Contextual Church Reform in Bali and the Secularization of "Sacred" Music and Dance: Forging Protestant/Hindu Music Networks in an Age of Mass Tourism

By

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Notes on Translation

Nearly all interviews done over the course of my field research were conducted in Indonesian. Through the dissertation I reference these conversations, often directly and in English translation. All such translations are my own. At other times I will offer translations of a word or phrase, indicating the language of origin with the following codes:

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the role of twentieth-century performing arts in the transformation of Protestant/Hindu relations in Bali. More specifically, it demonstrates how the regional tourist economy produced a largely artificial sacred/secular binary and how this distinction in turn fostered newly hybridized genres of Christian gamelan music and dance. Religiously mixed gamelan groups of Balinese Protestants and Hindus now regularly perform this repertoire, a stark contrast to the strict religious segregation of the early and mid-twentieth century. Through such interaction a shared, interreligious aesthetic discourse has emerged. I utilize aspects of social network analysis, and material culture studies to illustrate how one particular Protestant denomination, known colloquially as the Bali Church (or Gereja Kristen Protestan di Bali, GKPB), has established and maintained this discourse vis-à-vis Protestant/Hindu music networks based on shared concerns regarding ethnic (Balinese) identity, described locally as “kebalian.”

The main body of the dissertation is divided into two main sections, each consisting of two chapters. The first section establishes the historical development and narrative upon which the second proceeds. Chapter one examines the development of contextual practices within the Bali Church from 1972 onward, including biographical details of key church builders and artists, and the establishment of institutions within GKPB that have played a pivotal role in promoting contextual art. Chapter two looks at the expansion of tourism in Bali and the important role this new economy played in creating a legitimated sphere for church participation in Balinese performing arts.

The second major section is more analytic in nature and illustrates some of the important social implications arising from the intersection of contextual art with touristic practice and ideology. Chapter three explores the contemporary association between localized musics, Hinduism, and constructs of Balinese identity. Finally, in chapter four theories of capital and social networks are explored as interpretive devices for understanding the social function of these interreligious interactions and the driving forces behind them. In particular, the notion that key actors in a given network may act as brokers between groups is explored as a model for understanding Christian/Hindu relations in Bali.
Introduction and Literature Review

Introduction:

Since the advent of modern tourism in Bali at the beginning of the twentieth century foreigners have been drawn to the island for its unique and dynamic mixture of traditional practices (known as adat), a palpable reverence for the ancestors, and, perhaps most notably, a myriad of artistic practices that appear to effortlessly blur any distinction between human aesthetics, daily life, and the broader cosmos. The formation of the modern Indonesian nation state – of which Bali is a part – coupled with a relentless and ever-growing stream of tourists and increased transmigration to Bali by mostly Chinese and Muslim Indonesians, have contributed greatly to the desire amongst many Balinese to delineate the outside from the inside, essentially those who truly belong to the ancestral lineage of the land from those whose ties to the island are perceived as superficial. A widespread and easily identified marker of such membership is one’s adherence (or not) to the rites and ritual practices associated with Balinese Hinduism. Over the course of the twentieth century this modern religious construct has become a nearly undisputed indicator of one’s true “Balineseness.” It is therefore not surprising that to convert to another religion was and still is regarded as the most radical rejection of self and community. Converting to Christianity, for example, is tantamount to treason, and as Clifford Geertz has noted: “[the] occasional individual who is converted is still considered, even by the most tolerant and sophisticated, to have abandoned not just Balinese religion but Bali, and perhaps reason, itself” (1973:181).
Within the context of global Christianity, this often-dominant world religion was a relative latecomer to Bali. Unlike other islands in the Indonesia archipelago such as Java, Ambon, and Sumatra, which have now been home to indigenous Christian communities for centuries, Bali saw no such trend until 1931 when a small group of locals were baptized under the auspices of the American-based Christian Missionary Alliance. This event is today widely regarded as the advent of Balinese Christianity and perceived by some as a penetration of colonial strength. For this reason, early Christian converts on the island were often referred to as “black Dutch” (I Wayan Mastra, interview with the author, June 2016). Despite this commonly held viewpoint, it is well documented that the colonial Dutch government, far from being an instigator of Christian missions, was in fact amongst the strongest opponents to such proselytizing activities (ref. Vandenbosch 1934).

Early Balinese Christian converts were, almost without exception, subject to an extreme form of social excommunication known as *kasepekang*, which encompassed nearly all aspects of community and familial life including access to those social institutions responsible for the perpetuation of artistic knowledge.\(^1\) For their part, Protestant church leaders – first foreign missionaries and eventually Balinese members of the pastorate – sought to separate church music praxis from localized traditions that were and remain closely linked to Balinese cosmology. From the early 1930s and until the late 1960s, Protestant churches in Bali institutionally

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\(^1\) *Kasepekang* is a Balinese term but is sometimes also referred to in the literature by its Indonesian name, *dikulcikan*. 
opposed the use of gamelan\(^2\) in Sunday services, other related church events, and as a hobby for Balinese Christians.

As of 2016, the Bali Church (Gereja Kristen Protestan di Bali – GKPB) owns at least thirteen sets of gamelan instruments and has run music and dance programs at children’s homes since the mid-1970s. The following quotes underscore this ideological disparity. The first are reflections of former Bali Church Bishop, I Wayan Mastra, on the difficult social situation of early Balinese Christians:

> The water supply to their fields was cut off…their crops were destroyed; lone Christians were attacked and beaten up; their houses were burnt down… The Hindus believed that their gods were angry at this infiltration of a new religion, and they feared retribution, so they did all they could to make the ‘traitors’ give up their Christianity. (McKenzie and Mastra 1988:21-2)

The second is by current GKPB penata tabuh (“music director”) I Putu Suranata:

> Many Hindu artists are not that concerned about where they play [gamelan]. They see that we are all members of humanity. Maybe before they knew anything about the church they would think, “this doesn’t fit.” But since becoming involved with church activities it has become normal. Like at the sekehe gong, it is normal.\(^3\)

Suranata is a Hindu musician who has, since the early 1990s, collaborated extensively with congregations throughout Bali to produce church-based music and dance performances. He describes the contemporary practice of Hindus playing in Balinese

\(^2\) Gamelan is a general term used to refer to a wide variety of instrumental ensembles, principally from the islands of Java and Bali. In Bali, such ensembles are composed of instruments variously made of bamboo, bronze, iron, and various tropic woods (e.g. jackfruit/nangka). Though instrumental combinations can vary greatly in Balinese gamelan styles, instruments common to many styles include: drums/kedang, metalophones (e.g. gangsa), flutes/suling, hanging gongs, and suspended pot gongs (e.g. trompong, reyong). Throughout much of the twentieth century gong kebyar was by far the most popular style of gamelan in Bali, with its distinctive arrangement of instruments, tuning, and aesthetic priorities. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Bali Church has adopted the gong kebyar style as the most common purveyor of “contextual” Balinese repertoire.

\(^3\) I Putu Suranata, (Bali Church resident composer and music director), in discussion with the author, August 2012.
churches as “normal” and likens the phenomenon to musicians’ involvement with the village sekehe gong (music cooperative), perhaps the most normalized form of community-based music making in Bali. Though animosity between Christians and Hindus still exists, these accounts reflect a dramatic shift in interreligious relations.

This dissertation seeks to better understand this shift in Balinese Christian/Hindu interactions as they are expressed and realized through the production of Balinese performing arts. More specifically, I am interested in those repertoires that have emerged in response to local desires to blend elements of localized Balinese music, dance, and theatre with Christian theologies and praxis, a movement often referred to by Balinese Protestants as “contextualization.” Though aspects of contextualization are present in a number of Protestant denominations within Bali, I have chosen to focus primarily on the arts practices of the Bali Church. Since the early 1970s, GKPB has sustained an ongoing program of contextual arts, which have been realized in large part through direct interaction with Hindu music and dance practitioners. The repertoires and relationships fostered by leaders of the Bali Church are considerable in terms of their size, scope, and duration – now spanning a period of more than forty years. GKPB is an ideal subject of focus because of the denomination’s historically persistent commitment to these arts.

The development of contextual art will be considered alongside the almost simultaneous emergence of mass tourism in Bali, beginning shortly after the rise to power of Indonesian president Suharto in 1967. As I will demonstrate, the local contextualization movement was profoundly influenced by official reforms made by

\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{4}}\] I use the term “localized” here (and throughout much of the dissertation) rather than “indigenous” to avoid conflating GKPB contextual music and praxis with the Bali Aga -- a peoples widely regarded as the indigenous inhabitants of the island.
Balinese political and religious leaders to counteract what were perceived as the negative influences of tourism upon indigenous art. This government-led intervention resulted in a largely artificial, yet politically influential, sacred/secular distinction. This binary was essential for Christian participation in an artistic realm previously considered the sole domain of Bali’s majority Hindu population.

I argue that even though the development of “secular” Balinese arts enabled GKPB to participate in the creation of new hybrid art forms, the church was and still is dependent on the collaboration of Hindu artists for the successful performance of these often-complex compositions and choreographies. This requisite participation of Hindus in church arts is due in large part to a multigenerational rupture between church and indigenous arts practices, a result of *kasepekang* and the earlier, church-sanctioned rejection of Balinese music and dance in all GKPB-related contexts. One result of the somewhat unusual participation of Hindus in church music has been to stimulate and foster Christian/Hindu relationships, or what I have chosen to call interreligious networks. These networks have served to counteract a legacy of religious segregation in Bali.

Leaders of the Bali Church openly promote contextual arts for their potential to attract new converts, rightfully raising suspicions amongst some observers that contextualization is simply a ploy to present Christianity to Balinese Hindus in a more socio-culturally acceptable fashion. However, there seems to be little evidence to support the thesis that contextualization is an efficacious catalyst for religious conversion.\(^5\) Contrastingly, I contend that because the Bali Church’s efforts to

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\(^5\) Since 1970, the Bali Church has grown from 7,000 members (MacKenzie and Mastra 1988:30) to 15,000 (Mastra, interview with the author, June 2016). Over approximately the
contextualize have been and continue to be dependent on the participation of Balinese Hindu artists that the “success” of attracting new converts to the church would actually hamper rather than embolden this hybridizing project. Though a small handful of professional Hindu artists have converted to Christianity (I will illustrate some of the more notable examples in chapter two), these numbers fall far short of those required to sustain regular performances of the existing contextual music and dance repertoire. I believe that if contextualized arts were seen to result in religious conversion that members of the Hindu communities that have historically collaborated with GKPB would become highly reluctant to continue doing so.

Contextualization in its current form, therefore, is a careful and perhaps precarious balance between the objectives of the Church and those of the broader Hindu majority. While a missionizing thread undoubtedly runs through contextual GKPB repertoires, to focus too heavily on it would be to miss the more unique and compelling component of the Balinese contextualization movement. As I will highlight throughout this dissertation, the more compelling aspect of contextual art in Bali has been, at least so far, its ability to stimulate dialogue between religious groups with a history of animosity and segregation.

Finally, before launching into a historical survey of Protestantism in Bali, it is important to point out the actual position of contextual music and dance amidst other artistic practices (mostly musical) employed by GKPB. Though the use of gamelan and Balinese dance is performed regularly at GKPB churches, it is typically reserved

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same period the population of Bali rose from 2,120,322 (1971 census) to 4,225,384 (2014 census). This represents an increase in the general population from 0.330% (1971) to 0.355% (2014).

6 Many of the larger dramatic works in the contextual repertoire (esp. sendratari) can require in excess of forty performing artists (musicians and dancers together).
only for high holidays (particularly Christmas and Easter). The Bali Church in Blimbingsari (on the western tip of the island) performs contextual repertoire more often, featuring it at a monthly contextual service held on the first Sunday of every month. Of the more than 70 GKPB churches throughout Bali, only a small handful have the human resources necessary to execute largescale contextual works on their own. Many churches, therefore, rely on outside help (both within the church and beyond) for the execution of contextual performances, with some smaller congregation having yet to see such a live event in their home church.7 Despite this disparity in resources, many congregations are still able to participate in contextual music making by singing popular contextual hymns.8

The majority of music performed by Bali Church congregations are derived from popular, Western forms such as hymn singing, choral music, and contemporary praise and worship songs.9 From a strictly numbers-based account, contextual arts comprise a relatively small percentage of the sum total of performances/worship at GKPB churches. Given this disparity, it may seem curious that this dissertation focuses on Balinese performing arts at the expense of other, more common worship styles. The reason I have chosen to focus on this repertoire is not to fetishize Balinese music, but rather to explore those modes of music making that foster interreligious connection. To the best of my knowledge, contextual performing arts are the only

7 Throughout the course of my research I regularly spoke with people who would remind me of the detractors of Balinese contextualization, including those within the Bali Church. It is therefore possible that some congregations may be theologically opposed to the use of Balinese music and dance for any church related event.
8 More recently, contextual hymns and tunes have been compiled into songbooks, e.g. Kidung Jemaat Pentatonik Bali (2011) and Puji dan Sembah (2016).
9 Based on my observations, praise and worship songs sung at GKPB churches were nearly always in Indonesian with an occasional song sung in Balinese.
musical media to consistently place members of different religious convictions at the center of Protestant worship.

A Brief History of Christianity in Indonesia

Indonesia as a whole has been home to Christian churches for centuries, with some scholars suggesting that Christianity first entered the archipelago as early as the 7th century C.E. Initial contacts between European Christians and local populations occurred much later when Catholic Portuguese missionaries landed in the Moluccas in 1534 (Poplawska 2007:44). The presence of missionaries was preceded by the arrival of Portuguese colonialists and together the two parties were regularly at odds with local Muslim populations who regarded the arrival of these European powers as an invasion of their socio-religious domain (Azra 2008:13). Because of such conflicts, scholars such as sociologist B.J.O. Schrieke have called these protracted encounters a “sequel to the Crusades in Europe and the Middle East” (ibid:10). Amidst this ongoing conflict, Catholic priests baptized about 11,000 natives mostly from the island of Ambon in the Maluku archipelago. In 1605 Spanish Catholics replaced Portuguese missionaries and by 1630 there were an estimated 16,000 Catholics in the region. Growing Dutch obstruction in the area, however, made it difficult for the Catholic Church to expand its membership. By 1665, and in the context of increasing Dutch influence in the Moluccas, only 4,000 Catholics remained in Ambon and the surrounding islands. In 1666 all Catholic activities in North
Sulawesi were banded by the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC), which had recently seized control of the area. Until 1680 Spanish Catholics attempted to carry on the missions in other parts of the Indonesian archipelago, however, the spread of Catholicism was effectively halted after that time by the increasingly powerful VOC (ibid:67-8). Indonesian historian Karel Steenbrink has characterized much of this period before formal Dutch government-sponsored colonization as one of “slow and uncertain” growth for the small pockets of Christianity scattered throughout the archipelago during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (ibid:99).

The end of the eighteen century was marked by a major reshuffling of the power hierarchy within the VOC, seeing its original structure as a largely private business enterprise replaced by Dutch Crown control following the VOC’s 1799 bankruptcy. As far as missions were concerned, Crown ownership together with an increasing secularism in the Netherlands resulted in generally tighter restrictions on Christian evangelization and missions (van den End 2008:138). At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were an estimated 40,000 indigenous Protestant Christians in the archipelago. At the same time indigenous Catholics numbered about 11,000, almost all of whom lived in Flores, which remained under Portuguese rule until 1859. Indonesian historian van den End suggests that Christianity remained unappealing to most Indonesians because missions tended to focus on the individual in society at the expense of understanding the profound social ramifications for those converting. To accommodate such concerns mission societies would often give work or a small piece of land to new converts. This arrangement, however, only served to
By the beginning of the twentieth century the number of Indonesian Catholics had risen modestly to 26,464, in part due to the reintroduction of Catholic missions in select regions of Indonesia (ibid:138). During the same time Protestant numbers increased more dramatically to approximately 250,000. This relatively rapid growth was largely due to the success of missions in Minahasa (North Sulawesi) and Tapanuli (North Sumatra) (ibid:161). By the end of the colonial era (c.1940), and with increasing numbers of foreign mission societies then working in Indonesia, the population of Christians rose considerably, Catholics to about 500,000 and Protestants to 1,700,000. Despite these sizeable increases in numbers, Christians accounted for only 3% of the total population of the Dutch East Indies in 1940 (ibid:165). Following the end of WWII both Protestantism and Catholicism were recognized as official state religions in Indonesia’s 1945 constitution, Pancasila. Shortly thereafter the Council of Indonesian Churches was formed (1950), which resituated the Church as a national institution and not primarily the appendage of foreign powers and interests.

A History of the Bali Church until 1972

The Bali Church (GKPB) is an independent Protestant church with over 70 congregations throughout Bali, and is one of several Christian denominations with

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10 As I will show throughout the dissertation, similar concerns over social ostracism or excommunication are still tangible concerns for new Balinese Christian converts; however, such extreme responses have become less common in recent decades.
congregations on the island. Bali is a vast Hindu majority with 83.46% of the island’s 3,890,757 inhabitants claiming it as their religion in the 2010 Indonesian national census. There is also a sizeable Muslim population (13.37%) and smaller numbers of Buddhists (0.54%) and Confucians (0.01%). During the same census period the total number of Christians in Bali (both Catholic and Protestant) was estimated at 95,851 (2.46%). Of these Christians, approximately 15,000 (0.39% of Bali’s total population) are members of GKPB churches. The following is a brief history of the development of this small Protestant denomination in Bali until the early 1970s.

Despite this long history of Christianity in territories of modern-day Indonesia, the faith arrived in Bali relatively late. Rev. J. De Vroom settled there in 1866 and he is widely believed to be the first missionary to proselytize on the island. He worked in Bali until 1881 when his only convert murdered him – a result of personal anguish experienced through social excommunication (*kasepekang*). Bali was subsequently closed to Christian missions between 1881-1931 (Mastra 1980:264-5).\(^{11}\)

The Dutch first undertook political control of Buleleng, Bali’s northern-most regency, in 1854, but did not bring the entire island under colonial rule until 1908. This followed two violent invasions into the more heavily populated and politically powerful kingdoms of Badung (1906) and Klungkung (1908) (Nordholt 2010:168, 215). Following these events, the colonial Dutch government successfully kept the

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\(^{11}\) Despite the assertion that Bali was closed to all Christian missions during this period, Mexican artist Miguel Covarrubias (a resident of Bali during the 1930s) reports that special permissions were granted to Catholic missionaries in 1891, 1920, and 1924, respectively (Covarrubias 1937:396). Despite such claims, my research revealed that the first Catholic church in Bali was not established until the mid-1930s, shortly after the formation of the first Protestant churches.
ambitions of missionary agencies at bay, as there are no reports of sustained missionary efforts or further Balinese conversions. Policies to keep missions out of Bali were emboldened during the late 1920s in large part through a project known as *Baliseering*, which was aimed at educating Balinese youth in the subjects of local language, literature, and art (Picard 1999:22). In 1929, however, a special permit was granted to a Tsang To Han, a Chinese evangelist working on behalf of the American agency, Christian Missionary Alliance (CMA) (Loh 1988:7). The permit enabled Han to work amongst Chinese Christians living in Bali. The clear distinction between Chinese and Balinese peoples was often obscured by the fact that Balinese women were sought after as brides by Chinese men living in Bali – a matter leading to interethnic families (Vickers 2012:34). The practice of interethnic marriage made the parameters of Han’s missionary permit even murkier when he himself married a Balinese woman. The woman allegedly “invited [Han] to preach amongst her people” and on November 11, 1931, Han baptized eleven Balinese in the village of Untal-Untal, near the capital city of Denpasar. Within a year he had baptized 100 more (Loh 1988:7).

The colonial administration soon revoked Han’s permit to stay on the island, but the presence of a local, Balinese Christian population coupled with growing numbers of foreign tourists began to delude the myth of an untouched Balinese society. Still, many European intellectuals continued to argue against the admission

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12 Current leaders of both the Bali Church and *Gereja Kemah Injili Indonesia* - GKII (the modern manifestation of CMA in Indonesia) each claim these initial mass baptisms as the founding events of their respective churches. CMA officials make the argument on the grounds that it was a CMA missionary conducting the baptisms, while GKPB officials point to the fact that, because CMA work in Bali was subsequently disrupted, many of these initial Balinese Christians soon came to be members of indigenous churches with direct links to the church presently known as GKPB.
of missionaries to Bali. F. D. K. Bosch (1887-1967), head of the archeological service in Batavia (present-day Jakarta), argued that religion and social order form an inseparable whole in Bali and Christian evangelism would bring about the collapse of Balinese culture. Dutch theologian Hendrik Kraemer (1888-1965), on the other hand, contested that the conflation of society and religion and instead argued for the admission of missionaries on the grounds that modernizing influence had already entered Bali and that “Balinese religion was doomed to disappear under the assault of modern secularization” (Picard 1999:22). In the short term Kraemer was not successful in having foreign missionaries admitted to Bali, as his initial attempts to do so during 1933-34 were revoked. Despite this setback, Kraemer was able to have Javanese missionaries sent from nearby Dutch Reformed churches in East Java to continue the process of evangelization (Sugden 1997:43). In 1937 the indigenous church groups in Bali met and subsequently formed Persekutuan Kristen Bali (PKB – The Bali Christian Alliance) (Mastra-ten 2009:8).

Many of the earliest Balinese converts to Christianity were impoverished and owned little or no land. Financial obligation related to village adat ("custom") often contributed to their poverty.\(^\text{13}\) Covarrubias, who lived in Bali as the first Christian communities were forming during the 1930s, took a decided cynical view of the missiological approach employed:

> But quietly and unostentatiously they began to work among the lowest classes of the Balinese… Taking advantage of the economic crisis that was already making itself felt in Bali, they managed to give their practically destitute candidates for Christianity the idea that a change

\(^{13}\) Though the term “adat” is often translated simply as custom, its problematic implications in Balinese society are well documented. I will discuss the term further later in this chapter and again at length in chapter three.
of faith would release them from all financial obligation to the
community (Covarrubias 1937:396).

Though there is little concrete evidence to support Covarrubias’ assertion, it is not a
stretch to believe that early Christian converts may have been attracted to the new
faith because of the financial relief it represented. At first there seemed to be some
discrepancy as to how Balinese Christians should approach the matter of adat
obligations. Ottino notes that Christians in the village of Munduk experienced few
conflicts with the surrounding Hindu majority until the “Christian churches” insisted
they stop participating in adat practices (Ottino 2000:69), at which point they were
expelled from their villages by the local banjars (village councils). Sugden notes
similar rejection of Balinese cultural practices on the part of Church leadership: “The
missionary leaders of [GKPB] judged the Balinese culture to be totally pagan. So as a
mission strategy they encouraged Christian converts to separate themselves from the
Balinese culture” (Sugden 1997:16). The segregation of Christians and Hindus was,
therefore, a combination of social pressures forced upon them by both leaders of the
Hindu majority and local and foreign missionaries. Though relief from financial adat
obligations may have attracted some early converts, the extremely disruptive form of
social exile experienced by early Christians likely curbed any such benefit and may
have caused other potential converts to reassess their motivations.¹⁴

¹⁴ Mas Tartiv (an east Javanese missionary working in Bali in the 1930s) even suggested an
opposite approach. Rather than withholding requisite labor and financial obligations, he
encouraged Christians to continue to live within the dominant adat structure. The Christians,
however, needed to “make it quite clear…that they did so not as an offering to the gods but as
a social obligation which as Balinese and members of a village community they felt bound to
fulfill” (Weber 1966:176). Though such an alternative perspective was present, it did not take
hold as the vast majority of Balinese Christians elected to live apart from Hindu adat.
Under Dutch colonialism Christianity was viewed as the religion of imperial power. Such suspicion increased in Bali following two violent Dutch excursions (puputan) into the densely populated southern tier of the island in 1906 and 1908. Balinese who subsequently converted to Christianity were considered “accomplices of the colonialists…and deniers of their own culture and ancestral religions” (Mastra 1970:309). This perceived transgression of religious and political norms caused tensions between Hindus and Christians that occasionally led to violence. To alleviate Dutch concerns that such violence may escalate and to reduce overcrowding in the heavily populated south (an area home to the majority of Balinese Christians throughout the 1930s), colonial administrators prepared a tract of land for the Protestant Christians in the western Balinese regency of Jembrana (Wijaya 2012:168-181, 244).

By the beginning of 1939 Protestant Christians were granted special permission to settle this land, which they named Blimbingsari (“essence of star fruit”) for the abundant star fruit trees (I: pohon belimbing) in the area (Sunarya 2009:9). By November of that year 29 families headed west to begin the arduous task of clearly the dense jungle so it could be used for agriculture (Wijaya 2012:244-5). Because many Balinese Christians had been denied the use of familial and village lands, Blimbingsari represented an opportunity for Protestants to become self-sufficient and to reintegrate themselves into the local economy.

A 1948 meeting of church officials in Blimbingsari led to an institutional name change, from the aforementioned Persekutuan Kristen Bali, to Gereja Kristen Protestan Bali. Another assembly was held in 1962 at which point the church name
was modified slightly to *Gereja Kristen Protestan di Bali*, and the acronym “GKPB” was officially adopted. The village remained the most populous center of Protestants in Bali for the next several decades, peaking at approximately 6500 residents in 1965 (Wiebe 2014:226).

From 1931 until the late 1960s Balinese arts were generally discouraged as expressions of faith in church contexts. During this time Balinese congregations relied on Western church music practices such as hymn singing (Murdita 2003:32). The suppression of localized music traditions was a widespread trend throughout much of the twentieth century, and in Bali Kraemer argued for this prohibition most fervently. He frequently cited concerns over “syncretism” as a basis for denying “any role for Balinese culture in the life of the church” (Sugden 1997:43). His legacy loomed large over GKPB artistic praxis until Balinese Christian theologian, I Wayan Mastra, formally challenged his assertions and sought to incorporate various forms of Balinese culture into the life of the church. Mastra’s reforms were most fully realized in the 1972 GKPB Synod at which time the use of Balinese arts, including music and dance, were officially sanctioned for use in GKPB events such as church services. I will discuss the synod and its implications for the Bali Church at greater length in chapter 1.

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15 In 2011 the population of Blimbingsari had declined to 1086; a result of residents leaving to seek better education and work opportunities (I Wayan Mastra. Communication with the author. October, 2011).
16 There are some examples to the contrary. Sukayasa reports there was a church built in south Bali during the late 1930s according to Balinese Hindu architectural specifications (Dhana 2014:251). There are also records of Balinese Christians performing wayang kulit (shadow puppetry) in Blimbingsari during the 1950s (ref. Webb 1990).
Twentieth-century Religious Reform in Bali

Throughout much of the twentieth century Bali has been referred to in popular and scholarly literature, often in passing, as a “Hindu” island. While it is true that the majority of those living in Bali claim this religion as their own, the type of Hinduism practiced by many in this region is quite idiosyncratic with a very unique and localized history. For the purposes of this dissertation I illustrate how Hinduism was transformed over the course of the twentieth century. In particular I will focus on two transformative influences: 1) that of world religions upon local religious doctrine, and 2) the formation of the Indonesian nation state. I draw attention to the restructuring of Hinduism in Bali to highlight the centrality of this religious formation to an emerging localized identity, one that Balinese Christians would later seek to expand beyond its initially exclusive Hindu framework.

