

Space Contestation in the Tri-Dharma Religious Building (Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism) in Indonesia

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ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 01-03-2023

Revised 15-03-2023

Accepted 22-03-2023

Available online 31-03-2023

E-ISSN: 2622-1640

P-ISSN: 2622-0008

How to cite:

Angkasa Z, Kamil E. M. Space Contestation in the Tri-Dharma Religious Building (Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism) in Indonesia. *International Journal of Architecture and Urbanism*. 2023. 7(1):14-25.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the contestation of the worship space by looking at how three religions: Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism, occupy space in the tri-dharma worship building. This paper discusses the conceptual, theoretical, historical, and contemporary political aspects of the three religions in Indonesia and how the Indonesian government has historically encouraged Buddhists, Confucians, and Taoists to worship in the same space. This study surveys secondary data on the architecture of the Tri-Dharma houses of worship in Indonesia and looks at how the elements of each religion are placed in the buildings and how this reflects the contestation of the three religions in Indonesia. The result of this research shows that architectural contestation occurs in the altar room, ornamental, and overall building style. This contestation reflects which sects are dominant and which are peripheral to the three religions. This finding has implications for the importance of efforts to foster harmony between Tri-Dharma religious communities in Indonesia and how each one responds to architectural dominance and builds a more varied architecture of places of worship for the Tri-Dharma religion.

Keywords: architecture; taoism; temple; tri-dharma; vihara



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1 Introduction

The architecture of temples and pagodas in Indonesia or formally called TITD (Tri-Dharma Places of Worship), is generally uniform because of the mindset similarity and traditional glorification of the architects who built them [1]. This similarity of mindset is, in turn, shaped by the teachings of the Tri-Dharma which is a combination of Buddha, Confucianism, and Taoism. The last two religions are religions from China, so they greatly influenced Buddhist architecture that originated in India.

Although, in general, experts view that these three religions are difficult to separate and do not need to be separated because they form harmony with each other, we can also take a different perspective, namely the conflict perspective. The researcher saw that the existence of three religions in one place of worship caused a

number of conflicts which were more or less managed to be extinguished by the three people, thus creating a kind of perception of harmonization.

The conflict perspective on the implementation of worship of three religions at TITD has conceptual, theoretical, historical, and contemporary political justifications. Conceptually, the three Tri-Dharma religions have different orientations and can conflict with each other. Buddha is oriented toward self-purification towards nirvana, Confucianism for social order, and Taoism for harmony between humans and nature. Each also has a different concept of divinity and life. Theoretically, as a social group, each religion will have its own orientation of social dominance and seek to achieve a central place within the same building. Historically, the three religions have been politically contested in China for thousands of years. In contemporary politics, there are clear manifestations of conflict in the management of a number of temples and pagodas in Indonesia after the government recognized Confucianism as a religion, such as the conflict at the Kwan Sing Bio temple in Tuban, the Thian Gie Kiong temple in Samarinda, and the Kong Co Bio temple in Tabanan. [2]

Although the conflicts that occur are more socio-political in nature, this can be manifested in architecture, especially in the contestation of places of worship. At first glance, it is difficult to distinguish between Buddhist, Confucian, and Taoist architecture because these three religions are always together in one house of worship. However, Chinese scholars have formulated several architectural characteristics of each religion based on their study of the history of religions in China. One of the scholars who most clearly distinguishes these three architectures is Cai [3]

So far, research on TITD architecture is still limited to a harmonious perspective, so there is a need to look at the TITD architecture from an alternative perspective. The current study aims to explore this perspective by reviewing the existing TITD architecture in Indonesia. By using the theory of social dominance and central place and the architectural typology of Chinese religions from Yanxin (2011), this study will answer two research questions. First, how is the spatial contestation for Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism in TITD? Second, what are the points of disharmony in the TITD architecture that reflect the conflict and social domination between the Tri-Dharma religions?

