

# SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF BALINESE WORLD AND CHRISTIANITY

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## **Abstract:**

Artikel ini merupakan pengolahan ulang bagian kedua dari paper yang pernah dibawa sebagai 'kuliah perdana' pada pembukaan tahun akademis 2001-2002 STFT Widya Sasana Malang, 10 September 2001. Di sini penulis menganalisis kondisi historis, sosial, politis, dan kultural masyarakat Bali dalam hubungannya dengan kehadiran Gereja-gereja di sana. Gereja selalu berusaha menjadi bagian integral dari masyarakat dan kebudayaan Bali, namun setiap kali dia masuk, setiap kali pula dia terlempar ke luar. Analisis historis kultural ini menunjukkan bahwa memang pada dasarnya masyarakat tradisional Bali adalah komunitas-komunitas tertutup yang 'lengkap'. Kenyataan ini diperteguh oleh kebijakan politik pemerintah Hindia Belanda yang menduduki pulau Bali (1882-1950), khususnya politik isolasi dan Balinisasi yang diterapkannya pada pertengahan pertama abad ke-20. Pada bagian akhir, penulis tidak memberikan kesimpulan, melainkan menawarkan pekerjaan rumah, yakni poin-poin yang harus dipertimbangkan oleh Gereja dalam mengaktualkan kehadiran dan misinya di dalam masyarakat setempat.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

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The goal of this article is to examine the Balinese world, in which Christianity<sup>1</sup> has been struggling to be its integral part. The issue is that every time Christianity tries to enter, every time it is denied to get access. It is more impossible to redefine and reconstruct Balinese community based on a multicultural society. Already in 1924 Soekawati,<sup>2</sup> a member of the *Volksraad* in Batavia (now, Jakarta) and the head of the district of Ubud, Bali, strongly opposed the present of Christianity on the island, saying: "*Westersche invloeden, welke ook, zijn welkom, alleen de*

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1 According to the official statistics (1995), in Bali live 2.631.210 Hindus, 158.564 Muslims, 16.037 Buddhists, 11.957 Catholics and 10.258 Protestants (BPS Kantor Statistik Propinsi Bali, *Bali Dalam Angka 1995*, Denpasar: BPS, 1996, p. 133).

2 Cokorda Gde Raka Soekawati later on became the President of the State of East Indonesia (NIT, Negara Indonesia Timur), established under Dutch auspices in December 1946, with Anak Agung Gde Agung as Prime Minister and minister of the interior. NIT collapsed in 1949-1950 with the downfall of Dutch power in Indonesia, and Bali eventually joined the Republic of Indonesia. "Educated in the Netherlands, married to a French woman, and having lived much of his adult life outside of Bali, he was regarded by many people at home as arrogant and excessively westernized (*kebarat-baratan*)" (Robinson, 1995:171).

*christelijke godsdienst niet*” (all Western influences whatsoever are welcome, but never Christianity). In the first few months of the year 2000<sup>3</sup> emerged another wave of opposition against Christian presence, which might echo the long lasting resistance against Christianity on the island. Few decades ago a Balinese leading person was cited of expressing his bitterness towards Christian missions.

On the eve of the opening of the Catholic mission station, the ruler of Karangasem asked that the *missie* should not be allowed to open either a school or a hospital, because he felt that those attending either place of western influence would inevitably fall under the spell of Christianity, children and sick people being easy prey for Christian propagandists (Webb, 1986:33).

What does this all mean for the churches (Catholics as well as Protestants)? In my opinion, we can start our investigation by citing the statement highlighted by the late Anak Agung Gede Agung in an interview conducted by the research team of the CRI Alocita, Yogyakarta.<sup>4</sup> He insisted that in Bali *adat, agama, dan budaya* (tradition, religion, and culture) have to be accepted as a unity, an integrated one. On the other hand, the role of the Dutch colonialism in the first half of the twentieth century was very influential in reconstructing the Balinese society. It could not be ignored.

