: The Balinese traditional ornaments on the Buddha's shrines
Source: Author (2019)

Given the examples of Balinese cultural features application within the deities' and Buddha's shrines in Figures 156 and 157, these temples show similarity to a *Tri Dharma* temple in the second category - the Zhong Yi Miao - indicating their

intention to assert a mixture of cultural and religious identities. In this sense, due to the deities' shrines being occupied by the Chinese deities, establishment of Chinese traditional identity is essential.

The Buddha's shrines, in contrast, depict the Buddha's features combined with Balinese traditional expressions and significant elements. This combination seems due to the compatibilities in symbolic elements between Balinese-Hinduism and Mahayana-Buddhism. As explored in Section 3.3, Balinese-Hinduism and Mahayana-Buddhism have some essential similarities, which led to the intermixture of possibilities in their belief systems and practice of rituals, including symbols and meanings. It can be argued that the hybrid expressions on the deities' shrine is more Chinese in premise, with Balinese overlays; whereas the basis of Buddha's shrine is more Balinese with Chinese overlays.

The architectural forms of Hindu-Balinese shrines (*pelinggih*) within all *Tri Dharma* temples in this category are also influenced by some Chinese cultural elements, as evident in the use of *pelinggih* for the abode of the Chinese deity, the *pelinggih* podiums painted in red or covered by red ceramic tiles, and also by the use of altar tables and incense jars taking the form of Chinese ingots. Some *pelinggih* are also modified on their bottom sections, whereas the architectural forms on the other sections are still maintained following Balinese traditional architecture precepts.

As noted in the *asta kosala-kosali*, the bottom section of the Hindu-Balinese shrine has less sacred value (impure) than the middle and top sections. Thus, the intention to combine Chinese cultural elements into the Hindu-Balinese shrines has been followed with the adherence in maintaining the sacred values of the host Hindu-Balinese culture.

Finally, the Balinese traditional pavilions (*bale*) and Balinese traditional tower (*bale kulkul*) established within a few *Tri Dharma* temples in this category - the Oong Tay Jen and the Kwan Kong Bio - also reflect the combination of both Chinese and Balinese cultural elements. Although such supporting buildings are influenced by Chinese cultural elements, the essential identity of the Balinese traditional architecture can still be recognised through the overall building forms.

In this sense, the *bale* raises on a podium and comprises of one or three enclosed walls with pepalihan and *kekarangan* ornaments, although these

podiums and walls are painted in red and yellow. It is also designed with an exposed ceiling and supported with Balinese traditional columns (*sesaka*), and uses Balinese traditional ornaments of *mudra* on the ridge roof and *ikut celedu* on the eaves' corners. A few modifications of the *bale kulkul* can also be seen through the adoption of the lotus shape and Chinese lions' statues on the middle section of the building, although the overall building forms are maintained, reflecting the predomination of Balinese traditional significant elements. On this point, each the *bale* and *bale kulkul* have their basis in Balinese cultural features with Chinese overlays.

7.5 Chapter Summary

In general, the typologies and overall architectural forms of individual buildings within these three temple's categories have shown Chinese traditional characteristics with Balinese traditional influence or *vice versa*. The negotiation process in combining and/or modifying the cultural elements was implemented by considering the individual buildings' function to assert their significant cultural and religious identities.

On this point, the Chinese individual buildings maintain a Chinese identity and mostly combine their Chinese cultural elements with the use of Balinese traditional ornaments and decorative elements. Most of modifications or alterations to Hindu-Balinese shrines within Chinese temples are focused on sections considered by Hindu-Balinese to be less sacred, implying that Hindu-Balinese shrines have strict religious and belief values - and that these override any Chinese considerations - thus maintaining the position, orientation, and composition of their architectural forms that is required as part of a Balinese established identity.

In connection to this, sacredness within these *Tri Dharma* temples is a matter of reference to both Chinese and Balinese traditions, and thus, they generate spaces of negotiation towards their compatibilities and differences, in which something important to Balinese tradition can be catered for, while also meeting Chinese ritual requirements, and *vice-versa*.

In addition, it is noted that the subjects of the temple have understood their limitations - what should be included and excluded - within this space of negotiation that contributes to the variations of expression across the temples due to the intersection of theological, cultural, social, economic, politic, and pragmatic reasons.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with the summary of Chinese-Indonesian status in general and Chinese-Balinese status specifically, and their identity from pre-Indonesia's independence to the present within the nation's broader socio-cultural and political aspects. This also relates this history to the critical features of *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali and their implications.

This chapter concludes the identity of *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali based on the observed evidence and reading of their specific histories, as well as the broader understanding of their architectural, cultural, social and political contexts.

This concluding chapter also includes the implications of *Tri Dharma* temples observable similarities to architecture of clearly hybrid/mixed cultural background and compositional, spatial and stylistic influences in other places.

8.2 Between nationality and ethnicity: a complicated identity

'*Sekali Cina, tetap Cina*.' (Once a Chinese, always a Chinese)

> This strong uniform, cohesive race, separated by seas and frontiers, is essentially one people with a shared heritage, the Chinese civilization.
> (FitzGerald, 1972, p.164-5)

As noted in Section 2.2, the Chinese and Balinese local lords or kings had long-established relationships since pre-colonial times. Such relationships led to long-standing socio-cultural relationships with the local communities, nurtured through their socio-economic relationships. However, despite these long historical intercourses, Chinese subject-hood within broader Hindu-Balinese community (until the present) is still distinguished by economic function and origins.

Beratha and Ardika's (2014) observations of three cultural villages in Bali found that the Hindu-Balinese have always seen their Chinese-Balinese counterparts as the trading and business and the guest community. Such an attitude is

manifested through the presence of *pelinggih Ratu Subandar* (as explained in Section 2.3.4) within some Hindu-Balinese temples in Bali that have a connection with the prominent skills of the Chinese in trading and business (as associated with the Goddess of trade and economy). Also, the status of Chinese-Balinese as 'the guest' can be seen in Chinese temples' siting near the borders of three cultural temple villages. These contemporary Balinese attitudes are essentially modified by the compatibilities of Shivaist-Buddhist belief and the adherence of Chinese-Balinese towards Hindu-Balinese customs of *Tri Hita Karana* - the three essential relationships to the God(s) (*parahyangan*), communities (*pawongan*), and land (*palemahan*) where its members are living.

During the colonial period, the Dutch also viewed the Chinese as having prominent skills in trading and commerce activities, and classified them as 'Foreign Orientals', which gave them a more advantageous status and position than the 'natives'. However, this Dutch racial classification then generated a blueprint for post-independence nationalist anti-Chinese sentiment and prejudice. Such attitudes were aroused by the Indonesian nationalists during the New Order regime and took political and cultural forms. At this time, it was also useful for the nationalist cause to make the Chinese a common enemy, blaming them for more general issues of economic disparity. The Indonesian nationalists also forced Chinese people to demonstrate their loyalties to the Indonesian nation by giving up their 'Chinese-ness' and assimilating with the local population. This has distinct implications for their way of life, including religious practices.

From the fall of New Order regime, to this present day, although many Chinese in Indonesia have been settled for centuries and over generations, they are still on the margins of Indonesian society due to the imaginary boundary between 'us' (Indonesians) and 'them' (Chinese), the 'self' and the 'other', the 'insider' and the 'outsider', the 'rich' and the 'poor' still existing. All of these dichotomies have generated an ongoing problem for the Chinese in Indonesia in this contemporary era, on a continuing questioning of their identity within the nation and local culture (Coppel, 1983; Helen and Tim, 2005; Hoon, 2006; Suryadinata, 2008; Lembong, 2008, Kusumaningtyas and Cohen, 2020).

In this sense, besides the recognition and stereotyping of Chinese-Indonesians' expertise in economic areas noted above, they are also frequently identified by their 'Chinese-ness' categories (race, language, and religion), although Suryadinata (1978) argues that in contemporary Indonesian society, such identification categories are irrelevant and inadequate as many Chinese in Indonesia have mixed racial backgrounds, cannot speak Chinese, and adhere to non-Chinese religions.

Coppel (2017) further argues in Memorial Lecture 2017 in Monash University that "having Chinese ancestry and appearance does not necessarily mean one is Chinese". As the evidenced by the Indonesian census in 2000 and 2010, Coppel found that the Chinese population in Indonesia remained unchanged, at a low number, between these years, as many Chinese-Indonesians no longer thought of themselves as Chinese, due to a fear of discrimination. It can be argued therefore that the identification on how a person is classified as a Chinese might be not as simple as following *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli* principles. Although *jus soli* depends on how it is interpreted; that is, whether a person can become part of a nation through showing allegiance or sometimes through a difference between official recognition and public acceptance.

Given the marginality issues of Chinese in Indonesia, generally, Chinese-Indonesians still have a strong desire to maintain their generic Chinese culture from their specific homeland, particularly the practice of Chinese traditional rituals and rites, although they might not be attached to their specific ancestral homeland cultures or kinships. This can be exemplified by Chinese-Balinese who almost never visit China or meet their families in China, or they may not have the means to travel. There were decades when PRC (People's Republic of China) was cut off from the rest of the world, so they might have lost contact with relatives back in China.

Further, there is a more general diasporic identification with Chinese who no longer require reference to geographical China, but still visit Chinese temples either regularly or during Chinese auspicious days, or even pray to their ancestor altar(s) at their residence.

In respect of this, Chinese traditional rituals and rites are also continuously practised in Bali, despite the Chinese having long been integrated with the local

population through interethnic marriage practices. On this point, locally-rooted Chinese culture is often influenced by the Balinese culture due to intermarriage, even after generations of such mixing. The desire for their religions and beliefs to be recognised by the state has also led to the formulation of Chinese religions and beliefs to suit the state's definition of *agama* and compliance with Indonesian state's objective in generating national uniformity.

This demonstrates that the desire and intention of the Chinese to assert their cultural identity and belonging is also simultaneously accompanied with creative strategies to open up a space of negotiation to show their loyalty to the nation, by following the official laws.

Although Chinese-Indonesians' identity is complicated, they have established multi-identities that are constructed based on their roles, as Indonesian citizens, as residents where they inhabit in a particular region of Indonesia, and as having Chinese descent. This aspect of the multi-identity of Chinese-Indonesians echoes Naujoks' (2010) categories of diasporic membership, as based on the prominent roles as being diasporic-ethnic and diasporic-cultural (see Section 4.4). In relation to the Chinese-Balinese, intermarriage has been ongoing for generations, so few people are purely 'Chinese' in contemporary Bali; thus, they usually maintain both Chinese and Balinese cultures.

On this point, the Chinese-Balinese know their status and position is not as an alien or temporary resident anymore; but, as 'a local but not quite local'. However, it can also be argued that Chinese-Balinese might be more 'local' than in other parts of Indonesia (for instance, Java) - due to their compatibilities with religious beliefs.

Further, the desire and intention to preserve and maintain their Chinese shared heritage, as ties to ancestors and deities, is also expressed in establishing Chinese temples, both as houses of worship and as socio-cultural places, involving their multiple roles across national, ethnic, and cultural realms. Importantly, in these cases, the cultural mixing present in this form and space of the temple also expresses its adaptation to Bali in multiple ways.

8.3 Understanding the significant features of Tri Dharma temples

The *Tri Dharma* temples discussed in this study illustrate narratives of the development of Chinese-Balinese culture, as embodied in their architecture. The temples show the degree of cross-fertilisation between Chinese and Balinese cultures and geographies that have been constructed under conditions of migrancy and socio-political negotiation. Each *Tri Dharma* temple has significant features relating to these conditions, in terms of site selection, spatial planning, and architectural forms.

The differences between *Tri Dharma* temples' siting in Bali can be understood by reference to their broad-scale and specific locations. Their broad-scale locations, in this sense, are the large areas or districts or villages in which the *Tri Dharma* temples are sited. Their siting involves being located mostly near particular Chinese community that usually have similarities in the worship of a particular deity, occupation, and/or kinship to cater for their religious and socio-cultural needs.

However, despite the fact that their sites are mostly quite conveniently located in relation to their community, some of the temples' sites are not ideally located, according to the Chinese traditional geomancy of *feng shui*. The differences in cosmo-geographical features between China and Bali, and limited funds to procure land to establish a Chinese temple, are the significant causes of this issue. It also seems that the status of the Chinese community means it always had to negotiate with Hindu-Balinese community or local government about where it was allowed to build temples. This means a temple in traditional Chinese society in China would usually be provided with an ideal site, but in Bali this has generally not been possible. This is evident in the influence of the *Tri Mandala* notion used in structuring the Balinese cultural village (*desa adat/desa pekraman*).

In this sense, *Tri Dharma* temples to be sited within Balinese cultural villages are discouraged or prevented from taking sites considered more sacred by Hindu-Balinese. This is because the Hindu-Balinese saw their Chinese counterparts as still being 'the guest' or 'temporary resident', thus having no strong connections or ties with Hindu-Balinese Gods or Goddesses. The *Tri*

Dharma temples within Balinese cultural villages, to this extent, could be analogous to being within 'the guest wing' of a host residence.

Further, their specific locations indicate the *Tri Dharma* temples' siting are orientated within particular places or directions. While most Chinese community members consider local waterways or main roads as their temples' cardinal directions, others rely on the main deity to take a central role in determining their temples' sites and/or directions. This can be exemplified by the Oong Tay Jen that had to be established on the side of the hill where the main deity resided.

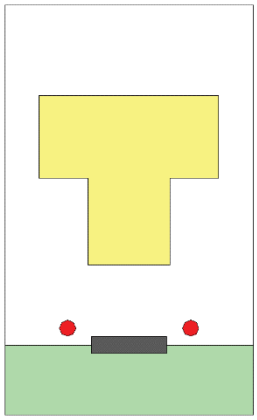
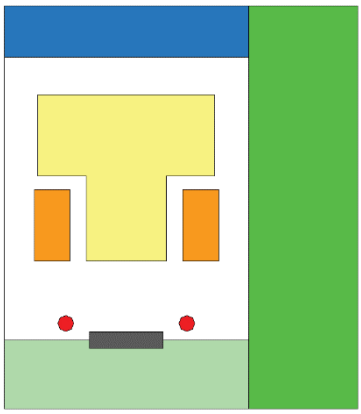
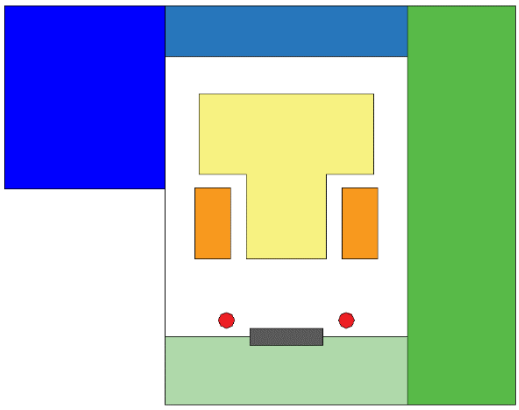
Given these *Tri Dharma* temples' broad-scale and specific siting determinations, there is the implication that pragmatic and conceptual compromises have been influenced by the difference in cosmography from China, the status of the Chinese community as 'guests'; also, pragmatic and economic obstacles have sometimes prevented the Chinese community from procuring ideal sites.

The consequence of such pragmatic and conceptual compromises has influenced temples' spatial planning. In this sense, the internal axial relationship is more essential than overall north-south and symmetrical formation to reflect a sense of monumentality, due to most *Tri Dharma* temples having limited space and their spatial planning either following or needing to follow the existing site form/shape. This indicates that the overall north-south orientation and symmetrical balance principles are also negotiable.

Thus, it can also certainly be argued that all the Chinese layout principles might not be fundamental for *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali, and that there are priorities where only some principles can be adhered to. In addition, incremental development over time has also influenced the individual building formations within some temples' layouts. This is exemplified by the incremental development of the Cao Fuk Miao from 2003 to the present (table 5). None of these *Tri Dharma* temples have overall layout planning documents prior to their construction phase. Most of them drafted the individual building plans in the sketch or construction forms, but did not store it as temple's files or documentations as they used it only during the building construction. It seems the community's desire for overall temple developments were not planned prior to the temples' construction as community focused more on the construction of

the most essential individual building(s) (e.g., the main altar, furnace to burn paper joss, and gateway). The temples have been incrementally developed according to the growth of community, community's demands, and available funds.

Table 6: The incremental development the Cao Fuk Miao temple from 2003-2016

2003-2007		2015-2016
		

Legends:

Main altar	Main gate	Pavilion	Side parking area
Furnace	Front parking area	Services building	Multipurpose building

Source: Author (2021)

The Hindu-Balinese view towards their Chinese counterparts as being 'guests' can also be seen on a smaller scale. It is reflected in the presence of the Kongco Batu Meringgit not being placed at the most sacred locations of Hindu-Balinese shrines, within a Hindu-Balinese temple compound with Shivaist-Buddhist adherents; yet included in the most inner (*jeroan*) courtyard (see Section 6.2). In this sense, the compatibilities between Shivaist-Buddhist and Hindu-Balinese belief systems have opened an opportunity to share a site and ritual practices.

As 'the guest', the orientation of the Kongco Batu Meringgit also follows the Hindu-Balinese temple direction to *kaja-kelod* - the Hindu-Balinese earth's axis towards the Agung Mountain and the sea. This *kaja-kelod* direction is associated by the Chinese community to be parallel to north-south in Chinese compass directions, although in fact this direction is different in Chinese cosmography. Given the importance of north-south orientation, it implies a negotiation process in inserting 'the guest's' culture and tradition within 'the host's' territory, without altering or modifying the host's established identity. This also holds with 'the

guest's' consciousness in compromising Chinese pragmatic and conceptual aspects to represent their homeland tradition.

As 'guests' within the broader Hindu-Balinese community, most Chinese-Balinese communities in Bali have also included a Hindu-Balinese shrine *pelinggih penunggun karang* within their *Tri Dharma* temples' layouts. On this point, a *pelinggih penunggun karang* has been identified as having compatibilities in function and meaning in both Chinese and Hindu-Balinese belief systems, as the abode of a guardian for the temple's site and individual buildings, protecting the temple from any inauspicious energies/evils/intentions.

The presence of a *pelinggih penunggun karang* also seems definitive evidence of appeasing local gods by the Chinese-Balinese. So, whilst the status of Chinese-Balinese is seen as that of 'the guest' by Hindu-Balinese societies, they have seen themselves as 'a local, yet not quite local', as they are Chinese-Balinese offspring and desire to maintain both cultural traditions by sharing sites and ritual practices.

This can also be seen in that some Hindu-Balinese visit *Tri Dharma* temples praying to/worshipping a particular deity either for solo veneration (for example, being the adherents of Shivaist-Buddhist belief) or asking a favour (such as asking to cure an illness or asking for a wealthy life). The Chinese-Balinese also sometimes visit Hindu-Balinese temples, particularly temples with devotion to Shiva-Buddha or temples with a *pelinggih Ratu Subandar*, either for regular worship or during the temple festivals. This active relationship is relevant to Brah's diaspora space notion (as explained in Section 4.5) in that the Hindu-Balinese culture has been influenced by Chinese culture (for example, dances, music, and characters in performances as explored in Section 2.3), as well as *vice versa* (as exemplified in the presence of Chinese shrines within the Hindu-Balinese temple compound).

In addition to this, variations of cultural modifications are identifiable on the typologies and architectural forms of individual buildings within *Tri Dharma* temple compounds (see Figure 158). There are Hindu-Balinese shrines, Balinese traditional gateways, and Balinese traditional drum towers where the typologies and overall forms of structures are Balinese, but the detail is Chinese. Some Chinese cultural features embedded on Hindu-Balinese shrines - the use of

Chinese incense jars, deities' board names written in Chinese characters, and additional altar tables - are seen as non-essential Chinese elements that influence the typology and overall architectural forms of Hindu-Balinese shrines; however, the fact they are present indicates some cultural acceptance from the Hindu-Balinese.

In contrast, the Balinese traditional gateways and Balinese traditional drum tower, modified with the use of Buddhist features and Chinese traditional colours, shows the influence of Buddhist/Chinese typologies and overall architectural forms, including their symbolic meanings. In addition, the main deity and Buddhist's shrines reflect Chinese features in their typologies and overall forms of structure, but their detail is always Balinese.

On this point, the few Balinese features embedded in these individual buildings - mostly in the use of ornament and decorative elements in their interiors and on their furniture - have not influenced the buildings' typologies and overall architectural forms. Given the variations of cultural modifications on these individual buildings, the maintenance of predominantly cultural elements on these individual buildings indicates the assertion of cultural and religious identities that have been determined according to their particular functions and/or cultural or belief representations.

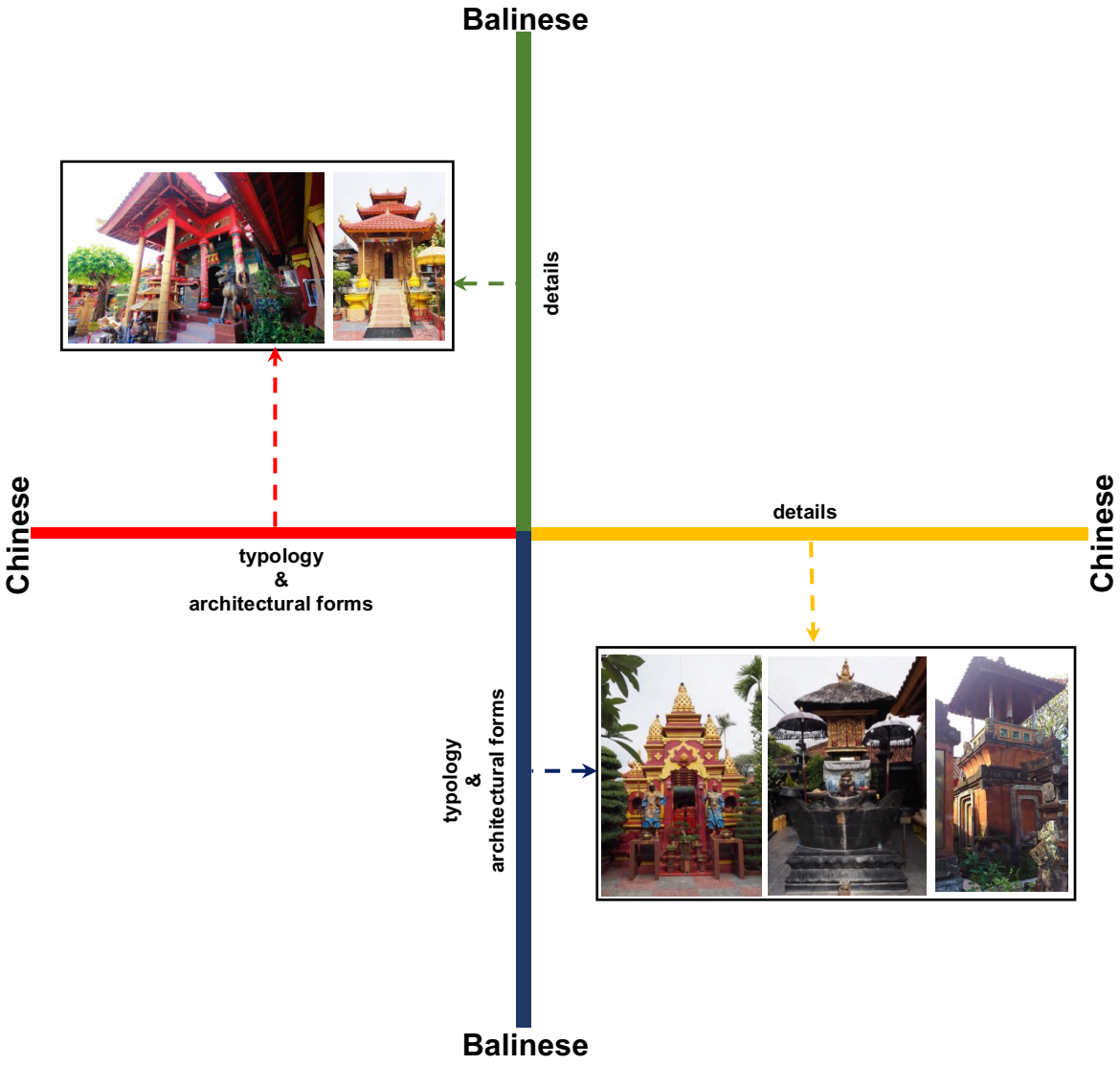


Figure 158: A comparative diagram of cultural modifications
Source: Author (2021)

8.4 No place like 'home'

> *Interestingly, it is the 'real' home, the very space from which one imagines oneself to have originated, and in which one projects the self as both homely and original, that is the most unfamiliar: it is here that one is a guest, relying on the hospitality of others (Ahmed, 1999, p. 330).*

The hundreds of years of ongoing migration and displacement from an original homeland has led the Chinese to generate an 'imagined homeland' (a Chinese

origin homeland) within their ‘host land’ (Bali). The imagined homeland, in this sense, is the result of their collective memory and their desire for and attachment to their idealised lands of origin. Whilst this imagined homeland refers to an ancestral homeland, as defined by Tan (2007), Bali is meant to be the homeland of residence for the Chinese and their local-born offspring, which is now almost the entire Chinese community in Bali. However, despite having been living in Bali for generations and generating active relationships with the Hindu-Balinese societies, the Chinese themselves are still seen as ‘unhomely subjects’ by the hosts due to their status as ‘the other’. In respect of this, the idea of homeland could connect philosophically to the ideas of the homely (*heimlich*) and unhomely (*unheimlich),* as identified by Sigmund Freud in his seminal essay *The Uncanny* (1919).

H*eimlich* is a German word that is the opposite of *unheimlich*, meaning ‘familiar’, ‘native’, ‘the domestic’, ‘belonging to the home’, ‘homely’, ‘not strange’ (Freud, 1919). Freud further explains that the word *heimlich* has two different meanings, that aren’t contradictory: “on the one hand, it means that which is familiar and congenial, and on the other, that which is concealed and kept out of sight” (1919, p. 4). However, Freud concludes that despite *unheimlich* seeming to be the opposite of *heimlich*, the word *heimlich* has ambivalence in meaning, until it confronts its opposite word, *unheimlich*. To put it simply, to understand their meanings, they should be used simultaneously. On this point, the word *unheimlich* connects to the idea of ‘the uncanny’ - the strange within the apparently familiar.

Anthony Vidler (1992) in *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely* notes that ‘the uncanny’ serves to describe a sense of alienation within the seemingly familiar in aspects of modern life that seem familiar. He explores the idea of *unheimlich* in aspects of contemporary architecture in connection with inquiries on social and individual alienation, exile, estrangement, and homelessness - a sense of being unsettled.

However, Vidler argues that, in the process, the presence of alien features in this modern society is not at the border or outside, but in the core of society. In respect to this, in addition to the ongoing issues of Chinese identities within the nation and local culture as representing ‘the other’, the

Chinese have been blended with the local Balinese population and culture (seen in *Tri Dharma* temples and other aspects of culture), which relies on the process of negotiation and compromises towards the differences in geographies and beliefs.

In addition to this, Du Bois' (1989) notion of 'twoness' resonates with the subject of Chinese-Balinese as perceiving and interpreting themselves as having dual identities. As echoed by Itzigsohn & Brown (2015) the twoness notion is a self-formation created by taking the two communities' positions, the Chinese communities and the Hindu-Balinese communities, simultaneously.

Du Bois further asserts that the twoness notion produces a double consciousness as having "two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body" (1989, p. 2). In this concept, the subject confronts the ambivalence of multiple senses of belonging and identities. The justification of the sense of belonging and identities is often implied in the question 'where are you from?', suggesting the origin being with one group (who has the right to ask) and not the other.

Ang (1993) notes the viewpoint that produces the question 'where are you from?', "a question easily thrown up as the bottom line of cultural identity (thereby equating cultural identity with national identity"[110]) (p. 9) - is not only about the geographical connection between particular people and a place, but has developed into who has a sense of natural belongness. Ang also argues that the question 'where are you from?' signifies the marginalisation of particular ethnic groups in the place 'where you are at?'.