Many unique features of contemporary Balinese Hinduism trace their roots to the animist practices of the indigenous Balinese people, the Bali Aga. Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson were among the first anthropologists to conduct in-depth studies of Bali-Aga villages, describing them as the “cultural base onto which intrusive elements had been grafted” (Hitchcock 2004:9). Such “intrusive elements” refer to, among other things, Indic Hindu influences that arrived in Bali en mass following the fall of the Majapahit Empire in Java at the end of the fifteenth century.18

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18 Bali was situated along major trade routes long before the fall of the Majapahit Empire during the fifteenth century, and had likely absorbed elements of Indian Hinduism prior to this time.
During the early twentieth century much of the discussion surrounding religion in Bali was internal in nature. In other words, its discourse catered to an almost exclusively Balinese audience. In the 1930s this began to shift as articles published by Balinese scholars, in journals such as *Djatajoe*, began to reflect concerns that Hinduism in Bali did not possess the same intellectual basis as world religions such as Christianity and Islam. Picard speaks to this dilemma:

> The numerous articles published on *agama* [religion]...attest to a notable confusion if not a frank helplessness among the Balinese themselves. This was no longer due solely to disagreement among them, but to the fact that they were at a loss as to how to reply to accusations of paganism by foreigners. (Picard 1999:41)

Amongst such foreigners were not only the colonial Dutch and other Indonesians (who at this time were organizing themselves politically against their colonizers), but also increasingly missionaries and tourists. Added to the mix were Western scholars who sought to articulate the intricacies of Balinese society and religious life (e.g. Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson, and Jane Belo). Though it is doubtful that they intended to disrupt Balinese social practices – and in reality, probably intended quite the opposite – their careful recording and questioning of their Balinese interlocutors likely contributed further to a milieu that increasingly questioned Balinese logic, particularly with respect to its “religion.”

Criticism from foreigners led Balinese religious practitioners and members of the intelligentsia to attempt to more clearly codify their beliefs and practices as a means to create a “religious system that could stand beside Islam and Christianity” (Forge 1980:222). In 1937 this resulted in an assembly of *pedanda* (Hindu priests) to gather a collection of writings that could form the basis for a holy book. After three
years of deliberation, the assembled *pedanda* finally concluded that “agama” (religion) could not be separated from *adat* (custom), and that because there was so much variation of customary practices from village to village a single holy book could not be drafted (Picard 1999:41).

In 1945, immediately following WWII, Indonesia declared its independence from the Netherlands. As a component of this declaration a constitution was drafted, known as *Pancasila*. Among its the central tenets was a belief in “the one and only God (I: Ketuhanan Yang Masa Esa).” This meant that all religions officially recognized under the constitution needed to be monotheistic. In addition to a belief in one God, state-recognized religions also needed to have a prophet, a holy book, and could not be limited to a single ethnic group (Picard 2011:497). Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Buddhism were immediately recognized as *Pancasila* religions, but Hinduism was not because it did not meet the defined criteria of a “religion.” This led to public outrage in Bali and set in motion the process of religious reform.

Some within the Balinese community attempted to institute connections to Indian Hinduism as a means to legitimize the religion in Bali. In 1951 this resulted in the publication of *Dasa Sila Agama Bali* (The Ten Principles of the Balinese Religion), written by Indian scholar Prof. Narendra Dev. Randit Shastri. Shastri argued that the Balinese were monotheist, “as they venerated the one and only God, Sang Hyang Widhi. Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva were but manifestations of Sang

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19 Despite being a primarily Muslim nation, the term “ketuhanan” was used instead of “Allah.” Ketuhanan is derived from the root word “Tuhan,” the Malay-Indonesian term for God. By employing this more general term for the creator God, the government aimed to avoid disenfranchising members of Indonesia’s Christian minority, thus diminishing the chances of religious strife among citizens of the new nation.
Hyang Widhi” (Picard 2011:493). His argument (representing a position held by many Balinese intellectuals) did not, however, change the official position of the Ministry of Religion in Jakarta; Balinese Hinduism was still not a state recognized religion.

In 1958, with the support of then President Soekarno – whose mother was Balinese – a Balinese Hindu section was established at the Ministry of Religion (Picard 2011:502). This resulted in the formation of Parisada Hindu Dharma Bali one year later, which was charged with managing the affairs of “agama Hindu” (Howe 2005:92). However, it was not until 1962 that “Agama Hindu Bali” (The Balinese Hindu Religion) was officially recognized as a Pancasila religion (Ramstedt 1991:111). With the political privileges of state sanction, the Parisada initiated a process of extensive religious reform, including:

…the compilation of a theological canon, publication of a Hindu catechism, standardization of temples and religious rites, formalization of the priesthood, and provision of religious instruction to the population. (Picard 2011:503)

The newly formed theological canon (Panca Craddha) affirmed, among other things, the belief in Sang Hyang Widi as the one God of Agama Hindu Bali while drawing extensively from Indian literary sources as a means to justify this and other doctrines (Howe 2005:93). Furthermore, in 1964, the name of Parisada Hindu Dharma Bali was changed to Parisada Dharma Hindu, thus shifting the focus of Indonesian Hinduism from Bali alone to formally encompass the full geographic diversity of Indonesian
Hindus.\textsuperscript{20} This was done to conform to state requirements that religions could not be defined on the basis of ethnic identity (Picard 2011:505).

The formation of the Indonesian nation state in 1945 -- together with the introduction of a *Pancasila*-based national philosophical foundation -- had a tremendous impact on Balinese *adat* practices for the following two decades. During this time Balinese *adat* underwent tremendous homogenizing and institutional changes in an effort to conform to national guidelines set forth by Muslim and Christian nationalists. This resulted in the national recognition of Hinduism but altered the cosmological underpinnings of Balinese *adat* “from polytheistic and locally variable ritual practices within Bali to an [monotheistic] *agama* with state-wide potential” (Howe 2004:267). Such changes were brought about, in part, through the adaptation of principles imported from Indian Hindu doctrine. Elements of Islam, Christianity, and (Indian) Hinduism have, therefore, decidedly influenced the state’s decision to legally recognize the majority of Balinese as Hindu.

Despite ideological changes at the administrative level, “most Balinese continue to perform their *adat* rituals without much concern for the doctrines of Agama Hindu” (Howe 2004:267). This flexibility has allowed the dominant discourse of religion in Bali to be formed according to ethnicity, which has necessarily implicated music and dance because of its close historical association with Balinese *adat*. According to influential music and dance scholar I Made Bandem:

> The various forms [of dance]…owe their survival to the Balinese culture, which takes its inspiration from the Hindu religion. In Bali, no

\textsuperscript{20} The adoption of the name “Parisada Dharma Hindu” helped instill Hinduism as a truly national religion, an important matter for Hindus living outside Bali in other parts of Indonesia such as Java, Kalimantan, and Sumatra.
religious ceremony is complete without artistic expression, mainly music and dance. (Racki 1998:4)

For Balinese Christians this has created something of a crisis of identity, especially since the 1970s when GKPB officials consciously began to assert a type of “Balineseness” through their official project of contextualization. As I will argue throughout this dissertation, the production of Balinese music and dance in GKB church and church-related contexts has challenged the conflation of ethnicity with religion.

**Defining the Parameters of “Religion”: Agama and Adat**

The aforementioned reforms imposed upon the structure of social organization in Bali over the course of the twentieth century drew a complex set of cultural practices into the purview of the emerging Indonesian nation state and also into discourses of national religion. Though the principles of Pancasila applied pressure to Balinese “religious” practices to conform to a monotheistic agenda, the leaders of Indonesia at the time of independence (1945-49) guided the region into nationhood under the pluralistic banner of “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika.” Often translated as “Unity in Diversity,” the still popular motto brought to the fore an inherent national tension between religious pluralism (emphasizing diversity) and religious homogenization (emphasizing unity) (Ramstedt 2004:1). In Bali, as in many other parts of Indonesia, this tension was more pronounced because of the rather casual nature of its existing ties to major world religions, an association that had suddenly become one of the primary criteria by which national citizenship was measured. In this section I will outline the parameters of the term “religion” as it is applied throughout the following
chapters. In particular, I will focus on the increasing emphasis on defining matters of *agama* (“religion”) from those of *adat* (“culture”). Understanding these terms and the tension inherent between them will become increasingly necessary as the relationships between Balinese people variously identified as “Christian” and “Hindu” are further explored through their interaction with localized music and dance practices.

The term “*adat*” is not indigenous to the Balinese language and was introduced to Balinese discourse by the Dutch. It is a term of Arabic origin and was first used in Indonesia by Islamized populations to distinguish indigenous “customary law” from imported “religious law.” During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it came to replace a series of other terms that had been used to describe a host of behaviors related to “social institution, legal regulation, and ancestral evocation” (Picard 1999:30). As Muslim -- and to a lesser extent, Christian -- interests emerged as dominant forces in the shaping of national policies leading up to Indonesian independence, indigenous and localized practices were increasingly associated with *adat*, “and assigned to a clearly lower (and backward) level of civilization” (Hauser-Schaublin and Harnish 2014:7).

The term *adat* continues to be an important term in contemporary Indonesia. Carol Warren has observed: “*Adat* has become the generic term for describing local customary practice and institutions throughout the Indonesian archipelago” (Warren 1993:3). This commonplace definition of *adat* undoubtedly oversimplifies the broad spectrum of socio-cultural practices to which it is currently applied. However, as I will demonstrate, it is this rather pat definition of *adat* that has been adopted by
GKPB leadership as a basis for their project of contextualization, particularly as it relates to matters of music and dance.

In contrast to *adat*, the term *agama* is commonly translated in Indonesia simply as “religion.” There are six *agama* currently recognized by the Indonesian constitution, all of which adhere to (at least in theory) monotheistic theological/cosmological principles.\footnote{These six nationally recognized religions include: Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism.} Citizens of Indonesia are obliged by law to officially self-identify with one of these six religions (Hauser-Schaublin and Harnish 2014:7). Those who do not are considered to be “*belum beragama*” (translated as “not yet having/professing a religion”). Despite this simple administrative definition, *agama* is “actually a peculiar combination of a Christian view of what counts as a world religion with an Islamic understanding of what defines a proper religion” – most notably, a belief in “the One and Only God” (Picard 2011:483).

The term *agama* comes from Sanskrit and originally evoked a double meaning, variably referring to that which was “handed down as fixed by tradition,” or “a specific religious doctrine associated with tantric worship of Siva and Sakti” (Picard 1999:31). Such conceptions of *agama* began to change through its increasing association with Islam, especially following the fall of the Majapahit Empire at the end of the fifteenth century. By the eighteenth century, according to Picard, *agama* had taken on the meaning of “religion.” As he argues, *agama* was increasingly associated with a supreme deity, the requirement of conversion, a holy book, and the ideal of social progress (1999:32). It is interesting to note that by the nineteenth century the notion of religion/ *agama* throughout the Indonesian archipelago (and
particularly in Java) was increasingly defined by empirically observable matters. In other words, *agama* was not so much defined by Reformation-inspired notions of “piety” (Smith 1998:271) as by “facts” that could be recorded and tallied. Such objective measures became all the more pronounced when *agama* was instituted as a measure of citizenship following Indonesian independence. The theoretical reforms imposed upon social and spiritual practices in Bali that did not meet the requirements of “world religion” are good examples of Indonesia’s increasing reliance on religious doctrine (over actual belief or practice) as the basis of *agama*.

Contemporary conceptions of *agama* and *adat* have often created a binary opposition. *Agama* represents modernity, nationalism, and “unity,” while *adat* is viewed as “diversity,” regional, ancient, and “traditional.” The codification of these terms as complimentary forces has been particularly useful for reformist Balinese intellectuals who sought to have Hinduism recognized at the national level (Warren 2007:175). On the one hand, official doctrine could be rationalized and approved as *agama* at an administrative level, while on the other, those practices seen as superfluous or irrational could be justified and maintained as *adat*. Contextual reformers of the Bali Church have exploited the same distinction as an intellectual basis for the inclusion of Balinese arts, language, and architecture in church praxis. As I will later demonstrate, the successful incorporation of Balinese music and dance

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22 Sociologist Myengkyo Seo has underscored the emphasis on empirically defining one’s religious affiliation in his recent research dealing with Christian/Muslim relations in Central Java (2013). Acts of religious conversion, rather than suggesting an “inner-transformation,” more typically reveal a reorientation of the convertee’s political and familial alliances.
Review of Major Theoretical Themes and Literature Review

Hybridity

The term “contextualization” has its roots in evangelical Protestant Christian discourse and has generally been used to describe the blending of normalized Protestant practices (usually from North America and Europe) with those of indigenous peoples to the south and east (Poplawska 2007:22). The study of contextualization has emerged during the latter half of the twentieth century in parallel with other related concepts in theology (e.g., inculturation, indigenization), and other humanities and the social sciences (e.g. creolization, acculturation) as a means to understand the rapid spread of peoples and ideas, and the emergence of new and supposedly blended discourses, social practices, and material cultures. Such change is often understood as the result of power imbalances (Kapchan and Strong 1999:241). This has coincided with the widespread practices of colonization, missionization, and globalization. In this section I will briefly outline a few important

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23 This binary has granted members of both the Balinese Christian and Hindu intelligentsias the flexibility to employ socio-religious reform, however, the seemingly clear distinction is often drawn into question: “Thus, from an anthropological perspective, comprehensive practices and beliefs have been (artificially) divided into agama and adat.” (Hauser-Shaublin and Harnish 2014:3)
terms and themes of what I term “hybrid” studies and conclude by circling back to the specific term “contextualization.”

In his 1966 publication, *The New World Negro*, Melville Herskovits uses the term “syncretism” to describe a “magnet effect” whereby certain cultural forms of African descent were maintained in the New World, while others tended to fade away (Kapchan and Strong 1999:240). Though the term “syncretism” was not new (it was already well established in theological writings), it is an early example of anthropological literature that sought to theorize and explain the process of change in the presence of discrete cultural forms.

At around the same time, Claude Levi-Strauss was formulating another influential hybrid theory, which he termed “*bricolage.*” The idea was first articulated in 1962 (*Le Pensée sauvage*) and again in 1971 (*L’Homme nu*). He employed the term to describe the relationship between Native American families linked by myth narratives (Ibid 240). Subsequent work by Dell Hymes (1971) and Roger Abrahams (1983) further expanded the application of hybrid theories to linguistic studies under the banner of “creolization.” Though comparatively little of this early hybrid literature was concerned with the influence of world religions upon indigenous peoples, Robert Hefner notes a shift in this trend beginning during the 1980s when anthropologists began to reorient their work toward problems of power, resulting in “a heightened interest in the hybrid nature of translocal religions” (Hefner 1998:84).

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24 For my purposes, I consider “hybrid” studies to be all of those within the social sciences and humanities that concern themselves primarily with the blending of formerly discrete cultures and ideologies. I therefore intend the term hybrid as an umbrella term under which more narrowly defined terms are subsumed.
The work of Hefner himself (1987), Eickelman (1983), and Comaroff (1985) are indicative of these shifting priorities.

Like the social sciences, theological literature has also developed theoretical models for understanding hybrid cultural practices. This terminology, however, is typically different and this often reflects alternative teleological aims. Terms such as “indigenization,” “inculturation,” and “contextualization” all imply elements of hybridity, but are used primarily in theologically texts, some of which are driven by evangelical goals. For example, Udeani describes inculturation as “the honest, serious and critical attempt to enable the Message of Christ to be understood by peoples of every culture, locality and age” (2007:vii). Despite such tendencies, theological discourses are more than a synonym for evangelical colonialism:

Inculturation as a process has been an important subject of postcolonial studies, which shifted academic interest towards indigenous cultures and their active responses to foreign/western influences. (Poplawska 2007:17)

Other authors have also stressed the potential for processes of inculturation to develop agency amongst indigenous communities (Wainwright and Tucker 2006; Sherinian 2007).

Alternatively, other authors describe similar theologically based hybrid practices as vernacularization (Sanneh 1989), interculturation (Restall 1998), and indigenization (Cohen 1995). The variety and abundance of terms used to describe the incorporation of indigenous peoples into dominant streams of Western Christian discourse (Protestant and Catholic) reflects both the prevalence of these practices during the colonial and post-colonial eras, and an increased sense of normativity toward hybrid religious rituals. James and Johnson observe: “outside the authorizing
institutions of the Churches and the texts of theological debate there is not Christianity except in the life of vernacular society and culture” (1988:3). More recently, ethnomusicological literature focusing on Christian-influenced indigenous groups has also begun to reflect these theoretical trends (Sherinian 1998; Scruggs 2005; Diettrich 2011).

For the purposes of this dissertation I have chosen to primarily use the term “contextualization” to describe the incorporation of Balinese music and dance into GKPB church services and events. Like many of the aforementioned terms, it was developed in theologically based writing to describe hybrid processes (Hesselgrave 1991; Nicholls 2003). Poplawska has identified two common streams of usage of the term: “evangelical (following inculturational meaning) and neo-orthodox and liberal (following sociological meaning)” (Poplawska 2007:23). Both of these forms of the term bear some influence in this dissertation.

I Wayan Mastra first used the term “contextualization” to reference proposed reforms in Bali in his master’s thesis, *The Impact of the Gospel and the Balinese Culture: An Approach of Making an Indigenous Church* (1967). It was subsequently used to describe elements of formal church reform by both church leaders and laity, and is a term employed in common parlance and in formal/academic writing describing these reforms (Mastra 1974; McKenzie 1988; Sugden 1997; Küster 1999). The term “contextualization” is still widely used in Bali by GKPB Christians, including the interlocutors with whom I worked. For many of them (including Mastra), contextualization was and is a means of bringing the message of the gospel to the Balinese people. Throughout this dissertation, unless specifically stated
otherwise, I do not use the term in this evangelical sense. Rather, because of its well-established usage in Bali, I employ the term as a means to clearly convey specific accounts and references of my interlocutors. As the dissertation unfolds, I will also refer to contextualization as a point of departure to articulate the socio-cultural basis for the formation of interreligious music networks between Balinese Christians and Hindus.

Tourism

The focus on tourism as a scholarly subject of research has, until recently, been viewed with skepticism (Yamashita 1997:14-5). This perspective was particularly strong within anthropology where tourists were viewed as the antithesis to the anthropologist’s carefully refined methodologies and intellectual inquiry. Tourists, on the other hand, consume “inauthentic” forms of culture with little concern for the implications of their actions (MacCannell 1976:94). Anthropologist Leo Howe speaks to the generally negative view of tourists and tourism in social science discourse through much of the 1970s: “Tourism was something that had an impact, but only on the surface of the host society, so it remained marginal, and for the most part could be safely ignored” (2005:131).

Early concerns regarding tourism began to emerge in Bali during the late 1960s and early 1970s at which time Balinese religious practitioners and government officials began to criticize the performance of “sacred” ritual dances for use in tourist performances. In 1971 this resulted in the “Seminar on Sacred and Profane Dance” (I:
Seminar Seni Sakral dan Provan Bidang Tari), which resulted in the separation of Balinese dances into “sacred” and “secular” categories (Picard 1996:119). This was followed shortly after by a large scale, UNESCO-sponsored review of the impact of cultural tourism in Bali. The review was directed by several timely research questions, including: “What sort of social changes have been brought about by the tourist industry in Bali?” (UNESCO 1974:1). The UNESCO report was published in six volumes from 1973-78 (Picard 1996:121). Though not considered an important academic publication, the report did reflect emergent questions in anthropology.

In 1973 Phillip McKean completed a dissertation entitled, Cultural Involution: Tourists, Balinese, and the Process of Modernization in an Anthropological Perspective (1973). One of McKean’s central arguments moved contrary to a recurrent, fatalistic trope found repeatedly throughout scholarly and popular literature – namely, that the influx of tourists in Bali would soon destroy the appeal of the very cultural elements (e.g. music, dance, painting) that had initially attracted them to the island. In an elaboration of materials from this dissertation, McKean suggested that rather than a destructive force, tourism could be viewed as a means of artistic preservation and development:

Although socioeconomic change is taking place in Bali, I argue that it goes hand-in-hand with the conservation of the traditional culture. My

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25 I will discuss this seminar at length in chapter 2.
26 The review also states: “As the consequence of a great number of tourists flooding Bali undoubtedly an interaction may take place between the tourists and the Balinese and this in turn will bring about new influences…” (UNESCO 1974:32-3).
27 One such trope cited by McKean comes from anthropologist Willard A. Hanna: “To pack it [Balinese theatre, music, and dance] up and hire it out to a tourist hotel for the entertainment of an uninitiated foreign audience means necessarily to adapt and thus to pervert it, to give the whole performance a different mood, and impact, and thus greatly to alter the attitude of the performers and eventually their performance when and if they appear before local audiences…This, then is the “Waikiki-anization” of Bali.” (Hanna 1972:6-7)
field data supports the hypothesis that tourism may in fact strengthen the process of conserving, reforming, and recreating certain traditions. (McKean 1977:94)

This tendency to view tourism either as a destructive or regenerative force for Balinese arts continues to be an important point of reference for more recent research on the subject (Vickers 1989; Picard 1996; Yamashita 2003).

Scholarship of the 1970s continued to establish tourism as an important point of inquiry, especially in the anthropological literature. Dean MacCannell’s 1976 book, The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class, was one of the first major works to deal specifically with the ways tourists (as individuals) and tourism (as an economy) were changing social behavior. In an attempt to move past of “authentic” and “inauthentic” culture, MacCannell promoted the term “staged culture” as a means to understand tourists, their hosts, and the derivative cultural forms that were emerging between them as a part of the tourist economy (MacCannell 1976:91). In 1977 another influential volume in tourist studies was published – Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism. It was the first edited volume of case studies of tourism from around the world (Smith 1977). As tourism continued to flourish throughout the 1980s, it was recognized as the “largest movement of human populations outside wartime” (Crick 1989:310). The increased prevalence of tourism as a social and economic phenomenon helped to further entrench it as a theme in scholarly literature (Urry 1990; Picard 1990; Nash 1995).

The study of tourism within ethnomusicology emerged much later than in anthropology, a symptom of what Druger and Trandafoiu describe as the tendency for music tourism to be viewed as the “‘Other’ of ethnographic fieldwork” (2014:2).
However, by the 1990s a significant body of work had emerged dealing variously with the relationships between music, tourism, and ethnicity (Kaeppler and Lewin 1988; Suppan 1991; Baumann 1991; Qureshi 1998). Despite the well-documented association between Balinese music and tourism, ethnomusicological studies addressing this issue were relatively late to appear. This lacuna has been addressed in the past fifteen years with several ethnomusicologists publishing articles on the role of tourism in the development of Balinese performing arts. This includes research on the relationship between tourism and themes of music and place (Dunbar-Hall 2003), colonialism and modernization (Harnish 2005), and child performers (MacIntosh 2014).

**Material Culture and the “New Organology”**

The study of material culture emerged as a mode of anthropological and sociological discourse during the late nineteenth century with the publication of noted monographs on the subject by authors such as Lewis Henry Morgan (1877), Emile Durkheim (1895), and Franz Boas (1896). Pel, Hetherington, and Vandenberghe (2001) suggest that over the course of the twentieth century theoretically resituated versions of material culture discourse were adopted to modernist theories such as structuralism, phenomenology, and semiotics (2001:5). Pel et al characterize theories of material culture into the late twentieth century as a part of the “cultural turn,” whereby

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28 Balinese music research throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s focused primarily on the documentation of virtuosic, “high-art” traditions. Many of these publications mention developments in touristic music practices, but only in passing (Tenzer 1991, 2000; Heimarck 2003; Gold 2004). To date, Michel Picard’s 1996 publication, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*, is the most comprehensive account of the influence of tourism upon Balinese arts.
“material entities primarily existed as envelopes of meaning, acquiring their social presence as a result of processes of linguistic coding and discursive interpretation” (ibid:5). The work of Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoff (1986) marked a shift away from this model of materiality by emphasizing the “embodiment and concrete historicity of social objects” (ibid:6). In other words, this “materialist turn” began to reorient the position of objects within society away from mere receptacles of meaning into generators and facilitators of social/human interaction.

Sociologist Ian Woodward also notes the social dynamisms of objects as a general characteristic of material culture studies since the 1980s: “objects do matter for culture and society…social analysis should take account of objects in theorizing culture and how it works” (2007:28). The centrality of material culture in social interaction has also been employed in studies of insider/outsider touristic relations (Rojek and Urry 1997). Such literature will help provide a framework for subjects explored in this dissertation, especially as a means to demonstrate the link between gamelan instruments, the Balinese tourist economy, and contextualized church repertoires.

The development of the anthropological study of material culture throughout much of the twentieth-century bears some resemblance to shifts in organological discourse over this same time period; specifically, the increasing focus on human-material interaction. Prior to the 1990s, much organological research carried out during the twentieth-century focused on the instrumental classificatory system developed by Erich von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs in 1914 (Kartomi 2001:284). Though useful for describing the resonating bodies that produce music and sound,
and often employed in ethnomusicological literature, the Sachs and Hornbostel taxonomy was criticized for its limited social purview and ethnocentricity. As a reaction to such outdated elements of this model, Kartomi (On Concepts and Classifications of Musical Instruments, 1990) proposed a new schematic that would draw from a variety of instrumental classificatory systems from throughout the world.

In reference to this aim Kartomi suggests:

> If we succeed in collecting a broad sample of the world’s classifications of instruments, we shall then be in a position to draw some comparative conclusions about the nature…of instruments in the various kinds of societies. (Kartomi 1990:15)

This 1990 publication by Kartomi, thus, serves as a bridge between the Sachs and Hornbostel taxonomic system and newer visions of organology that framed instruments as social agents. Kartomi’s continued focus on “classification” references the past while her reference to “instruments in the various kinds of society” hints at the early stages of a materialist turn in ethnomusicology.