## BALINESE COMMUNITY

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There are three important aspects in the traditional community which make Bali a closed community, namely community of ancestry, caste system, and customary village.

### *Descent group: community of ancestral group*

The traditional Balinese community is basically an association of blood relation, which refers to the common ancestors (*tunggal kawitan*) that bind the members in their exclusive patrilineal ancestry. Within this closed community, the people worship their common deified ancestors (*pitara*, common origin)<sup>5</sup> – real or fictional

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3 E.g. Putu Setia, “Om Swastyastu,” <http://www.balipost.co.id/BaliPostcetak/2000/3/4/bd4.htm>; Putu Setia, “Adat,” <http://www.balipost.co.id/BaliPostcetak/2000/3/18/bd3.htm>; Bali Aga, “Dinilai Rancukan Ajaran Hindu: PHDI Kecewa Sendratari Natal di TVRI,” *Bali Aga*, Denpasar (29 December 1999); Bali Aga, “Kepala Siaran TVRI Denpasar Mengaku Kecolongan,” *Bali Aga*, Denpasar (29 December 1999); Bali Post (sut), “Tantangan PHDI, Inventarisasi Simbol Hindu,” *Bali Post*, Denpasar (23 January 2000); Bali Post (sut), “Mengantisipasi Penetrasi Simbol Hindu,” *Bali Post*, Denpasar (23 January 2000).

4 Interview with the late Anak Agung Gde Agung, a leading figure in Bali’s history. He insisted that *adat, agama, dan budaya* (tradition, Bali-Hinduism, and culture) blended in a way that have composed the one whole Bali’s identity (CRI Alocita, Yogyakarta, October 1996).

5 Spirits of the dead are commonly distinguished in three groups, namely *pirata*, *pitara*, and *dewa hyang*. The *piratas* are the spirits of the dead and are considered unclean and dangerous. The *pitaras* are those who

– who are believed to have been merged in the deity (*dewata*). Every female incorporates herself into her husband's ancestral origin (*kawitan*), performing rituals in his 'genealogical temple of origin' (*pura kawitan*, *pura dadia*, *pura panti*, *pura pamaksan*), in the household shrine (*sanggah*, *mrajan*) or in the bigger temple of her father-in-law (*sanggah gede*).

Balinese community is a social and spiritual bond of the living and the dead, *sekala* (the visible world) and the *niskala* (the invisible, the dead, the gods and spirits). On every temple anniversary the deified ancestors and the gods are invited to come down from their heavenly abode to inhabit the temple, to join the festivals, and to receive offerings and worships from their family (descendants). The gods are thanked for the prosperity of the earth and offered the 'first-fruits' of the harvest. Through the medium, they are also expected to convey some advice and/or request to their descendants, particularly if there is a sick person in the family. Eiseman (1995:61) remarks:

Under normal circumstances the ordinary small *canang* will do as offerings. But is (*sic*) is not unusual for a family to promise to prepare a larger offering if the god of a particular temple will grant a special wish. This wish more often than not is a request that a sick person regain (*sic*) his health. If the wish is granted, the wife has to prepare a high offering and carry it to the temple as a *masaudan*, the fulfillment of the promise. And the lay priest, the *pemangku*, performs a special little ceremony in which this offering is made to the gods in question.

Frankly speaking, religious life is primary to Balinese identity. Religious aspects dominate the private as well communal life, except with regard to the content of the doctrine. It is said that nobody would take doctrine seriously, or more precisely, in most cases, the Balinese do not know or do not want to know the nature of *niskala* (divine, sacred, invisible world, gods, spirits, and supernatural realm). On this ground, Geertz (1973:177) argues:

You can believe virtually anything you want to actually, including that the whole thing is rather a bore, and even say so. But if you do not perform the ritual duties for which you are responsible you will be ostracized, not just from the temple congregation, but from the community as a whole.<sup>6</sup>

As a matter of fact, the Balinese kin-groups (*dadia*, *wangsa*, *batur*) frequently overlaps caste divisions.