In relation to the twoness notion that is exemplified by the Chinese-Balinese, their belongingness and identities within the Hindu-Balinese society are mediated within this juncture point, confronting the affirmations of 'where I am from' and 'where I am at' (Figure 159). This juncture point is the in-between space - a mediated place and space – that allows the

[110] Such an equation of cultural identity also depends on how national identity is defined and understood both by the government and people. Drawing on Kristeva's idea about who is a foreigner, the definition of foreignness is clear and acceptable along with the construction of nation-building. Foreignness refers to "the one who does not belong to the state, in which are, the one who does not have the same nationality" (Kristeva, 1991, p. 96).

Chinese, as a minority group, to coexist with the majority group. In connection to this, the two contradictory entities noted by Du Bois occupy this in-between space, negotiating their difference.

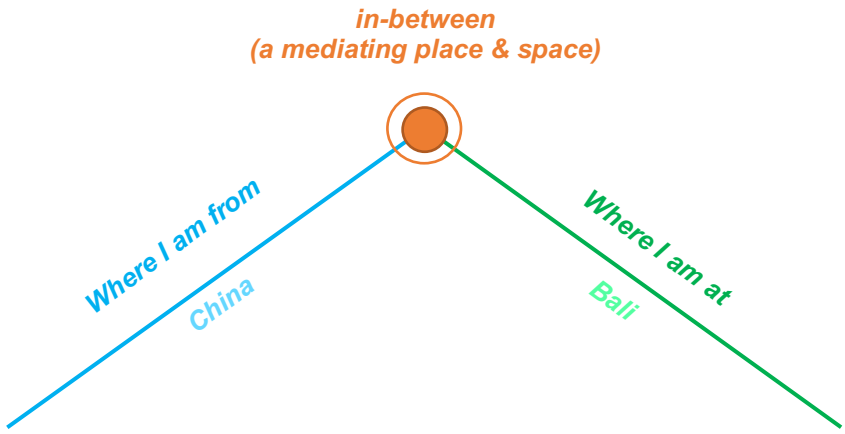


Figure 159: A diagram of the emergence of in-between space
Source: Author (2021)

The *Tri Dharma* temples discussed in this thesis are essentially the symbolic expression of 'imagined homeland'. They are manifestations of the Chinese community's intentions to maintain, revive, and invent their connection with their origin homeland traditions - particularly their ritual and cultural values - while also being part of Bali, their homeland of residence.

The Tri Dharma temples' function in accommodating both religious and socio-cultural activities, also their architectural forms in part (for example, the Cao Fuk Miao, Satya Dharma, Caow Eng Bio, Ling Gwan Kiong, Seng Hong Bi) symbolise the idealised original homeland. Further, these temples, to varying degrees, also represent the 'in-between' embodied in tangible forms - spatially and architecturally.

In practice, these temples mediate between the demands of local siting and their positioning within Hindu-Balinese culture and society, between shared heritage allegiances and nationalism, also between the notion of universalism - as defined by the Indonesian government - and heterogenous religious beliefs. They are cultural productions within an interstitial space; or as Bhabha (2004) puts it, a 'third space' - opening the possibility of generating a 'partial culture' that is contradictory and ambivalent as it has alike and different features to both its host cultures. In this, these temples 'speak' in a way that is not only double-voiced and

double-accented, but also ‘double-languaged’ in that their view represents both Chinese and Balinese cultures.

These temples also depict an ambivalence as a result of their necessary syncretism to negotiate contradictions and incommensurability, involving different geographies and beliefs. For examples, in practice, local waterways or main roads are used to guide main directions for most of the *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali in order to represent Chinese geographical features, though these directions are often different from Chinese cosmography compass directions.

The presence of Hindu-Balinese shrines for the veneration of local deities (seen within the Oong Tay Jen and Kwan Kong Bio temple complexes) also reflects this ambivalence. In addition, as well as being partial - in that they have parts of both cultures - these temples are also culturally productive in being double-voiced/double-languaged. They add to culture and create new cultural forms that are more than just a mixture of their parts. They also show the forms of creativities and uniqueness in successfully negotiating all the forces around them to create compelling architecture.

As a shared cultural heritage, these *Tri Dharma* temples indicate a desire to preserve and maintain significant cultural identities and values by setting up a fixed identity that is almost utopian. They represent a cultural revival caused by anxieties and fears about loss of attachment with their homeland traditions; loss of identity and values, and community’s collective history through the processes of distancing, forgetting, and assimilating.

This concept is seen in the revival of Chinese traditional expressions in Kong Co Bio temple after the end of the New Order political regime (discussed in Section 7.4.3), or the construction of an education and training centre within the Zhong Yi Miao temple complex to provide information, knowledge, and/or workshops in regard to Chinese traditional culture and religion. However, Chinese traditional culture in Bali has now been there for hundreds of years and has adapted, which is not just about integration with Hindu-Balinese culture, but also in that (as a migrant group isolated from their original community) they have developed their own characteristics, or perhaps maintained characteristics that have changed in their place of origin.

Such cultural transformations involve negotiation processes with difference and porous boundaries, indicating that these cultural sources are permeable and vulnerable: all cultures change over time and with interactions with other cultures. They also involve processes of entanglement that are sometimes generated consciously, and sometimes affected by life changes due to changing geographic, socio-cultural, and political environments. In this sense, within what is conscious entanglement there is adaptation undertaken for religious/ritual means and adaptation undertaken for political/pragmatic reasons.

In looking at the architecture of *Tri Dharma* temples, 'original' Chinese and Balinese cultural elements are both identifiable. The axial arrangement of layout, the curved roof designs, the use of Chinese traditional colours and Chinese mythical animal ornaments, the Balinese traditional tripartite universe notion, the use of natural exposed materials and Balinese traditional ornaments: all of these elements convey symbolic meanings. However, in several senses, every cultural element has been re-contextualised; namely:

- temples' sites, orientations, and building formations being determined according to the Hindu-Balinese cosmography;
- formally, materially;
- ornamentally altered/modified/combined (main entrance that has adopted Balinese traditional gateways;
- being painted in Chinese traditional colors;
- roof structures constructed of concrete; and
- adoption of Balinese traditional ornament and decorative elements.

All of these re-contextualisations, alterations, modifications, and/or combinations indicate a cultural mixing production, a two-way borrowing and lending between cultures, including the Balinese borrowing from the Chinese, as in Ahmed's analogy of home,

> *the lived experience of being-at-home hence involves the enveloping of subjects in a space which is not simply outside them: being-at-home suggests that the subject and space leak into each other, inhabit each other* (1999, p. 341).

This analogy resonates with the notion of not being a home (unhomely) explained earlier in this section, in the sense of the *Tri Dharma* temples' siting, layouts, and architectural form, serving to mitigate the unhomely to create a sense of being-at-

home or an idealised imagined homeland. These processes of cultural mixing occur within a space that Bhabha calls ‘the third space’ - a space that is not just a mixture, but a culturally productive mixture - through negotiation and translation of the difference, reflecting creativity and that represented by the *Tri Dharma* temples. Within this space, Chinese and Balinese cultures occupy one shared site and as they are consciously aware of their differences and compatibilities, this opens possibilities of entanglements in several senses. Ultimately, the (new) culture is constructed as difference within the liminal space. This (new) culture, as symbolised in *Tri Dharma* temples, illustrates the assertion in claiming and declaring ‘who I am’.

It is important to note that the construction of this in-between identity represented in *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali has been influenced by external and internal forces in order to determine limitations by selecting what to include and what to exclude. The external forces in determining the interaction and intersection between the Chinese and Balinese cultures are their status and position of the Chinese-Balinese within the Hindu-Balinese culture and society. As explained in Section 2.3.1, the presence of the Chinese-Balinese within the broader Hindu-Balinese societies is governed by the *awig-awig* or traditional customary laws and regulations, in which the Chinese do not fully equate to the Hindu-Balinese in regard to the relationship to the God(s) (*parahyangan*), but they have obligations to maintain the relationships with the communities (*pawongan*) and land (*palemahan*) where they have settled.

In this sense, it is not merely about the Chinese choosing to become local or not, but it is related to the openness of Hindu-Balinese culture and society towards its Chinese counterparts. This is in contrast to the position of the Chinese ethnic groups in the history of independent Indonesia’s different regimes (as explained in Sections 2.5 and 4.2), whereby their status as ‘the other’ was followed with the pressure to give up their ‘Chinese-ness’ and assimilate with the local population and culture in order to maintain nation-building narratives. In this respect, the host culture has a prominent role in welcoming and accepting their ‘guest’ culture(s) to be living with them, also understanding their cultural difference.

Anthias (2001) argues that,

> *… the acid test of hybridity lies in the response of culturally dominant groups, not only in terms of incorporating (or co-opting) cultural*

> *products of marginal or subordinate groups, but in being open to transforming and abandoning some of their own central cultural symbols and practices of hegemony* (p. 12).

Such a view can be seen in the sharing of sites and ritual practices, within the *Tri Dharma* temples and Hindu-Balinese temples, and in some modifications of their architectural forms. However, in this sense, the openness of the Hindu-Balinese by no means involves abandoning or abolishing their central cultural symbols and practices, as the *Tri Dharma* temple siting occupies at a less important/less sacred part of the temple compound or within the border of cultural villages territory, and/or because the compatibility of Balinese and Chinese belief systems means that they can be combined without one erasing the other. Accordingly, the Chinese have become hybridised, but the Balinese have not, despite some accommodation of Chinese elements within their world.

The internal force in constructing in-between identity in *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali seems derived from the self-representation of Chinese communities as mixture of Chinese-Balinese offspring in a literal and/or cultural sense. As evidence during the interview with the representative of Kong Co Bio temple in Tabanan Regency on the question of 'what kinds of activities are carried out in this Chinese temple?'

> *All the adherents usually visit this temple to conduct daily rituals. We also usually held weekly or monthly Buddhist congregation rituals. During the rituals, we also pray and provide offerings to the pelinggih penunggun karang. Most of our predecessors practiced interethnic marriage for generations, particularly with the Hindu-Balinese. So, we consider ourselves as half-Chinese and half-Balinese. And do not surprise if we also have a pelinggih penunggun karang or even Hindu-Balinese temple complex within each of our courtyard residence* (the representative of Kong Co Bio temple, personal communication, 14 January 2020).

In this sense, the embodiment of partial cultural identity influences their sense of belonging in both cultures and belief systems. Such partial cultural identity is represented in their architecture and practices of rituals and rites. This situation resonates with Hall's theory of identity as "a form of representation which is able to constitute us as new kinds of subjects, and thereby enable us to discover places from which to speak" (1990, p. 236). To put it simply, Chinese-Balinese representation is not about the affiliation of singular ethnicity or nationalism or

belief, but their sense of belonging become multivocal in its negotiating to respect both cultural roots. Thus, their cultural identity is represented in the hybrid form of *Tri Dharma* temples, depicting the coexistence of both Chinese and Balinese cultural identities and differences through negotiation processes, while also being indicative of a spectrum of such identities - differing ratios of 'Chinese-ness' and 'Balinese-ness', and perhaps also with the addition of Shivaism/Buddhism and other influences being Indonesian, in terms of citizenship or being modern.

8.5 Together in difference

The process of hybridity represented in *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali has proceeded to a juncture point where the process of migration and dislocation of Chinese people has encountered hegemonic nationalism and cultural/ethnic essentialism. As explained in discussions in Sections 4.2 and 4.3, *Pancasila* is the Indonesian fundamental principle used to govern the whole spectrum of Indonesian heterogeneous societies on the basis of 'unity in diversity', particularly in defining Indonesian cultures, ethnicities, and sanctioned religions. However, despite governmental universalism, Indonesian cultures are still represented by ethnic groups - based on language, traditions, places of inhabitation - rather than simply being one of five or six monotheistic groups recognised by the nation-state. This is evident in *Tri Dharma* currently not being officially recognised as a religion in its own right, unlike Buddhism.

Further, the presence of Chinese culture within the broader Hindu-Balinese community has also been followed with cultural and religious adaptation: diasporic culture and religious practices have been creatively negotiated and compromised within the host nation, culture, and society, producing spaces for cross-cultural and cross-faith contacts. Arguably, this situation is a form of survival mechanism, as Chinese-Balinese have found creative ways to fit within the dominant culture or host culture, although this mechanism may contribute to anxiety or oppression.

Dawis (2009),in her observation of Chinese-Indonesian people hybridity, proposes this might open possibilities for Chinese diaspora to exercise their powerful, creative, and attractive strategies in (re)producing identity and

embedding the Chinese traditional values, beliefs, and images across nations. In addition, although hybrid representation in *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali indicates the form of a traditional revival for minority Chinese subjects within national and local environments, it is still more of an ongoing negotiation, although with the current regime the previous tensions have relaxed and there is greater confidence within Chinese ethnic groups to represent their ancestral homeland traditions.

In this sense, the increased confidence in expressing the Chinese traditions means that Chinese-Balinese are becoming more overtly Chinese, as they are more secure in expressing the Chinese cultural elements. This is seen the ways the Kong Co Bio and Ong Ya Kong responded to the fall of the New Order regime by developing their temple with the use of Chinese elements, including performing Chinese traditional practices in public, such as in Chinese feast day(s) or Chinese New Year.

The complexity of entanglement in hybridity, particularly when it confronts hegemonic power, is reflected in the architectural form of *Tri Dharma* temples' gateways that mimicked the form of Balinese traditional gates with less modification or combination of Chinese traditional features to 'hide' Chinese cultural elements and values due to the political force of the assimilation policy of the New Order regime. This signifies that hybridity has been practised sometimes - especially during the New Order period - as a form of implicit political 'violence' due to the forced adoption of Balinese cultural features.

Bhabha asserts that, "mimicry emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal" (2004, p. 122). In this sense, what was being disavowed is the Chinese identity of the public face of the temple, due to the political need (reinforced by threat of violence) to hide such an identity. However, the mimicking of Balinese traditional gates within the *Tri Dharma* temple can also be argued as an intention to creatively express and maintain both Chinese and Balinese cultures by combining both cultural elements, including their sacred values - due to the self-desire of particular Chinese communities for affirming both cultural identities in juxtaposition. Such mimicry indicates an effective and creative strategy in visualising both cultural powers, despite being constructed around ambivalence, or "a subject of a difference that

is almost the same, but not quite" (Bhabha 2004, p. 122). So, this case of *Tri Dharma* temples is more of a cultural negotiation; unequal perhaps but cordial.

The negotiation processes within hybridity or within the hybrid subject also involve translation toward difference. Translation, in this sense, is by those who have power and control in translating the difference, so that translation belongs to them (Kalra, 2005). Thus, it is important to understand who translates and why it being translated. During the New Order period, the state had power and control in determining Balinese culture (as one of the recognised Indonesian indigenous cultures) and Buddhist religion (that had met the requirements as a state-defined religion) to be represented into *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali, aimed to accelerate the assimilation policy. However, the reformation era that started in 1998 marked the liberation of Chinese communities in Bali to translate differences in which influence the degree of hybridity in *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali. This is seen with the adoption of a *pelinggih penunggun karang* within a *Tri Dharma* temple courtyard due to having compatible belief systems, and the combination of Chinese and Balinese traditional ornaments applied to individual buildings within the *Tri Dharma* temples compound.

Today, the right to be different the claim towards difference is the key to contestation and has raised a provocative question by Ang (2003): 'can we live together-in-difference?'. This question emphasises the importance of hybridity as a prominent concept in constructing identity that is underpinned by difference, but without representing binary opposition and forcing universalism or as Ang proposes "togetherness-in-difference rather than separateness and virtual apartheid" (2003, p. 141).

On this point, the desire to maintain the ancestral homeland culture and adopt the host culture simultaneously results in the notion of 'purity' or 'authenticity' being untenable. Instead, it opens possibilities for constructing a new form of identity. Thus, it is argued that hybridity in the *Tri Dharma* temples also represents the entanglement of 'togetherness-in-difference' and has the demonstrable ability to prevent the exercise of hegemonic power on uniformity or universalism, as well as being the accommodation of such power. As can be seen in the architectural identity of *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali it is not the same as Chinese temples in China (as can also be seen in the comparison between a

Chinese temple in Denpasar city and a Chinese temple in Fujian, China explored in Section 1.2).

These temples have a newness that represents a comfortable and comforting identity to express 'where they are from' and respect 'where they are at'. Hall's definition of diaspora in that

> *… the diaspora experience is defined, not by essence or purity, the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of identity which lives with and through, not despite difference; by hybridity* (1990, p. 235),

means it depends on the politics of hybridity, a process of boundary-blurring transculturation. In connection to this, it is interesting to note again the statement from the Kong Co Bio representative that, due to their three religious doctrines practice being combined with Hindu-Balinese tradition, they practically practice *Catur Dharma* or four religious' doctrines - Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism, and Hindu-Balinese[111]. In this sense, they are aware that they live within Hindu-Balinese culture and society not merely with difference; yet, with some compatibilities and compromise in which they have the open essential opportunity to live side-by-side with tolerance and harmony.

In this, hybridity means the power to assert their impure and plural formation that prevents their oppression or marginalisation of others, also the disparity between 'Us' and 'Them' – Chinese and non-Chinese or *pribumi* and non-*pribumi*. Also, their creative ways should be recognised, acknowledged, involved socially, culturally, politically. Ultimately, the hybridity represented by *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali is seen as a symbolic model of together-in-difference. It not only provides access for Chinese-Balinese to a comforting and comfortable global world, but is a necessary survival strategy in facing the confluence of social and political differences, and managing being a minority within cultural and national borders. In connection of this to the broader implication, globalisation has not restricted migrants to merely being minority ethnic groups within nation-states, but also as members of global diasporas that span national boundaries.

[111] Personal communication with the representative of Kong Co Bio temple.

This situation is reflected in Vorp and Smets' (2015) observation of Former Yugoslavian migrants who have formed diaspora organisations as intermediary bodies in mediating people, locations and in regard of contributions to host society(s), conflict resolution issues, the development of economic and poverty reduction strategy in homeland(s) institutions, while also contributing to the construction of collective senses of belonging and identity formations.

In practice, all members of diasporas organise ethnic/religious or cross-cultural (together with the host and other ethnicities/nationalities) activities or events across countries, in other host countries, and in their homeland - indicating their power, capability, and positions as their diaspora has been expanded within broader socio-cultural and political aspects. In parallel to this, Chinese-Indonesians also still have active connections with other Chinese-origin communities in the rest of Indonesia and other countries, based on socio-cultural, politic, or economic networks (Tan, 2004, 2010, 2011). Since 2011, Indonesia has even collaborated with China to establish Confucius Institutes in some Indonesian universities to promote Chinese language and culture (Theo and Leung, 2018). The establishment of Confucius Institutes also gives the Chinese-Indonesian community with an objective to build a cultural bridge between Indonesia and China, and other Indonesians and Chinese-Indonesians.

8.6 General Summary

The idea of national boundaries being able to contain authentic identities is untenable because of the rapid dispersal of people in this global world who are attached to their own traditions and who also adapt their traditions to different locations. Therefore, understanding and accepting the differences is significantly necessary for preventing the hegemonic of sameness and homogeneity, also generating the tolerance to live together in difference rather than living apart together. Moreover, in this era of liberal multiculturalism - though this term in Indonesia still within limits determined by *Pancasila* principles - and ethnic revivalism, hybridity might not be considered to be an anomaly anymore, yet it would be a part of daily life.

Thus, as a symbolic model of together-in-difference, *Tri Dharma* temples in Bali provide new insights into how religious architecture reflects cultural interaction and a necessity of survival strategies in facing the confluence of social and political differences, and managing being a minority within cultural and national borders. These temples also demonstrate how particular ethnic minorities approach preserving their traditions and adapting to the local culture, and how cultural negotiating processes contribute to maintaining the cultural identity of ethnic minorities in everyday lives and contribute to cultural harmony and understanding. They are the result of active and mutual relationships between two or more cultures - Chinese, Balinese, and other (national Indonesian, Shivaist-Buddhist) - and not solely one straight lineal process. They are successful because to the power of negotiation and compromise, due to their community abilities of traversing, intermingling, fusion, and integration.

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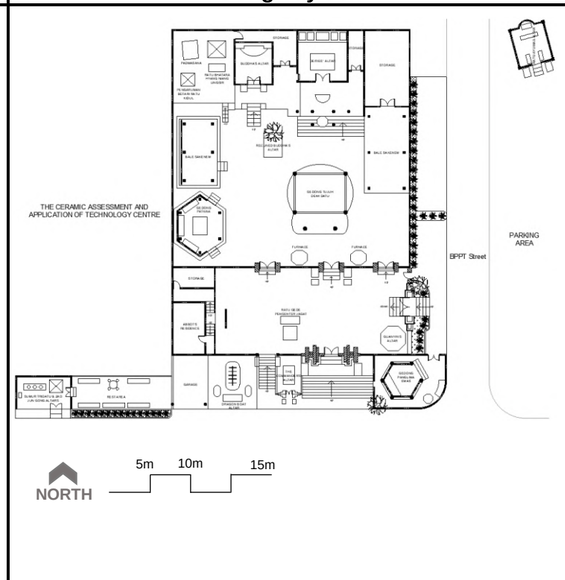
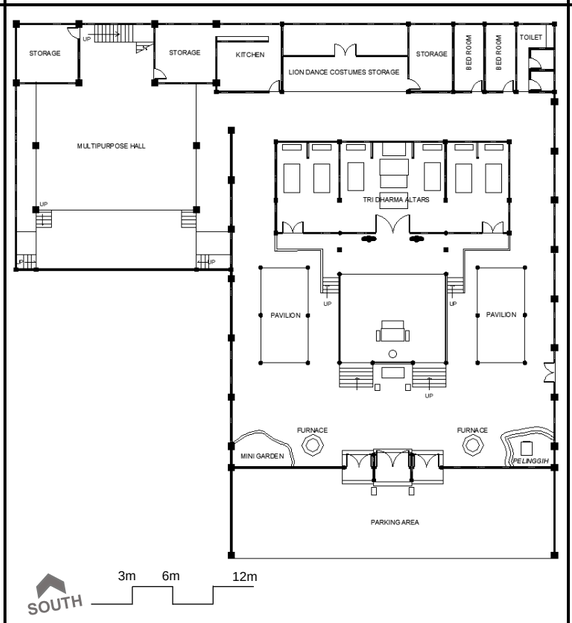
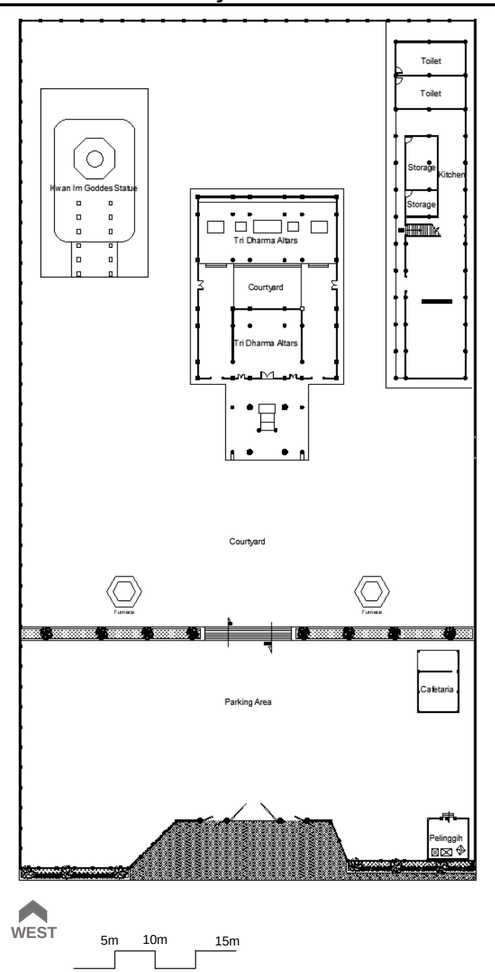
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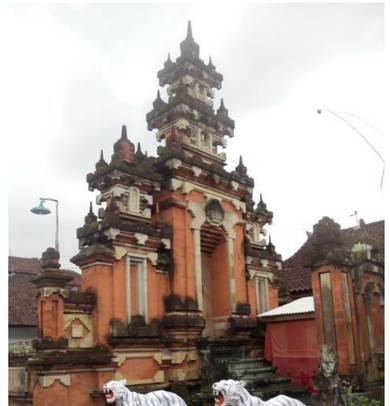
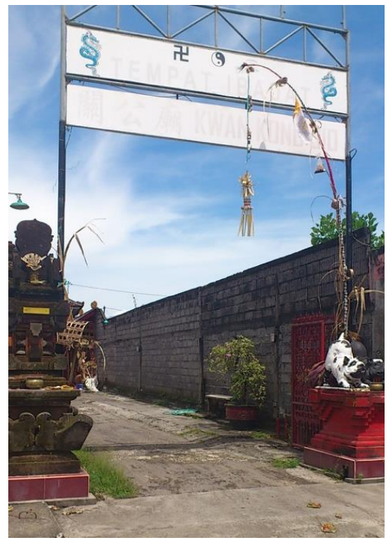
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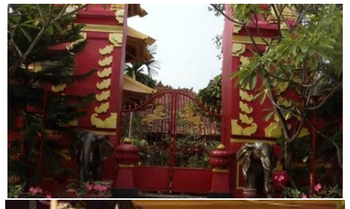
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Appendix A. Tri Dharma Temple Variations in Bali

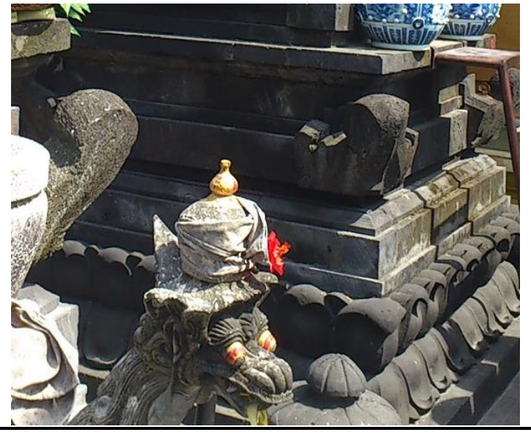
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS	*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN DENPASAR			
	Oong Tay Jen	Kwan Kong Bio	Cao Fuk Miao	Satya Dharma
Layouts				

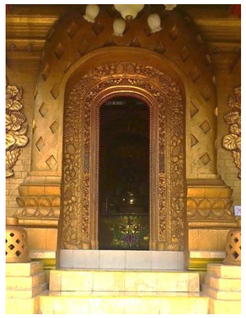
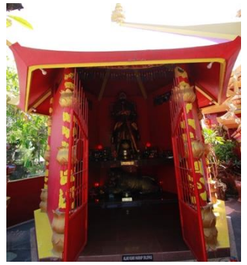
Gateways	Typologies	   	  	 	 
	Materials	Brick, concrete, ceramic, camphor wood	Brick, grey sandstone, concrete, iron, and jackfruit wood	Brick, concrete, teak wood, clay roof tile, and iron	Brick, concrete, iron, and clay roof tile

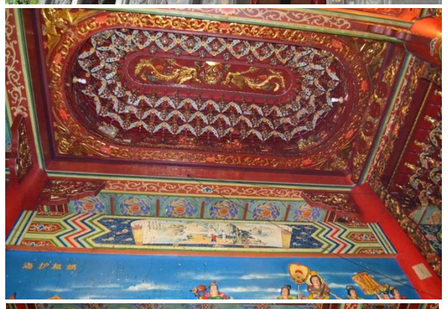
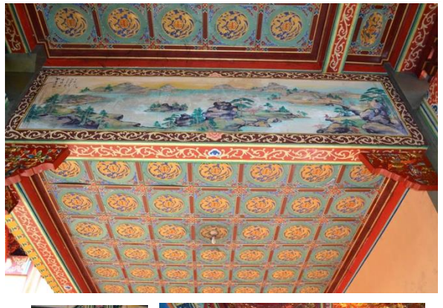
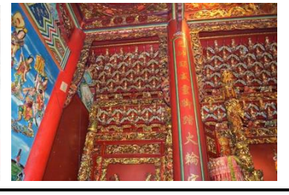
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN DENPASAR			
		Oong Tay Jen	**Kwan Kong Bio**	**Cao Fuk Miao**	**Satya Dharma**
Gateways	Ornaments & Decorations 1. Top	    	 	 	 
	2. Middle	  	 	 	