Throughout the 1990s other ethnomusicology research began to reflect a similar social reorganization of organology. Of particular interest to the content of this dissertation is the article by DeVale and Dibia, “Sekar Anyar: An Exploration of Meaning in Balinese Gamelan” (1991), in which the physical construction of gamelan instruments is linked to Balinese religious order, cosmology, and social structure. Another earlier example of this emerging trend in the ethnomusicological literature is Regula Qureshi’s 1997 article, “The Indian Sarangi: Sound of Affect, Site of Contest,” where she argues for “a social and art-historical discourse of meaning” manifest in musical instruments as:
…objects with explicitly historicity, so that they become material repositories of past meanings, and their visual representations serve to define sonority through historically situated social practices and aesthetic codes. (1997:4).

In this statement Qureshi at once harkens back to priorities of the “cultural turn” whereby objects are envisioned as “repositories,” while continuing to support the theoretical position that objects must be socially situated.

The social influence of instruments has continued to inform organological discourse well into the twenty-first century. Kartomi’s work into object-based classification continued with biological specimens (2001). Kevin Dawe’s research (2001) further explored musical instruments as “active” participants “in the shaping of social and cultural life,” and the intersection of these instruments with the “material, social and cultural worlds” (2001:220). R. Anderson Sutton explores these matters within a specifically Indonesian context as he looks at the relationship between Central Javanese gamelan instruments, the king, and the broader local society (2001).

Over the course of the 2000s and into the 2010s the trend toward socially situating musical instruments has continued to develop. Allen Roda (2007) has referred to this social orientation of musical material culture as the “new organology,” a theoretical position supported by developments in actor network theory, particularly the work of Bruno Latour (2005). Roda draws from philosophical principles of phenomenology to forge a paradigm for a human-instrument encounter, an ideological framework that has since been employed by other ethnomusicological literature (e.g. Mrazek 2009).
Reference to the influential text, *The Social Life of Things* (1986), continues to be an important touchstone for ethnomusicologists looking for a way to advance organological discourse. Examples include the aforementioned Roda article (2007), Sonevytsky’s research on the relationship between “ethnic whiteness” and the accordion (2008), and most recently Eliot Bates’ writing on the “social life of musical instruments” (2012). These examples combined with a substantial body of other published work amount to a shift in how musical scholars situate musical instruments within socially based musical analysis (e.g. Waksman 2003; Doubleday 2008; Dawe 2013).

**Bourdieu and Captial**

By many accounts (e.g. Portes 1998; Castiglione et al 2008) Bourdieu’s theoretical development of the notion of capital, operating in a variety of forms and across various “fields,” are among the seminal works informing contemporary discourses on the nature of complex social relationships and the power structures therein. Tom Schuller (et al) cites one of Bourdieu’s earlier works, *Reproduction* (1970), as a critical moment in the construction of “capital” as a mode of sociological understanding:

…this text established the framework within which Bourdieu’s concept was to develop… The use of ‘capital’ signals the intention of addressing differential resources of power, and of linking an analysis of the cultural to that of the economic. (Schuller et al 2000:3)

Subsequent works (e.g. *Language and Symbolic Power* [1991], written between 1977-82) continued to develop this relationship between the cultural and the economic. This relationship is demonstrated, perhaps most famously, in *Distinctions*
(1984) where Bourdieu argues, “the overall volume of capital, understood as the set of actually useable resources and powers – economic capital, cultural capital and also social capital” (1984:114). Schuller et al refer to this body of intellectual output as a “promiscuous proliferation of varieties,” and as such it is not surprising that Bourdieu soon sought to consolidate this array of capital sub-types into a more unitary and comprehensive theory.

“The Forms of Capital” (1983 [1986]), which is the primary reference point for much of the discussion of capital in chapter four, is a synthesis of his earlier ideas on the subject. Among Bourdieu’s arguments is that social capital – vis-à-vis economic and cultural capital – enables individuals and groups to claim resources (real or symbolic) from their associates (1986:248). This is, as I will argue, what has been done by GKPB in their efforts to claim a Balinese Christian “identity” (I: kebalian) through the performance of contextual arts with a mix of Hindu and Christian performers.

In this manner, the development of Bali Church contextual performing arts mirror broader global trends in musical production. As Jacques Attali notes in his work on the connection between music and Marxist philosophy:

More than any other human activity, music…has gone from sacred to profane… Music was thus the forerunner of a repetitive globalization where nothing succeeds anymore unless it is part of the infinite flow of merchandise that only appears to be real and new. (2002:xii)

In a manner very similar to that described by Attali, the Bali Church has, since the early 1970s, sought to establish a musical product for its potential to foster economic return. In more recent years, GKPB has redoubled it efforts to mobilize contextual art
to foster economic and political ties with foreign churches and sponsors.\textsuperscript{29} Though these ventures fall beyond the scope of the present work, such efforts fortify the notion that performing arts can, and often should, yield tangible returns.

Beyond providing economic support, contextual performing arts have sought to foster relationships between Balinese Christians and Hindus, as stipulated in the founding documents of contextual reform as drafted at the 1972 GKPB synod assembly (McKenzie and Mastra 1988:32). Though the end result of establishing and sustaining such an interreligious artistic sphere differ markedly from the more economically inclined models mentioned above, I contend that traces of this political economy remain. Prior efforts to establish a touristic form of Balinese Christianity are the most notable example of the connection between the tourist economy and local interreligious relations between Hindus and Protestants.

The parameters of my analysis, though similar in a structural sense, differ in the context of the social interactions described in one notable way; namely in how power/capital is transferred. Much of Bourdieu’s discussion of capital hinges on the idea that the transference of capital emphasizes a process of hereditary/inter-generational economic and cultural transference, either within the family unit or another type of closed social unit. This type of power “conversion” is what Bourdieu “considers as the basis of social reproduction and successful power transference” (Castiglione et al 2008:3). This framework belies the circumstances of GKPB

\textsuperscript{29} Contextual performing arts are used to embolden relations between GKPB and foreign sponsors as a part of welcome ceremonies and musical education for guests of these institutions to Bali. Education in Balinese performing arts plays a particularly important role in social ties with Coff’s Harbour Christian Community School (Australia) and United World College of South East Asia (Singapore). Both institutions sustain Balinese music and dance programs, which are regularly supplemented by visiting instructors from GKPB – most notably Murdita and Suranata.
contextual arts development in that the transference of capital (particularly cultural capital, e.g. ability to play gamelan) is typically not passed down from generation to generation. This is due largely to the discontinuity of such cultural capital (knowledge of localized musics and instruments), which was a result of the rupture of arts networks between Balinese Christians and Hindus through much of the twentieth century. As a result GKPB initially relied on economic capital -- not preexisting generational relationships -- to procure cultural and eventually social-capital.

Despite this notable difference in the basis of power transference, the model laid out by Bourdieu in “The Forms of Capital” provides a compelling framework for understanding the process by which GKPB sought and obtained access to Balinese cultural capital, most notably in the performing arts. This may come as a surprise giving the apparent distance of the social contexts at play; on the one hand an analysis/critique of class structures and education in mid-twentieth century France, and on the other an exploration of Christian/Hindu relations in late-twentieth and early twenty-first century Indonesia. The common ground amidst these disparate social worlds is the interconnectedness of cultural and economic production. In the case of the Bali Church this dovetailing is most clearly demonstrated in the relationship between the Bali tourist economy, GKPB’s project of contextualization, and Balinese Christian claims for kebalian. These French and Indonesian worlds were most closely related through the 1980s and 1990s when the Bali Church still promoted contextual art as a potentially lucrative source of revenue (Mastra 1986). Despite shifting economic and political priorities for the arts within contemporary
GKPB leadership, compelling similarities remain between Bourdieu’s model and this indigenous Indonesian Church.

**Networks - Social Network Theory and Analysis**

The use of social network analysis (SNA) as a mode of interpretation for both small and large-scale human interactions has become an increasingly popular methodology within the humanities and particularly the social sciences since the popularization of the internet has made mass forms of data collection increasingly efficacious and practical. The interfacing of SNA with well-known social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter have also contributed to the popularization of such methodologies. The use of SNA and related branches of inquiry, however, date back much further than this social networking revolution of the late 1990s and early twenty-first century.

Sociologist John Scott has suggested three “diverse strands” that together form the basis for what is known today as SNA (2000:7). First, are those theorists such as Kurt Lewin, Fritz Heider, and Jacob Moreno whose work made significant contributions to the advancement of graph theory. Of particular note is the work of Moreno who is credited with developing the “sociogram,” or a system of pictographically representing relations between human actors. This method is analogous to contemporary forms of SNA network graphs that represent actors as “nodes” and relations between actors as “edges.” His 1934 work, *Who Shall Survive? A New Approach to the Problem of Human Interrelations*, is a particularly noteworthy early contribution in SNA.
The second and third discursive strands that inform contemporary SNA emanated from Harvard and Manchester University respectively. Both camps were heavily influenced by the pioneering work of Radcliffe-Brown, and in particular his 1931 publication, *The Social Organization of Australian Tribes*. The most notable amongst the Harvard researchers were Lloyd Warner and Elton Mayo whose research contributed to the notion of “clusters” or “blocks” within social relations (ex. Mayo 1945; Warner 1949). Central to the Manchester school was the work of Max Gluckman, which focused on “bargaining and coercion in the production of social integration” within “tribal societies” (Scott 2000:27). In 1954, John A. Barnes (a student of Gluckman) published a paper entitled, “Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish,” in which he elaborates a theory of social networks. This is one of the earliest examples of this term being applied within social anthropology in a more “rigorous and analytical manner,” something akin to how it is used in SNA today (Scott 2000:28). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s sociologists such as Mark Granovetter (1973) and Ronald Burt (1980) continued to develop theories exploring the nature of social connections between large groups of individual actors. Burt’s paper, “Models of Network Structure” (1980), employs the sociograms developed by Moreno earlier in the twentieth century.

The term “network” has been used to varying effect within the ethnomusicological literature, often in a metaphorical or generalized sense, however, more recent studies have begun to draw connections between groups of performing musicians and SNA. One of the earliest ethnomusicological studies to confront the theoretical notion of “network” is Ellen Koskoff’s 1982 paper, “The Music Network:
A Model for the Organization of Music Concepts.” This article, however, uses “network” as a theoretical construct to understand cognitive links and associations rather than social connections. Despite a clear theoretical division between Koskoff’s work and early SNA theorists, her use of cognitive-based network graphs are evocative of SNA sociograms because of the manner in which they visually map connections through the use of edges and nodes.

The work of Benjamin Brinner has more closely aligned subjects of ethnomusicological inquiry with methods and theories of SNA. In his 1995 study of Javanese gamelan musicians, *Knowing Music, Making Music*, Brinner examines “the ways we work together and influence one another when making music together” (1995:4). Aspects of network theory then become part of the lens through which the study is situated, as Brinner constructs a model to explain what he describes as “interactive networks” amongst Javanese musicians (170). He suggests that a better understanding of the power dynamics of musical performance may be more broadly applied to other types of social interactions: “Ultimately, this should lead to an understanding of how these networks form patterns of social interaction” (176).

Brinner has further elaborated on these ideas in *Playing Across a Divide* (2009), where he utilizes SNA theory to frame the interaction of Israeli and Palestinian musicians in the Middle East. This work is particularly noteworthy for its use of network diagrams/graphs. Unlike many more broadly focused sociological studies, Brinner does not use sophisticated software to analysis his data, but rather employs a small scale, ethnographic methodology. Through a more careful analysis of a smaller number of social relations the fundamentally fluid nature of them may be
more clearly observed and understood; a point which Brinner notes: “An ethnographically informed analysis of networks of humans must assume the dynamic nature of links” (2009:170).

A host of other ethnomusicological books and articles also foreground the sociological notion of network, without specifically referencing SNA. Julian Gerstin (1998) analyses the bele musical genre of Martinique as both a “scene” and “network.” He describes network as “the sociological idea of fluidity extending connections – informal, face-to-face, and flexible, but often lasting as well” (1998:388). More recently, McAlister (2012) and Sherinian (2014) have also sought to explain complex social relationships in terms of “networks.” McAlister’s research develops a framework by which geographically disparate groups of people are connected through Christian faith and a resultant “multiethnic network” that emerges through musical production (2012:27). In the recently published monograph, *Tamil Folk Music and Dalit Liberation Theology* (2014), Sherinian draws upon elements of network analysis to situate music and music production as a tool of social transformation. In Sherinian’s own words: “At each node of the (re)creative cycle of the network of transmission, we see the activity of shared music-making in the relationships between these cultural actors” (2014:3). Respectively, Sherinian and McAlister utilize aspects of “network” to establish theories of intra- and interreligious relations.
Methodology

I first travelled to Bali in August 2009 through the support of a Dharmasiswa scholarship from the Indonesian government. Formally, I was tasked with studying Balinese gamelan music at Institut Seni Indonesia (the college of arts) in Denpasar. Informally, I was searching for a research topic that could form the basis for a Ph.D. dissertation. Less than a week after arriving in Bali I was introduced to Jonathan and Tina Bailey, an American couple that, at that point, had lived in Indonesia for 15 years and had recently started a gamelan group based out of a church they co-founded with the American missions agency, Cooperative Baptist Fellowship. During my first few months in Bali they helped me to construct a historical narrative through which I began to understand the use of gamelan music in Protestant churches in Bali. Through their generous support and extensive knowledge of Protestantism in Bali I was introduced to a network of Christian and Hindu musicians and dancers who had collectively been creating contextualized Balinese music and dance for 40 years.

The research and data collection for this dissertation was conducted during five separate trips over a seven-year period (2009-2016) with a total of thirty-two months spent in Indonesia.\footnote{Periods of research in Indonesia: August 2009 – July 2010; June – August 2011; July – September 2012; May 2013 – May 2014; June 2016 – July 2016.} Research methods employed were primarily ethnographic in nature, including: interviews (formal and informal), participant observations, video and audio recording of concerts and rehearsals, and documentation of daily events through field notes. Research was conducted in all eight regencies of Bali with a particular focus on those areas with considerable
populations of Balinese Christians (both Protestant and Catholic), most notably: Badung (Denpasar, Dalung, Nusa Dua, Sanur, Canggu, Buduk, Tuka), Jembrana (Blimbingsari, Palasari), Buleleng (Singaraja), Bangli (Bangli). In addition to the research carried out in Bali, a one-month period was spent in Sumbersari, Sulawesi amongst members of a protestant church of primarily Balinese decent.

The original scope of this dissertation was much broader and included an examination of the use of gamelan amongst other religious minorities in Bali, such as Catholics, Buddhists, Confucians, and Tri-dharmists.\textsuperscript{31} Many members of the latter three communities with whom I worked were of Chinese decent, an Indonesian ethnic minority whose relations with many “native” Indonesian (and usually Muslim) groups at local and national levels has been fraught with xenophobic accusations, stereotypes, and occasional violence. A considerable amount of field data was collected amongst these communities, and though not often cited in the proceeding work, continues to provide an intellectual framework for how other religious and/or ethnic minorities in Bali interact with the Hindu majority through the production of gamelan music and dance. In addition to the above religious groups, I also sought out Muslims living in Bali who engaged in interreligious gamelan musicking. To date, however, I know of no ongoing Hindu/Muslim forum for the production of Balinese gamelan music.

\textsuperscript{31} Research was also carried out in the heavily Catholic areas of Palasari and Tuka. Amongst Buddhists and Confucians I worked primarily amongst those of the Tridharma tradition, a collective of these two religious groups in addition to Daoism. Significant research was conducted with members of the following temples: Ciao Fuk Miao (Denpasar) and Griya Kongco Dwipayana (Benoa). Additional work was carried out amongst other Buddhist congregations: Vihara Buddha Sakyamuni (Denpasar), and Maha Vihara Maitreya (Denpasar), Brahma Vihara Arama (Banjar, Buleleng), Maitreya Centre (Negara, Jembrana).
This formal period of research was preceded by several years of studying Balinese gamelan in the United States and Canada, primarily at the Eastman School of Music (2005-08) and the University of Toronto (2008-09), respectively. During this time I studied with noted Balinese musicians and pedagogues I Nyoman Suadin and I Wayan Sinti. These early encounters with gamelan in North America often materialized as curious composites of music, entertainment (for a primarily Western audience), and Balinese Hindu ritual. This inherently hybrid collection of people, art, religion, and geographical context ultimately formed the launch pad for many of the themes and concepts that are explored in depth throughout this dissertation.

Interviews with prominent musicians, dancers, and choreographers (both Christian and Hindu) of contextualized Balinese church music comprise the majority of the formal interviews conducted during the research period. In total, I carried out more than 50 formal interviews with about 30 different interlocutors between June 2011 and July 2016. Through this process I met many people who shared great insight into the process of contextualization in Bali during the early 1970s and the many subsequent developments and transformation that have occurred within this artistic movement since. The stories and accounts of those who have given considerable portions of their lives to the development of contextualized Balinese music and dance bear particular weight in the following historical accounts and subsequent analysis found throughout this work. A complete list of formal, recorded interviews can be found in Appendix A.

The subject of contextualized church music in Bali intersects with multiple religious groups, musical genres, and ideologies, to say nothing of the thousands of
individuals for whom this music has acquired deep spiritual meaning. When held up against the list of potential interviewees, the work represented herein is only a small sampling of extant perspectives. I have, however, attempted to collect a varied group of perspectives across time (primarily from the early 1970s up to the present day) and space (interviews were conducted in numerous cities and villages throughout Bali).

The accounts of early (1970s) Balinese “contextualists” such as I Nyoman Darsane and I Wayan Mastra have been invaluable in helping to reconstruct many of the social and intellectual undercurrents that preceded periods of Protestant church reform in Bali during the last quarter of the twentieth century. Others, like I Nyoman Murdita and I Putu Suranata, have provided extensive insight into contemporary contextual arts and their multitude of applications and meanings. In addition to such “expert” perspectives (the result of lifetimes dedicated to the arts and their application) are those of lay church members and amateur performance artists. Their views and opinions, though often not as structured as the “professionals,” speak to the practical application of contextual theologies as they become part of the daily discourse of what it means to be a Balinese Protestant Christian.

In addition to formal recorded interviews, dozens of informal interviews also comprise a significant source of ethnographic data. In some instances these were people who wished not to be recorded during what otherwise could be considered a “formal” interview, however, the majority of these encounters were casual and may typically be regarded as “chit-chat.” I image that a great deal of ethnographic research is constructed upon information obtained through such mundane, yet critical, interactions. The ephemeral nature of these day-to-day conversations has led some of
the finer points to be forgotten while others have been carefully preserved in my field notes. Many of these encounters (or, “informal interviews”) can be difficult to cite, per se, yet they provide an essential backdrop against which other materials and ideas can be more fully understood.

From a genre perspective, I have chosen to focus almost exclusively on Balinese performing arts within the Bali Church. It is worth noting, from the outset, that gamelan music (and accompanying dance) in GKPB churches form only a fraction of the total congregational music performed by members of the Bali Church community. Only a small handful of the approximately 70 GKPB churches throughout Bali regularly employ contextualized music and dance, and many have never hosted a gamelan performance at all. The majority of congregational music at GKPB churches is comprised of hymns (primarily from the hymnal *Kidung Jemaat*) and praise and worship choruses. In the early stages of my research I considered examining the use of contextual and “foreign” musics (such as praise and worship choruses) within a single denominational music tradition. However, as I began to explore the use of gamelan in the Bali Church more carefully I became increasingly aware of the interreligious nature of this performance tradition. In other words, it was gamelan, almost exclusively, that created an artistic sphere for the production of music between members of discrete religious communities. My methodological decision to focus on contextualized music grew out of a specific theoretical concern, namely to better understand the nature of interreligious relations as realized through musical performance. Because of its historical connection to Hinduism and the
sustained strength of contextual Balinese music, Protestant gamelan repertoires emerged as an ideal means to conceptualize interreligious relations in Bali.

Another significant source of data for this ethnography comes via video and audio recordings of performances. Included amongst these recordings are ones I have recorded myself at live events, and those given to me by interlocutors in the form of DVDs or VCDs. Though I attended services of a number of other religious groups, the recordings I will reference here most often are those of GKPB-related events. These events took place in villages with a strong tradition of, or a strong connection to, primary centers of contextualized art in Bali. Most notable amongst these villages are: Batubulan, Blimbingsari, Buduk, Kapal, and Untal-Untal. Across these and other areas, I recorded at many types of venues, ranging from the “secular” to the “sacred”; these included: churches, panti asuhan (“orphanages”), schools (including post-secondary institutions), hotels, and community centers of various kinds. Throughout these areas I focused on documenting the performance of “contextualized” arts, particularly music, dance, and theater. In total I recorded approximately 40 events. The video and audio material preserved in these recordings are, in many cases, important points of musical, choreographic, and social reference when recalling details of a particular event at a particular time and place.

32 VCDs (video compact disc) are a common video format in Asia, including Bali.
33 In addition to events at GKPB churches, I attended events at Buddhist temples (vihara), Catholic and other Protestant churches (gereja), and Tridarma kongco (“tri-faith” temples).
34 The Bali Church operates eight panti asuhan, a term typically translated as “orphanage” in English. Children at these residences are often involved in contextualized music and dance productions. The common translation of the term as orphanage belies the fact that the majority of children living at them are not orphans in the sense that they are without parents. Many of the children have a mother, a father, or both, and are spurred to send their children to the panti asuhan for the possibility of a better education than they could otherwise afford.
Another significant source of information informing this dissertation was collected through day-to-day interactions with people and through participant observation. Many of the conversations I’ve had with members of different church-based and/or interreligious gamelan groups could be considered informal “interviews,” as nothing was technically documented. Many of these interactions happen in and through the experience of playing music together. Because of the proficiencies I had acquired through four years of Balinese music study in North America, I was uniquely situated to participate on an artistic plane with many Balinese Christian musicians.

This shared experience frequently led to introductions, conversations, and many questions. It was often through such casual interactions that new ideas would emerge, and suddenly there were more places to go and people to meet. As I observed the connections between individuals and both other people and objects, I began to think more critically of the role of instruments (as objects) to facilitation interreligious interactions between Balinese and Hindu and Christian musicians.

What emerged were constellations of social interactions between human and non-human actors, regulated in large part by what Garfinkel describes as a “focal matter,” or “particular activity” that brings participants into regular social contact. In the case of contextualized Balinese music and dance, I theorized that one of the primary factors in the development of interreligious gamelan groups had been predicated on shared knowledge of an artistic tradition. In this dissertation (and particularly in chapter 4) I will employ aspects of social network analysis alongside ethnographic methodologies as a means to explore the premise of interreligious
relations in Bali. In defining the parameters of these interreligious networks I have foregrounded gamelan (and its accompanying dances) as focal matters for my analysis and as a sort of quasi-perimeter for these interreligious networks. My theoretical framework has thus informed my methodology as I have focused primarily on those people (often artists) who are or have been closely associated with contextual GKPB art. My previous experience playing gamelan facilitated and informed this method.

Since the mid-1970s, a small yet robust body of literature pertaining specifically to the Bali Church and the artistic practices therein has been published. Most of these books and articles are in Indonesian, are not widely available, and would generally not be regarded as academic sources. Though often light on critical analysis, this body of work further defines the socio-historical frame that informs contextualized artistic praxis. These books cover a wide range of topics, including: general GKPB history (Ayub 1999; Wijaya 2012), history of Blimbingsari (Sunarya 2009; Ayub 2014), church entrepreneurship (Mastra-ten Veen 2009), biographies (Subiyanto 2007), autobiographies (Mastra 2002), and music (I-to Loh 1988; Widiana 2012; Murdita et al 2012). Such sources provided highly detailed, secondary accounts of events and practices within the Bali Church.

Finally, the archive and museum in the village of Tuka at the Tritunggal Mahakudus Catholic Church provided an invaluable source of detailed photographs of church events from as far back as the 1940s and 50s. Though the collection focuses on Catholic services and events, there are many points at which “intercultural” Catholic arts intersect (intellectually and socio-historically) with parallel
developments in Protestant churches, most notably GKPB. In some cases I found photographs that stimulated conversation with interlocutors from the Bali Church.

Summary

In addition to the introduction (which includes the literature review) and the conclusion, the main body of the dissertation is divided into two main sections, each consisting of two chapters. The first section establishes the historical development and narrative upon which the second proceeds. Chapter one examines the development of contextual practices within the Bali Church from 1972 onward, including biographical details of key church builders and artists, and the establishment of institutions within GKPB that have played a pivotal role in promoting contextual art. Chapter 2 looks at the expansion of tourism in Bali and the important role this new economy played in creating a legitimated sphere for church participation in Balinese performing arts.

The second major section is more analytic in nature and illustrates some of the important social implications arising from the intersection of contextual art with touristic practice and ideology. Chapter 3 explores the modern (i.e. twentieth century) association between localized musics, Hinduism, and constructs of Balinese identity. Contextual art is presented as an expansion of, and even a challenge to, conservative norms of identity politics that conflate “Balineseness” with Hinduism. In this chapter I also introduce the concept of the “interreligious gaze,” which I propose as a model for understanding the socio-religious utility of contextual repertoire (and associated discourses) and Protestant/Hindu music networks. Finally, in chapter four theories of
social capital and social networks are explored as interpretive devices for understanding the social function of these interreligious interactions and the driving forces behind them. In particular, the notion that key actors in a given network may act as brokers between groups is explored as a model for understanding Christian/Hindu relations in Bali.
Chapter 1: The Contextualization of the Bali Church

*If we need a piano or an organ, and if we need a church built in Western style, then we must become beggars. We cannot build such a church or have that kind music with the skills and arts of our own people of faith. But our church gives people a way to glorify God with the gifts they do have and with the artistic talents they have inherited from their ancestors.*

- I Wayan Mastra

In this brief quotation - taken from one of Mastra’s earlier sermons (c. 1980) – he underscores several important points regarding his conception of the relationship between a community and its artistic practices. First, that to rely exclusively on foreign musical paradigms is to submit oneself to the power of another, in this instance socio-economic power, as the term “beggar” suggests. Second, to engage in local forms of artistic expression (those that “they [GKPB congregants] do have”) is to “glorify God” in the here and now of temporal musical experience, and in the past as music functions (in Mastra’s framework) to link Balinese Christians to their ancestral lineage. This multifaceted nature of music is characteristic of the contextualized repertoires of Balinese church music and dance that began to emerge following the formalization of theological reform within the Bali Church during the early 1970s.

This chapter seeks to further situate the notion of contextualization – a term with a host of similar yet divergent meanings – within a uniquely Protestant-Balinese socio-historical context. I have already sketched out a working framework for the term in the introduction, and over the course of this chapter - through a series of biographical, historical, and institutional sketches – will continue to highlight the

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defining features of “contextualization” within GKPB praxis. A comprehensive examination of the institutionalization of contextual theology/cosmology – what I am calling “contextual reform” – would include dozens (if not hundreds) of groups and individuals, and in its broadest sense falls well beyond the scope of the present work. My decision to foreground the work of four specific individuals (I Wayan Mastra, I Nyoman Darsane, I Nyoman Murdita, and I Putu Suranata), the reforms of the 1972 Bali Church Synod, and the development of two Bali Church institutions (a system of children’s homes and schools, known as Widhya Asih, and the church-based arts bureau, Divia Pradana Bhakti) serve as signposts, then, to a particular narrative of church-based arts development that occurred in tandem with the emergence of mass-tourism in Bali. In this way, chapter 1 establishes many of the themes, institutions, and actors that comprise the basis for my argument in chapter 2 for a “touristic church.”