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have been purified through a series of rituals. The *dewa hyangs* are those who have been merged into the deity and have no more individuality. Many ordinary people, however, do not distinguish the *pitara* from the *dewa hyang*. So they call the two groups as 'Batara Hyang', 'Dewa Hyang', and 'Pitara Hyang' interchangeably.

6 Scures (1994:57-8) writes: "[...] changing faith (through marriage or conversion) means that a Balinese person is no longer Balinese. What remains important among the Balinese is attention to ritual duty."

### *Cast system: insiders and outsiders*

Balinese society has been for centuries divided into two groups of the minority 'upper' *triwangsa* and the majority 'lower' *jaba* class. The first group consists of three castes, namely *brâhmana*, *ksatria* (*satria*, *satriya*) and *vaiaëya* (*wesya*, *waisya*), and the second are the commoners, the 'outsiders' or the *ûûdra*. "This, of course, is more than a little ironic," Eiseman (1996:34) argues, "because the *triwangsa*, and the rest of Hinduism, came to the original inhabitants of Bali by way of the Javanese."

This caste system has been imposed on the Balinese social conscience for the benefit of the 'upper' three castes, especially for the superiority of the *Pedanda* (*brâhmana* priests) who regard themselves as the embodiment of the gods on earth. The *brâhmana* priests, who claimed to be the direct descendants of the sixteenth century Shaivite Hindu priest Dang Hyang Nirartha,<sup>7</sup> a Javanese, have preserved for themselves all the knowledge of the sacred manuscripts and anything to do with the gods. Dang Hyang Nirartha came to Bali sometime before 1537 following the fall of the Hindu Majapahit Empire of Java in 1515 and joined the mass Javanese refugees to escape their Muslim conquerors.

This division does not merely mean a social separation between the two exclusive groups (insiders-outsiders), but also a support to feudalism (upper-lower class). This '*triwangsa-jaba*' construction is considered as the ideal way to describe the Balinese social order from the sixteenth century to the present day. The Dutch colonialism regarded the *triwangsa* the main vehicle of Hinduisation of the island, the pillar of the traditional order, the fundament of Balinese culture and society, and the barrier against Islam and the spirit of nationalism.

This system was institutionalised particularly during the period of the Dutch colonial occupation (we will discuss later). In order to make simpler the colonial administration, the Dutch authorities chose Ida Wayan Pidada, the *brâhmana* priest of *Gria* (priestly house) Pidada, Klungkung (Vickers, 1996:147; Schulte Nordholt, 1996:240) to be their adviser. A consultation organised by three priests of the north Bali and three others of Gianyar conducted by Ida Wayan Pidada of Klungkung was held and it was decided who belonged to whom and what rights and duties each caste had. Vickers (1996:147-8) mentions:

All the Dutch authorities, even later researchers such as Korn, depended on him and his priestly brethren to give the most expert advice, ignoring others

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7 Nirartha was regarded as the author of several '*kakawin*' (epic court literature) including the *Usana Bali* (composed between 1550-1560) and known in various names such as Dang Hyang Nirartha, Pedanda Sakti Wawu Rawuh, and Dang Hyang Dwijendra. He came to Bali, arrived at Purancak, on his long journey from Majapahit headquarters to Daha, to Pasuruan and then to Blambangan. The Brâhmanas of Nirartha's descendants are now known as 'Catur Brâhmana' (the four groups of Brâhmana), namely Brâhmana Mas, Brâhmana Keniten, Brâhmana Manuaba and Brâhmana Kemenuh. They are different from the other 'Panca Brâhmana' (the five Brâhmana), namely Mpu Semeru, Mpu Gana, Mpu Kuturan, Mpu Beradah and Mpu Genijaya who lived prior to them and had similar responsibility as a priest. See M.J. Wiener, 1995: 123-4; N. Djoni Gingsir, 1996:117-20, 259-62.

with some claim to expertise, such as the various types of commoner priests, and even the female priests from the *brahmana* caste.

