ACCULTURATION OF ISLAM AND CHRISTIAN IN BALINESE CULTURE: A HISTORICAL AND SOSIOLOGICAL STUDY

Joshua Jolly Sucanta Cakranegara*
Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia
joshuajollysc1723@gmail.com

Nadira Salsabila
Hamad Bin Khalifa University, Qatar
nasa49089@hbku.edu.qa

Abstract
This study aimed to explore the comparative acculturation of Islam and Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant, within Balinese culture throughout Bali’s history. Employing a qualitative descriptive method with a historical approach, this research conducted a thorough literature review encompassing history, religion, and culture. Data were gathered from historical sources and pertinent literature, with comparative analysis utilized to scrutinize these materials. The findings uncovered that the Balinese community, characterized by both closed and open cultural traits, embraced the arrival of Islam and Christianity in a harmonious manner. Both religions successfully assimilated into Balinese culture, predominantly shaped by Hindu teachings. Since Islam’s introduction in the 15th century and Christianity’s in the 20th century, diverse forms of acculturation have emerged, particularly evident in places of worship like mosques and churches. Despite initial resistance from rulers and the community, the acculturation process persisted. The study concluded that the integration of Islam and Christianity significantly influenced the contemporary image of Balinese culture, illustrating a continuous acculturation process throughout Bali’s history.

Keywords: Acculturation, Bali Culture, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam

*Corresponding Author
**Abstrak**

**Kata kunci:** Akulturasi, Hindu, Islam, Kebudayaan Bali, Kristen.

**INTRODUCTION**

Like other regions in Indonesia, Bali is inhabited by people from diverse religious backgrounds (Ferdinand, 2023; Nurhidayati & Ula, 2022; Made, 2021). Balinese society is renowned for its rich socio-cultural fabric, particularly regarding religion (Haryani, 2016). Data on religious composition in Bali in 2022, released by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, shows Hinduism as the majority religion, with 3,682,484 adherents. Following this is Islam with 425,981 adherents, Christianity with 65,962 adherents, Catholicism with 33,352 adherents, Buddhism with 28,635 adherents, Confucianism with 470 adherents, and followers of local beliefs with 99 adherents (Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2022). However, Bali’s religious diversity also reflects its cultural richness and diversity. Interactions among followers of different religions often create social dynamics where cultural and religious practices influence and enrich each other (Suwitra, 2020).

Hinduism’s dominance over other religions raises concerns regarding interfaith harmony (Widana & Wirata, 2023). Local governments and community organizations have made various efforts to maintain interfaith harmony in Bali. One such effort is the establishment of the Forum for Interfaith Harmony (FKUB), which is active in mediating conflicts and promoting the importance of tolerance (Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2022). Multicultural education introduced in schools also plays a crucial role in instilling tolerance values from an early age (Halik).

Nevertheless, challenges persist, particularly in addressing stereotypes and prejudices in certain circles. More profound research and collaborative efforts among stakeholders are needed to maintain and strengthen existing harmony (Sudirman, 2021). With these initiatives, Bali is expected to continue as an example...
of how religious diversity can harmoniously coexist while preserving its rich and unique cultural identity.

Concerns are mitigated by the Religious Harmony Index (KUB) data released by the Ministry of Religious Affairs at the end of 2021. The national KUB index stands at 72.39, whereas Bali exhibits a harmony level of 82.7 based on three indicators: tolerance, cooperation, and equality. This indicates a high level of harmony (Ayu, 2021). Additionally, the presence and development of Islam and Christianity in Bali contribute to interfaith harmony despite occasional tensions between the “majority” and “minority” groups within the community (Eiseman, 1994).

Interfaith harmony in Bali is closely tied to the community’s philosophical approach to life, such as “living in brotherhood.” I Wayan Damayana suggests that this philosophy is particularly beneficial in Bali’s diverse society, promoting “building brotherhood in differences” and “building brotherhood in God” (Damayana, 2011). In summary, Putu Setia notes that fellow Balinese, whether Nyama Selam (Muslim brothers), Nyama Kristen (Christian brothers), or Nyama Buddha (Buddhist brothers), are Bali-born individuals who can live harmoniously together (Setia, 2014). This harmony has been maintained from classical to contemporary periods.