**Balinese Contextualization and Inter-religiosity**

Contextualization, or the process of adopting indigenous or localized cultural practices within “foreign” Christianity (or vice-versa), is a phenomenon that has manifest in many forms and in many geographic and political localities. Within scholarly discourse, the term contextualization may reference any number of Christian traditions (typically Protestant), and may be used to illustrate a “sacred” form of contact with some form of Other, particularly those deemed beyond the

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36 It should be noted that Christianity is not unique in its adaptation of local cultural traits to acculturate religious principles and practices. The most notable example of such “appropriation” beyond Christian contexts may be the *wali sanga* (nine saints) who employed the performing arts to popularize Islam in Java (Harnish and Rasmussen 2011:23).
formal parameters of mainstream church discourse and/or doctrine (typically 
subjugated, colonized or disempowered peoples). For many members of the Bali 
church, including the clergy and laity alike, the term “contextualization” has a much 
more immediate meaning and is not reserved for scholars alone. It is a word used and 
understood by many as a driving ideological force behind a number of aspects of 
GKPB life, including art, architecture, theology, and music. That is to say, to use the 
word “contextualization” (I: kontektualisasi) amongst members of the Bali Church is 
often to reference this specific, geographically situated practice. Because of its 
common usage amongst church members I have chosen to prominently employ the 
term in my analysis, however, like GKPB Christians, I too 
generally use it to 
reference a very specific set of artistic, linguistic, and intellectual practices. Where 
my usage of the word tends to differ is in its missiological implication.

Many members of the Bali Church see contextualization as an ideal 
evangelical tool, a way to win new souls. There is currently little evidence to 
demonstrate the efficacy of contextualized practices in the process of religious 
conversion. Rather than spreading communal good will, aggressive proselytization 
through contextualized media may be just as likely to increase hostility and suspicion 
between religious groups (refer to Aryadharma 2011).^{37}

While recognizing the missiological legacy and implications of the term 
contextualization, I seek to elaborate on Church-related hybrid discourses 
(contextualization, inculturation, indigenization etc.) by closely examining emergent 
interreligious interactions between Balinese Hindu and Christian musicians. In this 

^{37} In a 2011 book entitled Memberdah Kasus Konversi Agama di Bali, author Ni Kadek Surpi 
Aryadharma offers a scathing assessment of contextualized missionization tactics, calling 
them “wrong” and describing them as part of a larger effort to Christianize Bali.
way contextualization becomes more than indigenously and/or locally inspired works of art or doctrinal tenets. Contextualization -- as it is used throughout the remainder of this dissertation -- implies a dialogue between multiple parties (usually between Hindus and Christians). Both the dialogue between parties (or individual actors), and the results of the dialogue (i.e. music, dance, architecture, musical instruments etc.) are contextualization. In this way -- and particularly as it applies to objects like gamelan instruments -- contextualization connects to theories of material culture and the “social life of musical instruments” (Bates 2012). As I will demonstrate in chapters 3 and 4, a number of church-owned gamelan have become important actants in social networks driven by the exchange of cultural and economic capital.

Key People, Events, and Institutions of Balinese Contextual Reform

I Wayan Mastra

The process through which Balinese music and dance were eventually adopted into church praxis in GKPB churches occurred over a protracted period of time and involved dozens, if not hundreds, of people. The contributions of two men in particular, however, deserve closer considerations because of their extensive, and timely, contributions to contextual reform.

I Wayan Mastra (b. 1931), son to sudra (low caste) Hindu parents, quickly proved himself academically adept, having “taught himself to read and write” at a young age (McKenzie and Mastra 1988:25). He eventually left Bali for Surabaya, Java, to pursue teachers training. According to Indonesian historian Steenbrink, he converted to Christianity after falling on hard financial times: “In a difficult situation he found financial support with some Christians, took catechism lessons and was
baptized in 1952” (Steenbrink 2008:737). After a brief teaching career in Bali, Mastra returned to Java, this time to study theology in Jakarta (1955-60). While attending a church service in the nearby city of Bogor, Mastra was invited to preach by an American pastor stationed in the area. A number of years later, after Mastra had returned to Bali, this same pastor offered Mastra a full scholarship to complete a Ph.D. in theology at Dubuque University (Mastra, interview with the author, June 2013).

Mastra resided in the United State from 1965-71, completing both master’s and Ph.D. degrees during that time. The resulting thesis and dissertation carefully examine the colonial origins of Christianity in Bali, and in particular the theological legacy of Dutch theologian, Hendrik Kraemer. Mastra argues for the “contextualization” of the Gospel message in Bali, noting that music and dance have already been used as an effective means of evangelization:

The dances and the orchestra [gamelan] have been used also in telling the Christmas story. As the people love culture and art the performance usually is crowded. It is a good time for preaching the Gospel to the non-Christians, because they come and like to see the dances and like to hear the story about Christ’s coming to the world. This is good as a point of contact to the people. (Mastra 1967:58)

Upon completion of his studies, Mastra returned to Bali in 1971 where he quickly rose through the ranks of the Bali Church, serving as its director (I: ketua) and finally bishop through much of the 1970s and 1980s. Mastra was the chairman of the 1972 Bali Church synod, a meeting widely attributed as a “watershed” moment.

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38 McKenzie and Mastra (1988) attribute this financial crisis to a jealous local official and the interception of stipend funds (26).

39 GKPB leadership officially changed the title of ketua/director to “bishop” to recognize the simultaneously administrative and pastoral role of this position (I Nyoman Murdita, in discussion with the author, July 2016).
in the realization of an aesthetically and theologically “contextual” church (McKenzie and Mastra 1988:30). Before a careful examination of the synod itself, it is important to highlight a few historical antecedents that influenced the trajectory of the coming reform.

**Socio-political Climate through the 1960s**

In 1965 an alleged communist coup resulted in the fall of then President Sukarno, and the subsequent rise of the New Order (I: *Orde Baru*) government and its leader, Suharto. The resulting execution of hundreds of thousands of suspected communist supporters resulted in “a soaring increase in conversion to so-called world religions and in particular to Christianity” (Seo 2013:7). McKenzie and Mastra estimate that the number of Balinese Christians more than doubled during the 1960s, from an estimated 3000 in 1961 to more than 7000 by the dawn of the new decade (1988:30). Indeed, many of the multi-generational Christian families with whom I worked during field research cited the 1960s as the time when their families converted to Christianity.

This sudden increase in church membership may have also had an effect on the general acceptance of contextual reforms. Mastra has noted that those Christians who converted early on (particularly during the 1930s) remained most resistant to contextualized arts: “They still believed these things belonged to the demons.” (Mastra 1974:397). It is possible, then, that the sudden uptake in congregational

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40 To clarify, Christianity saw the greatest percentage increases over this period, not total numbers. The majority of converts to “world religions” in Indonesia during the mid-1960s became Muslim.
In establishing a socio-cultural context from which the 1972 Synod would emerge, it is important to note that hybridized Christian arts were already well established. The use of gamelan in Christian ceremonies can be traced as far back as 1955, when a gamelan *angklung* was employed to celebrate the official opening of St. Yosef Catholic church in Denpasar (ref. to figure 1.1 below). Though the similar use of gamelan in GKPB churches would not be officially sanctioned for another 17 years, Bali Church congregants were known to participate in local music and dance performances with members of the surrounding Hindu community since at least the 1950s (Murdita 2012:10-11).

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41 It is important to note that although this photo provides compelling evidence of the use of gamelan instruments in an official Catholic service/ceremony, there is currently little evidence to suggest that this sort of inculturated (i.e. Catholic) event was commonplace at anytime before the early 1970s. Both Murdita and Mastra have firmly maintained that GKPB was the first church to regularly adopt “hybridized” arts practices in church services, and many of the Catholic musicians I have spoken to have confirmed this point. Of the photos and documents that I reviewed at the Catholic archive in Tuka, this is the only evidence I found of gamelan in use during a Catholic service before the late 1970s/early 1980s. This is not to say this is the only inculturated event that took place in Bali before 1972, but current evidence suggests that such events were likely irregular (and almost certainly not part of the formal mass) until well after 1972.
In some ways it comes as little surprise that there were already Balinese Christians playing and/or listening to gamelan in the context of church events well before it was official sanctioned by Church leaders in either Protestant or Catholic contexts. Many authors, across a number of disciplines, have noted the propensity for Balinese arts to adapt to, and reflect foreign influences. Cultural historian Adrian Vickers has noted this long legacy of adaptation amongst Balinese artistic forms:
“…for as long as we have records, Balinese have been taking from Javanese, Chinese,
Indian, and other arts and making their own anew” (1996:20). David Harnish has made similar observations with specific regards to Balinese music practices:

Bali has an uncanny ability to assimilate national, external or global ideas and localize them, infusing them with new and relevant local meanings… This is borne out in twentieth century Balinese music trends. (2005:119)

Spies and de Zoete -- European artists who spent much of the inter-war period in Bali -- also note this cultural adaptability:

The Balinese are always building new temples, always using new motives for their sculptures and their pictures… Why may they not make new dances? …The great ineradicable charm of the Balinese is that their tradition is at once so sure and so flexible. (1938:45)

Despite this general Balinese propensity for incorporating foreign influences into regional cultural expression, contextualized Balinese arts did not immediately emerge. Initial conflict between Hindus and Christians throughout the 1930s and the influence of foreign and national (mostly Javanese) missionaries helped suppress the development of contextualized Protestant arts through the first half of the twentieth century. However, the sudden surge in church membership at the beginning of the 1960s coupled with a core of church leaders committed to contextual reform (most notably Mastra) helped lead the Bali Church toward institutional change.

The 1972 Bali Church Synod Meeting

In 1971 Mastra returned to Bali from the United States following the completion of his Ph.D. According to McKenzie, both Mastra and his ideas for contextual reform were warmly received by the GKPB membership:
When Dr. Mastra returned to Bali, things began to change, and more and more members began to see that they needed the beauty of the entrenched cultural traditions as an adjunct to their Christian faith. (McKenzie and Mastra 1988:31)

His years of experience in both the United States and Indonesia, combined with his newly minted credentials helped him to stand out amongst his pastoral peers in the Bali Church. Soon after his return Mastra was asked to chair GKPB’s annual synod meeting (1988:31). He used this opportunity to forward an agenda of contextual reform, which by the early 1970s had gained substantial grassroots support amongst Bali Church congregations (Mastra-ten 2009:17).

The Synod itself was held in Abianbase from March 21 to March 24, 1972.43 Many of the reforms instituted at this assembly of Bali Church leaders came to have a significant impact on the overall trajectory of church theology, doctrine, and practice. Historian and theologian I Made Sudhiarsa speaks to the far-reaching impact of this assembly: “Henceforth, the Synod remains the milestone with regard to the ways the church approaches the Balinese society and culture, handles the socio-religious issues, and carries out her mission” (2000:162).44 As a whole, the synod is best remembered for its institutionalization of localized cultural elements within Protestant church services, including the adoption of certain Balinese music and dance genres.

Several themes germane to the present discussion and analysis of contextual reform within the Bali Church are apparent in the documented aims of the 1972 Synod, in particular: (1) youth arts education, (2) an emphasis on interreligious dialogue, (3) the development of church finances through the tourist economy, and

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43 This particular village was and still is of particular importance to Balinese Protestants as it was the site of the first communal, Balinese-Christian baptism in 1931.  
44 Other sources also speak to the importance of Synod ’72 for artistic and contextual reform. Also refer to: Murdita et al 2012:12-3; McKenzie and Mastra 1988: 31-5.
(4) identity development/formation. The first three aims are clearly articulated as “vital decisions” in the Synod minutes:

- To help modern youth to learn ancient skills in dancing, wood carving, architecture etc.
- To stimulate greater inter-religious dialogue and co-operation among Balinese residents.
- To seek to find ways to gain greater social and financial benefits for Balinese people from the expanding tourist market. (McKenzie and Mastra 1988:32)

The fourth aim is articulated as one of, what Mastra and McKenzie call, the “three main theological and administrative thrusts” of the Synod:

In the second thrust of “Fellowship,” the Synod set out, and has diligently pursued ever since, the task of forming its own identity, striving for self-determination in theology… (34)

Over the course of this chapter, and throughout the remainder of the dissertation, I will connect these specific aims with the development of new GKPB programs and institutions, most notably the creation of the Widhya Asih children’s homes, Hotel Dhyana Pura, and the Bali Church arts office (Divia Pradana Bhakti). The Synod, in tandem with important policies established at a 1971 arts conference (discussed later in this chapter), established the discursive foundation for a contextualized Balinese-Christian music and dance repertoire, and the interreligious networks of musicians and dancers necessary to sustain them.

Despite the adoption of these policies, contextual transformation took several years to materialize. The primary reason for this delay was a lack of localized cultural resources within the Bali Church membership. Though some GKPB Christians were involved in the performance of Balinese music and dance prior to the 1972 Synod, few if any of these artists were advanced enough in their knowledge of Balinese arts
to function as instructors. Furthermore, the Bali Church itself did not own any of the often-costly sets of gamelan instruments necessary for music training and performance.

The earliest productions of Balinese music and dance in GKPB churches were performed by groups of entirely Hindu artists. I Nyoman Catra was a dance student at the arts college in Denpasar (ASTI – Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia) in the early 1970s, and according to Mastra was the first professional dancer to work with the Bali Church (interview with the author, June 2013). In speaking with Catra, he recalled first collaborating with the Church in 1973 (interview with the author, Feb 2014).\(^{45}\) Employing a small group of young, Hindu dancers from the village of Padang Sambian (now on the Western edge of Denpasar), Catra organized and choreographed a contextualized performance of the “dance of the ten virgins” (ref. Matthew 25) for an assembly of GKPB leaders at a hotel in the then-emerging resort area of Kuta. Though Catra’s involvement with GKPB ended after this one performance, it marked the beginning of a long period of artist collaboration between Balinese Hindu and Christian artists. As I will demonstrate, this process of interreligious interaction has become a hallmark of Balinese contextual arts. The work of one particular Balinese Christian artist is notable as both an embodiment of the ideals of the 1972 Synod and for its ability to stimulate interreligious dialogue.

\(^{45}\) When I spoke to Catra he was unclear about the precise year of this performance, noting that it likely took place in 1973, but may have been slightly later.
I Nyoman Darsane

I Nyoman Darsane was born to Hindu parents in 1939 in Payangan, Bali. He first learned Balinese music and dance with his father, who was also a proficient musician. Despite considerable musical talent, Darsane decided to pursue the formal study of painting. In 1961 he enrolled in the department of fine arts at the University of Diponogoro (Semarang, Java). While studying in Java, he converted to Christianity, a decision that raised the ire of many members of his home community in Bali. In 1964, after completing his degree, Darsane returned home.

The mid-to-late 1960s was an extremely volatile period in Indonesian politics, a time punctuated by the alleged communist coup and the subsequent murder of hundreds of thousands of suspected Indonesian communists.

Darsane describes the political climate upon returning home to Bali:

So after I returned home to Bali, that was the end of 1964. In 1965 we had a problem. In Indonesia we were replacing the PKI [Communist Party of Indonesia]. Sukarno was replaced by Suharto. This was the beginning of the New Order. (Interview with the author, July 2011)

It was during this dark period in Indonesia history that Darsane began to carefully consider the relationship between his newfound Christian faith and his art:

I was a painter, but at that time I was free [I: bebas]. I hadn’t yet considered using paintings as a means to convey the gospel. I was a student who had just finished studying. I was still trying to apply what I learned. So I started to consider my personal philosophy. Do I want to paint to become famous or do I want to honor God [I: Tuhan]? When I was in Semarang I read about the gospel, I read about the story of creation of the
world and about Adam and Eve. This opened for me an atmosphere for making art. (Interview with the author, July 2011)

Mastra returned home from his studies in America in 1971, and at the prompting of a mutual friend, was encouraged to reach out to the young Balinese artist. Over the subsequent years Mastra and Darsane developed a working relationship, built upon their mutual interest in the contextualization of Balinese church art. According to Asian Church theologian and historian, I-to Loh, Darsane composed his earliest contextual songs “at the age of 36” (c. 1975), which were not initially well accepted by GKPB congregants (Loh 1988:15-6). However, “after relentless effort, and with the encouragement and guidance of Wayan Mastra, [Darsane’s] songs and Christian interpretations of dance were gradually appreciated and accepted…” (16).

In 1980 Mastra first suggested the idea of an arts division within the Bali Church, one that could specially address matters of contextualization. Three years later, Darsane accepted Mastra’s offer to become the first director of Divia Pradana Bhakti (DPB), GKPB’s new arts bureau (Interview with the author, September 2012). He held this position until 1992 and during this tenure employed a variety of Balinese music, dance, and theatre styles in formal church events. The hymn “Piringan Ya” -- composed during this time and featuring a gamelan (gong kebyar) accompaniment -- is perhaps the best known and most often performed work of contextual repertoire in the Bali Church today. Since his resignation as DPB director Darsane has enjoyed a

46 Though “Piringan Ya” does have a gong gamelan accompaniment, it is often sung a cappella (usually in a selisir mode) by GKPB churches that do not own one. A set of gamelan instruments is not, therefore, necessary for a congregation to participate in contextual music making.
successful international career as a painter. His works have been featured in exhibitions throughout Europe and North American, including the Museum of Biblical Art in New York City.

**Widhya Ashi – GKPB Residential Education**

Amidst the calls for contextual reform, the 1972 GKPB synod also drafted sketches for a residential system of education that would be made available to impoverished children, regardless of religious background. The Bali Church formally realized this vision in 1975 with the founding of Widhya Asih (WA), a non-profit organization focused on the education of children and youth.47 The name itself, Widhya Asih, is a Balinese term, which translates as “compassionate love.” The first two facilities were opened in Denpasar (1975) and Blimbingsari (1976) respectively, and were followed by new residential schools in other areas of Bali, including: Singaraja, Bangli, Untal-Untal, Melaya, and Amplapura. As of 2015 (a date after which the majority of fieldwork and writing for this dissertation was already complete) there were a total of seven such schooling facilities throughout the island, each providing the basic necessities of life (food, shelter, clothing etc.) and education to children from a variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds.48

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48 In early 2016 a new residential facility was opened in the village of Cica, while two others (Denpasar and Untal-Untal) were closed. As of March 2017, there are six Widhya Asih children’s homes. Over the course of many visits to these various facilities, I frequently chatted with the children residing there. Of those I spoke to, most were from either Hindu or Protestant families. I also met some Catholic children, particularly at the orphanage in Blimbingsari. The Hindu children I spoke to were all from Bali, and though many of the Protestant children were also from Bali, some were from other Indonesian islands, including: Sulawesi, Java, Sumatra, and Flores.
These facilities are officially known as and commonly referred to as “panti asuhan,” which translates into English as “orphanage.” This was the translation preferred by all of my Balinese interlocutors when describing the residential education centers affiliated with Widhya Asih, frequently referring to them as “orphanages” to others and myself. The homes are, however, not orphanages in the typical sense of the term as few of the children living at them are parentless.49

Throughout parts of Indonesia an education in a church-sponsored school has been regarded with a sense of rigor and prestige. Anthropologist Arlette Ottino suggests that the perceived quality and opportunity of a Christian education was a motivating factor in the conversion of some Balinese Hindus from the late 1930s until the early 1970s, stating: “Economic concerns and a desire for social mobility in a rigidly hierarchical society, were two major motivations behind the conversions to Christianity” (2000:70). A similar trend is observed by sociologist Myengkyo Seo, noting that during the early years of the New Order government Christians “had a reputation for providing one of the best educations since the colonial period” (Seo 2013:69). Likewise, the educational opportunities afforded at Widhya Asih children’s homes are among the primary reasons parents elect to send their children to these centers.

The general appeal of a Widhya Asih education is reflected in the high number of Hindu children who are sent to live and learn at these children’s homes.

According to Pak Franky, long time director of the panti asuhan in Blimbingsari and

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49 The director of the panti asuhan in Bangli confirmed for me that that majority of children at Widhya Asih had a least one parent (usually a single mother) or both parents. In all cases, children at the panti asuhan came from impoverished backgrounds, and families who likely could not afford the quality of education offered at Widhya Asih homes.
Singaraja, approximately 75% of the children living throughout WA’s seven centers are Hindu (Interview with the author March 2014). The high percentage of Hindu children living at these centers is noteworthy as the day-to-day practices of the panti asuhan follow a decidedly Christian set of practices, including: prayer, singing praise choruses, group scripture readings, and regular church attendance. Such steady exposure of children to Christian activities and media suggests an evangelical motive, yet the law in Indonesia is clear on such matter as it is forbidden to convert a minor to another religion without parental consent (ref. Crouch 2014; Lindsey and Pausacker 2016). An employee of one of a WA home once told me that children were never encouraged to convert and that doing so in Indonesia would be “very dangerous” (interview with the author, May 2013). Over the course of my research I saw Hindu children regularly attending Christian services, some with an explicit evangelical message, yet I never saw any of those in positions of authority (i.e. preacher, pastor etc.) encourage anyone to convert or commit to Christianity, as this would amount to a criminal offence. Based on conversations with those closely involved with GKPB children’s homes and my own observations it appears that most Hindu children who have lived at WA panti asuhan remain Hindu throughout their lives, though more research is needed to confirm this.

Though a more thorough examination of evangelical practices at WA panti asuhan falls beyond the scope of this work, it is important to note how the law restricts typical pathways for conversion in these homes. The absence of a quick, conversion-driven evangelism undoubtedly shapes the interactions of the children at these homes and the staff who interact with them. This pluralistic environment, and
encouraged religious stasis helps facilitate the transition between overly Christian praise choruses and “contextualized” gamelan music and dance, which has been a central component of the arts curriculum at GKPB panti asuhan since the early years of the contextualization movement.

In 1975, the panti asuhan in Sesetan (Denpasar) was the first such facility to receive a set of gamelan (gong kebyar) instruments. That same year, the church in Blimbingsari also received a full gamelan, which was shared with the neighboring panti asuhan. These instruments became the centerpieces of GKPB’s first children-focused music and dance education programs. I Wayan Mastra explained that the panti asuhan in Sesetan and Blimbingsari (the only two in operation during the mid-1970s) were always envisioned as a perfect place for these instruments because the children lived together and always had lots of time to practice. Furthermore, he stated that inclusion of Hindu children was artistically advantageous, as many of them had already played gamelan for several years in their home villages. This situation was in sharp contrast to the Christian children who, for the most part, had never played gamelan at all (interview with the author, June 2013).

The earliest instructors of these children’s groups were members of the local Hindu majority as years of musical prohibition in churches meant there were no Christians with the requisite artistic knowledge. Child musicians and dancers were regularly featured in church services and synod meetings. In 1979 the gamelan group from the panti asuhan in Blimbingsari was chosen to represent their regency

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50 I Ketut Firman, a former resident of the panti asuhan in Blimbingsari (1979-82), identified three Hindu instructors that taught there from 1976-82: I Wayan Bartra, Pak Wadra, and Pak Gusti Ngurah Suwarta (Interview with the author, March 2014).
(Jembrana) at the PKB arts festival in Denpasar.\textsuperscript{51} I Ketut Firman, a former resident of the Blimbingsari \textit{panti asuhan} (1979-82), recalls the religiously plural nature of these groups:

Even in those days [1979-82] the group was a mix. Most of the kids staying at the orphanage were Hindu. We didn’t take religion to the group, this was a policy of the orphanage. Anyone could play, there were even some Muslim children who played as well. (Interview with the author, March 2014)

Since that period other sets of instruments have been sent to other children’s homes in Singaraja (1991), Melaya (1995), and Bangli (2014). In 2013 the \textit{panti asuhan} in Blimbingsari was gifted a complete \textit{gong kebyar} from the Singapore-based charity Trafigura Foundation, in a partnership known as “Bali-Bridges.”\textsuperscript{52} In addition to these gamelan groups, dance programs are also maintained at all eight Widhya Asih homes. During my field research the \textit{panti asuhan}-based gamelan groups in Blimbingsari, Melaya, Untal-Untal, and Bangli were the most musically advanced and active. The most talented children from these and other homes regularly perform at church events, and, since 2006, periodically undertake short tours of Singapore.\textsuperscript{53} The sustained support of music and dance education in GKPB-sponsored youth residential facilities highlights the importance of \textit{panti asuhan} as a vehicle for the transmission and creative development of contextualized arts in the Bali Church.

\textsuperscript{51} The PKB (Pesta Kesenian Bali) is a large, multi-week arts festival held annually at various sites throughout the island.
\textsuperscript{52} For more information on the Trifigura Foundation refer to: http://www.trafigurafoundation.org/
\textsuperscript{53} These trips are sponsored by NGOs like Trifigura (and others). For more information on the Bali Church’s relation to partner agencies in Singapore refer to chapter 4 (esp. pgs. 232-38).
I Nyoman Murdita and I Putu Suranata

Hundreds of children, from a variety of religious and ethnic backgrounds, have studied music and dance at GKPB-run panti asuhan since the creation of Widhya Asih in the mid-1970s. Many of these children have gone on to become regular participants in contextualized Bali Church performances, however, two former residents (I Nyoman Murdita and I Putu Suranata) have had a particularly profound impact on the Church’s arts programming, education, and repertoire development (i.e. composition and choreography).

Murdita was born near Denpasar in the village of Buduk on October 10, 1962. In 1976, his parents sent him to the panti asuhan in Blimbingsari, which at the time was still a long and arduous journey from their home in southern Bali. Coincidentally, Murdita arrived in Blimbingsari the same year GKPB decided to gift a complete set of gong kebyar instruments to the church in this tiny village in western Bali. He was thus able to take advantage of newly implemented arts programs. Murdita took his first dance lessons in Blimbingsari and quickly stood out as an exceptional talent amongst his peers. During the late 1970s Murdita was cast to play leading roles in early, contextualized dance-drama (sendratari) productions, including the role of Adam in “Adam and Eve Fall into Sin” (I: Adam dan Hawa Jatuh ke Dalam Dosa).