*Customary community: desa/banjar adat*<sup>8</sup>

Each *desa* (village) community is a corporate unit, which shares a collective descent from the *desa* founders, namely the deified ancestors or ‘common origin’ of the whole *desa*. It means that one who comes from outside and lives in the *desa* can never be a full member (*pengarep*) of the *desa*. He or she can at best be a *pengempian* who generally pays half-contributions for the temple ceremonies and other levies. He or she is treated as just a guest or tenant without any obligation to participate in the *adat* affairs,<sup>9</sup> and, therefore, has no right to use the *desa*’s property as well.

In the last few decades, this corporate *desa* community has been defined as *desa adat* (customary village, corporate law village community) which strictly means a ‘Bali-Hindu community’.<sup>10</sup> Its unity is characterised by three elements, namely territory, members, and temples (*palemahan, pawongan, parhyangan*), which make Bali a ‘steady and harmonious world’ (*gumi integ*). There are three main temples called *Kahyangan Tiga* for each *desa adat*.<sup>11</sup>

Also introduced was a concept of an island-wide temple, even a ‘world-wide’ temple, *pura jagatnatha* (1962) for the worship of Jagannath, Lord of the World (Hooykaas, 1973:3), which has been built in the centre of Denpasar, the capital city of Bali. In this ‘modern’ temple, people can theoretically worship their deified forefathers in unity with the gods and deities in the One Divinity, *Sang Hyang Widhi*, which emphasises that the whole Bali is sacred for the people.

To some extent, Bali as a whole is also regarded as a large community, i.e., a home. Not surprisingly, if two Balinese are abroad, they address each other: “*Ten*

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8 The word ‘*desa*’ is usually translated as ‘village’, while ‘*banjar*’ is ‘ward’ or ‘hamlet’. Therefore, ‘*desa adat*’ should be ‘customary village’ and ‘*banjar adat*’ should be ‘customary ward.’ But, according to the surveys so far available from the Law Faculty of Udayana University (Denpasar), nearly half the *desa adat* of the district of Badung, Klungkung and Karangasem were comprised of single *banjar* (Warren, 1991: 213ff).

9 Picard translates ‘*adat*’ as “custom; local customary law, institutions, and ritual,” while Vickers puts it as “tradition or customary regulations.” (Picard, 1996: 203; Vickers, 1996:223). Goris (1960:293) writes: “The relation between *adat* law and Hindu canon law in early Java and present-day Bali might well be compared to that between early Germanic law and Christian canon law in medieval Europe.”

10 *Desa adat* might not neatly fit the actual village structure in most of Bali, but no doubt this common perception gives great social and political advantages to Bali-Hindus against the non-Bali-Hindus. It significantly supports their concept that *desa adat* is a ‘closed and steady community’ tied by the classic three village temples as mentioned above. Furthermore, many Bali-Hindu intellectuals of today ardently promote the idea of *desa adat* as a conceptual and ideal Hindu village community. Ketut Wiana, for example, mentions that *desa adat* consists of three different spaces called *tri-mandala*, namely *utama mandala* (temples), *madya mandala* (space where human beings live), and *nista mandala* (graveyard) (Wiana, 1995:44).

11 Each Balinese *adat* village has three public *pura*, known as *kahyangan tiga*, which may be visited by members of all strata and castes: the uranian temple of creation or origin (*pura puseh*), located mountainward, in the purest part of the village; the village temple (*pura desa*), with its large assembly hall for the traditional village council (*bale agung*); and the chthonian temple of death (*pura dalem*), which is attached to the cemetery and is located seaward, low and hence in the most impure area of the village (Hobart et.al., 1996:127).