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN DENPASAR			
		Oong Tay Jen	**Kwan Kong Bio**	**Cao Fuk Miao**	**Satya Dharma**
Gateways	3. Bottom	     	  	 	

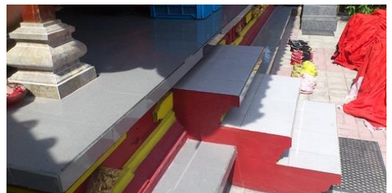
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN DENPASAR			
		Oong Tay Jen	**Kwan Kong Bio**	**Cao Fuk Miao**	**Satya Dharma**
Hindu-Balinese Shrines	Typologies				
	Materials	Grey sandstone, cempaka wood	Clay roof tile, brick, grey sandstone, cempaka wood	Grey sandstone	Grey sandstone
	Ornaments & Decorations 1. Top				

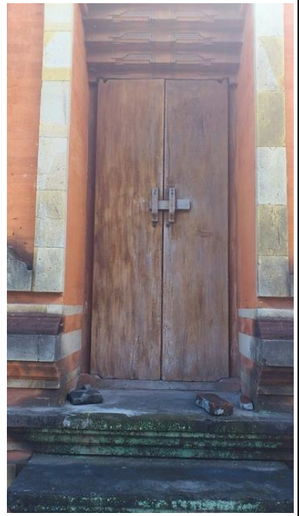
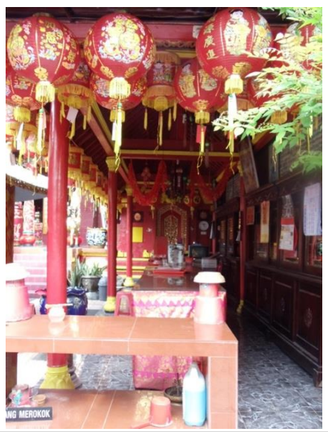
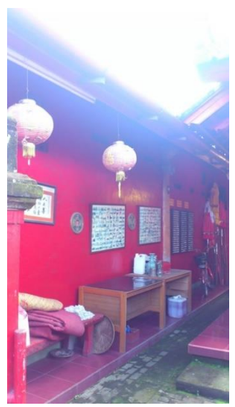
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN DENPASAR			
		Oong Tay Jen	**Kwan Kong Bio**	**Cao Fuk Miao**	**Satya Dharma**
Hindu-Balinese Shrines	2. Middle	  	   		 
	3. Bottom	  	   		 

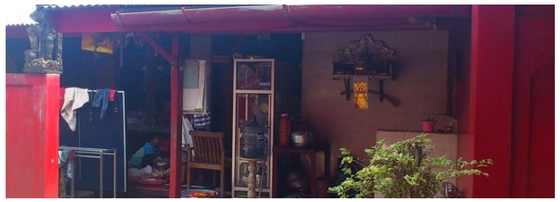
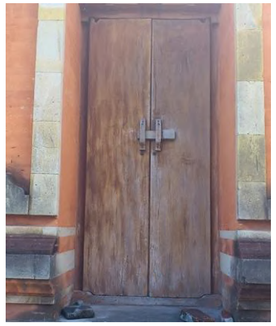
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN DENPASAR			
		Oong Tay Jen	Kwan Kong Bio	Cao Fuk Miao	Satya Dharma
Tri Dharma Worship Buildings	Building entrance	   	  	   	  
	Worship Building Typologies	 	 	 	 

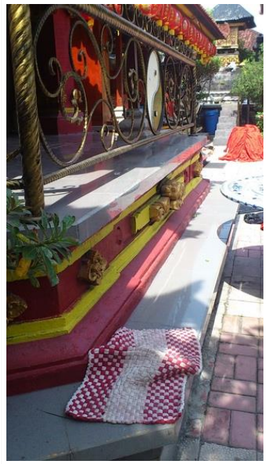
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN DENPASAR			
		Oong Tay Jen	**Kwan Kong Bio**	**Cao Fuk Miao**	**Satya Dharma**
***Tri Dharma* Worship Buildings**	Materials	Brick, ceramic floor tile, concrete, camphor wood, ceramic roof tile, granite, bamboo mat, clay roof tile	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile, ceramic floor tile, coconut wood	Ceramic floor tile, concrete, camphor wood, brick, clay roof tile, ceramic floor tile	Grey sandstone, concrete, brick, clay roof tile, teak wood, ceramic floor tile
	Ornaments & Decorations 1. Top	        	   	    	     

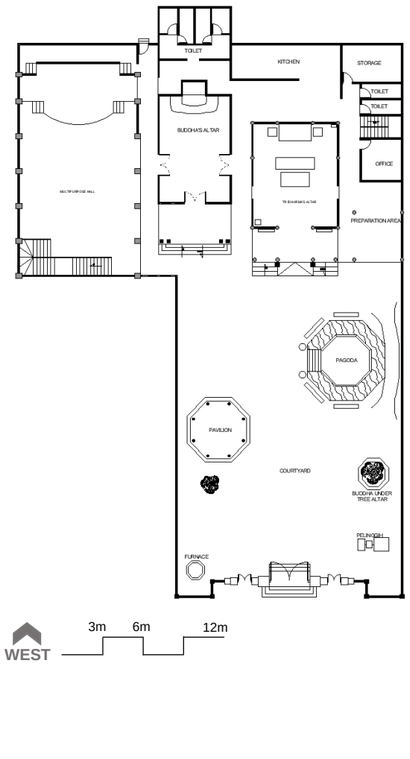
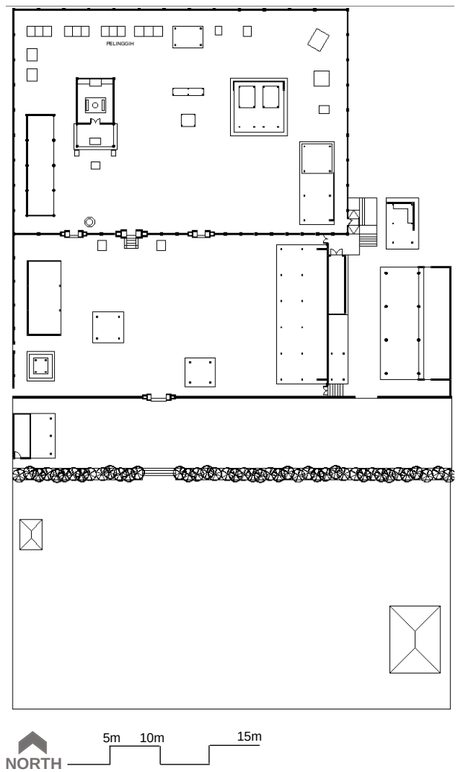
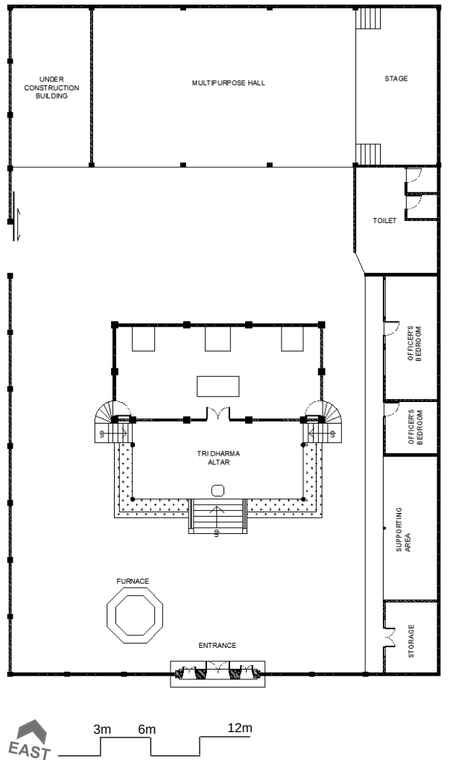
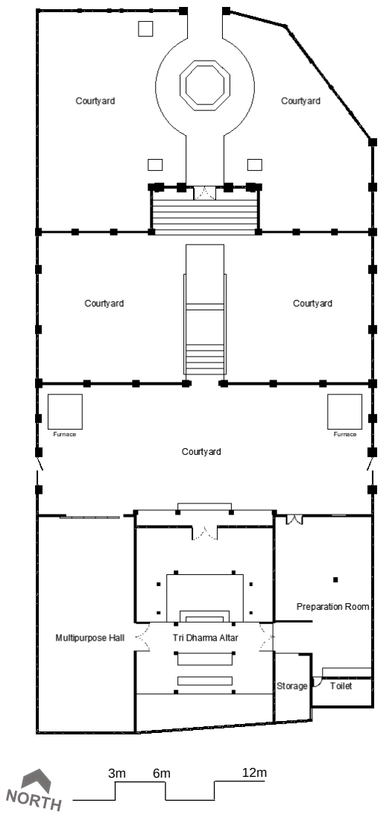
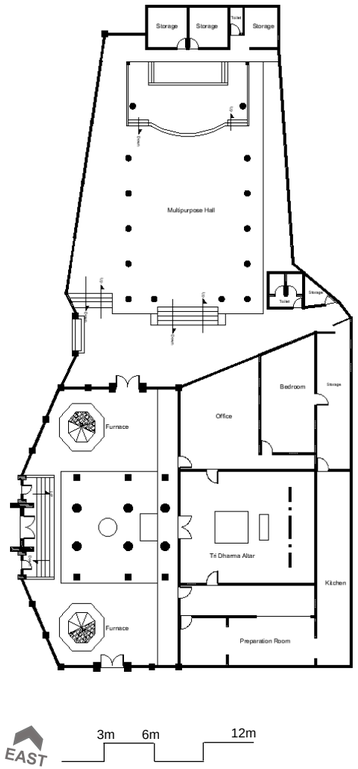
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN DENPASAR			
		Oong Tay Jen	Kwan Kong Bio	Cao Fuk Miao	Satya Dharma
Tri Dharma Worship Buildings	2. Middle	     	    	      	  

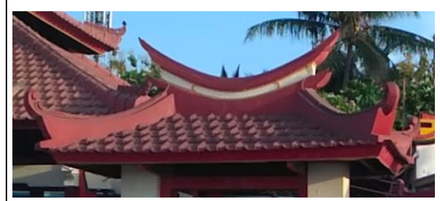
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN DENPASAR			
		Oong Tay Jen	Kwan Kong Bio	Cao Fuk Miao	Satya Dharma
Tri Dharma Worship Buildings	3. Bottom	     	      	  	    

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN DENPASAR			
		Oong Tay Jen	Kwan Kong Bio	Cao Fuk Miao	Satya Dharma
Supporting Buildings	Building entrances	  	 		 
	Typologies	 	  	   	 

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN DENPASAR			
		Oong Tay Jen	**Kwan Kong Bio**	**Cao Fuk Miao**	**Satya Dharma**
Supporting Buildings	Materials	Brick, ceramic floor tile, concrete, camphor wood, ceramic roof tile, granite, bamboo mat	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile, ceramic floor tile, coconut wood	Ceramic floor tile, clay roof tile, concrete, camphor wood, brick	Concrete, camphor wood, brick, glass, ceramic, clay roof tile
	Ornaments & Decorations 1. Top	   	  	 	N/A
	2. Middle	 	  		N/A

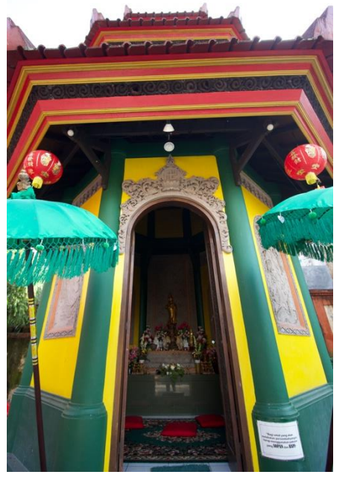
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN DENPASAR			
		Oong Tay Jen	**Kwan Kong Bio**	**Cao Fuk Miao**	**Satya Dharma**
Supporting Buildings	3. Bottom	 	  		N/A

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS	*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN TABANAN		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN JEMBRANA	*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BULELENG	
	Kongco Bio	Batu Meringgit	Cung Ling Bio	Ling Gwan Kiong	Seng Hong Bio
Layouts					

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN TABANAN		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN JEMBRANA	*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BULELENG	
		Kongco Bio	**Batu Meringgit**	**Cung Ling Bio**	**Ling Gwan Kiong**	**Seng Hong Bio**
Gateways	Typologies	 	 	 	  	  
	Materials	Brick, grey sandstone, and teak wood	Grey sandstone, wood	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile, and iron	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile, iron, and teak wood	Brick, concrete, grey sandstone, clay roof tile, and teak wood
	Ornaments & Decorations 1. Top	 	 	 	  	 

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN TABANAN		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN JEMBRANA	*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BULELENG	
		Kongco Bio	**Batu Meringgit**	**Cung Ling Bio**	**Ling Gwan Kiong**	**Seng Hong Bio**
Gateways	2. Middle	 			 	 
	3. Bottom	 		 	 	 
Hindu-Balinese Shrines	Typologies			N/A	N/A	N/A

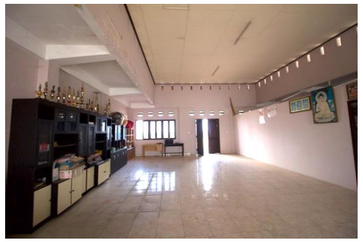
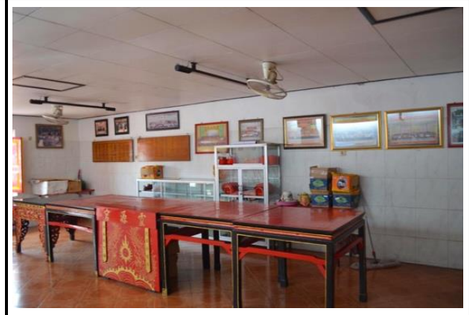
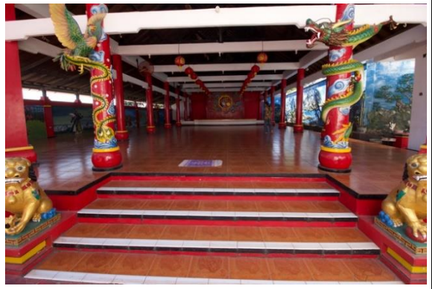
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN TABANAN		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN JEMBRANA	*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BULELENG	
		Kongco Bio	**Batu Meringgit**	**Cung Ling Bio**	**Ling Gwan Kiong**	**Seng Hong Bio**
Hindu-Balinese Shrines	Material	Black sandstone, concrete	Thatch roof, cempaka wood, concrete, grey sandstone	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Ornaments & Decorations 1. Top			N/A	N/A	N/A
	2. Middle			N/A	N/A	N/A
	3. Bottom			N/A	N/A	N/A

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN TABANAN		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN JEMBRANA	*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BULELENG	
		Kongco Bio	Batu Meringgit	Cung Ling Bio	Ling Gwan Kiong	Seng Hong Bio
Tri Dharma Worship Buildings	Building Entrances	  			 	

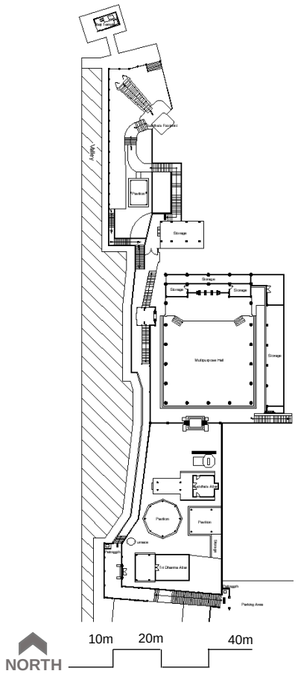
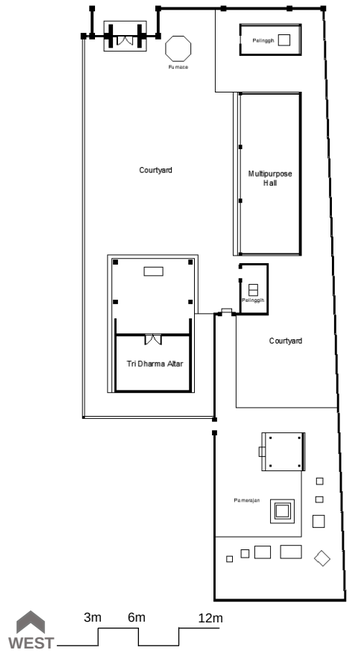
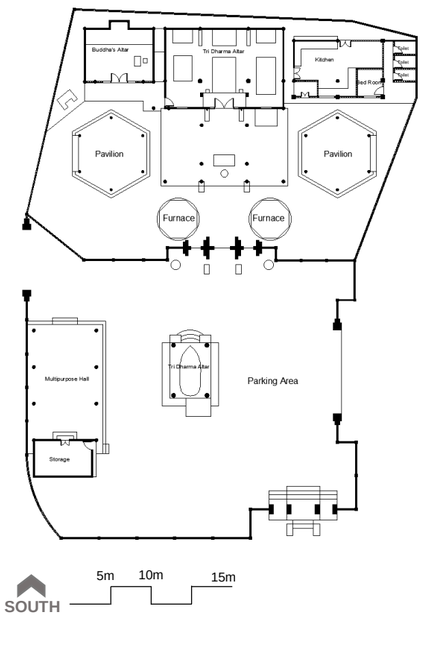
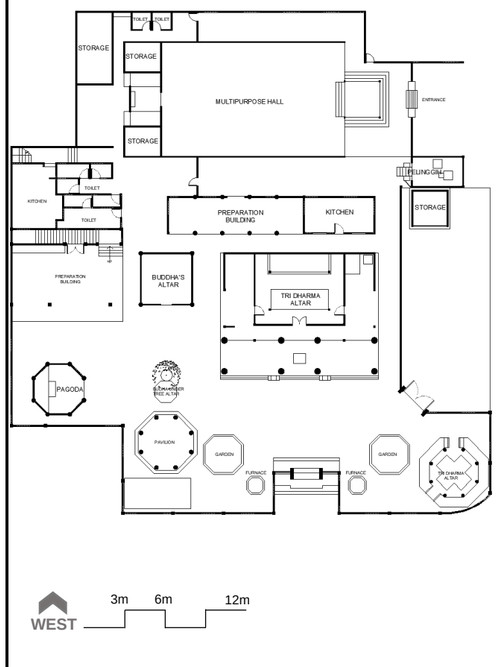
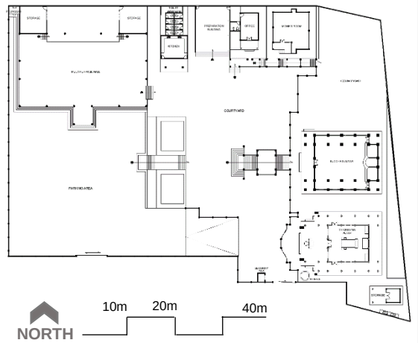
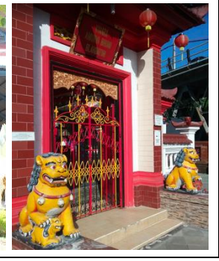
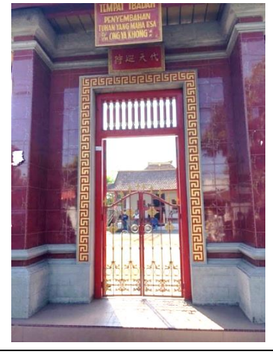
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN TABANAN		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN JEMBRANA	*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BULELENG	
		Kongco Bio	Batu Meringgit	Cung Ling Bio	Ling Gwan Kiong	Seng Hong Bio
Tri Dharma Worship Buildings	Worship Building Typologies	   	 	  	   	  
	Materials	Brick, concrete, grey sandstone, clay roof tile, ceramic floor tile, grey sandstone, teak wood	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile, ceramic floor tile, teak wood	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile, ceramic floor tile, teak wood	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile, ceramic floor tile, teak wood, ceramic floor tile

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN TABANAN		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN JEMBRANA	*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BULELENG	
		Kongco Bio	Batu Meringgit	Cung Ling Bio	Ling Gwan Kiong	Seng Hong Bio
Tri Dharma Worship Buildings	Ornaments & Decorations 1. Top	  	 	  	   	  
	2. Middle	   	   	  	  	  

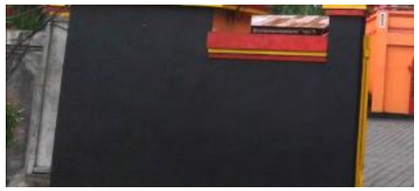
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		Kongco Bio	**Batu Meringgit**	**Cung Ling Bio**	**Ling Gwan Kiong**	**Seng Hong Bio**
***Tri Dharma* Worship Buildings**	3. Bottom	    	  	   		  
Supporting Buildings	<u>Building Entrances</u>	N/A	N/A		 	 

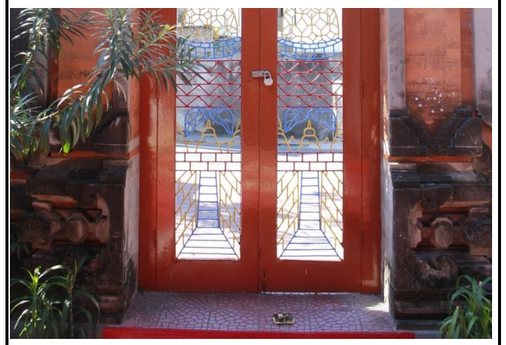
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		Kongco Bio	**Batu Meringgit**	**Cung Ling Bio**	**Ling Gwan Kiong**	**Seng Hong Bio**
Supporting Buildings	Typologies	  		 	 	
	Materials	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile, ceramic floor tile, grey sandstone, camphor wood	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile, ceramic floor tile, teak wood	Brick, concrete, steel, aluminium roof, teak wood	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile, ceramic floor tile, teak wood	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile, ceramic floor tile, teak wood
	Ornaments & Decorations 1. Top	 		N/A	N/A	 

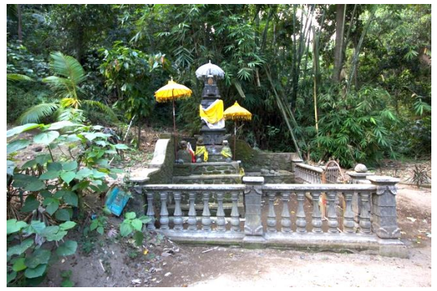
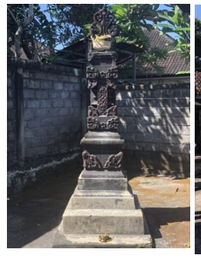
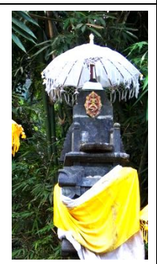
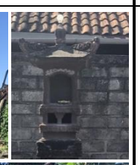
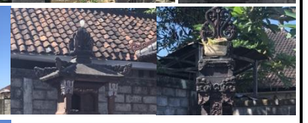
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN TABANAN		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN JEMBRANA	*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BULELENG	
		Kongco Bio	**Batu Meringgit**	**Cung Ling Bio**	**Ling Gwan Kiong**	**Seng Hong Bio**
Supporting Buildings	2. Middle			N/A	N/A	
	3. Bottom	 		N/A	N/A	 

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS	*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN GIANYAR		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BADUNG		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN KLUNGKUNG
	Amurva Bhumi	Ong Ya Kong	Caow Eng Bio	Leeng Gwan Bio	Zhong Yi Miao
Layouts					
Gateways — Typologies	    	 	  	   	

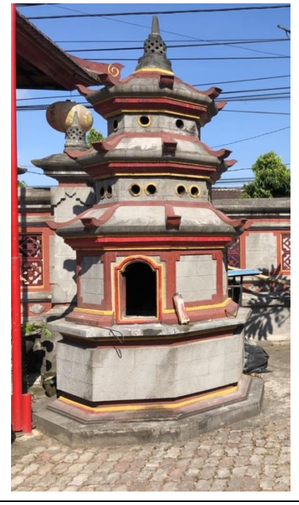
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN GIANYAR		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BADUNG		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN KLUNGKUNG
		Amurva Bhumi	**Ong Ya Kong**	**Caow Eng Bio**	**Leeng Gwan Bio**	**Zhong Yi Miao**
Gateways	Materials	Brick, grey sandstone, clay roof tile, iron, and camphor wood	Brick, grey sandstone, clay roof tile, iron, ceramic, and camphor wood	Brick, grey sandstone, clay roof tile, and teak wood	Brick, grey sandstone, clay roof tile, camphor wood	Brick, iron
	Ornaments & Decorations 1. Top	  	  	  	   	

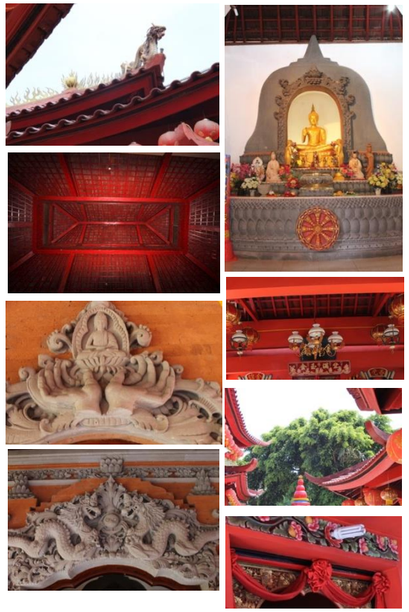
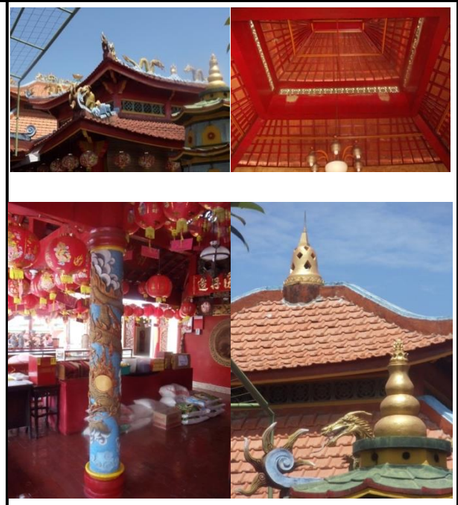
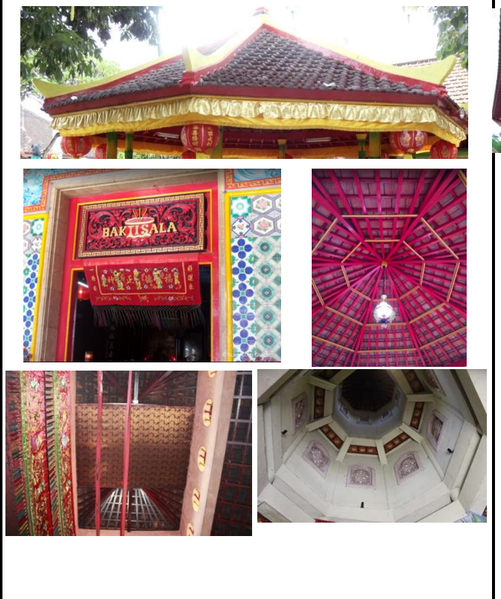
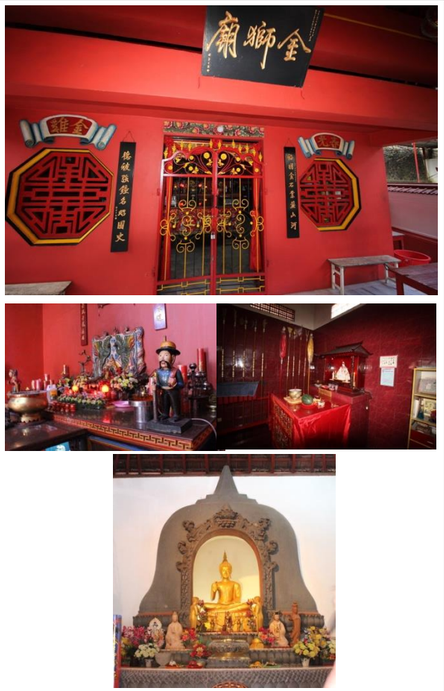
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN GIANYAR		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BADUNG		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN KLUNGKUNG
		Amurva Bhumi	Ong Ya Kong	Caow Eng Bio	Leeng Gwan Bio	Zhong Yi Miao
Gateways	2. Middle	   	 	  	   	