In 1980, Murdita moved to the children’s home in Denpasar to complete his SMA education (the Indonesian equivalent of high school). He converted to Christianity shortly after this move and enrolled at the arts college in Denpasar (STSI - Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia) a few years later. He graduated in 1989 with an S.S.T.
I Putu Suranata was born on April 23, 1971, to a Hindu family in the village of Sibetan, in the eastern Balinese regency of Karangasem. Members of his immediate and extended families were proficient gamelan musicians and dancers, including his mother who frequently performed dramatic roles in arja productions. Like many boys in his village, Putu also began playing gamelan at a very early age and regularly joined the local sekehe gong (village gamelan collective) in performing temple music and dance repertoires.

Over the years, as Suranata and I have chatted about his childhood growing up in Sibetan, he is always quick to point out that this is also the home village of I Wayan Mastra, and indeed their shared geographical origins have come to bear a profound influence on Suranata’s professional and personal trajectories. The two first met in 1980, when Suranata was 9 years old; this, shortly after his older brother converted to Christianity following his marriage to a Christian woman. Despite the common practice of social-excommunication within Balinese communities – for reasons such as religious conversion – Suranata recalls occasionally attending Christian services at Mastra’s home. In 1982, at the urging of Mastra, Suranata’s parents sent him to live and study at the panti asuhan in Blimbingsari, which by this time already had a well-developed program of youth arts education. After demonstrating great artistic promise during his schooling in Blimbingsari, and with the financial support of the Bali Church, Suranata completed his formal education in
1990 at the Balinese arts high school in Sukawati (SMKI – Sekolah Menengah Karawitan Indonesia).

Following the completion of his studies, Suranata accepted a three-year contract to work as a music and dance teacher amongst GKPB-based gamelan groups, and to compose music for new, contextualized church productions. Upon completion of this contract he left this fulltime appointment with the Church to take a position as a performing musician at Plaza Bali Duty Free, in Kuta. Despite his involvement with touristic music, Suranata remained dedicated to continuing his work with GKPB:

In 1993 I stopped working there [with the Church] and started looking for experience in the tourist industry. During this time I continued to help at the Bali Church. For example, if there was a birthday or Christmas celebration for the Church, I would create some Balinese music with a Christian character. I would work together with Murdita, he would create the dances – it’s been like this since that time.

(Interview with the author, September 1, 2012)

Since the early/mid-1990s, Suranata has been involved in the creation of at least 10 original, contextualized dance/theater productions (Murdita et al 2012:17, 23-44). He has performed these and other works at churches and church-related events throughout Bali, Java, and Singapore. Since 2013, Suranata has resumed fulltime employment with the Bali Church and now, in addition to composition and performance, maintains a busy teaching schedule with church and panti asuhan-based gamelan groups (I Putu Suranata, communication with the author, November 2015). Despite a close relationship to the Bali Church, which has now spanned more than three decades, Suranata continues to self-identify as Hindu and in addition to his artistic activity in churches, also performs regularly at Hindu temple ceremonies.
The artistic and educational development of Suranata and Murdita was profoundly affected by the institutionalization of contextualized Balinese music and dance, particularly as young boys in the *panti asuhan* at Blimbingsari. As men, they have pursued professional careers in the arts, and along with other influential academics and artists (most notably Mastra and Darsane) have established a repertoire of, and intellectual framework for, church-based Balinese music and dance. Much of this work has been done under the auspices of GKPB’s arts bureau, known as Divia Pradana Bhakti.

**Divia Pradana Bhakti – GKPB’s Bureau for the Arts**

The contextual reforms of the 1972 Synod helped confirm a place for Balinese music and dance within formal Bali Church events and services. Many early, contextualized church performances (i.e. those occurring prior to the early 1980s), however, relied extensively on professional/semi-professional, adult Hindu artists and children (both Christian and Hindu) from GKPB’s *panti asuhan* network. The Bali Church membership had limited knowledge of local arts practices and this made it difficult to explore the full social, theological, and aesthetic potential of contextualized music and dance for the church and surrounding community. To counter this and other perceived limitations, Mastra conceived of a centralized bureau for the development and promotion of Balinese arts within GKPB. In 1984 and while

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54 By the mid-late 1970s, some adult members of GKPB were already playing gamelan, especially at the GKPB churches in Pelambingan and Blimbingsari, which were home to complete sets of *gong kebyar* instruments. These early adult groups, however, were largely comprised of adult beginners and never attained the professional level necessary to perform before international audiences, such as foreign church delegates.
serving as the Bishop of the Bali Church, Mastra instituted this plan through the creation of Biro Seni dan Komunikasi (The Office of Arts and Communication), which he named Divia Pradana Bhakti (henceforth, DPB). DPB was to function as a “framework for the development of the arts within the GKPB community,” and to “dig-up [I: *menggali*], motivate, and develop arts that are appropriate to the needs of the church” (Murdita et al 2012:13).

Mastra appointed I Nyoman Darsane as the first director (I: *kepala*) of DPB in 1984, and over the next eight years Darsane composed a body of liturgical songs.

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55 Murdita translates Divia Pradana Bhakti into Indonesian as, “Tuhan, Sarana, Doa,” which he further articulates as “serana bhakti kita kepada Tuhan” (a vehicle of our devotion to the Lord) - (Murdita 2011:1).
(many with gamelan accompaniment) and regularly performed at church events.

During Darsane’s time as DPB director he wrote dozens of songs and hymn tunes, a number of which are featured in the 1988 publication, *Christ the Light of Bali: A Collection of New Balinese Hymns* (Loh 1988). Several of these Balinese-language liturgical pieces have become staples at GKPB Sunday morning worship services (Murdita et al 2012:16). During Darsane’s tenure as DPB director he also oversaw the creation of several large-scale works, including the dance-drama (*I: drama-tari*) *Yesus Yang Membebaskan* (Jesus Who Liberates), which was featured at the 1989 assembly of World Alliance of Reformed Churches in Seoul, South Korea (Ibid:16). The artists required for such performances were drawn primarily from the *panti asuhan* in Sesetan (Denpasar) and the banjars near the Bali Church in North Kuta; this is indicative of the Church’s continued reliance on and cooperation with the wider Hindu community as a means to realize contextual reform (Ibid:15-6, 21).

In addition to his work as director, choreographer, composer, and administrator at DPB, Darsane also taught church-based gamelan and dance groups, most notably those at GKPB Tirta Amerta (Pelambingan) and at the Sesetan *panti asuhan*. In 1992, Darsane resigned from his position as the director of DPB, citing creative and ideological differences as his primary reason for stepping down:

> My vision of how to use arts in the church was different from Mastra’s – he wanted to use music in a commercialized way – he wanted to sell dances to guests [tourists] and I didn’t. I create music to glorify God, to tell the story of the gospel – this is how our thinking differed.

(Interview with the author, September 2012)

These contrasting priorities underscore the relationship between contextualized art forms and tourism, on the one hand, and the desire to produce “sacred” music
disassociated from overtly secular/economic interests. The interplay between tourism and contextualized GKPB music and dance will be examined more closely in chapter two.

From 1993 through 1997 Divia Pradana Bhakti was directed by a group of six Balinese performing artists, including Murdita and Suranata. This period was artistically productive for members of the arts bureau, with no fewer than eight new works, including five sendratari productions. DPB continued to look for opportunities to bring contextualized performing arts to audiences outside Bali, and this resulted in shows and formal engagements in many foreign countries including: Malaysia, The Philippines, Australia, Mexico, and the United States (Murdita et al 2012:18). During this time Murdita assumed the title of “Coordinator of Dance and Music/Gamelan Development” (I: Koordinator Pembina tari dan tabuh), and also played a central role in both the performance and development of new contextualized music and choreography. Despite his resignation as DPB director, Darsane also continued to collaborate on select GKPB productions, especially as a dramatic “story-teller” (dalang) (Murdita et al 2012:44).

In 1998 I Nyoman Yohanes was appointed as the new director of DPB. In many ways, his tenure in this position (1998-2002) was an aesthetic departure from the overtly “Balinese” church music and dance repertoires that had been developed

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56 According to Murdita, Suranata was an “honorary” gamelan instructor during this period. The others amongst the “music and dance development staff” (I: staff pembina seni tari dan tabuh) included: Ni Made Rai Winati, Ni Ketut Hosiana Alit, I Nengah Astika, and I Wayan Darya. (Murdita et al 2012:17-8).
57 Among the other major works created during this period include Tarian Malaikat (Angel Dance), which has been a staple of the Bali Church repertoire since at least 2009. Sendratari is a Balinese performing art, combining elements of music, drama, and dance. I will talk about the genre -- and its connection to tourism -- at greater length in chapter two.
and performed under the creative direction of his predecessors, most notably Darsane and Murdita. Yohanes -- who studied liturgical music in the Philippines and had limited exposure to gamelan -- pursued recording and publishing projects with more oblique reference to Balinese music, while also greatly reducing the role of dance.\(^{58}\) The creation of new dramatic works, however, did not completely cease during this time, with Murdita and Suranata collaborating to create three original contextualized dance-works, including the 2000 production of *Tarian Putri Sion* (The Dance of the Prince of Zion) (Murdita et al 2012).\(^{59}\)

I Nyoman Murdita became artistic director of Divia Pradana Bhakti in 2002, a position he has held continuously since that time. Under his leadership, the arts bureau has once again become a productive center for the development of new contextualize dance drama. Between 2002-2010, Murdita and Suranata collaborated on nine such works, including three *sendratari* (Murdita et al 2012:20). Though the production of new works appears to have slowed since 2010, during my fieldwork I observed the regular performance of certain dances, what now essential amounts to a canonical repertoire of Balinese Christian dances. Among the more frequently performed dances are *Tari Perdamaian* (Dancing of Peace), *Tari Amerta Candra Buana*, and most notably *Tari Malaikat* (Angel Dance), which was by far the most

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\(^{58}\) Examples of such projects include the compilation of hymn tunes by Balinese composers (*Gita Sukma*) and the recording of an album of “pentatonic” hymn-tunes (*Putra Surga*) by Yohanes, himself (Interview with the author, July 2012).

\(^{59}\) Other contextualized dramatic works of this period include: *Sendratari Tuhan Yesus Berdoa di Taman Getsemani* (c. 2000), and *Fragmentari Kelahiran Yesus* (1998). (Murdita et al 2012:19, 41)
common dance performed in GKPB services and other formal events that I attended between 2009-2016.⁶⁰

In 2010, a semi-professional *sanggar* (arts studio) was instituted by DPB at the new Bali Church offices and headquarters, in the village of Kapal (just northwest of Denpasar). The development of this group -- known as Sanggar Seni Budaya GKPB -- has resulted in an artistic venue for the continued performance of both contextualized and “non-contextualized” Balinese dance between a relatively fixed group of Balinese Hindu and Christian men (and some boys). Over the last five years this Church-based *sanggar* has performed at churches, hotels, and schools at dozens of events throughout Bali. I mention the group here as an institutional development within the arts bureau itself. In chapter four I will revisit the *sanggar* as a case-study “music network.”

Since the establishment of DVP in 1984, it has functioned as a nexus point of contextual music and dance development, performance, and dissemination. Beyond this, however, the Bali Church arts bureau is and has been an effective institutional tool for driving economic, social, and theo-cosmological ideologies. Most of the contextualized Bali Church repertoire discussed throughout this dissertation was composed and choreographed by DPB (and those who represent it), and some of my

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⁶⁰Based on my observations and conversations with GKPB officials (particularly Murdita) I would estimate that *Tari Melaikat* (a shorter work at approximately five-seven minutes) is performed about a dozen times of year. Larger sendratari works (e.g. *Tari Amerta Candra Buana* and *Tari Perdamaian* – about fifteen minutes each) are performed much less frequently (usually no more than once or twice a year). This is due in large part to their extended length and the associated costs of production. Certain churches are more active in presenting contextual music and dance on a regular or semi-regular basis. Such churches are typically those with a resident gamelan (e.g. Blimbingsari, Buduk, and Untal-Untal). Many other GKPB churches throughout Bali occasionally host contextual performing arts events, most often for celebrating important church anniversaries (i.e. the anniversary of a particular GKPB congregation in its home church).
main interlocutors are or have been seminal figures in the development of this creative and administrative entity within GKPB. As an institution, it has shaped not only the artistic, but also the social direction of contextual music and dance. I will continue to elaborate on the influence of DPB upon identity construction projects, and interreligious network formation over the course of the dissertation.

**Contextualization: Other Trends, and Alternatives**

Beyond the aforementioned people and institutions that together constitute significant aspects of GKPB contextual reform, there are other broader trends woven throughout the narrative that I will now briefly address: (1) shared/borrowed terminologies, (2) alternatives to the GKPB contextual model, (3) resistance to contextualization. I draw attention to these matters to emphasize the plurality of perspectives, complexities, and occasional contradictions of contextual reform.

**Shared/Borrowed Terminologies: Kawitan, Taksu, and Nawasanga**

Many themes/terms of overlapping cosmological and/or theological significance have emerged in tandem with GKPB-based contextual reforms, a number of which intersect with localized music- and dance-based discourses. I will now briefly touch upon three such themes (terminologies): ancestors (B: *kawitan*), divine inspiration (B: *taksu*), and cosmological/theological balance (esp. *nawasanga*).

Many rituals in Bali, including those involving gamelan music, are connected in some form to the worship of one’s ancestors, often referred to as *kawitan* (E: ancestors/forefathers, I: *luhur* – Hobart 1996:71). Anthony Forge’s somewhat dated
observation continues to provide timely insight into the interrelationships between social belonging and one’s relationship with the ancestors in contemporary Bali:

The vast majority of religious ritual of the vast majority of the population are concerned with very local gods – in fact, deified ancestors – and involved local temples and local groups. Performance of these rites was a pre-condition of membership in society and hence ownership of property or houseyards, etc. (1980:224)

As illustrated by this account, the practice of venerating one’s ancestors has far reaching implications, including issues of local citizenship and economic status. The initial rejection of many customary (I: adat) practices by Christians - particularly from the 1930s until the early 1970s – was therefore regarded not simply as a turning from tradition but, more significantly, as an irreparable rupture from one’s ancestral lineage. The primary solution to this challenge prior to the 1970s appears to have been one of segregation, as evidenced by the 1939, Dutch-led Blimbingsari project – an initiative that assisted Balinese Christians in matters of land ownership and economic production.

Based on available documentation, the earliest attempts to theologically reposition ancestors in relation to church practices came up as a response to missiology. In a 1974 article, Mastra expresses concern over the resistance of Balinese to convert to Christianity because of the perceived disassociation from ancestors:

They have no argument with the story of the Gospel… They like to hear the story about God because, for them, God is the Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa (the one true God). But for them to change religion means to leave the way which they have been taught by their ancestors. When a man wants to be baptized, the first question he asks is, “What will happen to my ancestors? They were not baptized.” If there is not assurance that his ancestors will also be saved by Christ, he does not want to be baptized. The church is trying to find the answer to these
questions so that the Gospel can more easily be brought to these people. (Mastra 1974:398)

The question here is ultimately one of socio-cosmological continuity and a concern that baptism/conversion may result in severe spiritual and social consequences.\footnote{Due in large part to religious reforms of the 1950s and 1960s, the identity of “the one true God” (Sang Yang Widhi Wasa) was not a serious stumbling block to conversion. I will discuss this term and its position within contextualized discourse in greater detail in chapter three.} A few years later, in a 1980 article, Mastra articulates a response to this earlier theological quandary as he gives an account of one woman’s inquiry regarding ancestral lineage:

Once when I was preaching the Gospel, I found a lady who was not happy because her husband and children had become Christians. When I talked to her, she expressed her anxieties. I discovered that she was unhappy because she was afraid that her ancestors and deities would punish her husband and children because they no longer brought offerings to the family. I then told her that the Christians had already made their offering at mount Golgotha in Palestine once and for all in the person of Jesus Christ. (Mastra 1980:268)

The simplicity of Mastra’s argument, that the crucifixion of Christ negates one’s communal obligations, is open to legitimate criticisms especially because of its connection to evangelism (which I will discuss in more detail, shortly). Despite this potential conflict of interest, Mastra’s position attempts to establish a fundamental, underlying connection amongst Balinese peoples writ large, one that reemphasizes the primacy of ancestors while destabilizing the centrality of Balinese Hindu rituals as the sole conduit of such cosmological connections.

In the early 1980s noted religious studies scholar Diane Eck penned a short article on contextual practices in the Bali Church. In it she quotes Mastra in a sermon

\footnote{Due in large part to religious reforms of the 1950s and 1960s, the identity of “the one true God” (Sang Yang Widhi Wasa) was not a serious stumbling block to conversion. I will discuss this term and its position within contextualized discourse in greater detail in chapter three.}
he had then recently given at the GKPB church in Blimbingsari; I used those words to open this chapter and are now worth repeating:

> If we need a piano or an organ, and if we need a church built in Western style, then we must become beggars… our church gives people a way to glorify God with the gifts they do have and with the artistic talents they have inherited from their ancestors. (Mastra, quoted in Eck 1982:151)

The main point to be taken here is the clear connection between music – and musical instruments in particular – and one’s ancestors. Mastra’s assertion implies that Western musics as embodied and practiced on keyboard instruments perpetuate a colonial legacy, ultimately impoverishing Balinese Christians. In Mastra’s contextual theology, to own and to play gamelan are ways to commune (or at very least associate with) the ancestors.

This type of connection - between contextual arts and core elements of Balinese identity – served the church in two important ways. As has already been suggested, the development of a “theology of ancestors” was hoped to facilitate conversions amongst Balinese Hindus. Though further research is necessary to confirm such a hypothesis, it is evident that evangelical aims were paramount in the construction of such contextual theologies. Despite this connection, I argue that any perceived missiological benefits (or deficits) from this ancestral theology are secondary to what have come to be long-term, interreligious arts networks between GKPB members and collaborating artists from the broader Hindu community. The potential for gamelan, as a collection of instruments and a performance tradition, to facilitate a connection to the ancestors has lent legitimacy to the Bali Church’s claims
for certain aspects of Balinese identity, and has also informed a paradigm shift away from religious segregation and toward cohabitation and collaboration.

**Taksu**

Literally translated, the Balinese word *taksu* means “divine inspiration” and is used in Bali by musicians and dancers to refer to great acts of performative “charisma,” something wholly other than virtuosity and technique. Lisa Gold has described it succinctly as “the divine inspiration that overcomes performers during the act of performance” (2005:90). *Taksu* is almost always spoken of from a Hindu phenomenological perspective, and understandably so given its long history in Balinese aesthetic discourse. Despite the terms long association with Balinese religion and performing arts, *taksu* may also have meaningful implications for Christian performers of contextualized repertoire. In following this line of inquiry I ask: Does *taksu*, or some corollary idea, have any place in Christian praxis, and if so how might this work theologically? To the best of my knowledge there has been little to nothing written on the topic in specifically Christian contexts, and “Christian *taksu*” remains a misnomer to many. To follow up on this and other questions I conducted a number of interviews with Murdita and Darsane, respectively, in which we discussed their own understandings of *taksu*. I will now feature some extended quotations from these interviews to draw attention to certain comments made by the interviewees and to provide some observations of my own regarding the performance of contextual art.

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62 Taksu may also refer to specific physical objects (e.g. masks, texts, gongs) that are believed to be imbued by such charismatic inspiration. (David Harnish, communication with the author, March 2017)
Interview with I Nyoman Murdita (Kapal, Bali, July 2012)

After spending several minutes chatting about the use of topeng (masked) dances among some GKPB congregation, I broached the subject of taksu, specifically:

Author: Have you ever heard of taksu [in the context of Christian topeng]?
Murdita: Yes, this is strength [kekuatan], strength that we receive from the Lord [Tuhan].
Author: Can you have taksu in a Christian context, or is this something that is just Hindu?
Murdita: This is a matter of language. When in a Christian context it’s called spirit [roh], Holy Spirit [roh kudus], and the spirit of God [roh Tuhan]. The spirit is from God [Tuhan]. God forms the spirit, you can’t see it. We can be strong because the spirit enters our soul [jiwa], our thoughts, our body. When we do religious activities we always pray so that God can bring us strength. In Hinduism it’s called taksu. Before someone dances they pray and give an offering. They do this so that the gods will bring them strength [kekuatan] during the performance so their hearts can be assured [tanggung].

Author: I have spoken with some Christian people in Bali and they explained to me that you cannot have taksu in a Christian context. Do you agree with that? Or is this what you call “holy spirit”?
Murdita: If this is taksu or strength that comes from the gods, we reject it in Christianity. But if it’s taksu or strength that comes from God [Allah] alone through Jesus Christ, everyone agrees we need strength from God… In the Balinese language, in Hinduism taksu refers to the strength from the gods. For us, we believe that we don’t need strength from the gods… The language we use is different, we don’t say taksu. We say “holy spirit from God alone”. In the Balinese language or among artists, they use the word taksu; it’s language… The intention and goal is the same. For people who don’t understand culture [budaya], language [bahasa], and art [seni], and Christian contextualization [kontekualisasi], they will reject this, they won’t accept it.

As Murdita explains, any difference between taksu and roh kudus is primarily based on the language used to describe a similar experiential phenomenon in two distinct religious contexts. Though the setting of Christian and Hindu dances often differs,
Murdita asserts that despite the differing religious narratives “the intention and goal is the same.” He then goes on to remind me (as the interviewer) that people who don’t understand “contextualization” may not accept his work. In this particular instance, the transferability of taksu – as a phenomenon – from a Hindu to Christian context is metaphorical affirmation of contextualization itself – neither one nor the other, but both. In other words, contextualized GKPB music and dance repertoires rely on strong corollaries to dominant (Hindu) practices for their identification. This characteristic of GKPB contextualization will be a matter of increasing relevancy as I discuss kebalian (“Balineseness”) in the following chapter.

Interviews with Darsane (Batubulan, Bali, July 2011 and April 2014)

First Darsane Interview (July 2011)

Over the course of several formal interviews with Darsane, I have spoken to him twice regarding taksu. Like the aforementioned Murdita interview, our first conversation stemmed from a related conversation of the use of topeng (masked) dances within the Bali Church:

Author - Pak, can you talk a little bit about the importance of taksu?
Darsane - This is important. Taksu is actually “sang yang dibia taksu.” Sang, that is a person, dibia, is something connected to God [Tuhan]. Taksu is charisma. Taksu does not come from being smart, it descends [menurunkan], it is given. It is something that is given, it’s not just luck. It’s something that brings life. It brings a kind of spirit. That’s taksu. You have a mask [topeng], it is a dead thing, but a clever dancer can bring it to life.

After some discussion of his own experience doing masked dances, Darsane once again returns to the central theme of taksu (what he calls “charisma”):
Darsane: So it’s not Darsane who is dancing, it’s the mask creating the expression. *Ma-nung-a-ling* [unity], this is when you become one with the character of the mask. If you are successful in achieving the character of the mask you do not need to search for charisma, it is already there. The mask is imbued with the spirit. The spirit of the mask is already one with us.

Darsane is well known for his contextual masked-dance performances, particularly his interpretation of *topeng tua*.\(^{63}\) Literally translated as “old mask,” Darsane’s *topeng tua* draws on the traditional narrative of an old man trying (ultimately in vain) to physically relive his youthful self. Rather than having the old-man character succumb to the inevitable passage of time (as typically occurs in *topeng tua*), Darsane elects to remove his mask at the end of each performance, the act of which symbolizes a type of renewal through Christ (figure 1.3 and 1.4).\(^{64}\) The two photos show Darsane dancing contextual *topeng* at a 2007 Protestant church event in Bandung, Java.

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\(^{63}\) Darsane’s performance of contextual *topeng* goes back to at least 1982, when he performed *topeng tua* in Germany as a member of an official GKPB delegation. He has performed it as recently as June 2014 when he performed at a small church assembly at the GKPB offices in Kapal, Bali.

\(^{64}\) Much of what I know about Darsane’s *topeng* performances and their symbolism comes through conversations I’ve had with Jonathan Bailey, who has maintained a long-term friendship with Darsane and has seen him perform contextual *topeng* live on a number of occasions.
Figure 1.3. Darsane performs contextual topeng. The above photo shows him performing as the stock, old-man character.

Figure 1.4. Darsane illustrates the transformation of the self (depicted here as topeng tua) through Christ, as embodied through the removal of the mask.

Second Darsane interview (April 2014)

Darsane elaborated further on these ideas regarding taksu in another interview nearly three years later. After emphasizing the importance of dance in Balinese arts he underscores five aspects of dance that performers must
understand – i) tetuak (concentration), ii) tetabuh (sounding gamelan), iii) igel (movement), iv) solah (behavior, conduct), and v) taksu (divine inspiration).

According to Darsane:

There are five concepts, five symbols. Each one is related to the other. To really find out who I am [I ask]: From where do I draw charisma [I: karisma]? What can I achieve with my life? What should I do as a job? There are five points that need consideration.

The first is tetuak, which is the same as concentration. So it was through concentration that I was able to decide what to do. I wanted to paint.

Then the second thing, tetabuh, is the same as sound [bunyi and suara], the same as an explanation [penjelasan]. If people ask “what is this”, you must have an explanation; it can’t be just random or arbitrary... [it must be] something you can stand by.

The third is igel, movement. Now in these movements there is technique involved. Dancers must be able to [use] igel, they must be able to move their hands. In painting technique it is also involved, with a pencil, water colors, acrilic.

The fourth is solah [B: behavior, conduct]. Solah is dance that is fused with the self. As a painter I certainly have my own style. That is if we already own a style [gaya]. Take Van Gogh for example. When you look at one of his paintings you say, “this is Van Gogh.” This is Gauguin, this is Picasso. He [Van Gogh] was deeply connected [I: menjiwai] to his art and that resulted from concentration through tetabuh, igel, and solah.

The fifth and final, that is taksu. It’s not what one searches for, it is already present within one’s self. Are we capable of expressing that for which we search? If one is capable, how can it [the painting] be made to come alive? If you’re capable of doing it, taksu is already alive in you. Each one of these points is related to the others.

Darsane weaves his own narrative as a professional painter into his five points on Balinese dance and thus draws the connection between his primary creative practice (as a painter) and one of his most common artistic subjects (stylized Balinese dance). By making this connection Darsane implies an element of taksu (divine inspiration) in
the creation of his own paintings, many of which depict Biblical characters as Balinese dancers (ref. figure 1.5).

Of primary importance for the present discussion is Darsane’s insistence on the relationship between each point and all the others – something he mentions at the beginning and end of his explanation. For Darsane it is impossible to understand the pinnacle of Balinese dance (or painting) without taksu, and for that very reason it is also impossible to talk about the pinnacle of contextual arts without a similar understanding of taksu. Contextual arts are, therefore, fundamentally Balinese, though sources of divine inspiration may differ in ways not previously recognized. In making this assertion Darsane creates an intellectual and aesthetic space for contextual arts to challenge status quo markers of Balinese ethnic identity, namely its modern reliance on practices associated with Balinese Hinduism and adat.