*mantuk ka Bali?*” (Don’t you go back home to Bali?). They seem to have a close relationship to each other on the ground of the same land, the earth. What lies behind this idea is nothing more than that the land is the inheritance of the gods, their forefathers. Therefore, the Balinese social life is overwhelmed with religious elements in connection with their ancestors, which create and perpetuate the relation among the individuals.

## ROLE OF THE DUTCH COLONIALISM

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After the Dutch Colonial Authorities could establish their power over the most part of Indonesia, they also managed to establish their economic and political control over Bali. They sent several expeditions against Buleleng (North Bali) and Karangasem (East Bali) in 1846-1849 to ‘teach the Balinese a lesson’, because the Balinese refused to be their subjects. The Balinese responded in the words best expressed by the chief minister of Buleleng: “Let the *keris* [wavy-bladed dagger] decide” (Vickers, 1995:30). In 1858 the Dutch sent the fourth military expedition to make Buleleng subservient. In fact, only after the fifth military aggression (1882), North Bali was completely under the Dutch East Indies control.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Dutch colonial authorities were struggling to control the whole island. They forced the Kingdom of Gianyar to accept the status of Regency under Dutch sovereignty in 1900. Six years later the Dutch troops landed at Sanur coast on their way westward to attack south Bali, followed by *puputan* (ending)<sup>12</sup> of the princely families of Badung and Tabanan. The *puputan* was described as nothing but a mass-suicide, where everybody was entirely dressed in white to face the Dutch troops, who were apparently superior in everything. Armed with only lances and *keris*, the Balinese refused to surrender. They stepped forward to face their death before their conquerors. Two years later (1908) the kingdoms of Mengwi and Bangli were subjected to Dutch rule, following the *puputan* of the most prestigious royal family of the Gelgel dynasty of Klungkung. It was the end of the lineal descendants of Majapahit, the kingdom of the *Dewa Agung*. An era in Balinese history was ended and the new one started. Vickers (1996:133) puts it as follows:

Those few members of the royal families of Badung and Klungkung who survived the slaughters of 1906-1908 were sent into exile, to join members of other important Balinese families who were not willing to accept Dutch authority. The royal families who remained lost much of their power and

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12 The Balinese ‘*puputan*’ is translated and interpreted in various ways such as ending, fight to the death cum self-sacrifice, a kind of ‘holy war,’ massacre and suicide. In a word of a Balinese king: “It is better that we die with the earth as our pillow than to live like a corpse in shame and disgrace” (Vickers, 1995: 32).

authority. In all their actions they were closely watched by Dutch officials, whom the Balinese rajas were forced to think of as their 'older brothers', making it clear for all to see that the Dutch were at the top of Balinese society.

### *The politics of 'Baliseering'*

The horrible series of *puputan* of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century shocked Europeans. Agitation provoked in Holland and foreign diplomatic circles made the colonial Dutch embarrassed. It was said that they could not easily cover up or obliterate the memory of their brutal acts towards the indigenous in those serial military interventions. Therefore, some new policy had to be taken to create a new image of the Dutch East Indies for the international public. The Dutch colonial government then introduced a new strategy called 'ethical policy'.<sup>13</sup> Suffice it to say that by this policy, the Netherlands government acknowledged its 'moral obligation' toward the welfare of its subjects, the *inlanders* (natives). However, as many scholars argue, with this new approach the Dutch could more deeply consolidate its colonial grip on the local societies and expand its boundaries. In the name of accelerating reformation of the indigenous with the ideal of 'peace, order and welfare', the colonial administration felt both obliged as well as justified in their action (Picard, 1996: 20).