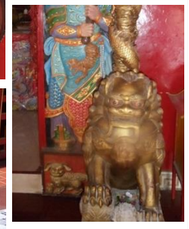
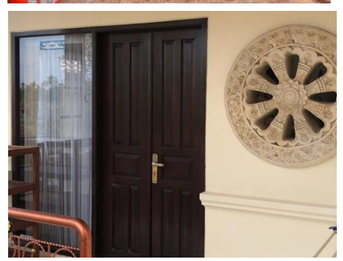
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN GIANYAR		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BADUNG		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN KLUNGKUNG
		Amurva Bhumi	Ong Ya Kong	Caow Eng Bio	Leeng Gwan Bio	Zhong Yi Miao
Gateways	3. Bottom	   	 	  	   	

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN GIANYAR		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BADUNG		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN KLUNGKUNG
		Amurva Bhumi	Ong Ya Kong	Caow Eng Bio	Leeng Gwan Bio	Zhong Yi Miao
Hindu-Balinese Shrines	Typologies	  	       	N/A	 	
	Materials	Brick, grey sandstone, concrete	Brick, grey sandstone, concrete, (?) wood	N/A	Brick, concrete, grey sandstone, thatch roof, (?) wood	Camphor wood
	Ornaments & Decorations 1. Top	 	      	N/A	 	

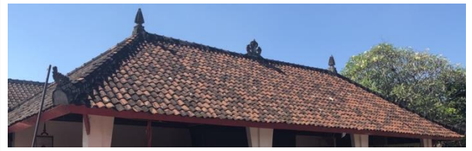
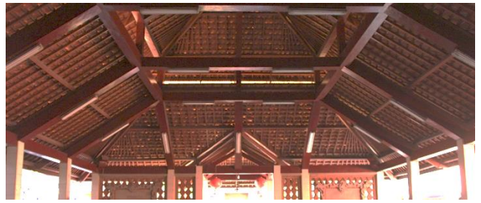
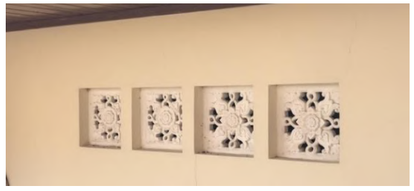
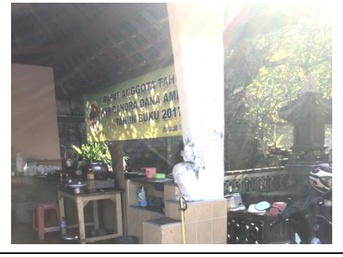
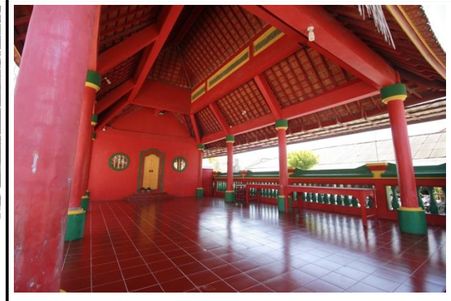
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN GIANYAR		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BADUNG		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN KLUNGKUNG
		Amurva Bhumi	Ong Ya Kong	Caow Eng Bio	Leeng Gwan Bio	Zhong Yi Miao
Hindu-Balinese Shrines	2. Middle			N/A		
	3. Bottom			N/A		N/A

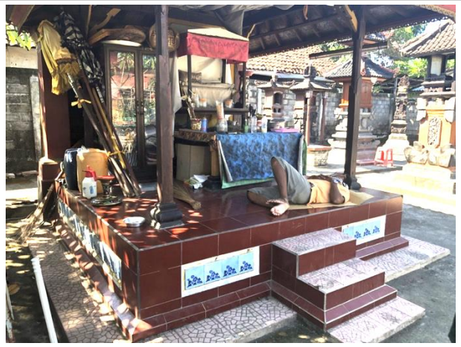
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN GIANYAR		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BADUNG		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN KLUNGKUNG
		Amurva Bhumi	Ong Ya Kong	Caow Eng Bio	Leeng Gwan Bio	Zhong Yi Miao
Tri Dharma Worship Buildings	Building Entrances	  		  	   	  
	Worship Building Typologies	   	 	   	     	  
	Materials	Brick, grey sandstone, concrete, clay roof tile, teak wood, ceramic floor tile	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile, teak wood, ceramic floor tile	Brick, grey sandstone, concrete, clay roof tile, teak wood, ceramic floor tile	Brick, grey sandstone, concrete, clay roof tile, teak wood, ceramic floor tile	Brick, grey sandstone, concrete, clay roof tile, teak wood, ceramic floor tile

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS	*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN GIANYAR		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BADUNG		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN KLUNGKUNG
	Amurva Bhumi	Ong Ya Kong	Caow Eng Bio	Leeng Gwan Bio	Zhong Yi Miao
Tri Dharma Worship Buildings Ornaments & Decorations 1. Top					
2. Middle					

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN GIANYAR		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BADUNG		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN KLUNGKUNG
		Amurva Bhumi	Ong Ya Kong	Caow Eng Bio	Leeng Gwan Bio	Zhong Yi Miao
Tri Dharma Worship Buildings	3. Bottom	   	 	    	   	 
Supporting Buildings	<u>Building Entrances</u>	   			 	 

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS	*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN GIANYAR		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BADUNG		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN KLUNGKUNG
	Amurva Bhumi	Ong Ya Kong	Caow Eng Bio	Leeng Gwan Bio	Zhong Yi Miao
Supporting Buildings Typologies	    	  	 	   	    

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN GIANYAR		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BADUNG		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN KLUNGKUNG
		Amurva Bhumi	**Ong Ya Kong**	**Caow Eng Bio**	**Leeng Gwan Bio**	**Zhong Yi Miao**
Supporting Buildings	Materials	Brick, grey sandstone, concrete, clay & aluminium roof tile, ceramic floor tile, teak wood	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile, camphor wood, ceramic floor tile	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile, teak wood, ceramic floor tile	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile, ceramic floor tile, teak wood	Brick, concrete, clay roof tile, ceramic floor tile, glass, aluminium roof tile, teak wood
	Ornament & Decorations 1. Top	   	 		 	  
	2. Middle	   	  		 	  

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN GIANYAR		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN BADUNG		*TRI DHARMA* TEMPLES IN KLUNGKUNG
		Amurva Bhumi	Ong Ya Kong	Caow Eng Bio	Leeng Gwan Bio	Zhong Yi Miao
Supporting Buildings	3. Bottom	   	 		 	   

Appendix B. Tri Dharma Temples Classification in Bali

T : Typology
M : Material
O & D : Ornament & Decoration
C : Colour

TRI DHARMA TEMPLES	LAYOUTS				FOUR MAIN BUILDING CATEGORIES																				
	Site form	Building form	Orientation	Category	Gateway					Hindu-Balinese Shrine					*Tri Dharma* Worship Building					Supporting Building				
					T	M	O & D	C	Category	T	M	O & D	C	Category	T	M	O &D	C	Category	T	M	O & D	C	Category
DENPASAR																									
1. Oong Tay Jen	Rectangular	Rectangular, square, hexagonal, octagonal, round	South (waterway)	**Combination Chinese & Balinese**	*Candi bentar, kori, angkul-angkul*	Brick, concrete, ceramic, and champor wood	*Murda, ikut celedu,* Chinese lion statues, dragon & pearl statues, *pepatran, pepalihan*, stupa, curved ridge	Painted in red and yellow	**Combination Chinese & Balinese**	*Tugu, padma, gedong*	Grey sandstone, cempaka wood, thatch roof	*Murda, ikut celedu,* lotus, dragon, *karang gajah, karang goak, karang asri, tetaring, pepatran, pepalihan*, Chinese incense jar	Natural colour of materials (grey sandstone) painted in red, gold, and green	**Balinese**	Deities' altars, reclining Buddha, Buddha's altar, pagoda	Brick, ceramic floor tile, concrete, camphor wood, ceramic roof tile, granite, bamboo mat	*Murda, ikut celedu,* lotus, *karang gajah, karang goak, karang asri, pepatran, pepalihan*, geometric pattern, Chinese lion statues, Chinese dragon,statues Chinese incense jars, stupas, Chinese deities' statues	Painted in red, yellow, gold, green, brown	**Combination Chinese & Balinese**	Storage, officer's house, pavilions	Brick, ceramic floor tile, concrete, camphor wood, ceramic roof tile, granite, bamboo mat	*Murda, ikut celedu, pepatran, pepalihan,* Chinese incense jars, geometric patterns	Painted in red, yellow, gold, green, brown	**Combination Chinese & Balinese**
2. Kwan Kong Bio	Rectangular	Rectangular, square, hexagonal, octagonal, round	West (main road)	**Combination Chinese & Balinese**	*Kori*	Brick, grey sandstone, ceramic, and jackfruit wood	*Murda,* Chinese lion statues, *Balinese dragon (Naga Besuki)* statues, , *pepatran, pepalihan kekarangan,* stupas	Natural colour of materials (brick and grey sandstone) and painted in red, gold, yellow, and green	**Combination Chinese & Balinese**	*Tugu, padma, gedong*	Brick, grey sandstone, cempaka wood, clay roof tiles	*Murda, ikut celedu,* lotus, *karang gajah, karang goak, karang asri, tetaring, pepatran, pepalihan*, Chinese incense jar	Natural colour of materialss (brick & grey sandstone) and painted in red and gold	**Balinese**	Deities' altars, Buddha altar	Brick, concrete, clay roof tiles, ceramic floor tiles, coconut wood	*Murda, ikut celedu,* lotus, *karang gajah, karang goak, karang asri, pepatran, pepalihan*, geometric patterns, Chinese lion statues, dragon,Chinese statues, Chinese incense jars, Chinese letters, Chinese deities' statues	Painted in red, yellow, gold, blue, green, white, and brown	**Chinese**	Storage, officer's house, *bale kulkul*	Brick, concrete, clay roof tiles, ceramic floor tiles, coconut wood	*Murda, ikut celedu, pepatran, pepalihan*	Painted in crème and brown	**Balinese**

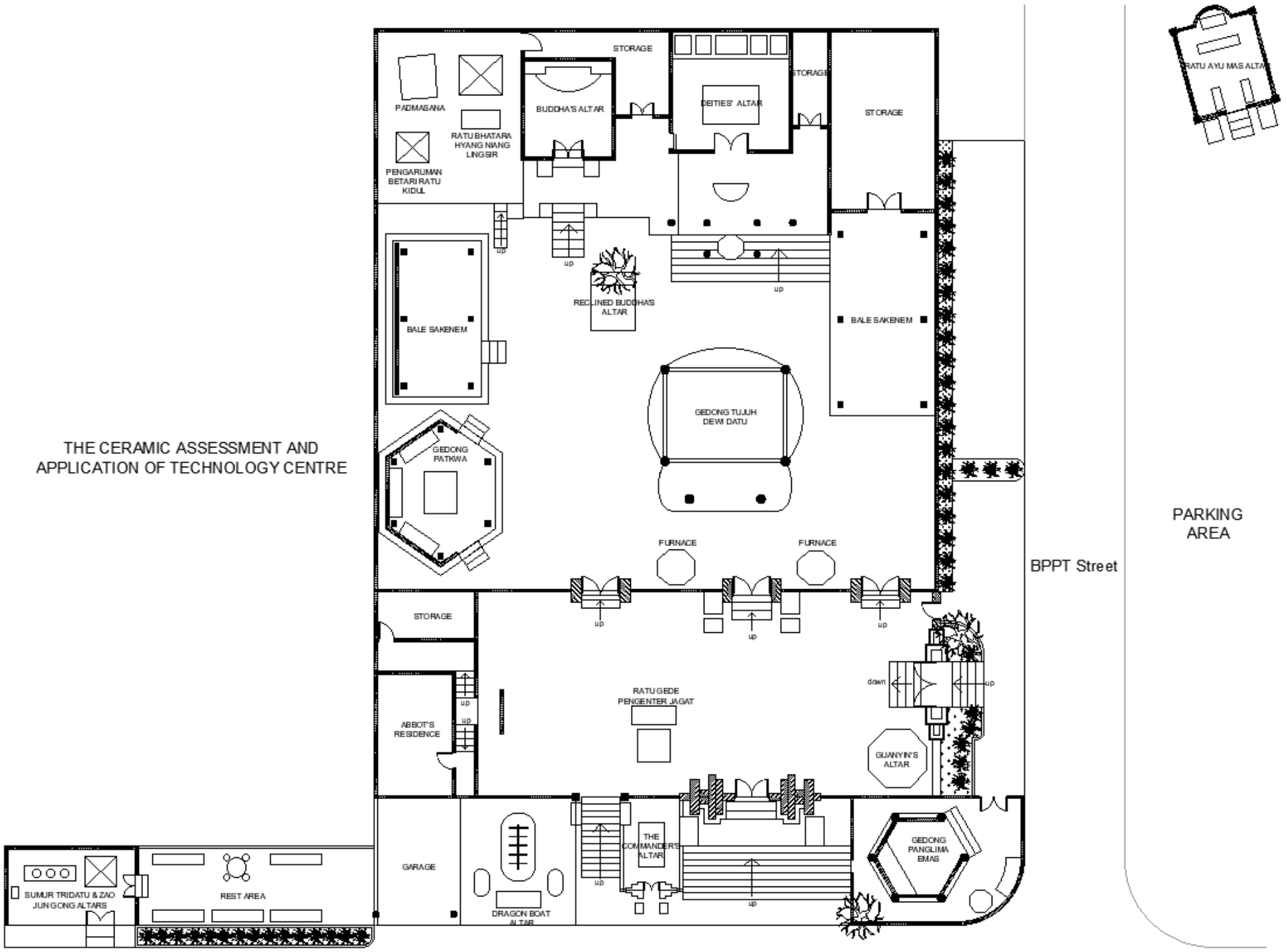
TRI DHARMA TEMPLES	LAYOUTS				FOUR MAIN BUILDING CATEGORIES																				
	Site form	Building form	Orientation	Category	Gateway					Hindu-Balinese Shrine					*Tri Dharma* Worship Building					Supporting Building				
					T	M	O & D	C	Category	T	M	O & D	C	Category	T	M	O &D	C	Category	T	M	O & D	C	Category
3. Cao Fuk Miao	Rectangular	Rectangular, hexagonal, octagonal, round	North (main road)	**Chinese**	*Paifang*	Brick, concrete, teak wood, clay roof tile, and iron	Chinese lion statues, geometric patterns, *yin-yang* symbol, *swastika* symbol, lotus symbol, *pepatran, pepalihan*, curve ridge	Natural colour of materials (grey sandstone) and painted in red, yellow, blue, white, and green	**Chinese**	*Tugu*	Grey sandstone	*Murda, ikut celedu, karang gajah, karang goak, karang asri, tetaring, pepatran, pepalihan*	Natural colour of materials (grey sandstone)	**Balinese**	Deities' altars	Ceramic floor tiles, concrete, camphor wood, brick, clay roof tiles	Lotus, *pepatran, pepalihan*, geometric shape patterns, Chinese, dragon statues,Chinese incense jars, Chinese letters, deities' statues	Painted in red, gold, yellow, blue, white, brown, and green	**Chinese**	Storage, auditorium, officer's house, restroom, pavilions	Ceramic floor tile, clay roof tile, concrete, camphor wood, brick	Geometric patterns,Chinese animals' mythology, Chinese lanterns, curve ridge	Painted in red, yellow, blue, white, brown, and green	**Chinese**
4. Satya Dharma	Rectangular	Rectangular, hexagonal, octagonal	East (sea & main road)	**Chinese**	*Paifang*	Brick, concrete, and clay roof tile	Dragon & pearl statues, Chinese letters, lotus symbol, geometric patterns	Painted in red, orange, blue, and green	**Chinese**	*Tugu, padma*	Grey sandstone	*Murda, ikut celedu, karang gajah, karang goak, karang asri, tetaring, pepatran, pepalihan,* Balinese figure statues	Natural colour of material (grey sandstone)	**Balinese**	Deities' altar	Grey sandstone , concrete, brick, clay roof tiles, teak wood, ceramic floor tiles	Geometric patterns, Chinese lion statues, Chinese dragon & phoenix statues, Chinese Chinese incense jars, Chinese letter, deities' statues	Painted in red, gold, yellow, blue, white, brown, and green	**Chinese**	Storage, office, cafetaria	Concrete, camphor wood, brick, glass, ceramic, clay roof tiles	N/A	Painted in white, brown, and green	General
TABANAN																								
1. Kongco Bio	Rectangular	Rectangular, octagonal	East (main road)	**Chinese**	*Kori agung*	Brick, grey sandstone , and teakwood	*Pepatran, pepalihan* , kekarangan, stupa, Chinese lanterns	Natural colour of materials (brick and grey sandstone)	**Combination Chinese & Balinese**	*Tugu*	Conrete, grey sandstone	*Murda, ikut celedu, karang gajah, karang goak, karang asri, tetaring, pepatran, pepalihan*	Natural colour of materials (grey sandstone)	**Balinese**	Deities' altars, reclining Buddha altar, Buddha altar, pagoda	Brick, concrete, grey sandstone , clay roof tiles, ceramic floor tiles, teak wood	Lotus, *pepatran, pepalihan*, geometric pattern, Chinese lion statues, Chinese dragon statues,Chinese incense jars, stupa, deities' statues, curved ridge	Natural colour of materials (grey sandstone) and painted in red, yellow, blue, white, brown, and green	**Combination Chinese & Balinese**	Storage, officer's house, kitchen, pavilion, auditorium, library	Brick, concrete, grey sandstone, clay roof tiles, ceramic floor tiles, camphor wood	*Pepatran, pepalihan,* geometric shape patterns, curved ridge, stupa	Natural colour of materials (grey sandstone) and painted in red, yellow, white, brown	**Combination Chinese & Balinese**
2. Batu Meringgit	Rectangular	Rectangular, square, octagonal	South	**Balinese**	*Candi bentar, kori*	Grey sandstone ,wood	*Pepatran, pepalihan , kekarangan*	Natural colour of materials (brick and grey)	**Balinese**	*Tugu, padma, gedong*	Grey sandstone, cempaka wood, thatch roof	*Murda, ikut celedu, karang gajah, karang goak, karang asri, tetaring, pepatran, pepalihan*	Natural colour of materials (grey sandstone)	**Balinese**	Deities' altar	Brick, concrete, clay roof tiles	Geometric pattern, Chinese lion statues,, Chinese incense jar, deities 'statues, curved ridge	Painted in red and yellow	**Chinese**	Pavilion	Brick, concrete, clay roof tiles, ceramic floor tiles	Curved ridge	Painted in red and yellow	**Chinese**

TRI DHARMA TEMPLES	LAYOUTS				FOUR MAIN BUILDING CATEGORIES																				
	Site form	Building form	Orientation	Category	Gateway					Hindu-Balinese Shrine					*Tri Dharma* Worship Building					Supporting Building				
					T	M	O & D	C	Category	T	M	O & D	C	Category	T	M	O &D	C	Category	T	M	O & D	C	Category
JEMBRANA																									
1. Cung Ling Bio	Rectangular	Rectangular, octagonal	West (main road)	**Chinese**	*Paifang*	Brick, clay roof tiles, iron, and concrete	Curve ridge, Chinese dragon statues,*pepatran*	Painted in red, gold and yellow	**Chinese**	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Deities' altar	Brick, concrete, clay roof tiles, ceramic floor tiles, wood	*Pepatran, pepalihan*, geometric patterns, Chinese lion statues, Chinese dragon statues,Chinese incense jars,, deities' statues	Painted in red, yellow, gold, and blue	**Chinese**	Storage, officer's house, kitchen, restroom, auditorium	Brick, concrete, steel, aluminium roof, teak wood	N/A	Painted in white, blue, and brown	General
BULELENG																									
1. Ling Gwan Kiong	Rectangular	Rectangular, square, octagonal	North (sea)	**Chinese**	*Paifang*	Brick, concrete, clay roof tiles, iron, and teak wood	Chinese lion statues, *pepatran, pepalihan*, Chinese letter, curve ridge	Painted in red, yellow, and white	**Chinese**	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Deities' altars	Brick, concrete, clay roof tiles, ceramic floor tiles, teak wood	*Pepatran, pepalihan*, geometric shape patterns, Chinese lion statues, Chinese dragon statues,Chinese incense jars, Chinese letters, deities' statues, curve ridge	Painted in red, yellow, gold, brown, blue and white	**Chinese**	Storage, restroom, hall, kitchen, office	Brick, concrete, clay roof tiles, ceramic floor tiles, teak wood, board	N/A	Painted in red, yellow, and white	General
2. Seng Hong Bio	Rectangular	Rectangular, octagonal, round	North (sea)	**Chinese**	*Paifang*	Brick, concrete, grey sandstone, clay roof tiles, and teak wood	Chinese lion statues, *pepalihan*, Chinese letters, geometric patterns, curved ridge	Painted in red, yellow, black, gold, and white	**Chinese**	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Deities' altars	Brick, concrete, clay roof tiles, ceramic floor tiles, teak wood	*Pepatran, pepalihan*, geometric patterns, Chinese lion statues, Chinese dragon statues,Chinese incense jars, Chinese letters, deities' statues, Chinese lanterns	Painted in red, yellow, gold, brown, green, blue and white	**Chinese**	Auditorium, kitchen, restroom, officer's bedroom	Brick, concrete, clay roof tiles, ceramic floor tiles, teak wood	*Pepalihan,* geometric shape patterns, Chinese letters, Chinese stories wall painting, curved ridge	Painted in red, yellow, gold, brown, green, blue and white	**Chinese**

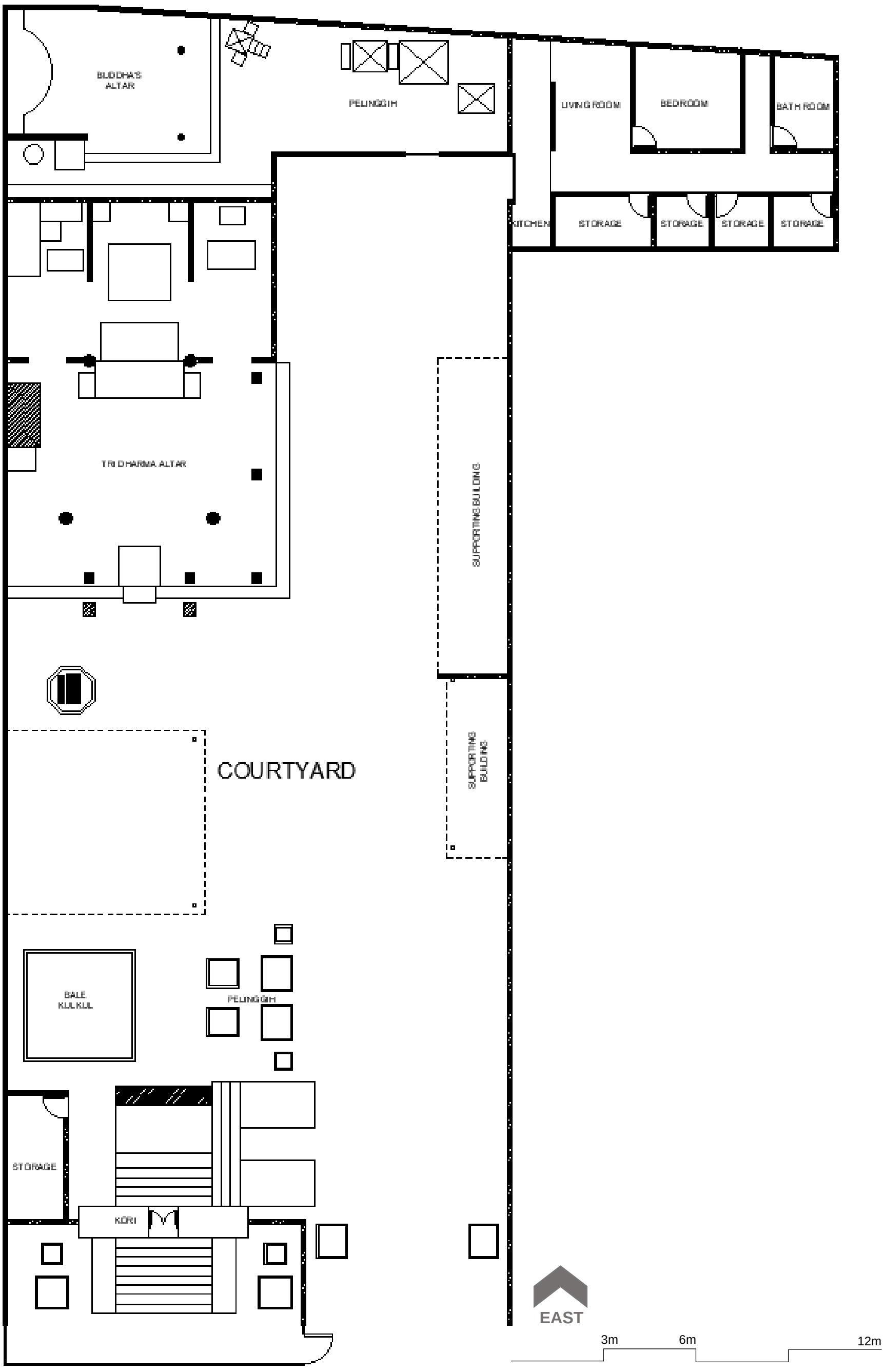
TRI DHARMA TEMPLES	LAYOUTS				FOUR MAIN BUILDING CATEGORIES																				
	Site form	Building form	Orientation	Category	Gateway					Hindu-Balinese Shrine					*Tri Dharma* Worship Building					Supporting Building				
					T	M	O & D	C	Category	T	M	O & D	C	Category	T	M	O &D	C	Category	T	M	O & D	C	Category
GIANYAR																									
1. Amurva Bhumi	Rectangular	Rectangular, square, octagonal, round	West (waterway)	**Combination Chinese & Balinese**	*Candi bentar, angkul-angkul*	Brick, grey sandstone, clay roof tiles, iron, ceramic tiles, and camphor wood	*Ikut celedu, liong* statue, *pepatran, pepalihan*, stupa, curved ridge	Natural colour of materials (grey sandstone) and painted in red, yellow, and white	**Combination Chinese & Balinese**	*Tugu, padma*	Brick, grey sandstone and concrete	*Murda, karang gajah, karang goak, karang asri, tetaring, pepatran, pepalihan*	Natural colour of materials (brick and grey sandstone)	**Balinese**	Deities' altars, reclining Buddha, Buddha's altar	Brick, grey sandstone, concrete, clay roof tiles, teak wood, ceramic floor tiles	Lotus, *karang gajah, karang goak, karang asri, pepatran, pepalihan*, geometric patterns, Chinese lion statues, Chinese dragon statues,Chinese incense jars, stupa, deities' statues	Natural colour of materials (brick and grey sandstone) and painted in red, yellow, green, blue, and white	**Combination Chinese & Balinese**	Storage, pavilions, auditorium, officer's house, classroom, hall	Brick, grey sandstone, concrete, clay roof tiles, ceramic floor tiles, aluminium roof tile, teak wood	*Murda, pepatran, pepalihan, kekarangan, geometric* patterns, curve ridge, Chinese lanterns	Painted in red, yellow, gold, brown, green, blue and white	**Chinese**
2. Ong Ya Kong	Rectangular	Rectangular, square, octagonal, round	East (main road)	**Combination Chinese & Balinese**	*Angkul-angkul*	Brick, grey sandstone, clay roof tiles, iron, ceramic tiles, and camphor wood	*Kekarangan,pepatran, pepalihan*, stupa, curved ridge	Natural colour of materials (grey sandstone) and painted in red and yellow	**Combination Chinese & Balinese**	*Tugu, Padma, gedong*	Brick, grey sandstone, concrete, clay roof tiles, and wood	*Murda, ikut celedu, karang gajah, karang goak, karang asri, tetaring, pepatran, pepalihan*	Natural colour of materials (brick and grey sandstone)	**Balinese**	Deities' altars	Brick, concrete, clay roof tiles, teak wood, ceramic floor tiles	*Pepalihan, ikut* celedeu, geometric patterns, Chinese incense jars, stupa, deities' statues	Painted in red, yellow, gold, brown, and white	**Chinese**	Pavilion, officer's house	Brick, concrete, clay roof tiles, ceramic floor tile, camphor wood	*Murda, ikut celedu, pepatran, pepalihan, geometric* patterns	Painted in red, brown, and white	**Balinese**
BADUNG																									
1. Caow Eng Bio	Rectangular	Rectangular, octagonal, round	North (sea)	**Chinese**	*Paifang*	Brick, grey sandstone, clay roof tiles, and teak wood	Chinese lion statues, *stupa*, curved ridge, Chinese lanterns	Natural colour of materials (grey sandstone) and painted in red, yellow, green, and white	**Chinese**	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Deities' altars, Buddha's altar	Brick, grey sandstone, concrete, clay roof tiles, teak wood, ceramic floor tiles	Lotus, *pepatran*, geometric pattern, Chinese lion statues, Chinese dragon statues,Chinese incense jars, stupa, deities' statues, curve ridge	Painted in red, yellow, gold, green, brown, blue, and white	**Chinese**	Officer's bedroom, kitchen, restroom, pavilions	Brick, concrete, clay roof tiles, ceramic floor tiles, teak wood	Chinese tiger, dragon statues, curve ridge	Painted in red, yellow, green, brown, blue, and white	**Chinese**
2. Leeng Gwan Bio	Rectangular	Rectangular, square, octagonal	East (main road)	**Chinese**	*Candi bentar, paifang*	Brick, grey sandstone, clay roof tiles, iron, camphor wood	*Chinese tiger statue, pepatran, pepalihan ,kekarangan*, stupa, curved ridge	Natural colour of materials (grey sandstone & brick) and painted in red, yellow, and green	**Combination Chinese & Balinese**	*Padma, gedong*	Concrete,wood, brick, grey sandstone, thatch roof	*Karang gajah, karang goak, karang asri, tetaring, pepatran, pepalihan, dragon*	Natural colour of materials (brick and grey sandstone)	**Balinese**	Deities' altars, Buddha under tree, Buddha's altar, pagoda	Brick, grey sandstone, white sandstone, concrete, clay roof tiles, teak wood, ceramic floor tiles	Lotus, *pepatran, pepalihan*, geometric pattern, Chinese lion statues, Chinese dragon statues,Chinese incense jars, stupa, deities' statues, curved ridge	Natural colour of materials (brick, grey & white sandstone) and painted in red, yellow, green, blue, and white	**Chinese**	Storage, pavilions, classroom, officer's bedroom, kitchen, restroom, auditorium	Brick, concrete, clay roof tiles, ceramic floor tiles, teak wood, marble, Chinese lanterns	*Pepalihan,* geometric patterns, curved ridge	Painted in red, yellow, green, brown, blue, and white	**Chinese**