2 Literature Review

Space competition in architecture is generally explained through social dominance theory and central place theory [4]. Social dominance theory argues that individuals in the same category have different attitudes towards individuals from groups from other categories [5]. This category can be race, gender, ethnicity, or religion [6]. This degree of difference in attitudes is referred to as the orientation of social domination. Individuals with a high social dominance orientation tend to build hierarchical group relationships and believe that groups with low status do not deserve better social services or benefits. Such individuals will oppose policies that try to promote equality and seek to encourage discrimination against groups with low status [7]. Individuals with a low social dominance orientation do not have a bias toward other groups [8].

The orientation of social dominance plays an important role in determining how individuals interact with other individual group members [5].

Meanwhile, the central place theory says that the pattern of centrality in architecture is logical and organic and becomes the main principle in the development of architecture. The location of this centre can be determined on political, economic, or social grounds [9]. The existence of an architectural system is the result of the tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces that create a regular structure in which elements of varying degrees coexist [10]. A common solution to this situation will create elements that focus on different activities. This method allows each element to be the central location for its own field.

If these two theories are combined, then we get a number of pictures of the competition for space in architecture. Because everyone from one group has a different orientation of social dominance, then some individuals in a group with a high social dominance orientation will impose inequality and raise their social group higher than other social groups. When this is brought to the context of a multi-religious worship space, some members of certain religious groups, especially dominant groups, will impose a hierarchy between existing religious groups. This hierarchy will force an attempt to achieve a central location in architecture. Other groups that cannot compete will push themselves to be central locations in different aspects of architecture. The end result of this space competition will give rise to several central locations, each of which has advantages in certain aspects over other central locations.

The theory of social dominance has implications for the existence of several people in the dominant religious group who will impose a religious hierarchy in the utilization of the TITD worship space. Groups with high social dominance create a central location where they can assert that they are dominant in the context they think is important. Another group will build its own central location, which has a role that cannot be defeated by the initial group and plays a complementary and harmonious role in the utilization of the TITD worship space. From this, the impression of a harmonious relationship between the three religious groups in TITD emerges. From the perspective of social domination theory, however, this harmonious relationship is illusory and is nothing but the result of the dynamics of social domination between groups in obtaining a central location in the TITD architecture.

The three religions studied in this article have their own characteristics of social dominance. Buddhism is a religion that originated in India. There are two main schools of Buddhism, Theravada and Mahayana. Theravada is seen as the purest and non-theistic school; it does not discuss divine matters. The main goal of life is to reach the ultimate reality called nirvana through moral steps. Sidharta Gautama or Sanghyang Adhi Buddha is the main figure and the only Buddha figure that should be worshipped and followed so that humans can achieve nirvana. Adhi Buddha has a number of incarnations in the world to help humans reach nirvana. Mahayana Buddhism is a Buddhist school that developed in East Asia, especially in China. This flow is trans-polytheism, namely a religion that places the gods under a more important reality, namely nirvana. These deities can be worshipped and interpreted as embodiments of Buddha in the world. There is

only one deity from the Mahayana sect accepted by Theravada, namely Avalokitesvara or in Chinese called Dewi Kwan Im. Dewi Kwan Im is seen as one of the manifestations of Adhi Buddha in the world. The other deities of the Mahayana pantheon are not accepted by Theravada.

Buddhist architecture is characterized by the use of monasteries as places for worshipping Buddha images, performing rituals, and living quarters for monks and nuns [3]. The roof of the monastery is layered as a symbol of the stages leading to nirvana. A clear example of this level is in the Borobudur Temple. These levels can then be formed into the form of a tower called a pagoda. At the base of the pagoda, there is a pavilion. Buddhist architectural buildings are pieces, not a unified whole. These pieces, however, are directed at a central building as the location of the centre of worship. Viharas are generally built in remote areas to make it easier to achieve tranquillity in worship. The rim of the temple roof is decorated with ornaments. Another distinctive characteristic of Buddhist architecture is the intensive use of octagonal planes, both as decorations and as building blocks, usually pillars. The octagon is a symbol of the eight good paths taught by the Adhi Buddha. In addition to the octagon, the lotus is a symbol that has religious significance for Buddhism because the Buddha is depicted sitting on a lotus. The stupa is also a typical Buddhist architectural form. The colour of the temple is generally cream or white. The centre of worship for Theravada religion is a giant Buddha statue while Mahayana includes, besides Buddha statues, statues of other deities, particularly the Goddess Kwan Im. In Theravada religion, Buddha statues are sometimes accompanied by smaller Buddha statues.