Both Darsane and Murdita appear to agree that taksu has an important place within contextual practice. Darsane makes no distinction between a Christian and Hindu “form” of taksu and talks on the topic without reference to religion. Murdita, while recognizing commonalities, supports a linguistic distinction for this interreligious phenomenon – roh suci for Christians, taksu for Hindus. Both agree that divine inspiration is essential to the tradition of contextual Balinese art. The adoption of terminology and concepts like taksu and kawitan is evidence of how, through music, there has been a destabilization of former religious boundaries between Hinduism and Christianity in Bali.
Figure 1.5. “The Angel Whispers,” by I Nyoman Darsane, depicts the visitation of the angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary. Mary is conveyed as a Balinese legong dancer.

**Nawasanga**

The *nawasanga* in Balinese cosmology is an idealized model of the micro-and micro-cosmos, representing/articulating a process of continual transformation and renewal between the opposing forces of good and evil. This cosmological principle is commonly represented in visual arts as a circle, which is comprised of eight
individual wedges extending from a common central location (ref. figure 1.6). The second scene of the contextual sendratari (dance-drama) Amertha Candra Bhuana prominently features similar imagery. Murdita describes the symbology present in the choreography and costumes:

[This scene] will highlight eight dancers with pajeng (ceremonial umbrellas) and kipas (hand fans) with the colors white, yellow, silver, and gold. These colors are symbols of the eight directions of the wind, the eight directions of the sun’s rays, the eight directions of the moon’s rays, and the stars that tell of the savior of the world. (Murdita et al 2012:38)

In addition to these direct references to the nawasanga in Murdita’s choreography and accompanying description, I also recognized at least two times Darsane had referenced this same cosmological principle during our interactions between 2009 and 2014.
One occasion was in June 2013 when I attended a Sunday morning service at Darsane’s home, which has and continues to function as a church for a small congregation in Batubulan (a village just north of Denpasar). Following the service I sought out Darsane and we chatted briefly about his work as an artist, and also about my upcoming year of dissertation fieldwork. After a few minutes of casual conversation he told me he wanted to play something on the tingklit (bamboo gamelan) and asked that I record it. Before beginning to play he provided a brief
explanation of the piece to the small group still remaining from the earlier church meeting:

You have five notes, this is pentatonic. So this is a symbol of the cardinal directions [plays the complete five note sulendro scale]. It’s a symbol of the west, east, north, and south. So when someone goes to heaven he/she will ask, is it in the east, the west, the north, the south? Where is heaven? In the end, heaven will meet you in your faith, in each one of us. [plays a few more notes]. What I’m going to play for you now, the polos, is the answer to direction.

Following the brief performance the assembled group clapped and Darsane concluded with one final remark: “We have the east, west, north, and south, and in the center is the cross.”

The second reference I came across as I was pouring over my field interviews in preparation to begin writing this dissertation. I was struck by the similarity between the above comments and those that Darsane had made in another interview just a few months earlier (September 2012). During this meeting Darsane explained the tension he had experienced between German and African churches at a shared synod assembly in the 1980s:

Actually there was a synod between the [church] agencies of Germany and Africa. They were having a debate, a dialogue, about land. I said, “I am going to look for friends, a German and an African”… When I dance I look for a friends, so I took a bishop from Germany and one from Africa. The three of us danced together [Darsane chuckles]. This is the artist. Art can unite the north and the south. The artist is in the center. The artist represents the love of Christ.

As with the previous comments, Darsane again draws connections between the arts, the cardinal directions and the possibility for atonement/salvation.
I Wayan Rajeg, *Sanggar Narwastu*, and the Christian Missionary Alliance (GKII)

At the risk of making contextualization out to be a monolithic development and originating from a single denominational source (i.e. GKPB), I will briefly review movements, events, and ideological positions that run in tandem with, and sometimes contrary to, official positions on contextualization as articulated by official GKPB discourse. Though the focus of this dissertation is on contextual practice within the Bali Church, it is still beneficial to summarize parallel practices, particularly as a means to further situate GKPB positions. I will begin with other Protestant approaches to contextualization, then review some minor instances of interreligious tension, and conclude with so-called “fanatical” positions regarding the rejection of contextual practices.

*Sanggar Narwastu*

Founded in 2005 by expat Americans Jonathan and Tina Bailey, Sanggar Narwastu is a semi-professional Balinese music and dance group that has performed throughout Bali, most notably at venues of diverse religious orientation – particularly at Protestant churches (of various denominations) and Hindu temples (I/B: *pura*). The Bailey’s work, including that done through Narwastu, is often supported by the American missions agency Cooperative Baptist Fellowship. Until 2014 the Narwastu group rehearsed in Sanur at a small building complex known as Gateway Community Center – a part of which functioned as a church sanctuary on Sunday mornings.65 The *sanggar* has developed a body of contextualized music and dance repertoire,

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65 Since 2014, Narwastu has held rehearsals at the home of I Nyoman Darsane in Batubulan.
including the Biblically inspired dance dramas Maria, Gembala, and Gabriel. I played with this group for one year (2009-10) while in Bali on a Dharmasiswa Scholarship, and over the course of that year we played these and other contextual works at Protestant churches and community events throughout Bali.\footnote{Learning this repertoire at GCC was my first exposure to contextual Balinese church music. At that time there was a fairly strong connection between the performance group (which had yet to be named “Narwastu”) and the church congregation that met weekly at the GCC complex. In April 2014 Jonathan and I chatted about the relationship between GCC and the sanggar during the 2009-10 period, and he noted that that was a particularly unusual time in terms of the involvement between the two entities. At my request, he speculated that the immediate decline in involvement was due to two main factors: a GCC congregation made up of primarily non-Balinese members, and a persistent belief amongst a smaller minority of congregants that the gamelan instruments themselves were inappropriate for use in the church.}

Since my time with the group a professional Narwastu website has been developed, and with it evidence of a host of formal programing and repertoire. Based on the content of the website (as accessed on January 2016), there is little to suggest a direct connection between Narwastu and any religiously based sponsorship or church body. One brief comment under the “what we do” tab is all that alludes to any religious connection whatsoever: “Narwastu's Gong Kebyar performs periodically in Hindu and Christian religious contexts as well as in festivals and for social and art events.”\footnote{“What We Do,” Narwastu, accessed January 22, 2016, http://www.narwastu.org/what-we-do/} The official descriptions of contextualized music and dance repertoire tend to be equally vague in religious orientation. The description provided at an important performance at the annual Bali Arts Festival (Pesta Kesenian Bali) does little to inflect an overtly Christian narrative:

This dance [Maria] tells the story of a young woman named Maria. A messenger of God [Tuhan] comes to tell her that she has been chosen for a special job. Maria processes the news that has interrupted her life. She does not feel worthy and is
challenged with internal questions. Finally she accepts what is asked of her and finds peace.\textsuperscript{68}

Aside from the use of the Indonesian word \textit{Tuhan} for God, and despite the story’s Biblical origin, there is nothing here to indicate an obvious Christian connection. Descriptions of other similar contextual works also elude direct references to Christianity. As illustrated on the Narwastu website and in music/dance descriptions, the contextualized works emanating from this group are decidedly less evangelical in nature than those of the Bali Church.

I Wayan Rajeg, Narwastu’s artistic director, further supports the notion that this group intentionally skirts direct reference to Christian doctrine and overtly evangelical themes. During a formal interview in 2012, Rajeg told me that his contextual compositions were generally well received, but mentioned that the choreographies of Murdita had been heavily criticized for being “too open” (I: \textit{terlalu buka}) – a phrase likely meant to imply that these works were overly evangelical.\textsuperscript{69} He suggested his work was better received because it was “wrapped up with culture” (I: \textit{bungkus dengan budaya}). The language used by members of Narwastu to describe contextual compositions and choreographies often deemphasizes the Christian conversion event, and in this way differs significantly from GKPB discourse on contextual arts.

\textsuperscript{68} This description of \textit{Maria} (originally in Indonesia) was provided in an email communication with Jonathan Bailey in November 2015. English translation is by the author.\textsuperscript{69} Interview with the author, July 2012.
I Wayan Rajeg and the Christian Missionary Alliance (GKII)

I Wayan Rajeg was born in Tegalalang, Bali in 1961. He showed interest in music from an early age and by twelve was regularly playing with a noted local banjar. After completing his degree at the college of music (STSI – Denpasar) in 1992, he began a prolific teaching career, which has included six years as director of the Balinese gamelan at the University of Malaysia (1996-2002). He converted from Hinduism to Protestantism (becoming a member of a GKII church) shortly after his return to Bali, and since 2005 has composed and choreographed contextual Balinese music and dance. Rajeg was heavily criticized for his conversion by members of his community and was forced to leave Tegalalang in 2003, likely a subject of

Figure 1.7. The homepage of the Narwastu website. I Wayan Rajeg is pictured to the left.

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kasepekang. Since that time he has lived with his wife and children in Nusa Dua where he is a member of a local GKII congregation.

In addition to his position as the musical director of sanggar Narwastu, he is also a member of a GKII church (Gereja Kemah Injili Indonesia – Indonesian Gospel Tabernacle Church), a point that requires further analysis. GKII is known in English as the Christian Missionary Alliance (CMA) and is the same missions agency that took credit for the first baptism of “full-blooded” Balinese in 1931 in Abianbase, Bali. In discussion with Pendeta Enos (the pastor of Rajeg’s home church) he briefly explained the connection between CMA and the earliest protestant Balinese congregations:

He [CMA director Dr. Simpson] sent Dr. Jeffrey to Bali. It was placed upon his heart that he had to come to Bali to give the gospel to the Balinese people. There were not missionaries in Bali at this time… First he went to Makassar in 1928. After that he was sent with his Chinese student, Chang To Hang, here, to Denpasar to evangelize. Then God blessed twenty Balinese people for baptism. In 1931, five hundred Balinese became believers, became Christians. Christianity [Protestantism] has existed in Bali since that time. Pak Chang To Hang brought the good news to Bali. It was successful and shortly after they built a church. (Interview with the author, April 2014)

I do not present Enos’ account here as historical fact, but rather to show the shared ecclesiastic genesis between GKPB and GKII, both of which formally point to the same 1931 baptism. It falls beyond the scope of the current work to more fully explore the history of GKII in Bali and the presence of contextual arts therein; however, conversations I’ve had with longtime CMA missionary Lelia Lewis suggests the influences of contextual music in Balinese GKII churches has tended to be minimal.
Lewis, who has lived and worked in Bali since 1953, provided an interesting account of contextual arts in GKII churches during the 1950s and 1960s:

We [Lelia and her husband, Rodger] were introduced to the gamelan in 1953. I think the one instrument I used to love to hear was the flute. You don’t hear it anymore. At night... I loved the flute. In the early years they [Balinese Christians] didn’t use gamelan. In fact, the early Christians they just weren’t into it yet... We did have a guy way back then who had written these songs in Balinese. The way they do with their Wedas. This is an Indonesian translation, but this is an old book. The oldest was 1957 [Lewis hands author the Indonesian translation of the song book – texts only].

Sometime during the early 1980s, Lewis received grant money to buy a set of gong kebyar instruments, which she envisioned using in a GKII panti asuhan (children’s home) in Klungkung. When a suitable instructor for this group could not be found, the instruments lay dormant for much of the 1990s. In the early 2000s Jonathan and Tina Bailey approached Lewis about borrowing the instruments to start a church-based group, and a short time later were put in touch with Rajeg as a potential arts director for the group. According to Lewis:

**Lewis** -- But then we got the gamelan  
**Author** – The one that is at GCC now?  
**Lewis** – Yeah, I got that, but now Jonathan owns that with his organization.  
**Author** – How did the gamelan come to be?  
**Lewis** - Well I put in a proposal to an organization and I guess they had the money for it. Tihiangan [where the instruments were made], they produced probably the best gamelans, I mean, it’s a good, good gamelan. Of course Jonathan has it now.  
**Author** – When was it made?  
**Lewis** – 1980s? 1970s? I’m terrible with dates. We put it in our children’s home but they had problems having a teacher coming in to teach the kids. So finally I took the gamelan after it was being lent out to schools. I didn’t have the expertise to make it worth it. So I finally brought it here, and Jonathan and Tina with the particular vision, so they’ve taken it.  
**Author** – When did they become interested in using it?

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71 Lelia Lewis, interview with the author, August 2012.
According to people close to Rajeg, he was originally unable to find support for his musical talents at his home GKII congregation, and for a short time Rajeg sold shrimp crackers (I: krupuk) to local restaurants and convenience stores. The same sources also suggested there were members in his home congregation who discouraged Rajeg from pursuing a professional music career. It was shortly after this time that, as Lewis says, the Baileys were in touch with Rajeg about working/collaborating with their newly formed group.

I first met Rajeg at the end of his third year as the Narwastu director. From that time (August 2009) and until the completion of my dissertation field research (May 2016) he and I spoke several times about his contextual compositions and his views on the movement more broadly. During this period I observed a considerable shift in Rajeg’s understanding of contextualization and its role in his compositions. His comments from a 2012 interview are decidedly critical of contextualization:

**Author** – Do you have a concept like contextualization in your own church? Do you know about the subject?

**Rajeg** – Yes, I know about it. I’ve studied it before. The percentage of churches that use contextualization is very small. The concept of contextualization at GKII is not common. But we don’t just want to be pulled along [I: terseret]. We should not be interested [I: tertarik] in the process of contextualization; this would be like compromising [I: berkompromi] Christianity. *Kemah Injil* [GKII] Christians avoid compromise [menghindari kompromi]. Christian is Christian. Hindu is Hindu. How can we identify Christianity? Like this [gestures with hands – suggesting an explanation]. In the *Kemah Injil* Church there is only a little bit of contextualization… These are all my own claims, but the gamelan is owned by Jonathan’s
organization [I: *yayasan*] and they have started to enter into contextualization. Some people may be pulled along by it, but I’m not. I do not want to follow. I don’t want to follow along in that system. I’m not happy when contextualization stands out [I: *menonjol*] too much. So what this means for GKII is that even though we can talk about contextualization we don’t really have it.  

By 2014 - and after a successful debut of his contextual works at the Bali Arts Festival – Rajeg and I spoke again about contextualization. As Rajeg lists some of the places Narwastu will be playing throughout the later part of 2014, he begins to express seemingly contradictory views from those he shared in 2012:

**Rajeg** – [Narwastu is] doing concerts for large *upacara* [Hindu ceremonies] in Hindu circles. Right now they’re having a large ceremony in Singaraja. There’s also a large program in September. There’s also a plan to play at Pura Besakih, this is in April.  

How do you address a program like that? There are definitely other opinions. Of the programs I’ve mentioned, there are those that say this is good for us to accompany them. There are also those that reject this, in Christian circles, there are those that forbid [I: *melarang*] shows in these places. This was how I thought at first. What do we affirm by having shows in these places [temples]? This is how I learned at first. How can we ensure that as Christian people we are not just being pulled along [I: *terseret*]? If you’re going to use gamelan as…a language of communication, that’s good. There are gamelans that in my experience, like the one at GCC, there are Christians there that have the cross within them, then it’s okay to play at places like Besakih. This is a way for us to communicate with Hindu people. If we can present dances and songs and play at temples then we can prosper [I: *menguntungkan*] as Christian people. Then they will accept us.

Rajeg’s final comments are the most insightful in terms of what he understands as the potential for contextual music and dance to function in interreligious relations. He refers to music as a “language of communication” [I: *bahasa komunikasi*], one that

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72 I Wayan Rajeg, interview with the author, July 2012.
73 Pura Besakih is located on the southern slope of Mount Agung and is the largest Hindu temple in Bali.
can “communicate with Hindu people” and allow Christians to “prosper” [I: *menguntungkan*]. This desire to employ music and dance as modes of interreligious communication shares similarities with doctrines developed by the Bali Church during contextual reform.

The later, more permissive theology of contextualization is reflected also in the attitude of Rajeg’s home congregation (GKII Nusa Dua). On my first trip to Bali (2009-10) people told me that Rajeg’s church was critical of contextualized practice – a sentiment brought up by Rajeg himself in the 2012 interview. It is therefore curious that only a year later the Narwastu group, under the artistic direction of Rajeg, played a short set of Balinese *tari lepas* at GKII Nusa Dua. Pieces performed during the service included *Puspanjali* and *Oleg Tambulilingan*. 
Figure 1.8. Dancers perform *Oleg Tambulilingan* at GKII Nusa Dua as a part of a contextual program of music and dance presented by Narwastu (photo by Jonathan Bailey, 2014).

Much more could be said about GKII and its evolving position on contextual Balinese arts, particularly since the end of WWII. The points I have highlighted in this section – particularly the relationship between American-based missions agencies through gamelan instruments – demonstrate, if only in part, alternative narratives to
Protestant contextualization in Bali. Rajeg’s contribution to a contextual repertoire of music and dance is significant, and his affiliation with both GKII (as a congregational member) and Narwastu demonstrate his unique position in bridging contextual practices between Protestant groups. Beyond the Christian bodies already mention, other Churches are making use of contextual music or elements of it, most notably The R.O.C.K. (Lembah Pujian, Denpasar) and several Catholic churches (primarily near Denpasar). A more thorough understanding of these and other related manifestations of hybrid/contextual practice should inform future, more comprehensive work on the historical development of hybrid Balinese-Christian music and dance repertoires.

Rejection of Contextual Practices

Though contextual music and dance are today widely accepted forms of worship praxis by GKPB congregants, there are still those within the church who object. Furthermore, there are those who call these practices into question from beyond this small church body, including Hindus and Christians (more broadly speaking). In this section I will provide several examples, both historical and contemporary, to illustrate the longstanding opposition to contextual Balinese art from across religious and denominational boundaries. This persistent opposition to

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74 The R.O.C.K. (Representatives of Christ’s Kingdom) is an international missions agency with churches throughout Australia and Asia, including at least eight in Indonesia. Lembah Pujian is the R.O.C.K. congregation in Bali and has recently begun employing elements of Balinese music in its worship repertoires. Catholic churches have employed hybrid (“inculturated”) music in church-related events since at least the 1950s. In addition to the areas around Denpasar, the western village of Palasari also has a long history of hybrid music production.
contextual arts makes it all the more interesting that they have flourished to the extent that they have – especially within the Bali Church.

The initial rejection of contextual music practice came from foreign missionaries and other early converts. Mastra gives an account of one village that gave up its gamelan under the pressure of other Christians:

Untal-Untal was a village where 95% of the people became Christians. They sold their only set of gamelan orchestral instruments that they had inherited for generations through the encouragement of the Christians. The Christian[s] did not like their children to learn Balinese arts and music [which] belonged to the demons because they were related to the worship of ancestral spirits. (In Sudhiarsa 2000:165)

The village of Untal-Untal lies on the edge of Denpasar and is home to the oldest Protestant church in Bali. Because of this area’s long affiliation with Protestantism, Mastra’s account likely references some time in the early 1930s. Mastra specifically mentions the villagers selling their instruments at the behest of “the Christians.” This is one of the earliest examples of the institutional rejection of Balinese music.

Pendeta Enos gave a similar account of institutional attitudes toward contextualization when we discussed the topic at his home in Nusa Dua in April 2014:

**Author** – Do you know people who don’t agree with the use of gamelan in the Church?

**Enos** – Lots. Previous generations of GKII didn’t like gamelan.

**Author** – Why not?

**Enos** – Because it was associated with/reeked of [I: berbau] Hinduism. Those were instruments that you used in Hinduism, you couldn’t bring them into the church – this was their thinking. These instruments reeked of Hinduism. There were many pastors who felt this way.

Enos contends that attitudes amongst GKII congregants toward contextualization are changing, and cited the recent concert of Rajeg’s work as a prime example. However,
his description of the historical situation is similar to Mastra’s - one of general
resistant to and suspicion of contextual music and dance. This position was, and often
still is, associated with concerns over gamelan’s close connection to Balinese
Hinduism.

Despite widespread acceptance of contextual reform within GKPB, Darsane
suggests there are still Christians who strongly oppose it:

**Darsane** – It’ really difficult to develop [I: mengembang] art just for people in
the church. There are lots that are not happy with playing music. Many
people assume that Balinese music is the music of Satan.

**Author** – Are there still people who think that way?

**Darsane** – Those that are really old, those who don’t understand, those who
have not seriously studied the Gospel.

Darsane’s observations regarding variations in internal reception of contextual GKPB
art illustrate an important point about diversity within the Bali Church itself. Through
my research I have attempted to be as comprehensive as I could in my documentation
and description of contextual narratives, an approach that has led me to focus on a
relatively small number of GKPB churches, each having a strong connection to
contextual performing arts. As important as this narrative is, it is also important to
acknowledge the others (amongst the dozens of other GKPB churches) that exist
along what is more akin to a spectrum of ideas than to a simple binary distinction.

Reported resistance to contextual Balinese arts was generated primarily from
within Christian communities prior to the 1970s. However, as contextual arts shifted
from fringe to officially sanctioned activity (particularly within GKPB), resistance
from members of the broader Hindu majority began to emerge. Over the course of my
research many of my interlocutors have referenced such religiously situated views. I
will now touch briefly on three such examples as a means to provide a more complete picture of the social backdrop against which contemporary contextual art exists.

First, the work of Dutch anthropologist Frederik Bakker makes clear reference to such Hindu objections:

Although the Parisada [the official governing body of Hinduism in Bali] also advocates an attitude of tolerance towards Christianity, it is clearly more critical of this religion than of Islam. The Christians are reproached for adopting all manner of elements from the art, the costume and the architecture of Bali for use in their own religion…In addition he [one of Bakker’s Balinese Hindu interlocutors] blames the Christians more than the Muslims for performing rituals to worship their own Hindu ancestors. (Bakker 1993:286)

Though this attitude of denigrating Christianity/Christian behavior over Islam/Muslim behavior has reversed since the first Bali bombing (2002), it is still interesting to note the opposition here between contextualization and specific localized beliefs (ancestors, in this case). Balinese philosopher Kadek Aryadharma raises similar, religiously situated points of concern in describing the use of gamelan in Catholic services:

Ever though they use gamelan, bells and penjor [in the Catholic Church] it seems as though they don’t understand that theory of Balinese gamelan whereby each note has a relationship to the gods – so it’s certain this is still inappropriate to use in the Church. (Aryadharma 2011:167)

Finally, in a 2011 interview Rajeg notes that though there are Hindus who agree (I: setuju) with contextualization and there are also those who fervently oppose it:

Author – Have you ever spoken with members of the Hindu community about contextual Balinese dances in the church?
Rajeg – Yes, I have spoken with non-Christian Balinese… There are lots of Balinese who support the use of gamelan to convey Christian ideas. But there are also those who forbid this. There
are still fanatics [I: *fanatik*], clearly they would not agree with the use of Balinese dance in a gospel context. They consider dance to be Hindu culture [I: *budaya Hindu*], a part of the Hindu religion [I: *agama Hindu*].

This short section on resistance to contextualization has highlighted its historical prevalence and broadening religious scope. I also mention these examples to help counteract, if only in part, the bias in my research toward those who work with contextual music and who are not opposed to its transmission. While I firmly believe there is a fundamental value in understanding interreligious communication (as this dissertation sets out to do), examining interreligious tensions can be just as revealing. Future work on contextual Balinese arts should examine these subversive trends as points of comparison to the data reviewed throughout much of this dissertation.

**Conclusion:**

Over the course of this chapter I have situated the notion of contextualization within a uniquely Balinese context. I have done this with reference to notable historical events (e.g. 1972 GKPB Synod), people (mostly primary actors within this movement: Mastra, Darsane, Murdita, and Suranata), and institutions (Widhya Asih and Divia Pradana Bhakti). Other important (and sometimes dissenting views) have also been reviewed to provide a more complete picture of contextualization in Bali beyond GKPB alone. Contextualization is, therefore, not entirely an endeavor of a single Protestant body in Bali, though GKPB has and continues to be the primary purveyor of such arts since the early 1970s.
Another important aspect of contextualization as it pertains to GKPB praxis is material culture, which also serves to embody the theological ideals of this small social movement. As I will argue in chapter four, gamelan instruments themselves (and particularly those sets owned by GKPB) function as important social “brokers” (Burt 2004) within the interreligious music networks that have formed through the sustained artistic collaboration of Balinese Hindus and Christians. Material forms of culture are, therefore, also important contributors to the socio-theological movement known as contextualization. In addition, the sekehe gong (village gamelan cooperative) works to provide a social framework through which these gamelan instruments are able to facilitate interreligious dialogue and negotiation. Because of the powerful communal aspect of gamelan instruments (and associated repertoires) it is apparent why Mastra envisioned gamelan as an important contributor to contextual reform. More than simply an aesthetic preference, gamelan (vis-à-vis contextual reform) is one means of upholding societal norms and interpersonal relationships.

Given the important socializing function of gamelan instruments and performance, it is easy to understand how Mastra would characterize Western instruments as an impoverishing force amongst GKPB Christians: “If we need a piano or an organ…we must become beggars” (Eck 1982:151).

In a 2013 ethnography, sociologist Myengkyo Seo observes the complexities of Christian/Muslim relations in Central Java as revealed through the of process conversion. Seo suggests, “that conversion in Java is not about the fortification of boundaries but about the porosity of religious frontiers” (2013:126). I argue that in a

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75 Other important forms of contextual material culture in Bali include (but are not limited to): paintings, sculptures, church buildings, clothing and costumes, and stone reliefs.
similar fashion contextualized Balinese music and dance has been successful insofar as it has increased the instances of sustained interreligious dialogue. The people, events, and church institutions reviewed in this chapter have demonstrated much of this “porosity”; for example, Hindu staff at GKPB (e.g. Suranata), interreligious orphanages, and theological/cosmological dialogue (e.g. taksu discourse). I argue that contextual reform has had generally positive effects on Christian/Hindu relations in Bali, however, it is not safe to assume that such an outcome was always inevitable or that such a favorable environment for interreligious artistic collaborations will endure indefinitely. If this is true, then how and under what circumstances has contextual music and dance been able to function in a manner that fosters interreligious interaction and communication? As I will demonstrate in the following chapter, much of this apparent success can be traced to parallel developments in the emerging tourist industry.
Chapter 2 – GKPB, the Touristic Church: The Influence of Balinese “Cultural Tourism” on Contextual Ideology, Institutions, and Practices

Over the course of the twentieth century the Balinese economy shifted from relying primarily on agriculture to mass tourism, and is today one of the most popular tourist destinations in the world. One factor that has historically helped to distinguish Bali from other “exotic” tourist destinations is its rich and diverse artistic traditions. Today – and indeed since the mid-1960s -- music and dance shows in popular tourist areas generate great economic benefit, variously to businesses, communities, private individuals, and performance “troupes” (I: sanggar). The extreme touristic appeal of music and dance has created discursive formations that position these arts within a sacred/secular binary – particularly, as articulated by Balinese religious and political leaders through the dictates resultant from the 1971 “Seminar on Sacred and Profane Dance” (hereafter, SSPD). Members of the Balinese intelligentsia argued that such measures would prevent the profanation of Balinese Hinduism, however, in practice this distinction, as I will demonstrate, frequently appears artificial. For the Bali Church, however, the institution of a sacred/secular dichotomy became an ideal way to legitimate its own contextualized music and dance production – the earliest of which occurred shortly after the influential SSPD.