Contemporary developments are closely linked to historical developments. Historically, Islam entered Bali around the 15th century A.D. Sarlan records several accounts of Islam’s entry into Bali, including in the Klungkung region (Sarlan, 2009). Before this period, this area was a major Hindu kingdom in Bali after the fall of Majapahit. Certain areas in Klungkung, such as Kusamba and Gelgel, are noted as early regions influenced by Islamic teachings. This was part of the Demak Kingdom’s expansion post-Majapahit around the mid to late 15th century, leading to the establishment of enduring Islamic communities.

Shortly after Islam arrived in Bali, Protestant Christianity followed with Cornelis de Houtman’s arrival in Bali at the end of the 16th century. However, intensive evangelism efforts began in the mid-19th to 20th centuries. Dutch missions played a significant role in these efforts. Additionally, involvement from American pastors (Jaffray), Chinese pastors (Tsang To Hang), and a Balinese individual (Pan Loting) in Dalung Village, Badung, during the second to third decades of the 20th century were pivotal (Wijaya, 2007).

With the arrival of these new religions in Bali came challenges. As Islam and Christianity began to develop, they faced resistance. The government’s idea to protect Bali from all external influences (Baliseering) on one hand, and the strengthening of “Balinese Hinduism” on the other during colonial times, demonstrated how the Balinese marked or fortified their identity against Islam and Christianity, viewed as “threats.” “Balinese people were challenged to clearly define their religion to resist proselytism (forced conversion) by Islam and Christianity,” noted Michel Picard (Picard, 2020).
Moreover, in the contemporary period, the movement to preserve Bali’s culture through the slogan “Ajeg Bali” became prominent. Nengah Bawa Atmadja suggests that this movement emerged in response to modernization and globalization, causing significant and complex socio-cultural changes among the Balinese people (Atmadja, 2010). Building on this, Deni Miharja argues that through this movement, the Balinese aim to preserve traditional values from foreign cultures (Miharja, 2013). In other words, the identity of being “Balinese” becomes a dilemma. On one hand, Balinese society has long been open, through historical trade and contemporary tourism. However, the Balinese tend to be confined by threats to their identity (Picard, 2020).

The openness and closure possessed by Bali’s society and culture demand diverse intercultural dialogues in Bali. The most evident form of dialogue is acculturation. J.W.M. Bakker defines acculturation as a process “midway” between confrontation and fusion (Bakker, 1984). When two different cultures meet, there is a possibility of conflict or, conversely, merging into an entirely new culture. Acculturation is a dialogue or “borrowing of cultures to achieve coexistence (living together).” “Both parties respect each other, achieve mutual understanding, even cooperate in limited interests, but closed to other parties. They dialogue, but do not move into the cultural structure they face.” Acculturation takes the form of physiological changes reflected by diet, climate, residence, interpersonal, communication methods, rules, and new cultural values as well as psychological changes (Weifen, 2022). From this definition, Islam and Christianity living in Bali also experience acculturation processes with Balinese culture.

METHODS

This study employed a qualitative research design with a cultural history approach, emphasizing library research. The objective was to examine the acculturation of Islam and Christianity with Balinese culture from the 15th to the 21st century.

The data sources in this research consisted of primary and secondary sources. Primary sources included journal articles, theses, and dissertations that discussed the forms of acculturation of Islam and Christianity with Balinese culture. Secondary sources encompassed supporting literature such as books and historical documents relevant to the research topic.

The research procedure began with topic selection and data collection (heuristics). Data collection was conducted through an extensive literature study to identify and gather various relevant sources. The next step was source verification to assess the authenticity and validity of the obtained data. This was followed by data interpretation to comprehensively understand and explain the phenomenon of acculturation. The interpretation process involved an in-depth analysis of cultural patterns that had become living traditions in both past and contemporary times. Finally, the research findings were compiled into a comprehensive historical narrative.
The research instruments in this library study were analytical notes that included a list of relevant literature and critical notes that assisted in organizing and analyzing information from various sources. These notes served as aids to identify main themes, patterns, and relationships among the obtained data.