Confucianism is a non-theistic religion taught by the Prophet Confucius. This teaching is moral in nature and emphasizes respect for ancestors and the sky. Confucianism also worships Goddess Kwan Im and sees her as the Goddess of Mercy. Confucian architecture is characterized by its rectangular shape and wide courtyards. Confucians view that their religious place of worship has a dual function. Apart from being a place of worship, the Confucian temple also functions as a place to learn the teachings of the Prophet Kongzi [3]. Worship for Confucius is not worshipping gods but humans, especially the Prophet Kongzi and his followers who are considered to have high moral qualities. Because of this educational aspect, Confucian temples generally have special rooms such as classrooms in schools [11]. The layout of the building always adjusts to the topography and has a garden. The main architectural principles that are most widely held are order and symmetry. The decorations on the walls are relatively minimal, and if any, they will be in the form of reliefs depicting the teachings of the Prophet Kongzi.

Taoism is the oldest religion in China, coming earlier than Confucianism and Buddhism. Taoism (Dao) emphasizes the harmony between man and nature. Taoism focuses on Lao Tzu's Tao Te Ching, which is moral teaching. However, Tao is polytheistic because it recognizes the existence of gods as superhuman beings but lives like humans. Therefore, if on Earth there is a Chinese kingdom with a government structure, then in Heaven, there is also a Heaven kingdom with gods and goddesses who also have a structure like a kingdom on Earth. This has led to two types of Taoism: philosophical Tao and popular Tao. Philosophical Taoists focus more on self-development and moral qualities, while popular Taoists believe in the existence

of gods and goddesses as entities that can help them in doing various things in life [12] The main deity worshipped by popular Taoists is Lord Kwan Kong.

The most striking architectural characteristic of Tao, when contrasted with Confucianism, is the curve. Taoist architecture prioritizes curved forms, in contrast to Confucianism which emphasizes square forms [13]. The two most widely recognized important aspects of Taoist architecture are Yin Yang and feng shui. Another important characteristic of Taoist architecture is the use of the natural environment and a lot of Taoist temples are in the mountains. Ornament and symbolism are so strong in Taoism that there are many kinds of animals, plants, and creatures that are thought to symbolize a certain quality of life. This has an impact on the high intensity of ornamentation in Taoist architecture. Dragon figures reflect so many positive things that they are almost always present in Taoist architecture. Of the three Tri-Dharma religions, Tao is the most conspicuous with its vivid bright red colour [3].

3 Methodology

This study surveys secondary data on the architecture of the Tri-Dharma houses of worship in Indonesia and looks at how the elements of each religion are placed in the buildings and how this reflects the contestation of the three religions in Indonesia. The previous research literature was obtained from the Google Scholar search engine with the main keyword's "architecture" and the accompanying keywords "vihara" and "klenteng". Only articles containing reviews that allow researchers to distinguish elements of Buddhist, Confucian, and Taoist architecture are reported in the results and discussion sections.

4 Results and Discussion

Table 1 below shows the research findings regarding the architectural features of several Tri-Dharma places of worship that were studied in the previous literature. This table provides an overview of how the three religions occupy their respective central locations in achieving social dominance in TITD. Further descriptions are not limited to the TITDs mentioned in this table.