The Dutch were struggling to develop a worthier self-image in Bali, based on this policy of preserving the Balinese culture. They claimed that their role now was one of trusteeship to keep Bali the paradise it is today (McKenzie, 1988:11) – protecting and preserving Bali from outside harmful influence and exploitation. The policy was known as *Baliseering*, Balinization of Bali, to protect and preserve Bali from outside influence and exploitation. In 1924 G.P. Rouffaer, a former director of the *Bali Instituut*, which was part of the *Koloniaal Instituut* (1915), provided the classic statement of the preservationist position:

Let the Balinese live their own beautiful native life as undisturbed as possible! Their agriculture, their village life, their own forms of worship, their religious art, their own literature -all bear witness to an autonomous native civilization of rare versatility and richness. No railroads on Bali; no Western coffee plantations; and especially no sugar factories! But also no proselytizing, neither Mohammedan (by zealous natives from other parts of the Indies) nor Protestant nor Roman Catholic. Let the colonial administration, with the strong backing of the Netherlands government, treat the island of Bali as a rare jewel that we must protect and whose virginity must remain intact (Robinson, 1995:41).

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13 The Dutch '*ethische politiek*', as it was called in the Netherlands Indies, was fully exposed when Queen Wilhelmina gave her annual speech to the Netherlands Parliament in September 1901. Reflecting on the Christian spirit and after 300 years of the Dutch occupation on Java and their exploitation of the archipelago, the Queen spoke of an 'ethical obligation and moral responsibility to the peoples of the East Indies'. "Als Christelijke mogendheid is Nederland verplicht, geheel het regeringsbeleid te doordringen van het besef, dat Nederland tegenover de bevolking dier gewesten ene zedelijke roeping heeft te vervullen ..." [As a Christian power the Netherlands is compulsory to imbue the whole conduct of government with the consciousness that the Netherlands has a moral duty to fulfill towards the people in the regions ..."] (Mommersteeg, 1947:6).

As a matter of fact, Bali was struggling to change from within under the guidance and protection of this Western rule. The colonial period did leave a great deal of ‘scratches in the rocks’ and ‘a new hierarchical order was emerging, intimately intertwined with the colonial regime’ (Schulte Nordholt, 1996:191). Ironically, in keeping Bali isolated from the outside world and foreign impact, various visitors (scholars, artists, tourists, etc.) flooded Bali, the newly created ‘living museum’, ‘the last paradise on earth’, ‘a dancing and singing people’, and a ‘happy and peaceful Bali’ (Covarrubias, 1986:405; Schulte Nordholt, 1996:192). The foundation of the Bali Hotel in Denpasar (1928), the first major hotel in Bali by *Koninklijke Paketvaart-Maatschappij* (KPM) had helped to facilitate the tourist industry and the touristification of the island.<sup>14</sup>

#### ‘Politiek isolatie’

This new policy of cultural conservation was not so simple as it seemed. The Dutch colonials had also to confront the increasing nationalist sentiment and nationalist movements in Indonesia with the spread of Islamic radicalism which forced the Dutch to isolate Bali – *politiek isolatie*. With great help from orientalists, the Dutch conservation policy was directed to secure the position of Balinese nobility. The *triwangsa* were regarded as the main vehicle of Hinduization of the island as well as the pillar of its traditional order. They were also regarded as the best barriers, at least in Bali, against the threat of Islam in the country and the rise of nationalism. The Dutch colonial authorities seemed to sort out how to carry out their policy by ensuring the *triwangsa*’s loyalty. The caste system was codified as ‘the principal foundation of Balinese society’ (1910)<sup>15</sup> and the royal houses were restored to their previous position and became ‘important administrators and large landowners’ (1929) under the Dutch ‘older brothers’ (Vickers, 1996:133), while the commoners were really ‘outsiders’ (*jaba*).