The data analysis technique used both synchronic and diachronic approaches. The synchronic approach examined phenomena at a specific point in time, while the diachronic approach looked at cultural developments and changes over time. The combination of these two approaches allowed for a deeper understanding of the processes and structures of acculturation.

The approach used in this research was cultural history, which emphasized the patterns of life in the past that had become living traditions in contemporary times (Kuntowijoyo, 2013). Acculturation was a cultural change process that occurred over a long period. Sartono Kartodirdjo outlined four aspects of acculturation that needed attention: the elements of culture accepted, the process of acceptance of new elements (modified or adjusted), factors determining acceptance, and factors hindering acceptance (Kartodirdjo, 2017). As part of cultural history, acculturation needed to be explained both in terms of its processes and structures.

DISCUSSION

Acculturation of Islam into Balinese Culture in Balinese History

Islam began the process of acculturation into Balinese culture since its arrival in the 15th century. There were two significant reasons for this process. First, the Islamic community that entered Bali had previously adapted voluntarily to the Hindu-Buddhist traditions in Java. They were able to adjust in Bali without much difficulty while maintaining the principles of their religion. Moreover, the local traditions they encountered in Bali were almost identical to those in Java. Second, this acculturation was also an effort to introduce Islam to the Hindu Balinese community peacefully and avoid intercultural conflict. Initially, they were foreigners and needed to present Islam with a local face. Their actions can be seen as a strategy for spreading Islam, common in Java, by adapting and selecting elements from the prevailing culture and traditions in the archipelago (Fahham, 2018).

Historically, Wirawan explained that a process of “cultural accommodation” was carried out by Islamic missionaries in Bali (Wirawan, 1996). This process developed rapidly through trade, marriage, and healing. The local rulers often provided them with a place because of their expertise. This acculturation process did not remain static. There were times when acculturation was very evident and times when it started to fade due to movements aimed at purifying Islamic teachings.
Furthermore, Wirawan noted that this acculturation process was bidirectional: the adaptation of Islamic practices to Balinese culture and the adaptation of Balinese culture to Islamic practices (Wirawan, 1996). The result of the first direction can be seen in the architecture of mosques, residences, and graves that adapted elements of temple architecture and various art forms. The result of the second direction can be seen in the Usada Ketipat (sea offering ceremony), Banten Selam (offerings that do not contain pork), and Pura Langgar (a Hindu worship building shaped like a Muslim prayer place). Ultimately, he concluded that this acculturation process occurred purely at the aesthetic level, not at the level of religious doctrine.

Building on the examples of acculturation mentioned above, H. Shaleh Saidi explained that in the field of literature, there were two reciprocal processes: Islamic manuscripts brought to Bali were adapted with Balinese elements, and Balinese manuscripts were adapted with Islamic elements (Saidi, 1996). The result of the first process can be seen in the Geguritan I Nengah Jimbaran and Geguritan Siti Badarian manuscripts, while the result of the second process can be seen in the Geguritan Amsyah, Geguritan Juarsa, Geguritan Ahmad Muhammad Raden Saputra, Geguritan Amad, Geguritan Nur Muhammad, and Geguritan Yusuf manuscripts.

Forms of acculturation also occurred in several Islamic communities that were quite established in various parts of Bali. Loloan Village in Jembrana Regency is one example in the west. Historically, the inhabitants of this village were soldiers and traders from Bugis Makassar who landed in Bali in the 17th century. A century later, soldiers from Pontianak followed. They were captivated by the landscape dominated by winding rivers, leading to the name “Loloan,” meaning bends in the river. The Jembrana King embraced these newcomers to strengthen the kingdom against enemy attacks, especially the Dutch. They lived harmoniously there (Karim, 2016).

With this harmony, the Muslims there engaged in several forms of acculturation, such as the male tradition, the ngejot tradition, and rebana music. The male tradition involves a ritual where the Muslim community of Jembrana celebrates the Prophet Muhammad’s birthday by parading through the village carrying decorated eggs. The ngejot tradition involves delivering food to people of other religions on major religious holidays. They also combined rebana music with Islamic lyrics but with a Balinese rhythm. These forms of acculturation served as a “historical legitimacy” that strengthened interfaith tolerance in Loloan Village (Karim, 2016).