Table 1 Places of Buddha, Confucianism, and Tao in a Temple

TITD (Reference)	Buddha Room	Confucian Room	Taoist Room
Vihara Transmitter of Safety / Boen San Tong Temple, Cirebon City [14]	Statue of Buddha and Goddess Kwan Im on the left side of the temple	Worship of the God of Heaven, God of Earth, and other gods	Fengshui is used to determine the layout, hierarchy, and orientation of buildings
The Goddess of Mercy Temple Cirebon [15]	The Buddhist place of worship was built in 1970 on the left side and has two floors, with an area of 245 m ² .	The main worship space is for the Confucian religion, built in 1559, with an area of 829 m ² . The name of the temple, "Goddess of Compassion", is the Confucian name for Dewi Kwan Im.	Statues of fishing gods because the origins of the adherents' ancestors are fishermen.

TITD (Reference)	Buddha Room	Confucian Room	Taoist Room
Vihara Dhanagun, Bogor City [16]	The name Dhanagun is an Indian name, meaning "charity". There are Buddhist pantheons of Maitreya, Gautama Buddha and Avalokiteswara	The original name of this monastery is Klenteng Hok Tek Bio (house of goodness and fortune). There is also the worship of Grandmother Raden Surya Kencana and Mbah Bogor, the ancestors of the rulers of the Bogor region.	The main god worshipped is the God of Earth (Hok Tek Cing Sien). Statues of living creatures such as partridges, white storks, pine trees, dragons in the clouds, dragons coiled on poles (<i>chih-wen</i>), funiks, birds (<i>feng huang</i>), bats, tigers, and horses.
TITD (Reference)	Buddha Room	Confucian Room	Taoist Room
Soetji Nurani Temple Banjarmasin [17]	The main altar was given to Dewi Kwan Im, accompanied by Lord Kwan Kong and Sidharta Gautama	Procedures for worship following the teachings of Confucianism	The application of feng shui in space layout, colour, roof shape, structure exposure, and ornament details
Po An Bio Temple/ Vihara Dharma Loka Sindanglaut, Cirebon [18]	Using the Buddha's name	The inside of a simple building without decoration	Also, worship the Taoist gods.
Teng Swie Bio Temple, Krian, Sidoarjo [19]	The Buddhist gods are on the top floor	The ground floor is the place of the Confucian gods	Fengshui is applied, for example, by the dragon symbol with a round door and a circle painting to create balance

4.1 Space for Buddha

Although Buddhism is the oldest religion in Indonesia and has long been recognized as one of the official religions, we can no longer see the original Indian Buddhist architecture in the temples. The original Buddhist architecture that remains is Buddhist temples that are very old, while modern monasteries adopt a more Taoist-dominated Chinese architecture. Modern Vihara is a new name for a religious house of worship that is reborn in the present. Most of what we call a temple are extensions of the temple building, which are generally built to the left of the temple building. The placement to the left of this main building has a Taoist influence because Taoists believe that the left side is the good side.

Buddhism is a trans-polytheistic religion where its adherents do not believe in the existence of a Creator God but accept the existence of many gods and goddesses as non-universal forces that are below the ultimate reality (nirvana) [20]. Over time, in Indonesia, Buddha transformed into monotheism by placing Sang Adhi Buddha as God Almighty both for political reasons to be recognized as an official religion and for intellectual reasons from contemporary Buddhist thinkers who formulated monotheistic Buddhist teachings [20]. However, this goes further, as in Mahayana Buddhism, where Gautama Buddha is worshipped as a single entity or in conjunction with other deities, especially gods from Chinese culture.