What the Dutch colonials did in Bali was a typical colonial conservatism and faith in the idea of ‘traditions’, where the authority of aristocracy was expected to guarantee the continuity of the colonial system. By emphasising this entire cultural heritage and religious tradition as *adat*, the link between the native rulers and the colonial state became stronger and hence the ‘harmony’ between the centres (palace, ruling class) and the villages (periphery, *jaba*) was guaranteed as well. Therefore, by employing their scholars, who were supposed to support the main policy of the Dutch colonial power, at least three main goals could be achieved. Adrian Vickers (1995:32) puts it this way:

[...] creating a colonial society which included a select group of the aristocracy, labelling and categorizing every aspect of Balinese culture with a view

14 KPM was the Royal Packet Navigation Company that in 1924 established a weekly steamship service that connected Bali through its northern port of Buleleng with Makassar, Surabaya and Batavia (Kersten, 1940: 179).

15 See the minutes of an administrative conference, 15-17 September 1910, Collectie Korn, no. 166, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde (KITLV) (Robinson, 1995:32-3).



to keeping it pure, and idealizing this culture so as to market it for the purposes of tourism.

All this gives way to the Balinese to regain their '*rasa bangga dan harga diri*,' an ethnic pride and self-esteem, characterised by a strong religious sentiment – their identity. It also aggrandise the so-called 'island mentality' with its exclusive 'insiders-outsiders' way of thinking, an 'Us-Them' dichotomy which affects the attitudes of most Bali-Hindus (insiders, hosts) towards the non-Bali-Hindus (outsiders, guests) – in our case, the Christians.

## AGENDA FOR THE CHURCHES

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Despite all the achievement and contribution of Christian missions on the island (education centres, health cares, social economic enterprises, inculturation) and the new formulation of their ministry as 'vocation to serve', their image as a religion of the fanatics cannot be easily erased. Although there is gradually a great shift in mission approach from evangelical way in the early 1930s to cultural adaptation and then contextualization (evangelising culture), Christian churches are always mistrusted. On the other hand, the history of opposition against Christianity was (and is) intertwined with the social and political interests of the government (the Dutch Colonial Authorities, the traditional ruling class or *triwangsa*) and the 'host' majority Bali-Hindu community of today. On their eyes, there are very likely at least three important points the churches have to take into consideration.

Firstly, due to the truth claim of their faith the Christians build their own communities of believers, therefore, they are potential to loosen and even split up the integration of the territorial and ancestral communities – *desa adat dan tunggal kawitan*. Christianity cannot in agreement with the traditional way of life that is founded on ancestor worship, the various rituals and festivals for Bali's 'founding fathers'. Strictly speaking, Christianity has no sense of gratitude to the ancestors and the gods who own the island.

Secondly, the Christian churches as the new comers (guests, outsiders) have tried some cultural adaptation, therefore, they are capable to loosen and spoil the unity of Balinese *adat, agama, dan budaya* (tradition, religion, and culture). In so doing, they have committed a *pelecehan agama* ('religious harassment'). They have polluted Bali with their 'Christian-ness' for using the Balinese religious symbols and cultural heritage for the sake of non-Bali-Hinduism. In other words, their missions are harmful for Bali at its heart.

Thirdly, although there has never been any explicit statement regarding the Balinese type of caste system, the Christian churches are not in favour towards this 'sacred' social division that for a long time has distinguished people into two major groups, the exalted *triwangsa* and the lower *jaba*. In this 'steady and harmonious

world' the *triwangsa* were (and are) regarded as the main vehicle of Hinduization of the island and the pillar of the traditional order. Christianity on the contrary teaches just the opposite that everybody is equal in God's eyes and is created in God's image (Genesis 1:26), so, everybody should have the same opportunity in the society and share the same ideals as brother and/or sister.

In other words, these are the three 'cardinal sins' Christianity has committed in Bali on the eyes of the Bali-Hindus. The Christian deconstruction and redefinition of the Balinese society cannot be tolerated. Then, what is the response of the churches? How can they defend themselves and justify their works? How can their explanation be acceptable, namely what they have been doing is, e.g. to carry out faithfully the sacred mission of 'redemption' and 'salvation'?

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