TRI DHARMA TEMPLES	LAYOUTS				FOUR MAIN BUILDING CATEGORIES																				
	Site form	Building form	Orientation	Category	Gateway					Hindu-Balinese Shrine					*Tri Dharma* Worship Building					Supporting Building				
					T	M	O & D	C	Category	T	M	O & D	C	Category	T	M	O &D	C	Category	T	M	O & D	C	Category
Klungkung																									
Zhong Yi Miao	Rectangular	Rectangular, square, octagonal	West	**Chinese**	Short iron gate	Brick, iron	*Pepalihan*	Painted in red, yellow, and black	General	*Tugu*	Camphor wood	*Pepatran, pepalihan*	Painted in gold, and brown	**Balinese**	Deities' altars, Buddha's altar	Brick, white sandstone, concrete, clay roof tiles, teak wood, ceramic floor tiles	*L*otus, *pepatran, pepalihan*, kekarangan, geometric pattern, Chinese lion statues, Chinese dragon statues,Chinese incense jars, stupa, deities' statues, curve ridge	Natural colour of materials (brick, grey & white sandstone) and painted in red, gold, yellow, green, blue, and white	**Combination Chinese & Balinese**	Storage, kitchen, officer's house, restroom, auditorium	Brick, concrete, white sandstone clay roof tiles, ceramic floor tiles, glass, aluminium roof tile, teak wood	*Pepatran, pepalihan,* geometric shape patterns	Natural colour of materials (white sandstone) and painted in red, brown, black, and white	General

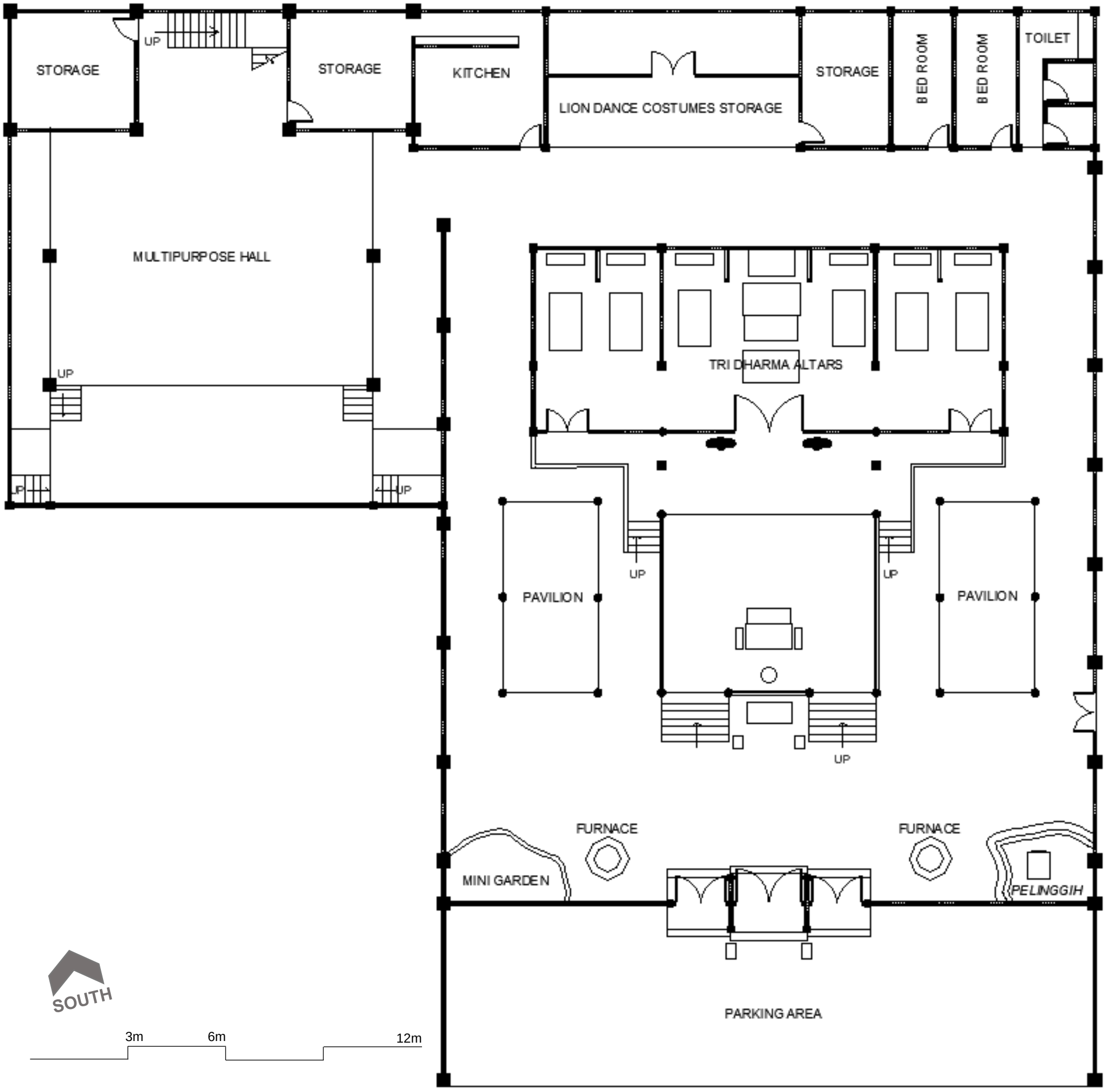
Appendix C. Tri Dharma Temple Layout Plans in Bali



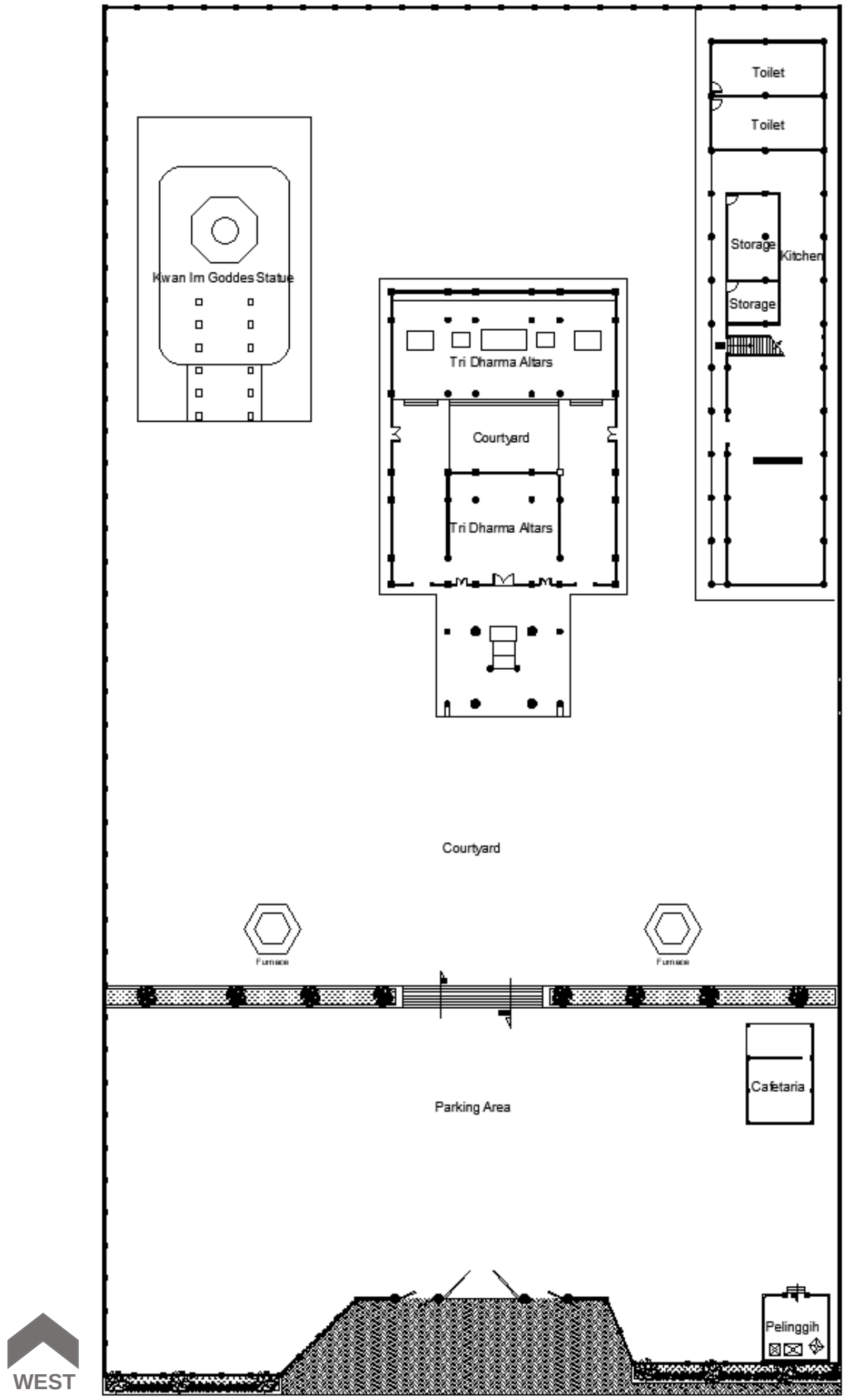
Oong Tay Jen Temple in Denpasar City



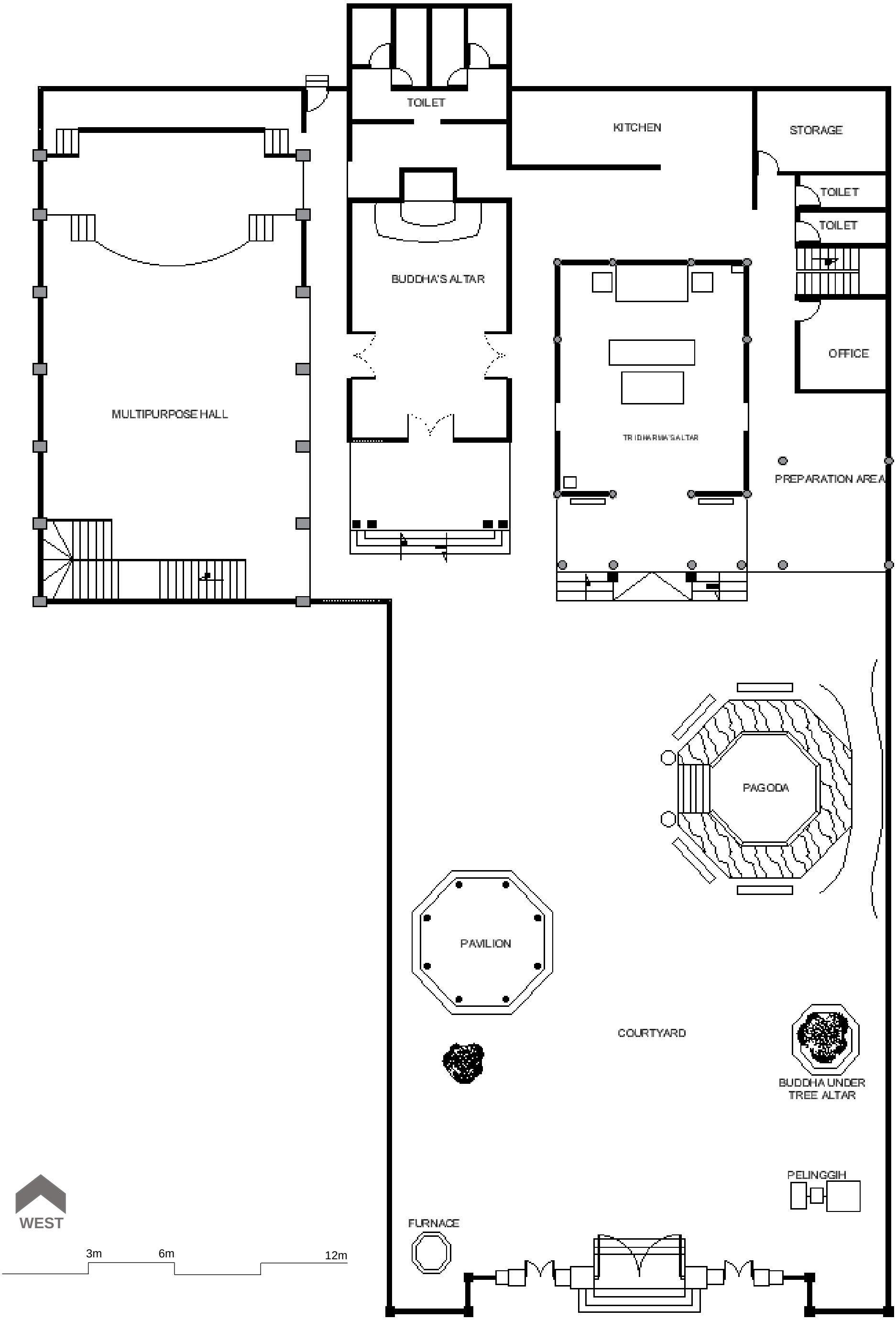
Kwan Kong Bio Temple in Denpasar City



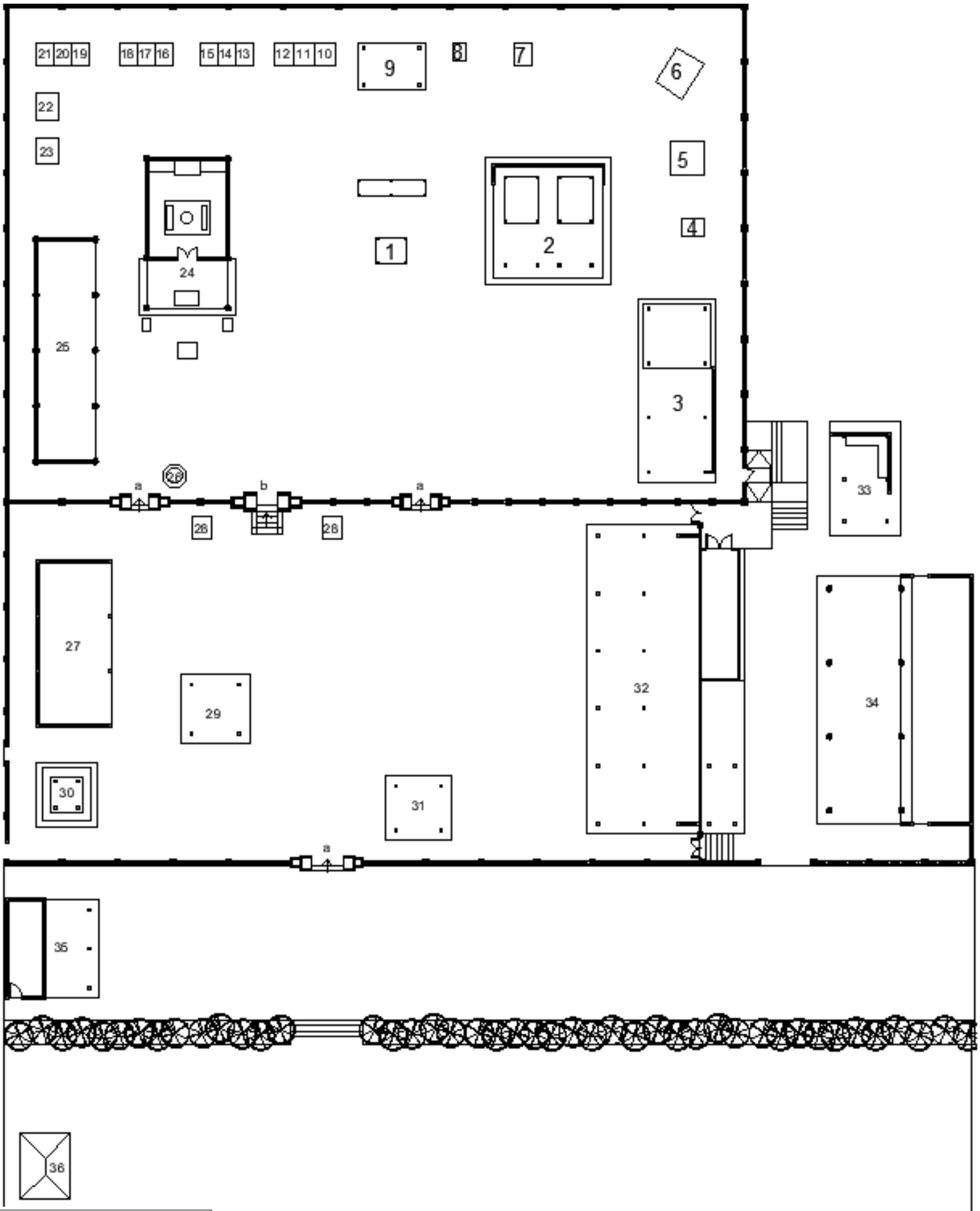
Cao Fuk Miao Temple in Denpasar City



Satya Dharma Temple in Denpasar City



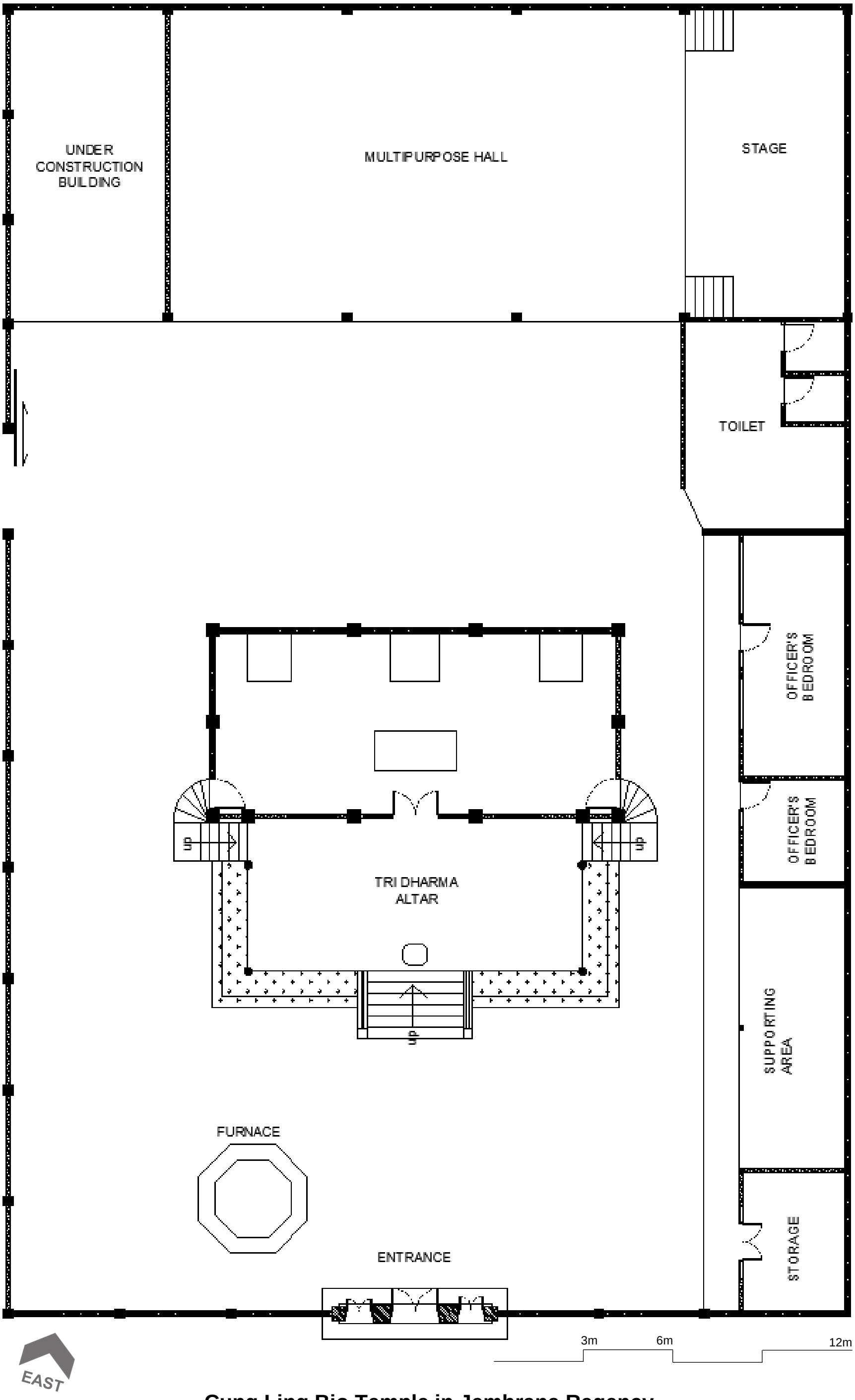
Kong Co Bio Temple in Tabanan Regency



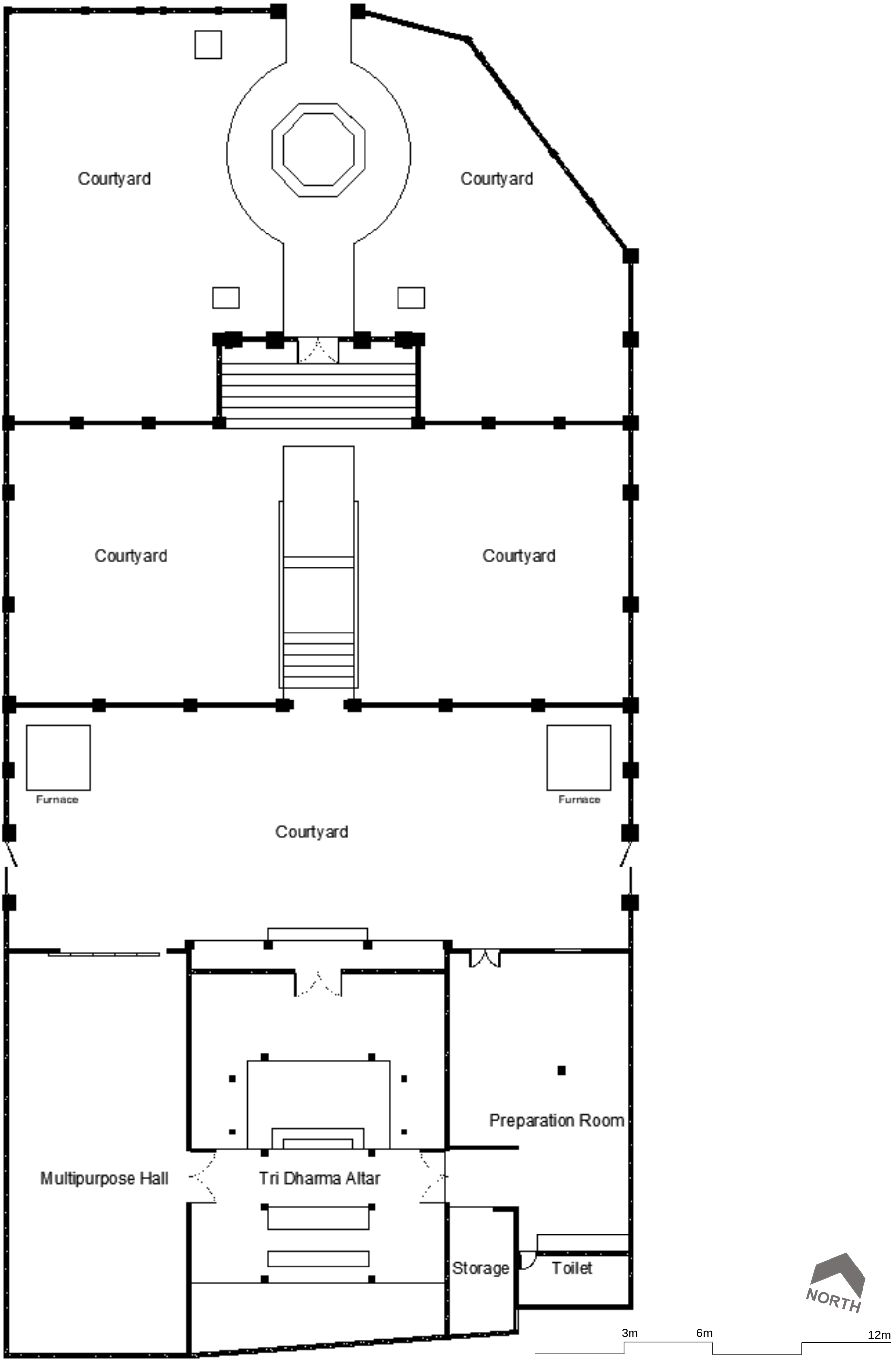
PAVILIONS	1	BALE PANGANTEB
	2	BALE PARUMAN / PIASAN
	3	BALE LANTANG (PESANDEKAN PEMANGKU)
SHRINES	4	NGURAH AGUNG
	5	IDA BHATARA SAKTI IBU DASAR
	6	SURYA
	7	IDA BHATARI MANIK GALIH
	8	IDA BHATARA TIRTA
	9	IDA BHATARA SIWA BUDA (SIWA ISWARA)
	10	IDA BHATARA RING GUNUNG LEBAH
	11	IDA BHATARA RING GUNUNG AGUNG
	12	IDA BHATARA RING PURUSA
	13	IDA BHATARA RING GUNUNG CATUR
	14	IDA BHATARA RING GUNUNG BRATAN
	15	IDA BHATARA RING GUNUNG PUNCAK LESUNG
	16	IDA BHATARA RING GUNUNG ANDAKASA
	17	IDA BHATARA RING GUNUNG TULUK BIYU
	18	IDA BHATARA RING GUNUNG ABANG
	19	IDA BHATARA RING GUNUNG SILANG JANA
	20	IDA BHATARA RING GUNUNG NAGA LOKA
	21	IDA BHATARA RING GUNUNG SALAK
	22	RATU DUKUH
	23	IDA BHATARA RING GUNUNG BATUKARU