In line with the above developments, Gautama Buddha was worshipped in the temple together with Dewi Kwan Im (Avalokitesvara). Dewi Kwan Im, which merely is a Chinese name, is actually a Bodhisattva (a divine being who attained enlightenment and thus deserved to attain nirvana but chose to remain in the

mortal world to help suffering beings). Dewi Kwan Im is the only divine being from the Mahayana tradition recognized by the Theravada tradition [21]. Confucians also worship Goddess Kwan Im, indicating that they are both Buddhist and Confucian. This was observed at the Soetji Nurani Temple, Banjarmasin, where Dewi Kwan Im was placed in the middle of the altar, accompanied by Dewa Kwan Kong (Taoist) and Sidharta Gautama (Buddha). In this case, the three gods form the three teachings of the Tri-Dharma because Dewi Kwan Im is recognized by Confucianism and Buddha, Dewa Kwan Kong is recognized by Tao [12], and Sidharta Gautama is recognized as Buddha. However, in general, temples place Buddha together with Dewi Kwan Im as a unit of worship and are attributed to Buddhist teachings by non-Buddhist Confucians such as the Cirebon Salvation Transmitter Vihara [14].

So, we can see that there are two typologies of space for Buddha at TITD in Indonesia. First, the typology is based on the placement of Buddha relative to Dewi Kwan Im. Second, the typology is based on the placement of the location of Buddhist worship in the main room. The combination of these two typologies produces three types. The first type is the Theravada type, where the Buddha is placed in the highest position on the altar in the living room, not with Goddess Kwan Im. The second type is the Mahayana type, where the Buddha is placed together with Dewi Kwan Im in one room, with or not with Lord Kwan Kong. The third type is the Tao dominant type, where the Buddha, with or without the Goddess Kwan Im, is placed on the left or back side of the main building. The main gods in the middle are Taoist gods such as Hok Tek Tjeng Sien (Sioe Hok Bio Temple, Tek Hay Bio Temple, Tong Pek Bio Temple, Hoo Hok Bio Temple, Liong Hok Bio Temple, all in Semarang), Dewi Thian Siang Seng Boo (Temple See Hoo Kiong Semarang) [22].

The existence of the three patterns of placement of Buddhist space above reflects the clear space competition that occurs between the three religions. This competition is over who will be at the main altar and whether he will be accompanied by representatives from other groups. In turn, this reflects what happened at the political level after the government recognized Confucianism. Since then, the Confucians formed MATAKIN (High Council of Confucian Religion of Indonesia) and took over many monasteries from WALUBI (Representative of Indonesian Buddhists) and TDI (Tri-Dharma Indonesia) and changed their names to temples. This transition is likely administrative in nature because Buddhists and Taoists can still worship and use the temple. However, this has led to conflicts in various monasteries, one of the most spectacular of which is the conflict over the management of the Kwan Sing Bio Temple in Tuban which has dragged on until now [23]. Another case is the case of the Thian Gie Kiong temple in Samarinda and Kong Co Bio in Tabanan, where Buddhists forbid Confucians to worship in the temple because Confucians already have their own temple outside the temple complex [24].

4.2 Space for Confucianism

Many TITDs that exist today, despite having Buddhist names, are Confucian houses of worship. This is natural because the decline of Buddhists in the past was accompanied by the migration of the Chinese community from Mainland China, who adhered to the Confucian religion. The Dewi Welas Asih Temple, Cirebon, for example, was built in 1559. Currently, the temple has an area of 1,074 m². The main building in

the middle is a Confucian place of worship with an area of 77% of the total building area [15]. Ancillary buildings for Buddhism were only built in 1970 to meet the requirements for the building to be recognized as a house of worship because Buddhism is a recognized religion by the state, different from Confucianism.

In fact, Confucian architecture tends to be simple without decoration, as observed in China. It can also still be found at the Po An Bio Temple in Sindanglaut, Cirebon [18]. However, in most monasteries, this simplicity is masked by the extensive symbolism influenced by both Buddhist and Taoist teachings. Buddhism prioritizes simplicity, but ornamentals is supported because it can highlight the house of worship from the surrounding environment. While Buddhism supports ornamentals for practical reasons, Tao supports ornamentals for cosmological and symbolic reasons. The symbols of living things and statues of gods and goddesses are intended to create a balance with nature (including humans) as well as provide symbolic meaning for various moral values and ideal human expectations that are desired as outputs of worshipping these gods. As a result, architecturally, although Confucianism is relatively superior to Buddhism and Taoism, Confucian worship spaces also face competition with the two religions, at least in the aspect of ornamentation. Of course, this is slightly better than the Buddhist worship space that competes spatially with the Confucian and Taoist spaces.