In Loloan Village, Saihu added that besides the three traditions mentioned above, another tradition resulting from the acculturation of Islam with Balinese culture is the mekepung tradition, a traditional Jembrana bull race (Saihu, 2020). The bull riders wear Balinese attributes in their clothing. The Muslims also uphold the Balinese philosophy of life, Tri Hita Karana, which aligns with Islamic teachings. This philosophy involves maintaining good relations with God (hablum...
min Allah), with people (hablum min annas), and with nature (hablum min al-‘alam). Thus, this local wisdom (urf’) represents a cultural transformation process to create spaces for interaction and dialogue between religious communities.

Discussing the ngejot tradition in Loloan Village, Baharun and colleagues noted that it is evidence of dakwah bil hal (preaching by example) that combines the richness of Islamic teachings with local culture and wisdom (Baharun et al., 2018). Through this tradition, various Islamic teachings can be conveyed, such as silaturrahim (visiting each other), shadaqah (giving), musawa (equality), and tasamuh (tolerance). This form of acculturation is considered more effective in strengthening the community’s faith than preaching based solely on scriptures (dakwah bil kitabah) or oral preaching (dakwah bil lisan).

Besides Loloan Village, Pegayaman Village in Buleleng Regency also has a similar tradition. This village, located in the northern part of Bali with a majority Muslim population, coexists peacefully with nearby Hindu-majority villages. They preserve the ngejot tradition, symbolizing the close relationship between Muslims and Hindus there. During the Prophet Muhammad’s birthday, Muslims perform the ngejot of tipat and eggs to Hindus, while Hindus offer penyelaman (offerings) to Muslims during their ceremonies. Eid al-Fitr is even referred to as “Galungan Islam” (Pageh, 2018). Why is Eid al-Fitr called so? Because the people of Pegayaman add a series of activities leading up to the holiday, such as penapean (making tape on D-3), penyajaan (making uli snacks on D-2), penambahan (slaughtering and processing beef on D-1), and manis lebaran (the day after Eid). This series of activities is similar to what Hindus do during Galungan (Fahham, 2018).

Additionally, the residents of Pegayaman Village adapted Balinese names into their identities. Examples include Wayan Muhammad Saleh and Nengah Ibrahim. As in Balinese use, names like Wayan and Nengah indicate birth order. However, interestingly, these names are listed in full on official documents such as birth certificates, diplomas, and marriage certificates. They are also fluent in Balinese and greet each other with typical Balinese terms like Bli (older brother) and Mbok (older sister). Often, they begin respectful greetings with the Islamic greeting, “Assalamu’alaikum Nengah Ibrahim! Wa’alaikumsalam Wayan Muhammad Saleh!” (Setia, 2014).

While the above acculturation discusses social aspects, L. Edhi Prasetya explained that Pegayaman Village residents also inherited acculturation in architectural aspects (Prasetya, 2012). Although their houses do not adopt Balinese architectural philosophy, they maintain Balinese ornaments and carvings on important buildings, such as mosques. Carvings featuring floral and animal motifs adorn several interiors, such as doors and pulpits. Balinese ornaments are used there purely for aesthetic purposes and do not interfere with religious practices. In other words, this represents their respect for local wisdom that does not contradict their religious teachings.

Islamic acculturation with Balinese culture is also evident in the eastern part of Bali, in Kusamba Village, Klungkung. Like other areas, the Muslim residents of
Kusamba have long lived in harmony with the Hindu Balinese community. Muslims are called nyama selam, meaning “Muslim brothers,” reflecting the social bond known as menyama braya. This social bond leads to distinctive traditions such as metetulung, which means helping each other voluntarily when work requires many hands. Additionally, the ngejot tradition is well-maintained there (Dwipayana, 2012).