KONGCO	24	IDA BHATARA KONGCO
	25	BALE LANTANG (PESANDEKAN KRAMA KONGCO)
	26	FURNACE
	JABA TENGAH COURTYARD	
PAVILIONS	27	BALE LANTANG (PESANDEKAN PAMEDEK)
	28	PRESEDAAN APIT LAWANG
	29	PANGUBENGAN
	30	BALE KULKUL
	31	BALE PUNIA
	32	BALE GONG
	JABA COURTYARD	
PAVILIONS	33	PAON
	34	PAON
	35	PAWAREGAN
	36	WASTE BINS
	37	TOILET
	GATES	
	a	CANDI BENTAR
	b	KORI

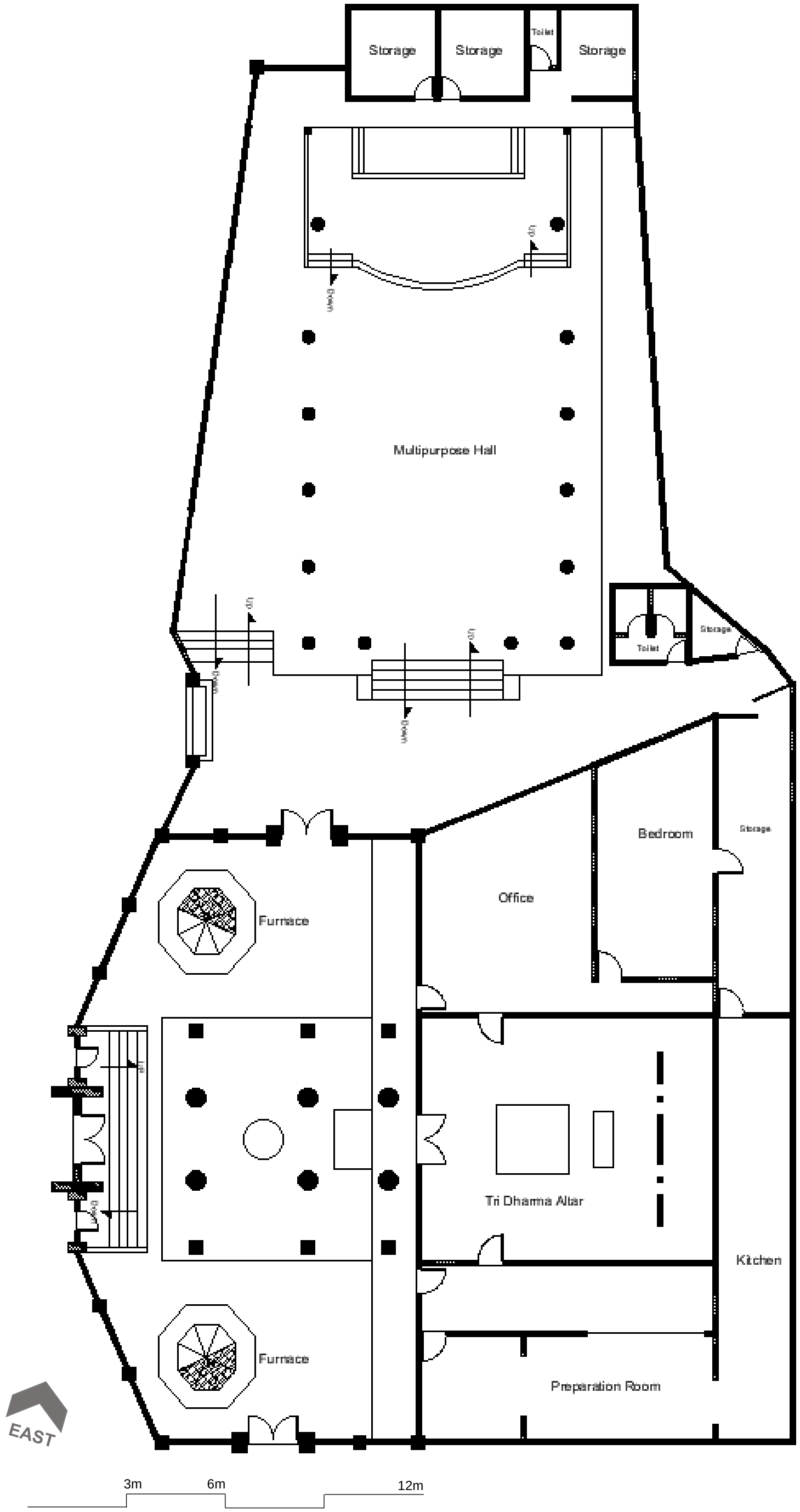
Batu Meringgit Temple in Tabanan Regency



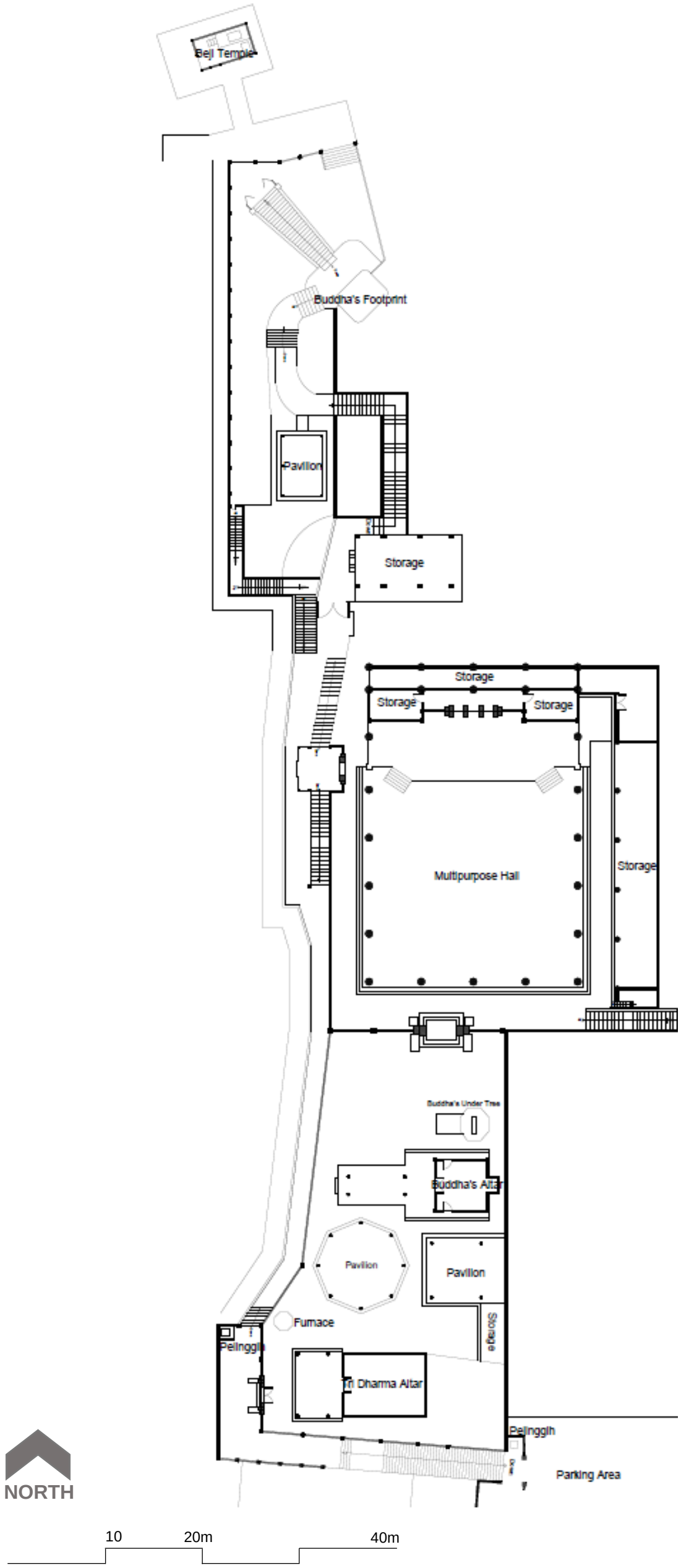
Cung Ling Bio Temple in Jembrana Regency



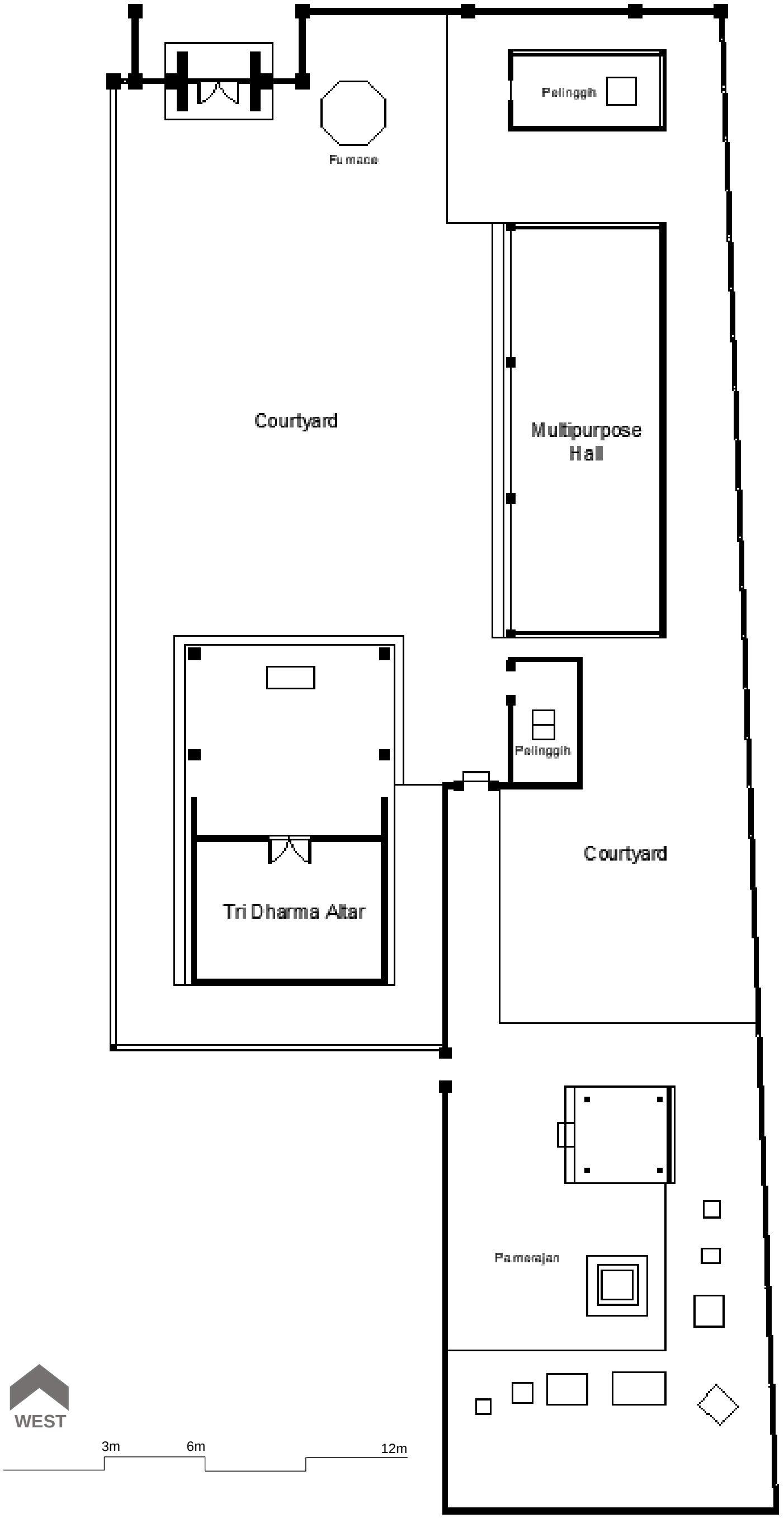
Ling Gwan Kiong Temple in Buleleng Regency



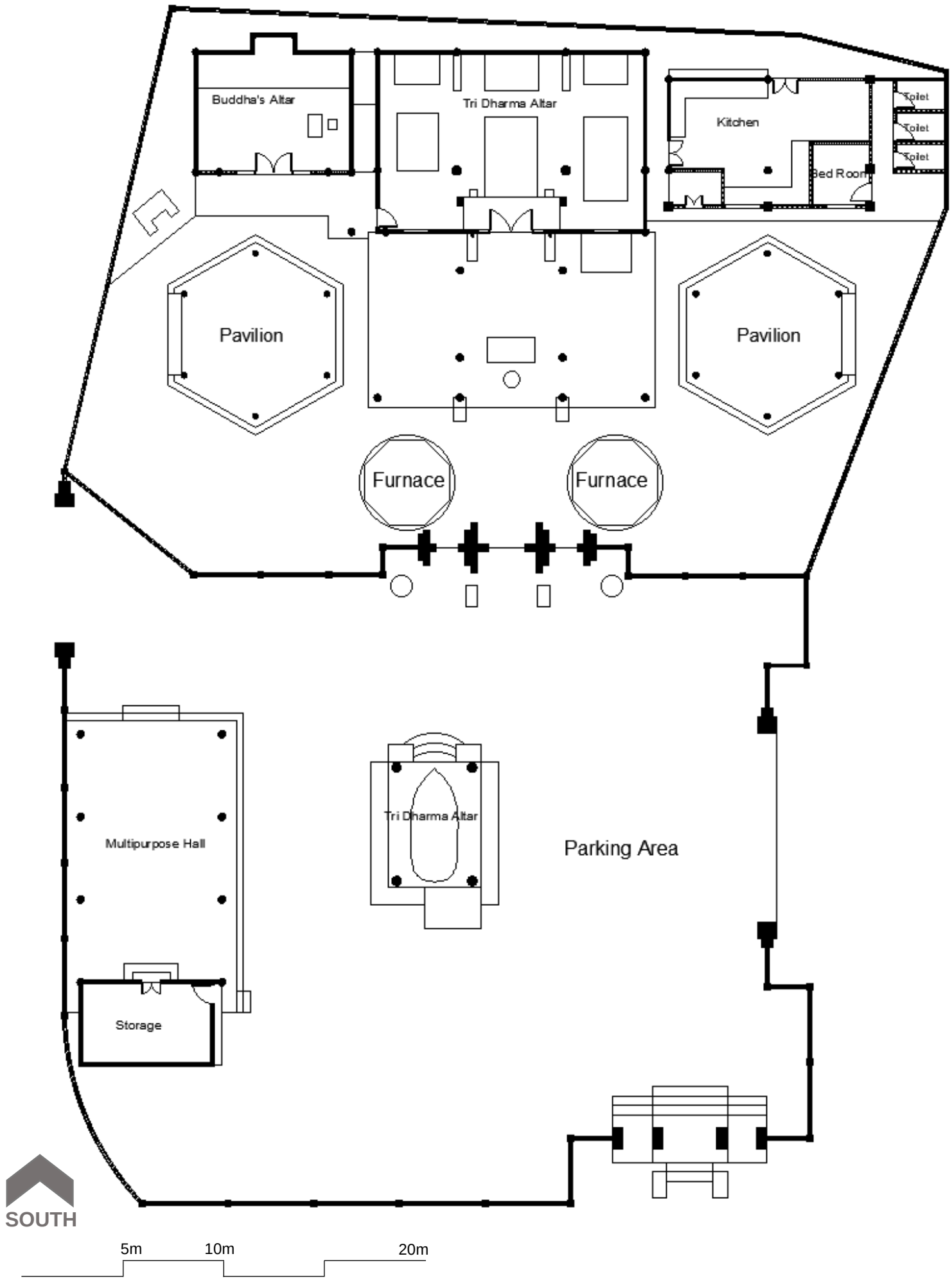
Seng Hong Bio Temple in Buleleng Regency



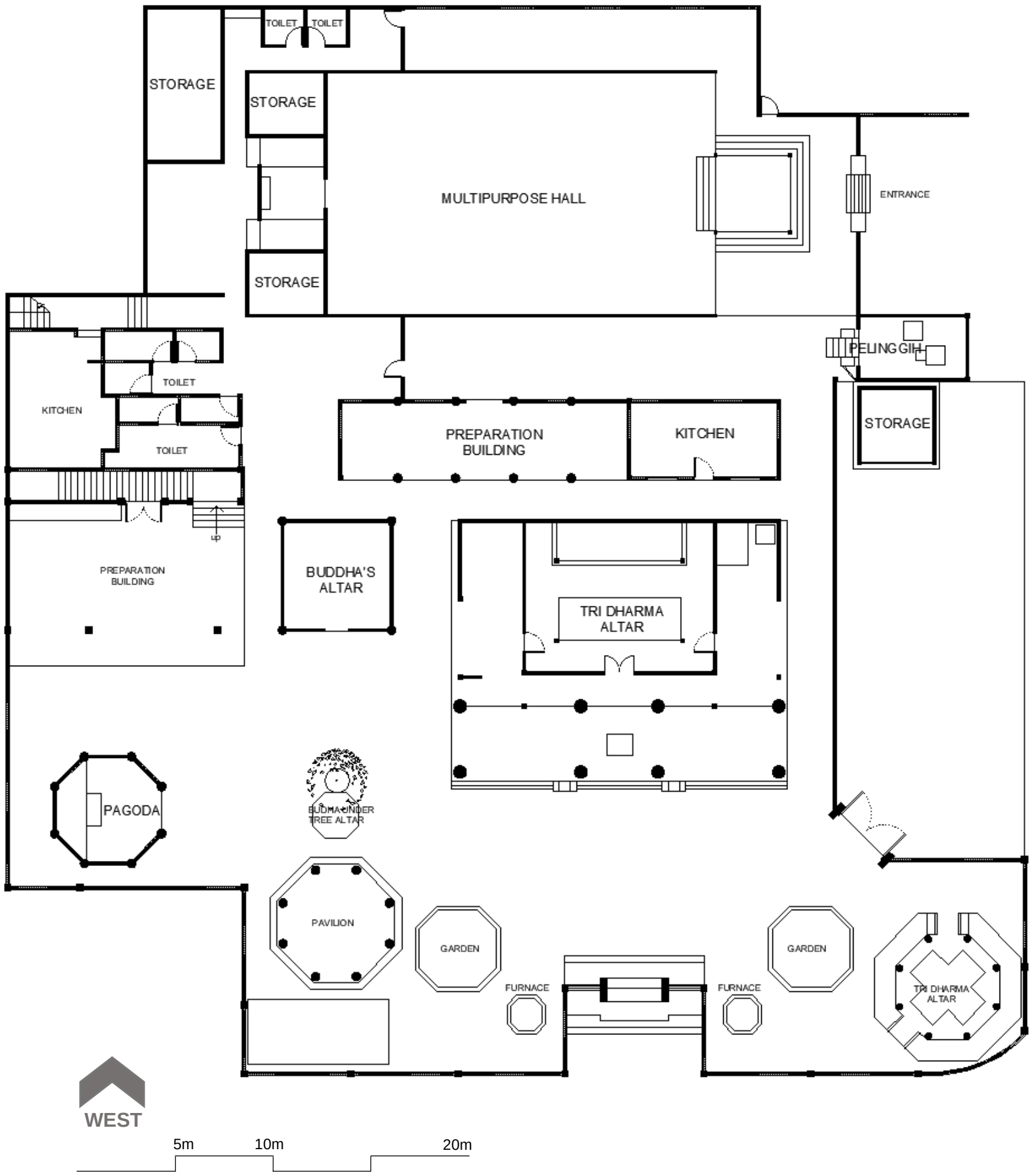
Amurva Bhumi Temple in Gianyar Regency



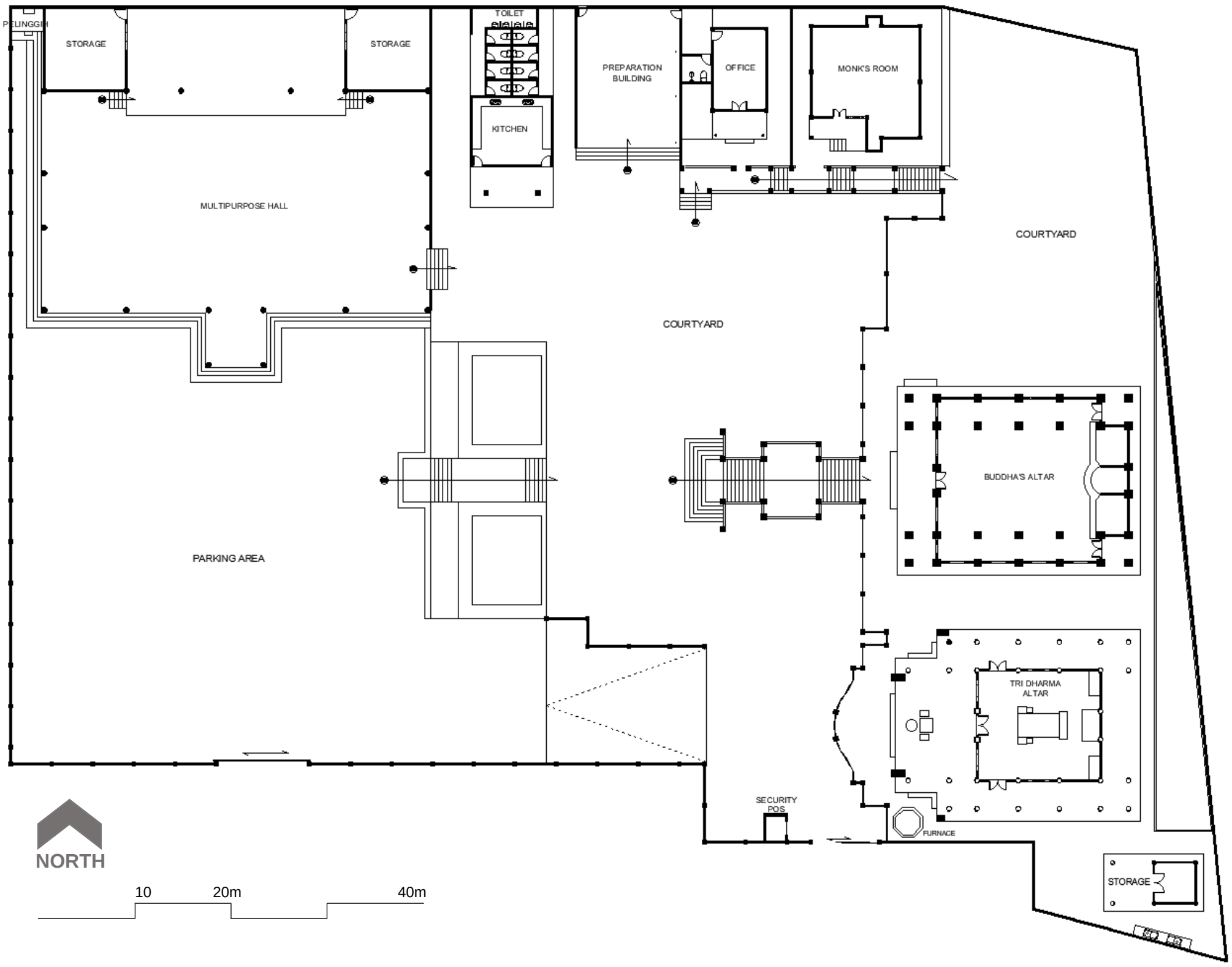
Ong Ya Kong Temple in Gianyar Regency



Caow Eng Bio Temple in Badung Regency



Leeng Guan Bio Temple in Badung Regency



Zhong Yi Miao Temple in Klungkung Regency

Appendix D. Ethics Applications

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
(TASMANIA) NETWORK

SOCIAL SCIENCE HREC
MINIMAL RISK APPLICATION

Important: Please send an electronic version of this form as a Word document along with all attachments to ss.ethics@utas.edu.au.
A signed copy of this form also needs to be forwarded electronically.

If you have any questions, please call: 6226 6254

1. Title of proposed investigation

Please be concise but specific. Titles should be consistent with those used on any external funding application.

Cross-Cultural Architecture: An Investigation of Chinese Temple Architecture in Bali

2. Expected commencement date:	Expected completion date of project
December 2019	February 2022

3. Investigators:

A. Chief Investigator **(Note: This is the researcher with ultimate responsibility for the project. The CI may not be a student)**

Given Name	Surname
David	Beynon

Staff Position: Associate Professor **Qualifications:** PhD

Staff ID: 03007544

School & Division: Architecture and Design/Technology, Environments and Design

Contact Address: Inveresk Campus, Locked Bag 1323, Launceston

Telephone: 0466 452 898 **Email:** david.beynon@utas.edu.au (Required)

B. Co-Investigator(s)

i) Given Name Louise **Surname** Wallis

Staff Position: Senior Lecturer **Qualifications:** PhD

Staff ID: 0217007

Contact Address: Inveresk Campus, Locked Bag 1323, Launceston

Telephone: 0417700349 **Email:** louise.wallis@utas.edu.au (Required)

ii) Given Name **Surname**

Staff Position: **Qualifications:**

Staff ID:

Contact Address:

Telephone: **Email:** (Required)

C. Student Investigator(s):

i) Given Name Freddy **Surname** Hendrawan

Gender: Male **Date of Birth:** 25 May 1983 **Preferred Title:** Mr / ~~Ms / Miss /Mrs /Dr~~

Student Number: 515822 **Level**: ~~Undergraduate / Hons / Masters / Postgraduate Diploma /~~ PhD

School: Architecture and Design/Technology, Environments and Design

Contact Address: 42 Herbert Street, Invermay, TAS 7248

Telephone: 0435 821 558 **Email:** Freddy.Hendrawan@utas.edu.id

(Required)

ii) Given Name **Surname**

Gender: _____ **Date of Birth:** _____ **Preferred Title:**
Mr / Ms / Miss /Mrs /Dr

Student Number: _____ **Level**:
Undergraduate / Hons / Masters /
School: _____ Postgraduate Diploma / PhD

Contact Address: _____

Telephone: _____ **Email:** _____
(Required)

D. Conflicts of Interest

Do any of the researchers have a conflict of interest, or what could be perceived as a conflict of interest? (NS 5.4) Yes ☐ No ☒

A conflict of interest in the context of research exists where:

- *a person's individual interests or responsibilities have the potential to influence the carrying out of his or her institutional role or professional obligations in research; or*
- *an institution's interests or responsibilities have the potential to influence the carrying out of its research obligations.*

A perception that a conflict of interest exists can be as serious as an actual conflict.

If YES – please provide details:
Please describe the nature of the conflict.

Please describe how the conflict will be managed.

4. Purpose

What is the main purpose of this project?

Research for Publication ☐ Teaching ☐
Research for Thesis ☒ Quality Assurance/Audit ☐

5. Brief Outline of Proposal

Aims:

Please give a concise description of the main objectives and/or hypothesis of the study.