The three main characteristics of Confucian architecture are social order and hierarchy and the priority of children's devotion to their parents [25]. This makes Confucian architecture the architecture that emphasizes the most symmetry compared to Buddhist and Taoist architecture. Internally, there will be tiers of floors that reflect the social status and status of the gods. At the Teng Swie Bio Temple, Krian, Sidoarjo [19], the altar floor has steps where this level indicates the social status as well as the level of the gods to be worshipped. Although the top level is occupied by Buddhist gods, the existence of this floor level already shows the dominance of the Confucian space. On the wall at Tiao Kak Sie Temple, Cirebon, which was established in 1595 [18], there are reliefs that show stories of children's devotion to their parents. This temple also freely adopts the gate with Balinese architecture because when the gate was built during the New Order era, Confucians saw that the temple was not a place of worship but a place to gain knowledge that was more secular.

4.3 Space for Tao

Although it is not recognized as one of the official religions in Indonesia, Tao is the oldest Chinese belief and has made many contributions, especially to the architecture of Chinese descent in Indonesia. The concept of feng shui and the balance of the building with its natural surroundings is the basic essence of Taoist architecture [26]. In addition, the personification of the forces of nature in the form of deities and animals, both real and fantasy animals, allows Taoist elements to be complementary and give complexity to elements of Buddhist and Confucian architecture that tend to be simple.

The nature of Taoist architecture, which emphasizes the principle of balance, allows TITD, whether holding the name of a monastery or a temple, to have a variety of ornaments and materials as well as orientations that

reflect the elements of nature and belief in the symbolism of these elements. The most striking symbol is the presence of a dragon on the gate or roof of the temple, next to the stupa (Buddha). In addition to dragons, the temple can also find Taoist influences on ornaments, reliefs, or statues of partridges, pine trees, dragons coiled on poles (chih-wen), bats, horses, white storks, dragons in the clouds, funiks birds (feng huang), and tigers. The gate is usually called the dragon door while the exit is called the tiger door. Each animal has its own symbol, such as a horse for hard work or a dragon for wisdom and power.

In addition to animal and plant forms, Tao introduced the concept of geometry as a way of balancing space. A striking example is the use of a round door instead of a square. Doors and paintings in the form of circles are considered to create balance for the existing space.

The layout of space and various aspects of the architecture of temples and temples can be said to be dominated by Taoist teachings on feng shui. For example, the Vihara Transmitter Salvation was built in the skewer area (the meeting of the three intersections), with the reason to create good luck because it is believed that buildings built in the skewer area will have bad luck. The placement of the elements of water, earth, wind, and wood as well as metal, is arranged in such a way according to feng shui principles, as well as the circulation of visitors in and out of the building [14] All of these are aimed at providing the greatest benefit to the TITD function and benefiting not only Taoists but also Buddhists and Confucians.

4.4 Point of Disharmony

The results of this study identify several points of disharmony that reflect the contestation of space based on the theory of social dominance and central place. First, we find a clear spatial contestation between the three religions in the temple. Buddhist temples place the Buddha as the main figure, the Confucian Temple places Dewi Kwan Im as the main figure, while Taoist temples such as the Hok An Kiong Temple in Surabaya place Kwan Kong as the main figure. Other figures will be placed besides, on the floor, or even in a different room or building.

Second, there is a principal tension between simplicity and grandeur at TITD. This contestation occurs at the level of ornamentation between the simple Buddhist-Confucian ornamentation and the extensive Taoist ornamentation. This tension is principal because simplicity is a core aspect of Buddhism and Confucianism, while complexity, as a manifestation of balance, is a core aspect of Taoism. This is further obscured by the intention of profit and wealth in the worship of certain deities as well as in displaying the extensibility of ornamentation.