Finally, in the southern part of Bali, in Kepaon Islamic Village, Denpasar, a unique tradition, called megibung, means eating together (Wulandari, 2017). This tradition, commonly practiced by Hindus, has also been well adapted by the Muslim community of Kepaon. They conduct it three times during Ramadan: on the 10th, 20th, and 30th days. This tradition stems from their ancestral history, notably Putri Pemecutan Kaja, who converted from Hinduism to Islam and married Prince Cakraningrat IV of Madura. She was initially named Gusti Ayu Made Rai and became Raden Ayu Siti Khotijah. The King of Pemecutan Kaja established a village for Muslims known as Kepaon Islamic Village.

From a contemporary perspective, Jean Couteau opined that the long-established acculturation patterns could serve as a foundation for addressing current situations (new acculturation patterns) (Couteau, 1996). Moreover, several negative factors could threaten this acculturation, most of which are beyond religious aspects. Thus, these acculturation patterns can be an effort to maintain coexistence between Muslims and the Balinese community.

The Acculturation of Christianity with Balinese Culture in Bali’s History

Since its arrival in Bali, the Catholic Church has endeavored to align itself with local culture. One significant figure in this effort was Father Johannes Kersten, SVD, the first SVD missionary who arrived in Bali in 1935. After working in Denpasar for about a year, he moved to Tuka, a village in Badung. Father Kersten developed the church and nurtured the congregation’s faith in harmony with local culture. For instance, he introduced church buildings that adapted Balinese architecture, carvings, and ornaments. Furthermore, Father Kersten also incorporated gamelan music as part of the liturgical music in the church. This initial step later became known as “inculturation” within the Catholic Church in Bali (Cakranegara, 2020).

The acculturation or inculturation of Christian faith within Balinese culture subsequently expanded. The most evident manifestation of this is in church buildings. Many Catholic churches in Bali have adapted Balinese architecture. Sometimes, church buildings combine two styles, Western/Gothic and Balinese. This acculturation aims to present the Catholic faith as deeply rooted in Bali, ensuring that Catholics “do not become strangers in their own land.”

One example of architectural acculturation is the St. Joseph Parish Church in Denpasar, located in the heart of the provincial capital. This oldest parish, initiated by Father Kersten in 1935, has an iconic church building. This aligns with the
Second Vatican Council’s decree that “church buildings should utilize local architectural patterns and harmonize with their surroundings.” This church was designed by Brother Ignatius de Vriese, SVD, alongside a traditional Balinese architectural expert (undagi) Ida Bagus Tugur. Constructed in 1953 and consecrated in 1955 as St. Joseph Parish Church, Denpasar, the building incorporates several traditional Balinese architectural elements, such as bale kulkul, candi bentar, and kori agung (Sukayasa, 2007).

St. Joseph Parish Denpasar later established a new church building in Ubung. Pastor Drs. Servatius Subhaga, SVD, the parish priest, initiated the construction of the Good Shepherd Church. Like St. Joseph Church, this new church also strongly reflects Balinese nuances. Various traditional Balinese architectural concepts or philosophies were adapted, such as Tri Hita Karana (harmony between God, fellow humans, and nature) and Tri Mandala (hierarchy of three parts of a sacred building) (Weking et al., 2019).

Another iconic church building in Denpasar is the Holy Spirit Cathedral. Serving as the center of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Denpasar, this church, a division from St. Joseph Church, blends Western/Gothic architectural style, evident in the dominant use of white and glittering colors in the interior, with Balinese architectural style, seen in the dominant use of red, black, and white in the exterior. These three colors are known as Tri Kono, symbolizing the philosophy of birth, life, and death (W. E. J. Putra, Artayasa, & Raharja, 2017).

This kind of acculturation does not just happen in the city but also in villages. The Sacred Heart of Jesus Church in Palasari, located in western Bali, is an iconic church with a harmonious blend of Gothic and Balinese architectural styles. Initially, the Catholic community in Palasari was comprised of people from the Tuka Parish seeking new livelihoods. They established a new village and built a church there. Brother de Vriese again served as the architect for the Palasari Church. The church adapts Gothic concepts, evident in the curved church structure, and Balinese concepts, evident in the zoning or division of sacred space, such as jaba sisi, jaba tengah, and jeroan. Height differences, such as steps demarcate each zone. Additionally, the church features a triple-tiered meru structure and thatched roofing commonly used in traditional Balinese buildings (Keling, 2013).