This project focuses on investigating why the combination between Chinese and Balinese cultures has emerged in Chinese temple architecture in Bali, as well as investigating the potential influence of the other factors on the development of Chinese temples and their architecture in Bali. This project will contribute to cultural architecture studies of how ethnic Chinese approach both preserving their traditions and adapting to Balinese culture. Thus, it will provide an in-depth understanding of cultural renegotiating processes within multicultural built environments in maintaining cultural identity in everyday lives. Therefore, the main questions of this research are: what are the critical characteristics of Chinese temples architecture in Bali? And why are both Chinese and Balinese cultural elements present on Chinese temples in Bali?

Justification:

Explain why this particular study is worth doing; and the main advantages to be gained from it.

The establishment of Chinese temples in Bali are expressions of how religious and social places have been provided for ethnic Chinese spirituality and culture. This process of establishment has led to a cross-cultural phenomenon, involving Balinese traditional architecture elements to be adopted into Chinese temple architecture in Bali.

In addition, the history of broader cultural changes in Bali in relation to Chinese culture and religion will be compared to the development and architectural expression of Chinese temples. While previous studies have focused on the architectural characteristics within individual temples, this study will also understand the various models across the significant Chinese temples in Bali and how these developed.

Ultimately, Chinese temple architecture in Bali provides a unique and prominent cross-cultural phenomenon, and the reasons for this deserve more exploration. More broadly, this study will contribute to cultural architecture studies, developing understanding of how particular ethnic minorities approach both preserving their traditions and adapting to local cultures. Thus, it will provide an understanding of how cultural negotiating processes contribute to maintaining cultural identity in everyday lives.

6. Review of Ethical Considerations

Research is only considered to be Minimal Risk if you answer "No" to all the following questions. If you answer "Yes", you must complete a full application using the Social Sciences Full Application Form

Does your research involve the collection of human tissue samples? Human tissue samples include blood and other bodily fluids.	Yes ☐ No ☒
Does your research involve the deception of participants, including concealing the purposes of research, covert observation and/or audio or visual recording without consent?	Yes ☐ No ☒
Does your research involve the participation of people without their prior consent?	Yes ☐ No ☒
Does your research involve withholding from one group specific treatments or methods of learning from which they may benefit?	Yes ☐ No ☒
Does your research involve the access or use of medical records where participants can be identified or linked to their records in some way?	Yes ☐ No ☒

Does your research involve the use of ionising radiation?	Yes ☐ No ☒
Does your research involve the use of personal data obtained from a Commonwealth or State Government Department/Agency without the consent of the participants e.g. getting a list of addresses from the Australian Electoral Commission?	Yes ☐ No ☒
Does your research **specifically target** any of the following groups of people; (specifically target means they are the central group of participants, as opposed to potentially being incidentally recruited as part of the general population) • Women who are pregnant and the human foetus • Children and young people • Those highly dependent on medical care who are unable to give consent • People with a cognitive impairment, intellectual disability or mental illness • People who may be involved in illegal activities or residents of custodial institutions • Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples • People in other countries *Note: The student researcher will be interviewing the local people on matters relating to the history of Chinese temples and their architecture, which will not involve discussion of their personal lives nor raise sensitive cultural issues. In regards to this activity, the student researcher has previously undertaken extensive fieldwork during his Master of Architecture in Bali, Indonesia. He is a local academic and has been resident in Bali for most of his life, both growing up and being educated in Indonesia. Because of this, the student researcher is highly aware of the protocol of cross-cultural communication in this research. He has a clear understanding of local and national laws and discussed these with his supervising team. The student researcher is of Chinese-Indonesian background himself, and so understands Balinese, broader Indonesian and Chinese beliefs, culture, and customs and the ways they interact through both his lived experience and his previous academic studies. In addition, the primary supervisor of the student researcher has experience in cross-cultural research (on the architecture of Asian communities in Australia) and with interviews/focus groups on built environment issues (via a previous ARC Linkage project on seachange developments and their impact on local communities in Victoria).* • People who are unable to give informed consent because of difficulties in understanding an information sheet (i.e. non English speakers etc)	Yes ☒ No ☐

Note: In relation to the local participants who speak in Bahasa Indonesia, the information and consent form will be explained in Bahasa Indonesia. In addition to Bahasa Indonesia, the student researcher speaks in Balinese language as well, which if necessary, could be used to communicate with individuals. For the purposes of this application, the information and consent form have been cited by a qualified Indonesian translator (statement letter and qualification from the translator are attached in appendix 9 and 10).	
Does your research pose any risks for participants under medical care beyond those of their routine care? (Risks include not only physical risks but also psychological, spiritual and social harm or distress eg stigmatisation or discrimination)	Yes ☐ No ☒
Does your research involve the in depth discussion of any of the following topics whether by interview or as part of a questionnaire or survey; • Parenting practices, • Sensitive personal issues, • Sensitive cultural issues, • Grief death or serious traumatic loss, • Depression mood states or anxiety, • Gambling, • Eating disorders, • Illicit drug taking or substance abuse, • Psychological disorders, • Suicide, • Gender identity and/or sexuality, • Race and/or ethnic identity, • Fertility and/or termination of pregnancy	Yes ☐ No ☒
Does your research involve the potential disclosure of illegal activities or criminal behaviour?	Yes ☐ No ☒
Are there any specific risks to the researcher (e.g., will the research involve the use of hazardous materials or be undertaken in a politically unstable area)?	Yes ☐ No ☒
If your research will take place in an overseas setting do any of the following apply: is the research to be undertaken in a politically unstable area? Does it involve sensitive cultural issues? And/or: will the research take place in a country in which criticism of the government and institutions might put participants and/or researchers at risk?	Yes ☐ No ☒

Note:Please see below Does your research explore potentially confidential business practices or seek to elicit potentially confidential commercial information from participants?	Yes ☐ No ☒
Does your research explore potentially divergent political views or involve the collection of politically sensitive information? *Note: Historically, the ethic Chinese in Indonesia have experienced discrimination by the Indonesian government. However, this discrimination policy has been repealed by the Indonesian government due to rapid democratisation since 1988. The cross-cultural phenomenon of interaction between Chinese and Balinese cultures in Indonesia have been acknowledged and accepted both by government and society broadly, and matters in relation to the Indonesian-Chinese ethnicity or status are no longer sensitive cultural or political topics in contemporary Indonesia.*	Yes ☐ No ☒

7. Funding

Under the National Statement (2.2.6) a researcher must disclose:

- *the amount and sources or potential sources of funding for the research; and*
- *financial or other relevant declarations of interest of researchers, sponsors or institutions*

Is this research being funded? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, please detail amount and source of funds (NS 5.2.7) Australia Awards Scholarship

- *Australia Award Scholarship funds international airfare tickets (3 x Launceston-Bali and Bali-Launceston allowed for)*
- *Australia Awards Scholarship contribution for living expenses is fortnightly AU$1150*
- *Australia Awards Scholarship also funds $500 every 6 months for conference/academic training/workshops, printing & other costs*

If this application relates to Grant(s) and/or Consultancies, please indicate the Title and Grant Number relating to it

If no external funding has been obtained, please indicate how any costs of research will be met:

Do the investigators have any financial interest in this project? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, please provide details

8. Participants

Selection of Participants

Clearly describe the experimental and, where relevant, control groups. Include details of number of subjects, sex, age range, and any special characteristics. Give a justification for your choice of participant group(s).

Most data will be collected from direct observation and measurement of architecture and archival sources. However, some supporting information and facts in regard of the architecture and history of Chinese temples in Bali will be gathered from people knowledgeable about particular temples and their architectural histories. As noted below in recruitment of participants, people to interview will be selected through initial approaches to Chinese temple associations. The people so selected are likely to be in their 30s, 40s, and 50s, and may be male or female.

Recruitment of Participants

Give specific details about how participants will be recruited. Some questions to consider include:

- *Are you recruiting through advertisements? If so, indicate where they will be placed and append a copy*
- *Are you recruiting through 3rd parties like associations, schools or clubs? If so, detail how you will approach the organisations and the process that the stakeholders will use to pass on information to potential participants. Please attach copies of letters of introduction, emails, and telephone preambles if appropriate*
- *Are the participants University or DHHS staff, or regular patients in a particular clinic? If so, detail how they will be approached i.e. through personal invitation, email etc*

The participants will be approached via the leaders or coordinators or spokespeople of the organisations in charge of each temple in Bali. These leaders/coordinators/spokespeople will be provided with a letter of introduction (Indonesian version) (appendix 2) and asked for their help to pass on the information packs of background materials (appendix 12) and guiding interview questions (appendix 6) to those interested in participating, with the student researcher being able to explain further in plain language if required. A short response form (appendix 4) will be provided noting agreement of organisations in charge of each temple to have the student researcher take measurements and photographs, and to interview people with their consent.

The purpose of this recruitment is firstly to ask permission to collect data about the temples, and then to ask for interview subjects who might be knowledgeable about temple architecture and history and so able to provide information unavailable via documentary sources.

9. Data Identifiability

Which of the following best describes the identifiability of the data (including tissues) collected?

a) Non-identifiable data is data which have never been labelled with individual identifiers or from which identifiers have been permanently removed, and by means of which no specific individual can be identified. A subset of non-identifiable data are those that can be linked with other data so it can be know that they are about the same data subject, but the person's identity remains unknown. ☐

b) Re-Identifiable data is data from which identifiers have been removed and replaced by a code, but it remains possible to re-identify a specific individual by, for example, using the code or linking different data sets ☒

c) Identifiable data is data where the identity of a specific individual can reasonable be ascertained. Examples of identifiers include the individuals name, image, date of birth or address, positions in some companies. ☒

If the information is Re-Identifiable or Identifiable, please give details of the information that will be collected. Also indicate how the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants will be protected**:**

Prior to data collection interview participants will be asked to provide their name and sign on information and consent form, or participants' oral consent will be audio-recorded in case participants do not agree to provide name and sign the consent form (as noted in Section 11, some people in Indonesia are wary of government forms). The student researcher will provide and explain the information and consent form in Bahasa Indonesia (appendix 12).

Some interview participants will be fully identifiable, particularly if the participants/interviewee is the head of an temple or in a position of authority within that temple. Such participants will give full consent on their understanding of this.

Other interview participants, such as those with a long association with a temple, are potentially re-identifiable. These participants will be identified with a code and their individual identity hidden from any publication. Such participants will give full consent on their understanding of this.

Those casually encountered within a temple will not be interview subjects. Any information volunteered by them will be completely de-identified and only recorded as part of general field notes for the student researcher's private usage.

No participants will be asked to provide any confidential information. All participants will be informed that their participation is completely voluntary and after they have agreed, they will have the opportunity to decline to answer any questions, refuse further participation or to have the information they have provided deleted from the study without question.

All the data, notes, and recording will be stored in a password-protected laptop or computer. Any handwritten notes will be destroyed once it has been stored digitally.

10. Relevant Literature References

Please list the most relevant and recent literature references, both by the investigator and/or by others, that support the justification for the study.

Ardika, I. W. (2009). Blanjong: An Ancient Port Site in Southern Bali, Indonesia. In *Form, Macht, Differenz* (pp. 257).

Bali, B. P. S. P. (2017). *Banyaknya Tempat Peribadatan Menurut Kabupaten/Kota di Provinsi Bali 2017*. Bali: Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali

Boyd, A. (1962). *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning : 1500 B.C. - A.D. 1911*: London : A. Tiranti, 1962.

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Hauser-Schäublin, B. (2014). From Subandar to Tridharma: Transformations and Interactions of Chinese Communities in Bali. In B. Hauser-Schäublin & D. D. Harnish (Eds.), *Between Harmony and Discrimination* (Vol. 3). Leiden, Boston: Brill.

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Mou, Z., Jian, Z., & Zen, C. (2017). *General history of religions in China*: Paths International Ltd.

Nordholt, H. S. (2010). *The spell of power: A history of Balinese politics, 1650-1940*: Brill.

Poceski, M. (2009). *Chinese Religions : The EBook*. Providence, Utah: Journal of Buddhist Ethics Online Books.

Purcell, V. (1965). *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*: London : O.U.P., 1965.

2nd ed.

11. Procedures

Researchers should explain how the investigators intend to conduct the study including the methodological approach, the specific procedures employed and the methods of analysis of data. This should be consistent with the aims of the project.

Please provide detailed procedures (describe exactly what you are going to do):

Mixed method (qualitative & quantitative).

The quantitative methods will include measuring the precincts, individual pavilions, worship buildings, shrines, as well as the surrounding features of Chinese temples. In all 15 Chinese temples in Bali will be documented through drawings. Photo-documentation techniques will also be used to capture the building architectural types and details.

The qualitative methods include gathering information from people associated with Chinese temples in Bali in relation to their history and architectural design. The letters of introduction (Indonesian version) (appendix 2) will be provided to the leaders/coordinators/spokespeople of organisations/temples, asking them to pass on the information packs to interested and knowledgeable persons within each temple. To

follow up these requests for permissions, telephone communication (Indonesian version) (appendix 8) will be conducted a week after each letter is sent.

Only after the participants have been identified through this process and agree, the student researcher will start the semi-structured interviews. Interviews will be conducted in Bahasa Indonesia and guiding interview questions (Indonesian version) (appendix 6) will be provided in advance to the selected sources (as part of the information packs given to organisations), and will be audio recorded with the permission of participants. Information gathered will supplement relevant literature sources being used to analyse the empirical data and to better understand the research questions. At the end of interview session, the student researcher will thank the participants and reassure them about the confidentiality, as well as if the participants have any concerns or further questions regarding the research, they will be able to contact the student researcher via phone or email.

In addition, this research will involve observing of general social behaviour in the temple precincts to understand the usage of temple buildings. This will not involve observation of particular individuals. The student researcher will take electronic field notes to record his experience of this social observation within the temples. However, these notes will be eneralised and for the researcher's personal use. Any people approaching the researcher during this process will not be counted as participants/interviewees (so they will not be quoted).

In relation to the information and consent form (Indonesian version) (appendix 12), the student researcher will provide a verbal explanation to the participants before they agree to conduct the interview session. Once the participants agree, consent to participate on this interview session can also be obtained verbally or the participants can provide their name and sign the consent form (if the participants do not agree to provide name and sign the consent form, their oral consent will be audio-recorded at the beginning of the audio recording).

The reason for having an verbal alternative to written consent for participating in this interview session is some local people in Indonesia have a trust issue in providing their signature on paper for official or non-official purposes. The alternatives will avoid unnecessary suspicion towards the student researcher and anxiety for the participants. Based on the student researcher's experience of research in Bali and prior ethics application by School of Humanities, Faculty of Arts, University of Tasmania by Taufiq Tanasaldy, building trusting relationship with the participants is best achieved by giving an opportunity to the participants to ask questions in relation to the student researcher background or research project, and to explain in plain language about the background reasons and intentions of the research.

Chinese temples in Bali are generally very safe places and open to the public during the day. Also the student researcher is knowledgeable about general safety issues in Bali. However, to ensure his safety while conducting research, the student researcher will conduct interview session with the coordinators/leaders of the organisations/temples in their offices within the temple. Interviews also will be conducted with other people associated with Chinese temples in the temple precincts, in publically accessible courtyards or rooms . All interviews will take place during the day when temples are open.

Note: As well as being of Chinese-Indonesian background and a long time resident of Bali, the student researcher has an extensive experience in conducting this kind of research and communicating with the local people, as well as has a high cultural awareness and local laws of his own country of Indonesia. The student researcher is able to paraphrase the information and consent form for ordinary people within the Chinese temple and understand when they are giving their verbal consent. So the formal information and consent form will be provided for high-level participants/interviewees within temple organisations.

Where is this project to be conducted? Researchers should attach a letter of agreement/support to participate from any organisation or department whose resources will be accessed as part of this project.

The observation will be conducted within the precincts of 15 Chinese temples in Bali. No organisation or department external to the those running the temples will be accessed as part of this project (and the letter to the temple organisations requesting access to research/interview has been discussed earlier in this section).

12. Monitoring

What mechanisms do you intend to implement to monitor the conduct and progress of the research project? (*National Statement* 5.5)

The student researcher will meet fortnightly with the supervisors via skype or email, and conduct and progress will always be an item on the agenda for these discussions. In the unlikely event that the student researcher or a participant communicates concerns to the primary superviser or the University of Tasmania, a meeting will be held to respond to these matters, as soon as practical to communicate. At this meeting it will be determined the course of action and whether communication or methods may need to be modified.

The student researcher will also make an annual statement to the SSHRC as a standard report for describing the progress of fieldwork for the project.

In compliance with section 5.5 of the National Statement, the investigators will report to HREC any adverse events arising from this study upon becoming aware of them.

13. Data

A. Collection, use or disclosure of personal information

Does the proposed research involve the collection, use or disclosure of personal information held by a Commonwealth or State agency, or an organisation in the private sector?

☐ Yes If yes, please complete & submit the **Privacy Form** along with your application.

☒ No

B. Storage

All raw data (including blood and/or tissue) must be held by the responsible institution (i.e. UTAS, DHHS, AMC) for a period of at least five (5) years from the date of the first publication (this includes publication of the thesis). The data may be kept for longer than five (5) years but must eventually be destroyed, unless explicit consent is obtained from the participants to archive their data.

Where will the data be kept?

During the fieldwork, the paper documents (observation drawing) will be kept in a personal locked filing cabinet and electronic data (observation drawing, photos, and audio-recording) will be stored in a password-protected laptop. Upon returning to University of Tasmania, any paper data will be kept in a personal locked filing cabinet and electronic data will be transferred to an electronic folder accessed via a password-protected computer within School of Technology, Environments and Design at University of Tasmania.

How will the data be kept secure?

Paper documents will be stored in a personal locked filing cabinet during fieldwork and within a locked filing cabinet in a locked office within School of Technology, Environments and Design at University of Tasmania. Electronic files will be accessed only via password-protected laptop during fieldwork and upon returning to University of Tasmania these electronic files will be transferred to an electronic folder accessed via a password-protected computer.

How and when will the data be destroyed?

Electronic files will be deleted from computer hard-drives and servers, and electronic "rubbish bins" emptied as well as paper documents will be securely shredded. All files (electronic and paper based) will be held securely for a minimum of 5 years following the publication of reports or articles resulting from data generation and then securely destroyed.

14. Consent

Chapter 2.2 of the *National Statement* provides guidelines on the requirements for consent in human research. With few exceptions, participation must be voluntary and based on sufficient information and an adequate understanding of the proposed research. In general, an information sheet and consent form is used to provide potential participants with necessary information about study and to obtain their consent should they choose to participate.

Does the research involve:

☐	An opt-out approach (Section 2.3.5 of the *National Statement*). Please complete section 14A below.
☐	A waiver of consent (*National Statement* 2.3.10). Please complete 14B below.
☒	Obtaining consent from participants prior to their involvement or to the use of their data. Please complete section 14C below.

14A Opt-out approach

Why is explicit consent neither practical nor feasible? (*National Statement* 2.3.5)

How does the public interest in the proposed activity substantially outweigh the public interest in the protection of privacy? (*National Statement* 2.3.6(b))
Why is it crucial that your data be as near-complete as possible? (*National Statement* 2.3.6(c))
Provide details on the information provided to the participants including the nature of the data to be collected, the purpose for collecting it, and the procedure to decline participation or withdraw (*National Statement* 2.3.6 (d)).
How much time has been allowed between the participant receiving information and the use of the data? (*National Statement* 2.3.6(e))
What mechanism(s) are there for participants to obtain further information and register for non-participation? (*National Statement* 2.3.6(f))
Provide details on the governance process in place. Including the process that delineates specific responsibility for the project and the appropriate management of the data in accordance with relevant security standards. (*National Statement* 2.3.6(g) and (h))

14B Waiver of Consent	
Why do the benefits of the research justify any risks of harm associated with not seeking consent? (*National Statement* 2.3.10(b))	
Why is it impracticable to obtain consent? (*National Statement* 2.3.10(c))	
Is there any reason for thinking that participants would not consent if they were asked? (*National Statement* 2.3.10(d))	
Will the results of the research have significance for the participants' welfare?	
☐ Yes	If yes, how will the information arising from the research be made available to the participants? (*National Statement* 2.3.10(g))
☐ No	
How will the participant's privacy be protected? (*National Statement* 2.3.10(e))	
Explain how confidentiality of participants and their data will be protected in the dissemination of research results? (*National Statement* 2.3.10(f))	

14C Information Sheet and Consent Form

How will potential participants be informed about the purpose, methods, demands, risks and potential benefits of the proposed research prior to deciding to participate? (please refer to 2.2.2 & 2.2.6 of the *National Statement* for a list of information to be communicated to participants) (*Information Sheet and Consent Form templates are available on our website at:* http://www.utas.edu.au/research-admin/research-integrity-and-ethics-unit-rieu/human-ethics/human-research-ethics-review-process/social-sciences-hrec/forms)
☒ Information Sheet – Please attach to the application
☐ Other – Please describe:
How will participants provide consent for participating in the proposed research?
☒ Consent Form – Please attach to the application
☐ Other – Please describe:

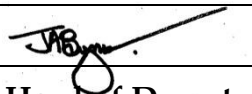
15. Approvals from other Departments / Institutions

Does this project need the approval of any institution other than the University of Tasmania and/or the Department of Health and Human Services (e.g., Department of Education, particular wards in hospitals, prisons, government institutions, or businesses)?

No ☒ Yes ☐

If yes, Please indicate below the Institutions involved and the status of the Approval.

Name of Other Institution(s):	Status:
Does this project need the approval of any other HREC? *If yes*, Please indicate below which HREC and the status of the application.	No ☒ Yes ☐ (please detail): Other HREC(s): Status:

16. Declarations	
Name	**Jason Byrne**
Position	Head of School, Technology, Environments and Design
Date	06 December, 2019
Signature	

The Head of School or the Head of Department is required to sign the following statement of scientific merit:

"This proposal has been considered and is sound with regard to its merit and methodology."

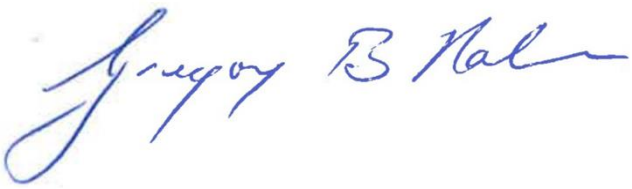
The Head of School or Head of Department's signature on the application form indicates that he/she has read the application and confirms that it is sound with regard to:

(i) educational and/or scientific merit and

(ii) research design and methodology.

This does not preclude the Committee from questioning the research merit or methodology of any proposed project.

If the Head of School/Department is one of the investigators, this statement must be signed by an appropriate person. This may be the Head of School/Department in a related area or the Dean. The certification of scientific merit may not be given by an investigator on the project.

Name	**Gregory Nolan**
Position	Head of Discipline, Architecture and Design
Signature	
Date	02 December, 2019

Conformity with NHMRC Guidelines

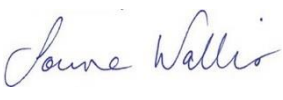
The *Chief Investigator* is required to sign the following statement:

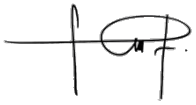
I have read and understood the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research 2007 and the Australian Code of Conduct for Responsible Research 2007*. I accept that I, as Chief Investigator, am responsible for ensuring that the investigation proposed in this form is conducted fully within the conditions laid down in the *National Statement* and any other conditions specified by the HREC.

Name of chief investigator	David Beynon
Signature	
Date	**28 November 2019**

Signatures of Other Investigators

I acknowledge my involvement in the project and I accept the role of the above researcher as chief investigator of this study.

(Name)	(Signature)	(Date)
Louise Wallis		29 November 2019

(Name) Freddy Hendrawan	(Signature) 	(Date) 25 November 2019

Checklist	
Please ensure that the following documents are included with your application:	
Information sheet/s (if not attached ensure you have explained why in Section 14)	☒
Consent form/s (if not attached ensure you have explained why in Section 14)	☒
Questionnaires (if applicable)	☐
Interview questions (if applicable)	☒
A copy of any permissions obtained i.e. Other HREC, Other Institutions (if applicable)	☐
Telephone Preambles (if applicable)	☒
Recruitment Advertisements (if applicable)	☐
Email Contents (if applicable)	☐
All documents relevant to the study, including all information provided to participants	☒

Finance and Administration		
Fee Schedule as of 1 January 2017		
☒	Researchers affiliated with the University of Tasmania or the Department of Health and Human Services for the purposes of the research	No charge to the Researcher
☐	Minimal Risk Applications by External Researchers	$330 (inc GST)
	Invoice Details	
	Name:	
	Organisation/University:	
	ABN Number:	
	Address:	
	Phone:	
	Please note: a fee may be charged for the review of substantial amendments made to the application after approval has been granted. An administrative fee applies for the reissuing of invoices.	

To submit this application:

1. You must email an electronic copy of this application form (may be unsigned) and all study documents to ss.ethics@utas.edu.au (please submit all forms as Microsoft Word documents).

2. A signed copy of this form also needs to be forwarded electronically.

Has the Head of School/Department signed the form? ☒

Have all investigators signed the form? ☒

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
(TASMANIA) NETWORK

Appendix 1(only the Indonesian version will be given to the participants)

Letter of Introduction to Conduct Observation

Date
Mr./Ms./Mrs. X
Leader/Coordinator of Organisastion X/Chinese Temple X

RE: Permission to Conduct Research Observation

Dear Mr./Ms./Mrs. X:

I am writing to request permission to conduct architectural research at your Chinese temple/ institution. I am currently enrolled in the Doctor of Philosophy (Architecture and Urban Environment) at University of Tasmania in Tasmania, Australia, and I am in the process of writing my Doctoral Thesis. The study is entitled Cross-Cultural Architecture: An Investigation of Chinese Temples Architecture in Bali.

I hope that you will allow me to conduct observations (taking photographs, drawings and measuring) of your Chinese temple buildings and gather information about its history and building developments for the purposes of this thesis.

Would you also be willing to suggest persons interested in participating and knowledgeable about the history and architecture of temple? If so, please find attached information packs of background materials of this research and guiding interview questions to pass on to these people. Further, I will also seek their individual permission to be interviewed about these subjects.

Your approval to conduct this study will be greatly appreciated. Please kindly find attached response form and complete it your consent. I will follow up with a telephone call next week and would be happy to answer any questions or concerns that you may have at that time. You may contact me at my phone or email address: +61 819 343 85919 or Freddy.Hendrawan@utas.edu.au

Sincerely,

Freddy Hendrawan

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
(TASMANIA) NETWORK

Appendix 2 (Letter of Introduction to Conduct Observation in Bahasa Indonesia)

Surat Ijin Melakukan Observasi

Tanggal
Tuan/Nona/Nyonya X
Pimpinan/Koordinator pada Kuil China X/Pimpinan/Koordinator Kuil China X/Asosiasi X/Desa Adat

RE: Ijin untuk Melakukan Observasi Penelitian

Kepada Tuan/Nona/Nyonya X:

Saya menulis surat ini perihal meminta ijin untuk melakukan penelitian arsitektur di Kuil China/Institusi anda. Saat ini, saya terdaftar dalam Doctor of Philosophy (Architecture and Urban Environment) pada University of Tasmania di Tasmania, Australia, dan sedang dalam proses penulisan Tesis Doktoral. Studi ini berjudul Arsitektur Lintas Budaya: Sebuah Kajian Arsitektur Kuil China di Bali.

Saya harap anda mengijinkan saya untuk melakukan observasi (mengambil foto-foto, menggambar dan mengukur) pada bangunan Kuil China anda dan mengumpulkan informasi mengenai sejarah dan perkembangan bangunan untuk tujuan tesis ini.

Apakah anda bersedia untuk merekomendasikan seseorang yang tertarik untuk berpartisipasi dan memiliki pengetahuan tentang sejarah dan arsitektur Kuil? Jika bersedia, silahkan lihat lampiran kumpulan latar belakang informasi penelitian ini dan panduan pertanyaan interview untuk diteruskan kepada orang-orang tersebut. Selanjutnya, saya juga akan mencari ijin mereka untuk interview terkait dengan subjek ini.