Third, Chinese architecture is so dominant that it obscures the universal meaning of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. There are only a few temples that try to escape this cultural domination. A rare example of this is the Ling Sii Miao Temple in Tanah Kilap, Denpasar, which uses the concept of tri angga, the shape of the wantilan roof, and the existence of a kori Agung, as characteristics of Balinese architecture [27] or the Tiao Kak Sie Temple, Cirebon, which uses Balinese architectural gates [18]. The rest is ethnic

Chinese domination, even though there are followers of the Tri-Dharma, especially Buddhism, who are not ethnic Chinese.

5 Conclusion

This study has examined how several places of worship in Indonesia negotiate their religious identity in the triad of three religions: Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. A literature review of previous research focusing on the architecture of the temple reveals that many of these houses of worship have competition for space. Space for Buddhism has three types regarding its position in the competition for space. In a dominant position, the architecture will approach the temple architecture, which is simple, not flashy in colour, and has a roof decoration. The Buddha statue will be in the centre of the altar surrounded by small Buddha statues or Mahayana, Confucian, and Taoist deities. In a compromise position, the altar space will be divided between the Buddha with Kwan Im and Kwan Kong. Alternatively, the Buddha would be placed on a higher level on the altar. In a non-dominant position, the Buddha will be placed in another room to the left or behind the main hall that serves Confucianism or Taoism. The space for Confucianism in a superior situation will be the guide of circulation in the building where the Confucian deities will be the main focus of worship before other gods and the Buddha. The morphology of the dominant Confucian buildings is rectangular and symmetrical, where gods from other religions and the Buddha are complementary to the morphology to make it orderly. For example, the space for the Buddha is placed on the left and the Tao on the right so that from the front-view, it looks symmetrical. Confucian architecture maintains as much symmetry as possible so that the existence of another religion must be balanced with the existence of a third religion. If there is a pagoda, it must be double or even four-sided. This does not mean that these pagodas are predominantly Buddhist, in fact, the existence of some of these pagodas demonstrates the Confucian principle of maintaining symmetry. In addition, the dominance of Confucianism in the pagoda encouraged the pagoda not to have too many decorations, even though it is bright red. For Taoism, dominance is indicated by various natural aspects placed in temples or temples, such as trees, ponds, and gardens. Taoist temples will be very red and decorated, different from Buddhist temples which tend to be faded and unadorned, and Confucian temples which are red but not decorated. Of course, the placement of the main Taoist deity in the temple is a competition for space for the gods, competing with Buddha and Kwan Im. Fengshui is the main architectural principle that guides the spatial arrangement of the Taoist-dominated temple.

Several opportunities for further research emerged from this study. First, further research needs to map the perception of the sacredness of space for adherents of different religions in the temple. How do non-theists like Confucians and trans-polytheists like Buddha perceive the dominance of polytheism in Taoist temples? Conceptually, these three religious thoughts can complement each other, but there will still be space and religious thought contestations in these three Eastern religious schools.

Second, we need to know how the architectural model of the Tri-Dharma spiritual syncretism is the most harmonious and totally acceptable to all schools. How, for example, to reconcile the simplicity of Buddhist-

Confucianism and the richness of Taoist decorations? What is the spatial pattern that reconciles the circulation of worship of the three religions in the temple?

Finally, we also need to examine the architecture of single-religious temples and temples in Indonesia. Previous research attempted to examine this exclusive architecture but was constrained by the fact that even if the monastery was only for the Buddha or only for Confucianism, it still contained the Tri-Dharma religious rituals [28]. To be able to examine this, we need to look at the architecture of the conflict where in the end, one community won, and the other people were forbidden to worship and had to build their own house of worship. Although this seems bitter, such architecture exists in Indonesia, such as in Samarinda, Tabanan, and Tuban.

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