This chapter explores the simultaneous boom in the tourist economy and the development of contextual Balinese music. I will show that these developments were more than distant historical contemporaries, but rather that many of the contextual reforms instituted by the Bali Church reflected broader socio-economic trends in Bali.

76 I discuss this particular seminar at length later in this chapter.
This influence is evident in both how representatives of the Bali Church discuss contextual music, including aspects of repertory, performance practice, and aesthetics. The economically driven model of “touristification” described below eventually became the foundation for a parallel system of capital-based exchange designed as a Christian equivalent to forms of tourism that fetishized Hindu Bali. I will elaborate more on this capital-based model of Protestant/Hindu interaction in chapter four.

“Touristification”

The work of Michel Picard frequently illustrates the connection between Balinese dance and tourism (e.g. Picard 1990; 1995; 1996; 1997). In considering the complexities of this socio-economic-aesthetic exchange, Picard challenges the notion that Balinese society as a whole has been passively disrupted by tourism:

…I contend that, far from being an external force striking a native society from without, touristification proceeds from within. Or to be more precise, it blurs the boundaries between the inside and the outside, between what is ‘ours’ and what is ‘theirs’, between that which belongs to ‘culture’ and that which pertains to ‘tourism.’ (1995:46)

An important component of Picard’s model, which he calls “touristification,” is its tendency to break down binaries – inside/outside, ours/their, culture/tourism. In Bali touristification has resulted in, for example, the development of new dances (and even new genres) with tremendous appeal from within (the Balinese) and without (the tourists).

There are intriguing similarities (and equally intriguing differences) between Picard’s study of tourism in Bali and the present study of interreligious relations. The most obvious connection, besides geography, is a shared focus on tourism as a
generator of social change. As I will demonstrate throughout this chapter, touristic reforms had a tremendous impact on GKPB contextualization, which in turn influenced Hindu/Christian relations. Both of these areas of inquiry also foreground a dissolution of previously distinct religious boundaries. For Picard this amounts to a greying of a general insider/outsider (tourist/local) binary, and for the present work is manifest most powerfully in the historical tension between Hindus and Christians in Bali.

Despite these similarities, key demographic and ideological differences exist. Whereas much of Picard’s work focuses on the symbiotic relationship between tourists, Balinese artists, and Balinese society, the present study – while recognizing the influence of mass tourism – focuses primarily on how Picard’s broader model of touristification has informed and transformed *intra*-ethnic Balinese relations. Unlike Picard’s outsiders (tourists/tourism), the GKPB church and its membership had/have a much greater stake at play in the outcome of contextualization – particularly as related to identity, religious freedom, and ethnic belonging. While acknowledging this fundamental difference, I contend that contextual Balinese repertoires were and still are deeply informed by tourism, tourists, and touristification.

**Tourism in Bali**

**The Inter-war Period**

Throughout the 1920s foreign visits to Bali increased to the point of sustaining a small tourist economy, highlighted by the completion of the famous Bali Hotel in Denpasar (1928). These early tourists formed a new (and often wealthy) audience for the innovative musics and choreographies emerging from Bali throughout the 1920s
and 1930s. The bright, energetic, and sometimes erratic sonorities of the *gong kebyar* style were one of the major aesthetic developments throughout twentieth century Balinese music. Tilman Seebass notes the interplay between foreign and local aesthetics vis-à-vis this emerging musical genre:

*Kebyar [sic] was very much a Balinese initiative, but a number of common points of interest indicate that its compatibility with modern Western aesthetics may have helped its furtherance. Certainly its condensed and linear form would have made it more easily adaptable to performance for tourists at the Bali Hotel… (1996:84-5)*

By 1930 there were approximately 100 tourists per month visiting Bali, and some feared that this persistent foreign influence would eventually pollute Balinese culture and arts. Many openly criticized tourism as the eventual demise of Bali’s natural beauty and artistic ingenuity. For example, in 1937 a member of the Netherland’s Geographical Congress wrote:

*Serious dangers for the future lie most probably in tourism. May the Dutch administration be successful in educating and guiding the streams of tourists in such a manner that tourism contributes as much as possible to the maintenance and as little as possible to the destruction of this reservation.* (Hobart et al 1996:223)

Tourism peaked at the end of the 1930s when there was an estimated 250 visits per month. A crash in this new economy occurred with the onset of WWII in Europe, prompting American museum curator Philip Hiss to surmise: “Perhaps it [the war] has delayed for a year, or even a decade the fateful dissolution of Balinese culture” (In McCarthy 1994:13). Even if Hiss’ forecast for “Balinese culture” today seems overly dramatic, WWII undoubtedly disrupted this bourgeoning economy, an effect felt well into the early 1960s (Vickers 2012[1989]:253).
Late 1960s – mid 1970s

Following Suharto’s rise to power (1966), the Indonesia government moved to strengthen economic relations with Western nations, and accordingly promoted Bali as an ideal vacation area (Picard 1990:41). This national push to promote Bali coupled with its prewar image as a tropical paradise helped ensure the continued development of tourism. Tourist visits doubled after the completion of an international airport in 1969, and increased another nine fold by 1974 (Picard 1996:51).

Amidst this rapid economic development many began to question both the role of music and dance within tourism, and to suggest possible outcomes of an aesthetic foray into commercialism. Indonesian historian Willard Hanna offered a particularly dire assessment of the union of theatrical arts and tourism:

Balinese theatrical representation occurred originally at festivals in the temple courtyard, in the courts of the radjas [kings], or at some spot significant in the island’s tradition. To pack it up and hire it out to a tourist hotel for the entertainment of an uninitiated foreign audience means necessarily to adapt and thus to pervert it, to give the whole performance a different mood, and impact, and thus greatly to alter the attitude of the performers and eventually their performance when and if they appear before local audiences. (Hanna 1972:61)

Hanna raises two central concerns: (1) that to include the arts in tourism necessitates a problematic adaptation of the original, and (2) that such touristic adaptations will affect performances for local audiences. Both points are founded in a concern that tourism will compromise Balinese arts. Hanna’s position was a common one, and can be found echoed by (mainly Western) voices throughout the twentieth century (e.g. Covarrubius 1937; McCarthy 1994).
In contrast to such prevailing, fatalistic forecasts, the research of Phillip McKean drew vastly different conclusions:

In short, and perhaps most dramatically stated, the traditions of Bali will prosper in direct proportion to the success of the tourist industry. Far from destroying, ruining, or “spoiling” the culture of Bali, I am arguing here that the advent and increase of tourists is likely to fortify and foster the arts: dance, music, architecture, carving and painting. (McKean 1973:1)

McKean’s vision of the development of art within the tourist industry is clearly much more optimistic than Hanna; not only will tourism not destroy the arts, but it will “fortify and foster” them. One reason for McKean’s positive assessment is the emergence of a new performance audience – tourists. Whereas former performances were cosmologically oriented toward the gods and toward local audiences, the explosion of tourism in Bali had created a “third audience” (McKean 1973:41). In considering the findings of the present research, McKean’s third audience theory provides a useful corollary for understanding the success of GKPB contextualization initiatives. I contend that the positive reception of early contextual works was bolstered by the underlying idea that tourists/foreigners are a distinct and legitimate audience for localized arts. Balinese Christians through this period (late 1960s – early 1970s) were often regarded as social and political foreigners, and the overlap of contextual reform with this example of touristification helped bolster Christian efforts to gain broader (Hindu) support for contextualization, including social and aesthetic (re)integration.
Inventing the Sacred: The Birth of Balinese “Cultural Tourism” and the 1971 “Seminar on Sacred and Profane Dance”

There is no historical evidence to suggest that there has ever been a localized Balinese distinction between “sacred” and “secular.” More specifically, there is not even an historical corollary to the notion of “secular” music, though varying degrees of “sacredness” were applied to Balinese performing arts well before the era of Dutch colonization in Bali (beginning in the mid-nineteenth century). Tenzer has noted the difficulty of imposing a sacred/secular binary on these traditions: “As in many other places, one cannot speak of such activities [music and dance] as having belonged to either sacred or secular realms, for the two concepts did not exist as such” (Tenzer 2000:76). Walter Spies, a German artist living in Bali during the 1930s, makes similar observations: “We shall have to emphasize again and again…the fact that all dancing in Bali is religious in the sense that it is connected with the temple and organic in the life of the village” (Spies and de Zoete 2002[1938]:46). As the numbers of visitors entering Bali during the mid to late 1960s began to surge, the Indonesian government (and especially its agencies in Bali) increasingly viewed tourism as a potential threat to Balinese traditions (Vickers 2012[1989]:240). The artificial fabrication of a sacred/secular binary was seen as a way to preserve the integrity of Balinese arts, especially dance (269).

In 1971, following the completion of an intensive assessment of touristic development, the Balinese government assembled religious and political leaders to discuss the formulation of a new ideology known as parawisata budaya, or “cultural tourism.” This resulted in the Seminar on Cultural Tourism in Bali, which was
assembled under the “joint aegis of the provincial agencies for tourism, religion, culture, and education” (Picard 1995:51). Among the primary topics discussed were “how to prevent ‘cultural pollution’ from developing along with tourism” (Yamashita 2003:55). This has led many authors to characterize cultural tourism as a preservative measure, part of which was constructed upon a sacred/secular binary (Mauer 1979; Vicker 1989, 1996; Picard 1996). A number of conferences on cultural tourism were held in Bali during 1971, but one became particularly influential in the development of a contextual repertory and interreligious aesthetic discourses.

In March 1971 various Balinese cultural authorities held the Seminar of Sacred and Profane Dance (I: Seminar Seni Sakral dan Profan Bidang Tari). The primary purpose of the seminar was to intellectualize a distinction that could position Balinese dance (writ large) within a sacred/secular binary. According to Vickers this was “one of the mechanisms designed to preserve Balinese culture” from the destructive influences of tourism (2012[1989]:269). Participating members of the Balinese intelligentsia initially tried to establish a sacred/secular distinction in existing nationalist discourse, which led them to consider the Indonesian binary of *agama/adat* (religion/culture). Such a simple solution was not feasible since these semantic fields had (and continue to have) considerable ideological overlap (Picard 1996:153-4). To overcome this intellectual hurdle, I Gusti Agung Gede Putra (Head of the Provincial Office of the Department of Religion) proposed two separate categories of *adat* – (1) that which belongs to religion (I: *adat keagamaan*), and (2) that which belongs to habit/custom (I: *adat kebiasaan*). The following flowchart
illustrates the logic of a sacred/secular binary within this framework:

![Diagram showing the sacred/secular binary]

Another “solution” to the sacred/secular dilemma was forwarded at the conference, in part a response to the adat binary proposed by Putra. This time the seminar participants proposed “a nomenclature distinguishing three categories of dance” – wali, bebali, and balih-balihan (Picard 1996:156). Because of the importance of this model for the forthcoming analysis, I will quote this nomenclature at length (in its original English):

1) *Seni tari wali* (“sacred religious dances”) – performed in the inner courtyard (*jeroan*) of a temple or wherever a ceremony is taking place, indissociable [sic] from the carrying out of the ceremony (*pelaksana upacara*). These dances are generally devoid of narrative elements ([e.g.] *Pendent, Rejang, Baris, Gede, Sanghyang*).

2) *Seni tari bebali* (“ceremonial dances”) – performed in the central courtyard (*jabatengah*) of a temple or elsewhere, accompanying a ceremony (*pengiring upacara*). These dances are narrative in character (*Wayang, Topeng, Gambuh, and the principal theatrical genres derived from them*).

3) *Seni tari balih-balihan* (“secular dances”) – performed in the outer courtyard (*jaba*) of a temple or elsewhere, as pure entertainment (*hiburan*), with no relation to a ceremony, and not belonging to the category of *wali* or *bebali*. (Picard 1996:156)
This tripartite structure categorizes music according to its spatial relationship to the temple (I/B: *pura*), with the most sacred dances performed in the inner courtyard and secular dances being performed outside the temple altogether. These categories were ratified by the Governor of Bali in a 1973 decree, which prohibited “the commercial exploitation of ‘sacred dance,’ those considered to belong to the category *wali*” (Picard 1996:158).

Tenzer has argued that in practice the *wali/bebali/balihi-balihan* model has not met its mandate as it has not created a meaningfully distinction between dances that are appropriate for touristic performance from those that are not (2000:98); other scholars have noted similar shortcomings and inefficiencies (Sanger 1988:99; Dibia 1996:2; Gold 2005:18). Despite terminological and intellectual challenges of this ideological model, and the more general sacred/secular binary, many authors (until recently) continued to mobilize these ideas as theoretical structures to understand the social function of Balinese dance repertoires (e.g. Bandem and De Boer 1995; Racki 1998; Dibia an Ballinger 2004; Rubin and Sedana 2007). Though this tripartite model appears to have largely run its course in the academic literature, it remains an important framework for legitimizing contextual Balinese arts.

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**Contextualization and Touristification: Overlapping Discourses**

In the title of this section I emphasize the similarities, or overlap, between two broad social and intellectual movements that greatly informed the development of GKPB contextual arts. In Bali, the major commonality between “contextualization” and

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77 The word *pura* (temple) is used in both the Indonesian and Balinese languages. Its etymology can be traced to Sanskrit.
“cultural tourism” is a mutual focus on change and transformation in relation to processes of modernization, particularly mass tourism and missionization. Both conceptual frames emanate from them/us-type distinctions (Balinese/foreigner, Christian/Hindu) and the processes described separately as “cultural tourism” and “contextualization” have coalesced to such an extent in Bali as to be, at times, structurally indistinguishable. Picard’s assessment of “cultural tourism” helps underscore this point:

The local population constructs a representation of their culture, simultaneously based upon their own indigenous system of references and their understanding of the tourist’s expectations. (1990:44)

In a similar fashion, GKPB’s project of contextualization developed according to both localized systems of reference and foreign expectations. Matters of profound local, cosmological concern (such as taksu and kawitan (ref. chapter 1)) are blended with foreign/Christian/Western performance tropes – e.g. proscenium stage, abbreviated/condensed forms, clear audience/performer separation, punctual start times, and narrative driven subjects. Interestingly, all of these common contextual conventions find direct corollaries to Balinese music and dance genres that developed alongside the expansion of the tourist economy through cultural tourism. In addition to these shared performance traits, arts associated with contextualization and Balinese cultural tourism, respectively, are espoused on strikingly similar ideological and intellectual grounds.

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78 The tropes listed here are based on my own observations of contextual repertoire performed at GKPB churches. Performances of this repertoire nearly always adhere to the aforementioned performance conventions and are similar to those practiced by Protestants in many parts of the world.
Official GKPB Positions Regarding Sacred/Secular Discourse

The clearest connection between the parallel ideologies promoted by the conclusions of the 1971 Seminar on Sacred and Profane Dance (SSPD) are found in a treatise on contextual Balinese art. The work is entitled *Artwork as an Expression of Faith at GKPB* and was compiled in 2012 by a ten-member writing and support committee, including both Hindu and Christian members. Murdita is the primary author of a section that draws striking similarities to the ideas and conclusions put forth by the 1971 SSPD. In a manner evocative of Putra’s subdivision of adat into “customary” and “religious” categories, Murdita takes a prevailing binary (sacred/secular) and adapts it to a newly emerging socio-political context. Here he argues for the subdivision of *seni (pertunjukan) tari* (“the art of dance” - hereafter, SPT) into SPT “secara umum” (general/public), and SPT “secara iman kristiani” (of the Christian faith):

> So that we as Christian people do not wrongly use the art of dance in church services, such as those that have already experienced rapid growth; especially dances infused with the sacred [I: *sacral*, i.e. Hindu ceremonial art]. Such dances cannot be used in church services because they are in conflict with the teaching of the Christian faith.

For increased focus, understanding of meaning, and the development of the community there are two categories/meanings of the performance dances [*seni pertunjukan tari* - SPT] mentioned, namely: (1) *Seni pertunjukan tari secara umum* [“public art dance performance”], and (2) *Seni pertunjukan secara iman kristiani* [“Christian art dance performance”]. (Murdita et al 2012:23)

Murdita then connects SPT *secara umum* to the tripartite model first developed at SSPD in 1971:

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79 The original Indonesian title of the GKPB contextual arts treatise is: *Karya Seni Sebagai Expresi Iman di Gerjeja Kristen Protestan di Bali*. In May 2016 it was published under the same title and in a very limited printing. In June of the same year it was distributed to leaders of GKPB at the bi-annual synod assembly in Denpasar.
In reference to the meanings of art dance [*seni tari*] mentioned above and so that we are able to know more and not wrongly use [these dances], for this we need to know the function of *seni pertunjukan tari secara umum* [public art dance], which has a tri-function:

a. *Seni pertunjukan tari wali* [SPTW] (sacred, religious dance) that is: SPTW that functions as the ceremonial manager in Hinduism. Examples of such dances include: *tari sanghyang, tari rejang, tari baris upacara* etc. (SPTW invites the spirit of God). We cannot use *pertunjukan seni* like this in church events.

b. *Seni pertunjukan tari bebali* (ceremonial dance), that is: SPT that functions as accompaniment to a ceremony in holy places (Hindu temples) in Bali. For public shows this type of dance is most useful for acting or telling stories; for examples, *seni tari, gambuh*, the *calonarang* drama, *arja* etc. When *pertunjukan seni* like this have elements of the sacred we cannot use them in church, however those that are not sacred may be used according to the needs of the church.

c. *Seni pertunjukan tari balih-balihan* (secular dance) that is: SPT that functions as serious art and entertainment art, examples include: *seni tari legong, seni tari jogged, seni jangger dan kecak, seni genjekan, seni tari lepas (tari kebyar)* etc. This type of SPT does not belong [*I: tergolong*] to *wali* and *bebali* arts. This type of SPT may be used in church events because these arts are not associated with the sacred. (Murdita et al 2012:24)

Clearly, each of Murdita’s categories has a corollary with those of the SSPD seminar. In both instances *wali* becomes a marker of exclusivity. For participants of the 1971 seminar this meant demarcating them (tourists) from us (Balinese), and for Murdita it results in the recognition of Hindu ownership of particular dance repertoires and genres. The second category (*bebali*) again acts as a buffer, offering the necessary flexibility for this otherwise untenable sacred/secular binary. For GKPB this means *bebali* dances can be used only when they are not connected to the “sacred” (i.e. dances categorized *wali* and Hindu). Finally, those dances belonging to the *balih-balihan* category – or “entertainment” (*I: hiburan*) – offer the best potential for contextual development because they are, in theory, disassociated from the sacred.
*Balih-balihan*, the categorical vessel first codified to promote Balinese cultural tourism, has now become a repurposed ideology for Christian contextualization.

The following flow chart (figure 2.2) is an amalgamation of the sacred/secular binary devised by Putra at the 1971 dance seminar, and that proposed by Murdita (2012).

![Flow Chart](image)

**Figure 2.2.**

Both men endeavor to an intermediary stage where an existing binary is adapted to new socio-political/socio-economic conditions. Putra was driven by a simultaneous desire to expand and adapt the Balinese economy to the modern marketplace vis-à-vis tourism and to protect aspects of Balinese religion and custom (particularly dance) from misuse. This resulted in the ideological distinction between *adat keagamaan* and
adat kebiasaan, and resolved finally in a sacred/secular construct that could account for new understandings of self and community in the presence of mass tourism.

This model, however, poses problems for GKPB contextual reform since it conflates the sacred with Balinese Hinduism, thus placing Balinese Christians on the periphery of Balinese identity (I: identitas) discourses. In an effort to reverse this trend, Murdita directly connects GKPB contextualization with localized notions of ethnicity and identity:

GKPB contextualizes through art [seni] and culture [budaya] that is nuanced with Balinese ethnicity and culture. GKPB is not opposed to other cultures that fit with the life of the church and community; in this manner we will not lose our identity. The GKPB arts office [I: Biro Seni dan Komunikasi, Divia Pradana Bhakti] attempts to cultivate art that reflects Balinese ethnicity and culture… We frequently use gambelan gong [sic] to accompany services. There are also some congregational songs and praise songs with gamelan accompaniment – this points to our Balinese identity. (Murdita et al 2012:25-6)

In chapter three I will give careful consideration to the interrelationship of key terms such as seni, budaya, and identitas. I mention them here to draw attention to the institutional motives driving contextualization and contextual reform – that is, the restructuring of identity discourse to include multiple religious frameworks. To make intellectual sense of this proposed shift Murdita employs a familiar strategy. Like Putra before him, he starts with those arts that fall outside the realm of dominant institutional power; for Murdita this means a division of the “secular” into SPT secara umum and SPT iman Kristiani.80 As illustrated in section 2 of figure 2.2, this model follows a similar trajectory to that of section 1. Contextual reform, and its

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80 The “dominant institutional power” for Putra was Indonesian nationalism and religious reform. Adat, though important to constructs of nationalism, is the peripheral and therefore more malleable category. For Murdita this power emanates from within Bali (i.e. the religious status quo) in the form of “sacred” (Hindu) arts.
implicit identity claims, created an obvious terminological misnomer in relation to the extant sacred/secular discourse. Though GKPB employs only those forms and genres regarded as “secular” they could not be labeled as such because this label would run the risk of associating contextual arts with only the most superficial aspects of Balinese culture (I: *budaya*). Murdita, therefore, proposes a new binary distinction to facilitate church art that is at once delineated from public secularism and able to function as a means to claim *kebalian*. Murdita’s suggestion that SPT *iman Kristiani* is capable of articulating a Balinese Christian identity bely his three-part model and hints at some sort of renegotiated binary – essentially a more religiously inclusive definition of us (Balinese – both Christians and Hindus) and them (tourists/foreigners). Murdita stops short of stating that SPT *secara iman Kristiani* is actually “sacred,” since sacred arts in Bali are widely regarded as exclusively Hindu.

His suggestion that this category is capable of embodying Balinese Christian identity, however, implies such an ideology within the existing framework, hence the “liminal” state of this discourse.81

It can easily be argued that this model is artificial, difficult to define in practice, and reductive, and I do not mention it here as one to necessarily be upheld.82 Rather, I wish to point out a recurring intellectual strategy and how it has been employed by GKPB officials to challenge Hindu-centric constructions of “Balineseness.” To the best of my knowledge, the 2012 GKPB arts treatise, which is quoted at length above, is the first time such an extensive philosophy/theology of

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81 Though Murdita does not officially say so, I have heard him refer to contextual performing arts as “sacred” (I: *sakral*) in rehearsals and in casual conversation.
82 Sanger notes the fluidity of the “sacred” and “secular” in *barong* performances: “Sacred and secular performances are not rigidly categorized and separated…” (1988:98).
church art has been printed. However, the way contextual reforms have been adopted into practice since the mid 1970s suggest these touristically informed ideologies, though unwritten, were nevertheless influential.⁸³

**Other Examples of Touristic Influences in GKPB Contextual Discourse**

In addition to the aforementioned and officially sanctioned church doctrine expressed within the Murdita (et al 2012) text, I have also encountered church music practitioners who employ similar sacred/secular “strategies” to explain existing contextual practices and repertoires. I will briefly mention three such examples from my field research to further emphasize the institutionalization of sacred/secular discourses (including the tripartite wali/bebali/balih-balihan model) in the Bali Church.

In September 2012, Darsane and I spoke at length about various aspects of contextual art. The following remarks regarding the relevance of certain key terms/categories in the Bali Church are from that conversation:

**Author** – Do the terms wali, bebali, and balih-balihan have any relevance for the Church [GKPB]?

**Darsane** – It’s like this… There are two types of Bali shows [I: tontonan]. One type is sacred [sacral] and one is profane [profan]. The sacred arts are only for their liturgy [liturgi mereka] – for example, rejang, baris tumbak, pendet. These are for wali ceremonies.

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⁸³ The tendency for contextual GKPB music to take the form of entertainment/secular genres (esp. sendratari and tari lepas) is evident in even the earliest GKPB productions. I have not found evidence to suggest that GKPB has ever employed any wali dances in church services. However, I Wayan Rajeg of Sanggar Narwastu composed a revised version of the wali dance rejang, which he called “Rerejangan.” The work was performed during a 2010 communion ceremony at GCC Church (Sanur, Bali).
There is another sacred dance, with Barong and Rangda... Calonarang. This one is between a show and the sacred. That which is sacred can be viewed by the community and this forms education. There is a battle between evil and truth. And finally evil loses. Figuratively, this is present in the story of Calonarang. The story of Calonarang is the source of history [I: bersumbur sejarah] – it comes from stories of the kings, it’s history but this is also mixed with the sacred – it becomes an offering [I: sembah] from Balinese Hindus.

Now in this I feel that balih-balihan dances are a way to teach common people [I: orang umum] about religion and philosophy. That’s in the entertainment dances [I: tontonan tari tarian].

Religious and philosophical teaching can also be done through wayang, also through vocal music – kakawin; where people sit and sing. The really old kakawin have been translated into daily language. They also do this at temple festivals, at odalan, and weddings. So there are a lot of activities that are offering ceremonies. The lives of Hindu people are colored [I: diwarni] and completed [I: dilengkapi] with dances. (Interview with the author, September 2012)

Foregoing a comprehensive analysis of this passage (and indeed our entire conversation) there are three points particularly germane to the present discussion.

First, Darsane sketches out a near identical, tripartite model of Balinese performing arts. I have set the paragraphs in the above transcription to roughly correspond with his description of each category (wali/bebali/balih-balihan). Second, Darsane projects a sacred/secular binary onto this model, noting that the “sacred” is tantamount to wali and to “their liturgy” (I: liturgi mereka). The meaning of the term “sacred” (I: sakral) is particular and is not synonymous with popular Western ideas of trans-religious/spiritual sacredness. In Balinese discourse the sakral is nearly always associated with Hinduism and participation in these religious aspects of life is a requisite condition.

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84 This is not a conventional interpretation of Rangda in Calonarang, as she is generally celebrated despite her role as an “evil” character in the drama. Darsane’s interpretation may be based on mainstream Christian theological norms, which clearly distinguish between and separate elements variously deemed “good” and “evil.”
for claiming one’s “Balineseness” (I will examine the conflation of Hinduism and identity at length in chapter three). Finally, Darsane identifies balih-balihan (or “tontonan” as he sometimes refers to it) as a class of dances rooted in the secular and capable of teaching the public (I: umum) about religion and philosophy. These are challenging, and perhaps even contradictory, claims for a performative category originally intended as “pure entertainment”. A system of distinguishing the sacred (Balinese/Hindu/wali) from the secular (foreign/touristic/balih-balihan) was originally put in place to stem the tide of foreign/touristic influence. Both the GKPB treatise and Darsane disrupt this dichotomy by ascribing matters of religion and identity to this fundamentally “secular” category (balih-balihan).