Persetujuan anda untuk melakukan observasi ini sangat saya apresiasi. Silahkan lihat lampiran formulir untuk merespon dan lengkapi dengan persetujuan anda. Saya akan menghubungi anda melalui telepon minggu depan dan dengan senang hati menjawab segala pertanyaan atau permasalahan yang anda miliki saat itu. Anda bisa menghubungi saya melalui telepon atau email di: +61 819 343 85919 atau Freddy.Hendrawan@utas.edu.au

Salam hormat,

Freddy Hendrawan

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
(TASMANIA) NETWORK

Appendix 3 (Short Response Form to Conduct Observation)

Cross-Cultural Architecture: An Investigation of Chinese Temples Architecture in Bali
SHORT RESPONSE FORM

Research team

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david.beynon@utas.edu.au

Louise Wallis, School of Technology, Environmentss and Design, University of Tasmania
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Freddy Hendrawan, PhD student, School of Technology, Environments and Design, University of Tasmania
freddy.hendrawan@utas.edu.au

By signing below, I confirm that I have read and understood the letter of introduction to conduct observation and in particular:

- *Agree to have the student researcher around/take photos/interview people with their consent*

Name	
Signature	
Date	

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
(TASMANIA) NETWORK

Appendix 4 (Short Response Form to Conduct Observation in Bahasa Indonesia)

Arsitektur Lintas Budaya: Sebuah Kajian Arsitektur Kuil China di Bali
LEMBAR PERSETUJUAN SINGKAT

Tim Peneliti

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david.beynon@utas.edu.au

Louise Wallis, School of Technology, Environmentss and Design, University of Tasmania
louise.wallis@utas.edu.au

Freddy Hendrawan, PhD student, School of Technology, Environments and Design, University of Tasmania
freddy.hendrawan@utas.edu.au

Dengan tanda tangan di bawah ini, saya menyatakan bahwa saya telah membaca dan memahami Surat Ijin Melakukan Observasi, dan secara khusus:

- *Setuju untuk mengijinkan mahasiswa peneliti berada di sekitar/mengambil foto-foto/melakukan wawancara dengan persetujuan orang yang diwawancarai*

Nama	
Tanda Tangan	
Tanggal	

Appendix 5 (to be conducted in Bahasa Indonesia)

Guiding Interview Questions for people associated with Chinese temples in Bali

1. When was this Chinese temple established?
2. Who established this Chinese temple?
3. Who designed and constructed this Chinese temple?
4. Have there been many alterations to the architectural development of this Chinese temple?
5. If yes to the above question, could you describe them and when they occured?
6. Is this Chinese temple registered with a Chinese Indonesian association, Chinese religious (Tri Dharma, Agama Khonghucu or Buddhist) councils, or government body?
7. Could you describe the layout and building design of this Chinese temple?
8. What were the main considerations in designing the layout and building design of this Chinese temple?
9. What were the methods used in designing the layout and building design of this Chinese temple?
10. What kinds of activities are carried out in this Chinese temple?
11. How do the people who live in the area surrounding this Chinese temple relate to this Chinese temple and its activities?

Appendix 6 (Interview Questions in Bahasa Indonesia)

Daftar panduan pertanyaan untuk pihak-pihak yang terkait dengan Kuil China di Bali

1. Kapan bangunan Kuil China ini didirikan?
2. Siapa yang mendirikan bangunan Kuil China ini?
3. Siapakah yang mendesain dan membangunan bangunan Kuil China ini?
4. Apakah banyak perubahan terhadap pengembangan arsitektur pada bangunan Kuil China ini?
5. Jika iya, bisakah anda jelaskan dan kapan hal itu terjadi?
6. Apakah kelenteng ini terdaftar secara resmi pada asosiasi Tionghoa-Indonesia, majelis agama Tionghoa (Tri Dharma, Agama Khonggucu atau Buddha), atau badan pemerintahan?
7. Bagaimana proses pendaftaran yang dilakukan pada bangunan kelenteng ini?
8. Dapatkah anda menjelaskan layout dan desain bangunan yang terdapat pada Kuil China ini?
9. Apakah dasar pertimbangan dalam menentukan layout dan desain bangunan pada Kuil China ini?
10. Apakah metode yang digunakan dalam mendesain layout dan desain bangunan pada Kuil China ini?
11. Aktivitas apa saja yang dilakukan pada Kuil China ini?
12. Bagaimana kaitan masyarakat sekitar di area Kuil China ini terhadap keberadaan bangunan Kuil China dan aktivitas-aktivitas yang dilakukan di dalamnya?

Appendix 7 (only the Indonesian version will be used to call the participants)

Telephone Preamble

Greetings,

May I speak with Mr./Ms./Mrs. X.

I am Freddy Hendrawan, a student researcher School of Technology, Environments and Design, University of Tasmania.

I have sent a letter of permission to carry out research observations at your Chinese temple/ institution last week. In regard of this letter, may I know whether I have permission to conduct this research?

Many thanks for your response. With your permission, I will arrive at your temple/institution to conduct my research according to the time and place you have chosen.

Appendix 8 (Telephone Preamble in Bahasa Indonesia)

Kata Pengantar Telepon

Selamat Pagi/Siang/Sore,

Bisakah saya bicara dengan Tuan/Nyonya/Nona X.

Saya Freddy Hendrawan, mahasiswa peneliti dari School of Technology, Environments and Design, University of Tasmania.

Saya telah mengirimkan surat ijin untuk melakukan observasi di kelenteng/institusi anda minggu lalu. Terkait dengan hal ini, bolehkah saya tahu kapan saya bisa diijinkan untuk melakukan observasi penelitian ini?

Terima kasih banyak atas responnya. Melalui ijin anda, saya akan datang ke kelenteng/institusi anda untuk melakukan observasi penelitian sesuai dengan waktu dan tempat yang anda tentukan.

Appendix 9

Statement Letter from the Translator

To whom it may concern:
Re: H0014008 – Freddy Hendrawan

This is to confirm that I, Yofita Lawe Duka, have checked the Bahasa Indonesia versions of the Participant Information Sheet and the Participant Consent Form of the above-mentioned subject to be equivalent to its English versions. I worked full-time as a translator and interpreter for Nusa Tenggara Timur Primary Education Partnership (NTTPEP), an AusAID Project in Flores, Indonesia and casually at the University of Flores, Indonesia. I did my Master of TESOL at La Trobe University, Australia as shown in the attached certified degree certificate and at present, I am doing my PhD in Education at La Trobe University, Australia. I also occasionally provide translation and interpreting services from Bahasa Indonesia to English and vice versa.

If you require any further information, please feel free to contact me at y.duka@latrobe.edu.au.

Sincerely,

Yofita Duka
PhD Candidate
School of Education | College of Arts, Social Sciences and Commerce | La Trobe University | Melbourne (Bundoora) 3086 | Australia | **E**: Y.Duka@latrobe.edu.au; ylduka@outlook.com

Appendix 10

Qualification of the Translator

I CERTIFY THAT THIS COPY IS A TRUE
COPY OF THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT
BAJAWA: 20 JUN 2014
NOTARY IN NGADA REGENCY INDONESIA

ALBERTHO HERMAN JOHANES DOPO S.H., M.Kn.
NOTARIS KAB. NGADA

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

AUSTRALIA

By authority of the University

Yofita Lawe Duka

having satisfied the requirements
was admitted to the degree of

MASTER OF TEACHING ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES (TESOL)

on the twenty-ninth day of March 2012

Given under the Common Seal of La Trobe University

CHANCELLOR

VICE-CHANCELLOR AND PRESIDENT

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
(TASMANIA) NETWORK

Appendix 11 (only the Indonesian version will be given to the participants)

Cross-Cultural Architecture: An Investigation of Chinese Temples Architecture in Bali
PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Research team

David Beynon, School of Technology, Environments and Design, University of Tasmania
david.beynon@utas.edu.au

Louise Wallis, School of Technology, Environmentss and Design, University of Tasmania
louise.wallis@utas.edu.au

Freddy Hendrawan, PhD student, School of Technology, Environments and Design, University of Tasmania
freddy.hendrawan@utas.edu.au

1. Invitation

Thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this research. You are invited to take part in study that is investigating the architectural elements of Chinese Temples in Bali. This information sheet will provide you the bionotes of the researcher and some aspects of this study. Please feel free to ask any questions about the researcher and on any aspects of this study.

Bionotes of the researcher

Freddy Hendrawan was born in 1983 and grew up in Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia. He was graduated from Udayana University in Bali and obtained Bachelor of Architecture in 2006 and Master of Architecture in 2012. Currently, he is a lecturer at Sekolah Tinggi Desain Bali (Bali Design School) in Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia. Most of his research has been conducted in Indonesia and focus in architecture building, interior design, and cross-cultural architecture, particularly about Balinese-Chinese culture.

2. What is the purpose of this study?

This study aims to investigate why the cultural combination between Chinese and Balinese architectures emerged in Chinese temple architecture in Bali, as well as investigate the potential influence of the other factors on the development of Chinese temples and their architecture in Bali. Specifically, this research will examine the following questions: what are the critical characteristics of Chinese temple architecture in Bali? And why are both Chinese and Balinese cultural elements present on Chinese temples in Bali? Based on the main questions, the breakdown of some subsidiary questions is:

1. What are the differences between layout on Chinese temples in Bali with Chinese temples in China and how can they be explained?
2. What Balinese traditional building types and elements have been adopted in the Chinese temples in Bali?
3. What are design and construction methods on the Chinese temples in Bali and how/why may they be similar or different to other Chinese temples?
4. Why have Balinese traditional building types and elements have been adopted the Chinese temples in Bali?

5. Are there any other external factors that have influenced the establishment, history and architectural development of Chinese temples in Bali?

3. How is the study being funded?

This research is funded by Australia Awards Scholarship. There are no payments or other benefits provided to those recruiting participants.

4. Why have I been invited to participate?

You are eligible to take part in this study because you are a person who has been suggested as a source of information on an aspect of Chinese-Balinese temple history and architecture.
Your participation is voluntary and there is no consequence for declining this invitation.

5. What will I be asked to do?

This research will involve a face-to-face interview between you and the student researcher at a place of your choice.The interview will be a semi-structured formal process with some guided questions that all relate to Chinese temples in Bali. The interview will last approximately 45-60 minutes, will be audio recorded on a handheld recording device and will later be transcribed. The interviews will be conducted in the end of 2019.

6. Are there any possible benefits from participation in this study?

We do not expect direct benefits for participants in this study. However, this study will advance our understanding of cultural renegotiating processes in maintaining cultural identity of ethnic minorities in everyday lives and contribute to cultural harmony and understanding in Bali.

7. Are there any possible risks from participation in this study?

We do not foresee any risks from participation in this study. All the questions will be about Chinese-Balinese architecture, culture and history and you will not be asked to provide any confidential information. You may also choose not to answer any of the questions. If you do have any concerns, please let us know. See contact details at the start of this information sheet.

8. What if I change my mind during or after the study?

You are free to withdraw your consent to participate at any time and can do so without providing an explanation. All data relevant to your participation will be destroyed. Specifically, electronic files will be deleted from computer hard-drives and servers, and electronic “rubbish bins” emptied and paper documented will be securely shredded. After your participation, you can choose to withdraw the information you have provided to the study until January 2020. After this point in time it is expected that analysis will have been developed which would make it no longer practicable to isolate and remove your data.

9. What will happen to the data when this study is over?

This study will conclude by February 2022. All raw data will be held by the University of Tasmania, School of Technology, Environments and Design, for a period of five (5) years from the publication of the study results and will then be securely destroyed. Data will be non-identifiable. Interview transcriptions

will be stored within password-protected computer and electronic files accessed via a password-protected computer within the School of Technology, Environments and Design at the University of Tasmania. Paper copies used for the quantitative analysis of layout and building dimensions, as well as qualitative analysis of interviews will be kept in a locked filing cabinet accessible only to the researchers.The data will be treated in a confidential manner.

10. How will the results of the study be published?

All data in this study will be anonymous. This research will be published in the form of an PhD dissertation, so data from this study will be discussed and may be publicly presented and/or published. If you wish to be notifed on the results of this study, please feel free to contact us.

11. What if I have questions about this study?

If you have any queries, concerns or issues with this study, please feel free to contact the student researcher:

- *Freddy Hendrawan*
  Email: Freddy.Hendrawan@utas.edu.id atau fhendrawan88@gmail.com,
  Telepon: +61 435 821 558 or +62 819 343 85919

Or please feel free to contact my primary supervisor, in case there are other issues you would like to raise related to this study:

- *David Beynon*
  Email: david.beynon@utas.edu.au
  Telepon: +62 466 452 898

This study has been approved by the Tasmania Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have concerns or complaints about the conduct of this study, you can contact the Executive Officer of the HREC (Tasmania) Network on (03) 6226 6254 or email human.ethics@utas.edu.au / ss.ethics@utas.edu.au. The Executive Officer is the person nominate to receive complaints from research participants. You will need to quote [H0014008].

12. How can I agree to be involved?

Participants can give consent by signing the consent form or by providing verbal consent.

Thank you for your time

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
(TASMANIA) NETWORK

Cross-Cultural Architecture: An Investigation of Chinese Temples Architecture in Bali
PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Research team

David Beynon, School of Technology, Environments and Design, University of Tasmania
david.beynon@utas.edu.au

Louise Wallis, School of Technology, Environmentss and Design, University of Tasmania
louise.wallis@utas.edu.au

Freddy Hendrawan, PhD student, School of Technology, Environments and Design, University of Tasmania
freddy.hendrawan@utas.edu.au

By signing below, I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet and in particular:

- I understand that my involvement in this research will include a 45-60 minute face-to-face interview.
- I understand that the research may include an audio recording of my participation
- I understand that participation involves discussing the history and architecture of Chinese temples in Bali as well as Chinese-Balinese culture.
- Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction
- I understand that all study data will be securely stored on University of Tasmania premises for five years from the publication of the study results, and will then be destroyed
- I agree that my study data can be used for this specific project and publication of the study results
  ☐ *Yes*
  ☐ *No*
- I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary

- I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time, without explanation or penalty
- If I wish, I may request that any data I have supplied be withdrawn from the research until the end of January 2020.

- I agree to participate in the study

Name	
Signature	
Date	

Statement by Researcher

☐ I have explained the project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

If the researcher has not had an opportunity to talk to participants prior to them participating, the following must be ticked.

☐ The participant has received the Information Sheet where my details have been provided so participants have had the opportunity to contact me prior to consenting to participate in this project.

Name	
Signature	
Date	

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
(TASMANIA) NETWORK

Appendix 12 (Participant Information Sheet & Consent Form in Bahasa Indonesia)

Arsitektur Lintas Budaya: Sebuah Kajian Arsitektur Kuil China di Bali
LEMBAR INFORMASI PARTISIPAN

Tim Peneliti

David Beynon, School of Technology, Environments and Design, University of Tasmania
david.beynon@utas.edu.au

Louise Wallis, School of Technology, Environmentss and Design, University of Tasmania
louise.wallis@utas.edu.au

Freddy Hendrawan, PhD student, School of Technology, Environments and Design, University of Tasmania
freddy.hendrawan@utas.edu.au

1. Undangan

Terima kasih atas waktunya dan kesediaannya untuk berpartisipasi dlam penelitian ini. Kami mengundang Bapak/Ibu untuk berpartisipasi dalam sebuah penelitian yang mengkaji elemen-elemen arsitektur Kuil China di Bali. Lembar informasi partisipan ini terdiri dari biodata peneliti dan beberapa aspek terkait studi ini. Silahkan untuk mengajukan pertanyaan-pertanyaan tentang peneliti dan aspek-aspek dalam studi ini.

Biodata peneliti

Freddy Hendrawan lahir pada tahun 1983 dan tumbuh besar di Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia. Dia lulusan Universitas Udayana, Bali dan bergelar S1 Sarjana Teknik (Arsitektur) pada tahun 2006 dan S2 Teknik (Arsitektur) pada tahun 2012. Saat ini, dia adalah seorang dosen di Sekolah Tinggi Desain Bali di Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia. Sebagian besar penelitiannya telah dilakukan di Indonesia dan focus pada bangunan arsitektur, desain interior, dan arsitektur lintas budaya, khususnya tentang budaya Bali-China..

2. Apa tujuan dari studi ini?

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji mengapa kombinasi budaya arsitektur China dan Bali muncul dalam arsitektur Kuil China di Bali, serta mengkaji pengaruh potensial faktor-faktor lain terhadap perkembangan Kuil China dan arsitekturnya di Bali,

Secara khusus, penelitian ini akan mendalami beberapa pertanyaan berikut: apa saja karakteristik penting dari arsitektur Kuil China di Bali? Dan mengapa elemen-elemen budaya China dan Bali muncul pada Kuil China di Bali?

Berdasarkan pertanyaan-pertanyaan utama tersebut, pertanyaan-pertanyaan lanjutannya adalah sebagai berikut:

1. Apa perbedaan antara tata ruang pada Kuil China di Bali dengan Kuil China di China, dan bagaimana perbedaan ini bisa dijelaskan?
2. Tipe dan elemen bangunan tradisional Bali apa saja yang telah diadopsi ke dalam Kuil China di Bali?
3. Apa metode desain dan konstruksi yang digunakan pada Kuil China di Bali, dan bagaimana/mengapa metode ini sama atau berbeda dengan metode pada Kuil China di China?
4. Mengapa tipe dan elemen bangunan tradisional Bali diadopsi ke dalam Kuil China di Bali?

5. Apakah ada faktor-faktor eksternal lainnya yang telah mempengaruhi pendirian, sejarah dan perkembangan arsitektur Kuil-kuil China di Bali?

3. Bagaimana pembiayaan penelitian ini?

Penelitian ini dibiayai oleh Australia Awards Scholarship. Dalam hal ini tidak ada pembayaran atau keuntungan material yang diberikan kepada partisipan.

4. Mengapa Anda diundang untuk berpartisipasi?

Anda memenuhi persyaratan untuk berpartisipasi dalam studi ini karena Anda adalah orang yang tepat untuk menjadi sumber informasi tentang aspek sejarah dan arsitektur Kuil China-Bali di Bali. Keikutsertaan Anda bersifat sukarela dan tidak ada konsekuensi apabila Anda menolak berpartisipasi dalam studi ini.

5. Anda akan diminta untuk melakukan apa?

Penelitian ini akan melibatkan wawancara tatap muka antara Anda dan mahasiswa peneliti di tempat yang Anda tentukan. Wawancara akan berlangsung dalam proses formal semi-terstruktur termasuk pertanyaan-pertanyaan yang bersifat terbuka dan tertutup berkaitan dengan Kuil China di Bali. Wawancara akan dilakukan sekitar 45-60 menit, dan akan direkam menggunakan alat perekam suara yang nantinya akan disalin. Wawancara akan dilakukan pada akhir tahun 2019.

6. Apakah ada keuntungan yang diperoleh dari keikutsertaan pada penelitian ini?

Penelitian ini mungkin tidak memberikan keuntungan langsung bagi partisipan. Tetapi, penelitian ini akan meningkatkan pemahaman tentang proses-proses negosiasi ulang budaya dalam melestarikan identitas budaya pada etnik minoritas dalam kehidupan-sehari-hari dan berkontribusi pada harmoni dan pemahaman budaya di Bali.

7. Apa saja resiko dari keikutsertaan dalam penelitian ini?

Keikutsertaan dalam penelitian ini tidak mengandung resiko. Semua pertanyaan berkaitan dengan arsitektur, budaya dan sejarah China-Bali dan Anda tidak akan diminta untuk memberikan informasi yang bersifat rahasia. Anda juga berhak untuk tidak menjawab pertanyaan-pertanyaan tersebut. Jika ada hal-hal yang tidak berkenan, Anda dapat menyampaikannya kepada kami. Silahkan lihat detail kontak pada halaman awal lembar ini.

8. Bagaimana jika Anda berubah pikiran selama atau setelah keikutsertaan Anda dalam penelitian ini?

Anda berhak untuk menarik kembali persetujuan Anda untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini kapan saja tanpa memberikan penjelasan apapun. Semua data terkait keikutsertaan Anda dalam penelitian ini akan dimusnahkan. Secara khusus, dokumen-dokumen elektronik akan dihapus dari perangkat keras komputer dan *servers*, dan “tempat sampah” elektronik akan dikosongkan dan dokumen tertulis akan disobekan dengan cara yang terjamin keamanannya. Setelah keikutsertaan Anda dalam penelitian ini, Anda dapat menarik kembali informasi yang telah diberikan dalam studi ini hingga Januari 2020. Setelah waktu tersebut, informasi yang Anda berikan akan dikembangkan ke dalam bentuk analisis dan publikasi yang berarti data Anda tidak dapat dipisahkan dan dihapus.

9. Apa yang dilakukan terhadap data setelah penelitian ini berakhir?

Penelitian ini akan berakhir di bulan Februari 2022.
Semua data mentah akan disimpan oleh University of Tasmania, School of Technology, Environments and Design, dalam kurun waktu lima (5) tahun sejak publikasi hasil studi dan kemudian akan dimusnahkan secara aman. Data akan tidak diidentifikasi. Transkrip wawancara akan disimpan dalam komputer bersandi dan dokumen elektronik diakses menggunakan komputer bersandi pada University of Tasmania, School of Technology, Environments and Design. Salinan data yang digunakan untuk analisa kuantitatif berupa perencanaan tata ruang dan dimensi bangunan, dan juga analisa kualitatif berupa data wawancara akan disimpan dalam lemari penyimpanan dokumen yang dikunci dan hanya dapat diakses oleh peneliti. Semua data hanya bisa diakses oleh peneliti. Data akan diperlakukan secara rahasia.

10. Bagaimana hasil studi ini akan dipublikasikan?

Seluruh data dalam studi ini akan anonim. Penelitian ini akan dipublikasian dalam bentuk disertasi PhD sehingga data yang diperoleh dalam studi ini akan didiskusikan dan kemungkinan dipresentasikan dan/atau dipublikasikan. Jika anda ingin diinformasikan mengenai hasil dari studi ini, silahkan untuk menghubungi kami.

11. Bagaimana jika Anda memiliki pertanyaan tentang penelitian ini?

Jika Anda memiliki pertanyaan, kekhawatiran atau permasalahan terkait penelitian ini, Anda dapat menghubungi peneliti mahasiswa melalui:

- *Freddy Hendrawan*
  Email: Freddy.Hendrawan@utas.edu.id atau fhendrawan88@gmail.com,
  Telepon: +61 435 821 558 or +62 819 343 85919

Atau silahkan untuk menghubungi pembimbing utama saya, jika ada permasalahan lain yang ingin ditanyakan terkait studi ini:

- *David Beynon*
  Email: david.beynon@utas.edu.au
  Telepon: +62 466 452 898

Penelitian ini telah disetujui oleh Tasmania Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. Jika anda memiliki pertanyaan atau keluhan tentang pelaksanaan kegiatan penelitian ini, anda dapat menghubungi the Executive Officer of the HREC (Tasmania) Network di (03) 6226 6254 atau email human.ethics@utas.edu.au / ss.ethics@utas.edu.au. The Executive Officer adalah orang yang ditunjuk untuk menerima keluhan dari partisipan penelitian. Anda perlu mengutip [H0014008] jika menghubungi pihak tersebut di atas.

12. Bagaimana jika Anda setuju untuk ikut serta dalam penelitian ini?

Partisipan dapan memberikan persetujuan dengan menandatangani lembar persetujuan atau menyetujui secara lisan.

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
(TASMANIA) NETWORK

Terima kasih untuk waktu anda

Arsitektur Lintas Budaya: Sebuah Kajian Arsitektur Kuil China di Bali
LEMBAR PERSETUJUAN PARTISIPAN

Tim Peneliti

David Beynon, School of Technology, Environments and Design, University of Tasmania
david.beynon@utas.edu.au

Louise Wallis, School of Technology, Environmentss and Design, University of Tasmania
louise.wallis@utas.edu.au

Freddy Hendrawan, PhD student, School of Technology, Environments and Design, University of Tasmania
freddy.hendrawan@utas.edu.au

Dengan tanda tangan di bawah ini, saya menyatakan bahwa saya telah membaca dan memahami Lembar Informasi Partisipan, dan secara khusus:

- Saya paham bahwa keikutsertaan saya dalam penelitian ini akan melibatkan wawancara tatap muka selama 45-60 menit;
- Saya paham bahwa penelitian ini melibatkan rekaman suara partisipasi saya;
- Saya paham bahwa partisipasi saya melibatkan diskusi mengenai sejarah dan arsitektur Kuil China serta kebudayaan China-Bali;
- Segala pertanyaan yang saya ajukan telah dijawab secara memuaskan;
- Saya mengerti bahwa semua data penelitian ini akan disimpan dengan aman pada fasilitas University of Tasmania selama lima tahun sejak publikasi hasil penelitian ini, dan kemudian akan dimusnahkan;
- Saya setuju bahwa data dalam studi ini dapat digunakan untuk spesifik proyek dan publikasi hasil penelitian
  ☐ *Ya*
  ☐ *Tidak*

- Saya paham bahwa keikutsertaan saya dalam penelitian bersifat sukarela;

- Saya paham bahwa saya berhak untuk menarik kembali persetujuan saya untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini kapan saja tanpa penjelasan atau hukuman apapun;

- Jika saya menginginkan data apapun yang saya berikan untuk ditarik kembali, hal tersebut dapat saya lakukan sampai Januari 2020;

- Saya setuju untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini.

Nama	
Tanda Tangan	
Tanggal	

Pernyataan oleh Peneliti

☐ Saya telah menjelaskan tentang proyek dan implikasi dari keikutsertaan dalam penelitian ini kepada partisipan dan saya yakin bahwa persetujuan ini telah diinformasikan dan partisipan memahami implikasi dari keikutsertaannya dalam penelitian ini.

Jika peneliti tidak berkesempatan untuk berbicara dengan partisipan sebelum mereka berpartisipasi, pernyataan di bawah ini harus dicentang.

☐ Partisipan telah menerima Lembar Informasi Partisipan yang di dalamnya terdapat detail informasi saya sehingga partisipan berkesempatan untuk menghubungi saya sebelum memberikan persetujuannya untuk terlibat dalam penelitian ini.

Nama	
Tanda Tangan	
Tanggal	

Appendix E. Table of Interviewees

Regency	Temple Name	Interviewee	Occupation	Date	Place
Denpasar	Oong Tay Jen	Atu Mangku*	Temple's priest	05/01/2020	Oong Tay Jen temple
	Kwan Kong Bio	Nyoman Suastika	Temple's coordinator	23/12/2019	Kwan Kong Bio temple
	Cao Fuk Miao	Panca Pangestu*	Temple's coordinator	12/01/2020	Cao Fuk Miao temple
	Kong Cu Bio	Js. Made Hadi Saputro	Temple's coordinator	08/01/2020	Js. Made Hadi Saputro' resident
		Adinatha	Temple's member	19/01/2020	Adinatha's office
Badung	Leeng Gwan Bio	Wahyu*	Temple's coordinator	24/12/2019	Leeng Gwan Bio temple
	Caow Eng Bio	Mangku*	Temple's priest	02/01/2020	Caow Eng Bio temple
Gianyar	Amurva Bhumi	I Made Yudi Kayana	Temple's coordinator	30/12/2019	Amurva Bhumi temple
	Ong Ya Kong	Andre Surya Chandra	Temple's coordinator	07/01/2020	Ong Ya Kong temple
Tabanan	Kong Co Bio	Liem Shian Lie	Temple's coordinator	14/01/2020	Kong Co Bio temple
	Batu Meringgit	I Wayan Ekadhana	Temple's coordinator	24/12/2019	Batu Meringgit temple
		Wayan Ada	Cultural village coordinator	16/01/2020	
		Mangku Muli	Temple's priest	11/01/2020	
Klungkung	Zhong Yi Miao	Sosan Muliono	Temple's coordinator	18/01/2020	Zhong Yi Miao temple
		Lila*	Temple's coordinator	18/01/2020	
Karangasem	Tanjung Sari Temple	Mangku Marsya	Temple's priest	24/08/2019	Tanjung Sari Temple
		Eka	Temple's coordinator	24/08/2019	

*As interviews were conducted by phone, verbal explanation have been given to the interviewees prior they agree to conduct the interview session, and consents to participate on this interview session were provided verbally.