Acculturation in architecture extends beyond churches to Christian homes. A large Catholic community in Bali resides in Banjar Padang Tawang and Babakan in Canggu Village. In these areas, church buildings adapt not only to Balinese culture but also to residents’ homes. One example is the philosophy of sanga mandala (nine cardinal directions), illustrating that houses do not consist of a single roof. This effort aims to strengthen kinship relationships among religious communities (J. A. Putra, Kohdrata, & Putra, 2020).

Protestant churches also engage in architectural acculturation. The Pniel Church in Blimingsari Village, Jembrana, is an iconic church that combines Western and Balinese architectural styles. Located near Palasari Church in the
village of Blimbingsari, Pniel Church incorporates temple-building concepts with the Tri Hita Karana philosophy. Features such as candi bentar gates, aling-aling walls, bale kul-kul, bale bengong, bale gong, and kori agung are some Balinese architectural elements adapted in Pniel Church’s exterior. Furthermore, the church’s interior is rich with Balinese carvings/decoration and ornaments (Indrianto, 2013).

Stephanie Arvina Yusuf notes that the traditional Balinese architectural concept of Asta Kosala Kosali (rules for building places of worship) plays a dominant role in shaping the Pniel Church in Blimbingsari (Yusuf, 2016). However, this adaptation modifies the basic liturgical rules and functional needs of a Protestant Church. The functional aspect (space needs) as a place of worship for Christians remains unaltered (static), while the architectural form aspect adapts to local culture (dynamic).

Beyond architectural discussions, other forms of acculturation serve as “local culture preservation.” Observations in Blimbingsari Village, Jembrana, show that Christians align their places of worship and homes with Balinese culture and adapt material and social Balinese cultural elements into their religious lives. Examples include penjor (decorative bamboo poles), traditional clothing, the Balinese language, and gamelan music used in worship on certain holidays, especially major religious celebrations. Moreover, Balinese-derived names like Gusti, Putu, Made, Komang, Nyoman, and others remain an integral part of Christian identity in the area (Viana, Wirawan, & Purnawati, 2021).

CONCLUSION

This research revealed that acculturation had become an integral part of Bali’s history since the arrival of Islam in the 15th century and Christianity in the 20th century. This process successfully integrated elements of Balinese culture with the teachings of Islam and Christianity, creating a harmony that allowed the predominantly Hindu Balinese society to coexist peacefully with followers of these two religions. This aligned with the research’s objective to explore the comparison of Islamic and Christian acculturation with Balinese culture and to identify similarities and differences in these processes.

Islamic acculturation with Balinese culture was reflected in various aspects such as literature, architecture, language, names or identities, and traditions. These practices demonstrated that the spread of Islam proceeded effectively while still respecting local wisdom. This process reinforced previous findings about Islam’s success in adapting to local cultures in various regions, including Bali, as Jean Couteau and A.A. Bagus Wirawan discussed.

Similarly, Christian acculturation, both Catholic and Protestant, showed comparable results. The influence of Western/Gothic architecture combined with Balinese architectural style and the adaptation of various Balinese cultural elements such as penjor, traditional clothing, language, and gamelan music demonstrated
how Christianity successfully aligned itself with Balinese culture. These findings supported previous research by Joshua Jolly Sucanta Cakranegara on Catholic inculturation in Bali.

This research contributed to the literature and knowledge in the field of acculturation and cultural integration by highlighting how the acculturation process in Bali not only strengthened interfaith harmony but also enriched Balinese culture itself. These findings could serve as a basis for further research on religious acculturation in other contexts and provide insights for policymakers and community leaders in managing interfaith harmony.

The prospects for developing this research included a deeper exploration of the dynamics of interaction between different religions in Bali and how this acculturation could be applied in broader contexts. The further implications of this research suggested that a deep understanding of acculturation could help create a more inclusive and tolerant society. Thus, this research reinforced previous findings and made a significant new contribution to our understanding of the acculturation process and interfaith harmony in Bali.

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