As I have already touched upon in the previous chapter, I Wayan Mastra was a seminal figure in the development of contextual reform and was a strong proponent of using localized music and dance (among other arts) in the Bali Church to promote interreligious dialogue and to create a foothold for Balinese Christian conceptions of identity. Moreover, he also envisioned a church that would draw great economic benefit from direct participation in the tourist economy. In a 1986 article entitled, “Theology of Tourism: An Alternative Tourism in Bali,” Mastra explicitly states these aims:

As the people of Europe have used streams of water in the river to run the machines of factories, so the Bali Church is trying to utilize the

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85 While the term “sakral” is almost always used in reference to aspects of Hinduism, there are some instances of Balinese custom (e.g. the Sanghyang “trance dance”) with no clear or official connection to Hindu practice as defined by the Parisada (PHDI). (David Harnish, communication with the author, March 2017).
86 Darsane uses the term “tontonan” as the contrary to “sakral” in the second paragraph of the extended interview quote, describing calonarang as somewhere between tontonan and sakral.
stream of tourists that come to Bali to generate the funds for its ministry.” (Mastra 1986:37)

More specifically, Mastra’s “alternative” was a tourism that helped people avoid what he calls the “bad influences” of tourists/tourism, such as: prostitution, drug use, drug trafficking, homosexuality, and crime (36).

To help prevent such behavior Mastra proposed a church-based tourism where visitors would “be able to join experiences of the Bali Church” (39). Throughout the article he expands upon his economic vision, including a brief description of how music will be used to attract tourists/money:

Many congregations have their own gamelan orchestra, which is used side by side with the organs. The tourists may wish to visit a practice session of the gamelan orchestra at one of the Christian villages near the center. (39)

From this account it is clear that Mastra wanted contextual music repertoires to be more than an internally comprehensible sign of localized belonging. For him, contextualization was also a way to engage the financially lucrative gaze of foreign tourists. This desire to use music and dance as a way to be seen (and paid!) uncovers a very different way that tourism affected contextual Balinese church repertoires. GKPB was, therefore, not only interested in contextual music and dance that was acceptable to local norms (as established, for example, through a sacred/secular binary), but also in catering to the (often exoticizing) aesthetic expectations of tourists. To the best of my knowledge, the Bali Church never fully realized Mastra’s vision for an “alternative tourism,” however, the presentation of contextual repertoire for delegates of foreign church visitors has been common place since the 1970s. As contextual arts have been shaped by provincial touristic policies so too have they
been shaped by encounters with foreign spectators and the expectations and assumptions therein. Mastra’s conception of music and dance as an economic machine was inspired and bolstered by the prior codification of Balinese cultural tourism and in turn helped further institutionalize elements of tourism within Church praxis.

**The Touristic Church: Institutionalizing and Aestheticizing Church Praxis**

Though the tourist church that Mastra envisioned never came to full or sustained fruition, the influence of this earlier contextual model had a profound influence on the institutions and aesthetics of the Bail Church. In this section I will examine the historical development and contemporary legacy of two GKPB institutions: Hotel Dhyana Pura and GKPB Bukit Doa. I will conclude with an examination of the Church’s adoption of certain aesthetic and formal principles as articulated through the employment of gong kebyar instruments and “secular” dance genres, particularly sendratari/fragmentari and tari lepas.

**Hotel Dhyana Pura**

Hotel Dhyana Pura (HDP) was owned and operated by the Bali Church from the time of its opening in 1975 until 2013. It was originally built as a resort, conference, and education center with a host of socio-religious and artistic mandates. When I first visited the hotel in 2011 I was surprised by the comparatively modest and dated condition of its grounds and buildings, particularly in comparison with the surrounding mega resorts in the popular beach “village” of Seminyak. I returned to
the area in 2013 while conducting my dissertation research, only to find the site under heavy construction; the concrete frames already erected suggesting Dhyana Pura was about to become a booming resort center itself. When I asked Murdita about this he told me the Church had hired a management firm in Jakarta to run the new, and much larger hotel. The dramatic physical transformation of this property raises a number of new questions regarding this Church institution’s present role in the social life of GKPB. I hope that further research will be able to address such new questions. The following, then, is a brief historical survey of HDP and its social function as originally conceived during the early years of Balinese contextualization.

The purchase and development of this oceanfront property -- near what is now the wildly popular surf and party mecca of Kuta -- was sponsored in large part by both the German Evangelist Church organization, “Bread for the World,” and the Nation Council of Churches in Indonesia (McKenzie and Mastra 1988:50). Initial construction of a multi-purpose center/hotel on the site was completed in 1975 with a total of 25 rooms.\(^87\) The bourgeoning success of this area’s tourist industry provided early financial stability for GKPB programs, and from the time of the hotel’s opening the Bali Church was transformed “from one of the poorest and most backward of the Indonesian churches” to “one of the richest and strongest” (England 2003:188).

Throughout much of the hotel’s history it has also served educational and theo-cultural mandates. HDP operated in conjunction with the Pusat Pendidikan dan Latihan Parawisata (Tourism Education Center) to educate young Christians in the tourist industry and to develop their foreign language skills (Mastra-ten Veen 2009:32). The architectural design of the old resort complex was meant as an

\(^{87}\) In 2013, at the time of the hotel’s closing, there were 125 guest rooms.
embodiment of “contextualized” theology, and evoked the tripartite Balinese model of kepala/head (meeting area), hati/heart (performing arts space), and perut/stomach (restaurant). Finally, HDP was envisioned as a place of spiritual meditation and a springboard for church missions: “Dhyana Pura is not only a place for tranquility and meditation,” it also “aims at serving as a staging camp from which social and economic action follow inner, spiritual transformation” (McKenzie and Mastra 1988:53).

Since the official dedication of HDP in 1977, it has served as one of the most public venues for the display of contextualized GKPB arts in Bali. Nicholls notes that HDP “was visualized as a bridge between culture and faith,” and toward this end regularly hosted GKPB synod assemblies and many contextual GKPB productions (Nicholls 1991:61). Religious studies scholar Diana Eck suggests the center once acted as “a meeting place for dialogue among the Christians, Muslims, and Hindus of Bali” (Eck 1982:156).

The major restructuring of the property, “foreign” (i.e. non-Balinese) management, and the economic potential of this ideally situated new resort will likely place strain on at least some of the original mandates of the center. Despite recent change, the legacy of HDP – especially as a center for the performance of contextual Balinese arts – endures. Over the years, many regional, national, and inter-national Church conferences were held at HDP, many of which included performances of contextual music and dance repertoire. The fact that such events were held in a church-owned hotel further emphasizes the broad, and wide ranging influence of tourism in Bali.
Figure 2.3. The façade of Hotel Dhyana Pura. This image is taken from online promotional materials, originally published on May 14, 2013.\textsuperscript{88}

Figure 2.4. Bondres characters perform at a GKPB synod event at Hotel Dhyana Pura in June 2012. (Image by GKPB, used with permission)

**GKPB Bukit Doa (Nusa Dua)**

The GKPB church known as *Bukit Doa* ("prayer hill") is located in the popular tourist resort area of Nusa Dua; a short drive south of Ngurah Rai International Airport (figure 2.5 below). The church is part of a unique, multi-faith complex called Puja Mandala, which is home to five places of worship representing five of Indonesia’s six constitutionally recognized religions. The complex was first proposed in the mid-1980s and later approved in 1992. Puja Mandala was dedicated in 1997, however, at the time only the two churches and the mosque were complete (Putra 2014:331-2). In his article, “*Puja Mandala*: An Invented Icon of Bali’s Religious Tolerance,” Balinese anthropologist I Nyoman Darma Putra highlights the presence of a touristic agenda in this presumably “religious” project. Putra notes that during planning and construction, Puja Mandala was a project belonging “more to the Department of Culture and Tourism than the Department of Religion.” He attributes the need for such a complex to increasing numbers of non-Balinese laborers and tourists throughout the 1980s, especially in Nusa Dua (Putra 2014:332).

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89 All five places of worship share a common courtyard/parking lot. In addition to the *Bukit Doa* church, Puja Mandala also features: a mosque, a Catholic church, a Buddhist temple (I: *vihara*), and a Hindu temple (B/I: *pura*). Confucianism, the sixth constitutional religion, is not represented, in part, because it was not officially recognized by the Indonesian government until 2000, three years after *Puja Mandala* was officially opened and dedicated (Putra 2014:330).
When I spoke with Murdita in 2013 about the historical locations of GKPB-based gamelan groups he mentioned the short-lived residency of the church arts offices (Divia Pradana Bhakti) at Bukit Doa from 1998-2000. He explained that the church and arts offices, collectively, were envisioned to serve two functions:

First, we used it [Bukit Doa] for services for the Balinese Christian community in the Nusa Dua area, and also for the tourists that visit Bali. It is good for both domestic and foreign tourists. The church was also meant to function as a place for artistic creativity. The goal was to have a “training center for arts and culture” on the second floor.\(^{91}\) We were only there for two years – I was working there at that time. It was very difficult to establish the arts at this site because so many of the congregants were busy working in the nearby hotels.\(^{92}\)

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\(^{91}\) Though our conversation was in Indonesian, Murdita spoke this one phrase in English, “training center for arts and culture.”

\(^{92}\) Interview with the author, May 2013.
The GKPB contextualization treatise also mentions Bukit Doa, with some specific references to how, when, and for whom gamelan was used:

During the period from 1998 to 2000 BSK [I: biro seni dan komunikasi] Divia Pradana Bhakti had its offices at The Center for the Study and Encounter of Eastern and Western Culture (Nusa Dua) [I: Gedung Pusat Studi dan Perjumpaan Budaya Timur dan Barat di Nusa Dua]. This location is better known as GKPB Bukit Doa. During this time DPB initiated services in English. We also utilized a “mini” gamelan, ceremonial belts [B: senteng], water and flowers. The “mini” gamelan accompanied the welcoming of the congregation, particularly when there were tourists from other countries. The gamelan was also used while the congregants greeted one another after the sermon, and to accompany the offering. (Murdita et al 2012:19)

There are a number of interesting points raised by these accounts. First - and perhaps most importantly for the present discussion of touristic influence – Bukit Doa was built with tourists in mind, and the gamelan music performed there was most-often done so in their presence. Second, the church was to be home to not only the GKPB arts bureau (Divia Pradana Bhakti) but also to an East/West “encounter” (I: perjumpaan) center. Though the precise nature of the envisioned center remains unclear, it is interesting to note the positioning of gamelan (and contextual arts more broadly) as a way to mitigate the contact of discrete cultural entities; or in other words, between the foreign (tourists) and the local (GKPB).93

The relocation of the church arts offices (DPB) coupled with closure of the “East/West center” signaled a shift in how GKPB viewed this particular church body. Murdita suggests this restructuring was, ultimately, the result of a congregation preoccupied with work in the many nearby hotels of Nusa Dua. Though the demands of work in the competitive Balinese tourist industry likely played a role in the

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93 Interestingly, this foreign/local dichotomy is a reversal of roles for GKPB, which in dominant Balinese identity discourses is arranged as local/Hindu and foreign/Christian/GKPB.
reorganization and relocation of Bali Church programing and arts offices, it is probable that -- in light of Mastra’s “Theology of Tourism” (1986) – these changes also signaled a shift in broader, institutional priorities. Despite these changes, a single gamelan musician has been continually employed at Bukit Doa for light instrumental accompaniment (i.e. solo gangsa or suling) for the prelude, greeting, offertory, and postlude.94

As I have already outlined in this chapter, Mastra’s interest in touristic ministry was closely aligned with his belief that this new economy could be a financial boon for the Bali Church, and squarely positions the aforementioned Hotel Dhyana Pura at the core of his theological business model:

Dhyana Pura is also seen by the Church as a hotel or guest house, a working model of alternative tourism… As a whole we can say that Dhyana Pura offers cottage type accommodation, a beautiful beach with excellent surf, a conference center and tranquility. All at a price well below the international hotels in Bali. (Mastra 1986:37)

Mastra underscores the tangible (potential) value of church-based “alternative tourism.” Together with Hotel Dhyana Pura and the ever-increasing corpus of contextual church art, the Bukit Doa Church of the late 1990s was an embodiment of the Bali Church’s efforts to create a contextualized church for tourists. In much the same way that Balinese Hindus, since the mid-1960s, had successfully packaged the touristic experience with “Hindu Bali,” GKPB Christians sought to replicate an equally appealing “Christian” counterpart. In light of this economically driven

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94 This position was held by I Nengah Rate Sega from 2000-2016. Since May 2016 I Wayan Rajeg provides contextual musical accompaniment for services at Bukit Doa.
agenda, the relocation of the Bali Church arts offices was as much a result of disinterested tourists as it was disinterested congregants.\textsuperscript{95}

Aesthetics and Forms

The Bukit Doa Church and the former Hotel Dhyana Pura (1975-2013) are the two most compelling examples of human and material infrastructure in the service of “touristic theology.” Ultimately, this “alternative” model did not take shape as Mastra had envisioned, as the shifting priorities of these two institutions now suggest.\textsuperscript{96} Music and dance were cornerstones of Mastra’s envisioned ecclesial economy. The influence of tourism on GKPB contextual arts was thus not only external (e.g. SSPD/1971 Seminar), but also internal (e.g. Mastra’s “alternative tourism”); given this, it is unsurprising to find connections between the development of contextual Balinese performing arts and touristic aesthetics and forms.

\textsuperscript{95} More recently GKPB officials have begun to promote the village of Blimbingsari as a destination for tourists. In 2011 Blimbingsari was designated a “tourist village” (I: desa wisata) and a member of the Community Based Tourism Association. In a recent publication GKPB pastor I Ketut Suyaga Ayub describes the village as an ideal location for trekking, snorkeling, bird watching, and fishing. He also notes the music at the local GKPB church’s monthly contextual service: “The congregation comes dressed in their area/traditional clothes [I: pakaian daerah] and sing Balinese songs accompanied by the gamelan. Here there is also Jegog. These instruments are played by about 20 people plus dancers. Jegog is a form of dance [-based] intercommunication [I: pergaulan]” (Ayub 2014:112). Despite the statement of such intentions, tourism has not gained a substantial foothold in Blimbingsari. During my dozen or so trips to the village, I rarely saw tourists. Those I did see were often in attendance at Sunday morning church services.

\textsuperscript{96} Bukit Doa continues to be a church that advertises itself as tourist friendly, including the promotion of church services on its English language website (accessed April 5, 2016, http://bukitdoachurch.org/homepage/).
Tourism and Contextualization: Overlapping Aesthetics

Since contextual reform was first instituted in the early 1970s, GKPB - through Divia Pradana Bhakti – has promoted the use and creation of kebyar style music and dance. *Kebyar* is a twentieth century stylistic and aesthetic development that has had a tremendous effect on contextual Balinese art. In this section I will examine *kebyar’s* emergence and development alongside tourism, and how certain aesthetic elements of this new style were subsequently adopted under the banner of contextualization.

During the first decade of the twentieth century the colonial Dutch administration made two violent excursions into the densely populated, southern regions of Bali. McPhee and others (e.g. Tenzer 1991:23) have documented the emergence of a brash new style of music and dance that emerged shortly after these events, specifically in the northern village of Jagaraga (McPhee 1966:328). Though it is an exaggeration to suggest that the progression of Dutch colonialism in Bali caused this artistic metamorphosis, such events, undeniably, formed a significant part of the socio-political milieu against which *kebyar* emerged. The influence of this new style was so profound upon the local population that the bronze keys from older sets of instruments were melted down and recast to meet new stylistic demands. Tilman Seebass suggests *kebyar* developed at the expense of other instrumental styles (specifically, *gong gede, semar pegulingan*, and *pelegongan*) because of factors like poverty, inflation, and the high price of bronze in early twentieth-century Bali (1996:81). The flexibility of *kebyar* to facilitate a variety of musical repertoires -- and
thus reducing/eliminated the need for multiple village sets – was another factor driving the demand for these new instruments.

The influence of this new style went much deeper than the architecture and tunings of the instruments themselves. Thematic material, narrative style, and dynamic musical content contributed to a wide reaching aesthetic shift in Balinese performing arts. According to Picard:

*With kebyar a dance performance became a much more expressive and narrative event, dynamic and linear instead of static and cyclical, hence much more likely to be appreciated by Westerners than the old-fashioned styles of music and dance.* (1996:140)

Even though GKPB contextualization was still decades off during the emergence and popularization of *kebyar*, the traits mention above (narrative-based, dynamism, and linearity) would come to be central devices in GKPB repertoires of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Picard’s mention of “Westerners” is also noteworthy as it speaks to the nearly simultaneous development of Bali tourism alongside, with, and through the new aesthetic priorities of *kebyar*, a style that was shaped by encounters with the West (first colonialists, then tourists). In another publication, Picard further elaborates this point:

*The performances presented at the Bali Hotel [during the 1930s] consisted of a series of short dances, strung haphazardly together and suited to the taste and attention span of a foreign audience. The very conception of this tourist program was made possible by the advent of a new style of dance, *kebyar*, which allowed the dance to be detached from both its theatrical content and its ritual context and presented as an art form in its own right.* (1997:191)

The *kebyar* style was unique amongst Balinese music traditions and popularly successful because of its sustained acceptance as both ceremonial and touristic art forms. Tenzer aptly summarizes this link between *kebyar*’s widespread appeal and
social flexibility: “The genre [kebyar] is a model because it allows for public presentation without any sense of having transgressed the (previously non-existent) line between religion and life” (2000:97).

The Bali Church, in its efforts to produce and perform contextual music and dance, has been similarly concerned with not transgressing sensitive social boundaries. The ability of kebyar to shift between “religion and life,” foreign and local, “sacred” and “secular,” made it an ideal vessel for contextual art. A comprehensive analysis of all GKPB contextual repertoire would reveal a diversity of influences, however, the influence of kebyar is the most obvious and prevalent. To illustrate the “kebyar-ization” of Bali Church performing arts I will focus on the standardization of instruments and promotion of sendratari, a popular, kebyar-based form of theater and dance.97

**GKPB and Gamelan Gong Kebyar**

Since the official beginning of contextual reform in 1972, the Bali Church and its member congregations have commissioned and purchased at least twelve sets of gamelan instruments, nine of which are gong kebyar.98 The dominance of this instrumental style is reflected in performance practice and the contextual repertoire itself, as nearly all GKPB contextual performances are carried out with gong kebyar.

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97 Seebass uses the term “kebiarization” to reference the condensation and alteration of drama and music in the kebyar style (1996:87).
98 Of the nine sets of kebyar instruments eight are currently housed at GKPB churches or affiliated institutions and one at the GPID, Sumbersari church in Central Sulawesi. The remaining instruments are comprised of one set of gamelan jegog (housed at panti asuhan Blimbingsari), gamelan rindik (housed at GKPB Untal-Untal Bethlehem), and gamelan angklung (housed at panti asuhan Bangli), respectively. During my research these three sets of instruments were rarely used and even more rarely employed in public performance.
instruments. In the context of the aforementioned socio-aesthetic developments it is not surprising that GKPB would privilege these instruments and associated musical style. The connection between contextual Balinese music and gong kebyar is logical given the documented fluidity of the genre to move between “sacred” and “secular” spaces. This feature of gong kebyar is clearly cited in the GKPB contextualization treatise as a reason for its prevalence in Bali Church contextual repertoire. Murdita, by way of another modern tripartite structure (ref. to, Gold 2005:72-6), classifies instruments as sacred or secular according to their chronological development: i) tua (old), ii) madya (middle), and iii) baru (new). Murdita notes:

Given these groupings of Balinese gamelan, we can deduce that all types of tua and madya gamelan can be classified as sacred [I: sakral]. It is certain that these gamelan instruments may not be used in church services and events because they are infused with [I: berbau] the sacred. These types of sacred gamelan are in great conflict with Christian teachings. 99 (Murdita et al 2012:49)

Unlike tua and madya instruments, which are “sacred,” baru instruments (including gong kebyar) are recent developments and, therefore, secular (or “not sacred,” in Murdita’s words):

Since the decisions of the synod [1972] GKPB began to include gamelan that is not sacred. The Church uses gamelan to accompany Christian spiritual songs and, increasingly, to accompany dance shows [I: seni pertunjukan tari]. Accordingly, and with current church needs in mind, we use gamelan to accompany services and dance with Christian themes, especially gamelan gong kebyar. (Murdita et al 2012:49-50)

99 In a manner similar to the division of dance genres into sacred and secular categories, this instrumental classification system also presents apparent contradictions and caveats. For example, even though gender wayang is noted as tua (and therefore sacred) Murdita justifies its occasional use in GKPB context: “Gender wayang belongs to the tua category of historical development, however, its use should not be limited to sacred settings because it has already been used to accompany entertainment arts [I: seni hiburan]… Because of this we, as Christian people, want to use these gamelan instruments for the needs of the Church” (Murdita et al 2012:49).
Through the use of extant instrumental categories of *tua*, *madya*, and *baru*, GKPB has attempted to justify its use of gamelan (broadly speaking) by associating contextual arts with those instruments (i.e. *gong kebyar*) most commonly associated with entertainment, and by extension the secular. In practice, however, these distinctions are problematic. In a manner similar to modern categories of dance (i.e. *wali*, *bebali*, and *balih-balihan*)

100 the degree of instrumental “sacredness” or “secularness” is more a matter of where and with what intent instruments are used than an indication of a fundamental ontology. The Bali Church’s occasional use of a set of *angklung* instruments (consider *tua/sacred* according to Murdita) highlights this tension.  

101 Nevertheless, the establishment of *gong kebyar* instruments as the dominant mode of Balinese contextualized musical expression is closely aligned with its emergence alongside the tourist economy and the subsequent need to define the arts according to the foreign categories of “sacred” and “secular.”

**Sendratari**

Balinese *Sendratari* is a genre of dance-drama that is typically accompanied by gamelan music and borrows considerably from “traditional” gestures and styles of Balinese dance, music, and dress. Central to this style is the enactment of narrative-

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100 In establishing a framework for contextual performing arts, Murdita borrows from a three-part structure common to Balinese philosophy and cosmology. In addition to models for dance and instrumental taxonomies, three-part forms find corollaries in other aspects of Balinese religion and custom such as Balinese language (old, middle, and new) and temple layout (inner, middle, and outer courtyard).

101 This set of *angklung* instruments was built in 1976, and until 2002 was housed at the GKPB-run *panti asuhan* in Bangli. From 2002-2013 the instruments were at the *panti asuhan* in Blimbingsari. Since 2013 the *angklung* has again been in residence at the original Bangli location (Murdita, interview with the author, May 2013).
driven drama, most commonly conveying stories from Hindu epic literature such as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Since the advent of Balinese sendratari during the 1960s, identifiable conventions have emerged including the use of certain melodies to cue the introduction of lead characters, the regular inclusion of comic relief (as realized through clowns or panasar), and the opposition of good/noble and evil/demonic forces frequently reaching a dramatic climax in elaborately choreographed battle scenes. A full range of movement vocabulary is incorporated into the choreography as a means to represent various character traits and to portray elements of Hindu cosmology. Such dramatic elements have historically been accompanied by gamelan gong kebyar; however, recent practice has seen an increase in the use of the sweeter-sounding and former court gamelan, semar pengulingan.

The term “sendratari” is an acronym of three root words: seni (art), drama (theatre), and tari (dance). The earliest productions of the 1960s soon became popular among tourists. Lisa Gold has even suggested that the sendratari genre itself was originally developed specifically for tourists: “In fact, this theatrical form [sendratari] was created for tourist consumption and only later became incorporated into regular Balinese practice” (Gold 2005:81). Other notable authors have also observed the connection of this genre with tourism (deBoer 1989:181; Picard 1996:159; Yamashita 1997:15).102

The moderate popularity of sendratari amongst foreigners is often attributed to its accessibility, made possible through aesthetic developments such as the increased reliance on pantomimic movement, linear narrative development, and the

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102 Beyond tourism, nationalism has also been cited as both an important influence and theme of 1960s and 1970s sendratari (deBoer 1989:181; 1996:162; Ramstedt 1991:114; Picard 1996b:149).
adoption of a Western-style stage layout (deBoer 1996:160; Picard 1990:52-6; 1996:143; Gold 2005:81). Bandem and deBoer allude to this accessibility: “In sendratari the kebyar style of ornamentation is applied over a simple foundation of pantomimic story-telling, so that even young children can follow the narrative” (Bandem and deBoer 1995:180). Tenzer observes a similar aesthetic shift, which he connects to the emergence of the kebyar style during the early twentieth century:

> The recently developed theater forms [including sendratari] accompanied by kebyar are characterized by a less static and stylized presentation of character and story than their predecessors gambuh, topeng, and arja, and, as in all kebyar aesthetics, a more forward-directed, compressed sense of dramatic time. (2000:163)

Though the near simultaneous emergence of the sendratari genre alongside the 1960s Bali tourism boom is historically significant for subsequent aesthetic developments, it is also important to remember the connection of this theatrical genre to earlier stylistic advancements, most notably kebyar; which was itself influenced by Bali tourism of the 1920s and 1930s.

The earliest contextual sendratari took place in 1979/80 and was a dramatization of the biblical account of Adam and Eve (I: Adam dan Hawa). It was choreographed and performed under the direction of I Wayan Candra, a Balinese Hindu, and performed by children from the panti asuhan in Blimbingsari. A few months later another contextual sendratari (I: Kelahiran Yesus, “The Life of Jesus”) was performed by children from the same church-run home and under the creative

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103 Though various sendratari productions (most notably “Ramayana Ballet”) have become popular with tourists, the genre’s primary audience has always been Balinese. Since the 1960s, sendratari has become an important and influential medium for the creation of new Balinese performing arts aimed at decidedly Balinese audiences (e.g. the prominence of new sendratari productions at Bali’s premiere performing arts festival, the PKB – Pesta Kesenian Bali).
direction of I Ketut Suarta, a local Hindu musician and dancer (Rai and Murdita, interview with the author, July 2016). The creation of new contextual works in this genre seems to have dried up until 1991 when the Bali Church arts offices (DVP) -- then under the direction of Darsane -- produced the sendratari Baptisan Pertama (“The First Baptism”) (Murdita 2011:2). This production depicts the 1931 baptismal ceremony of Balinese converts at the Yeh Poh River in the village of Untal-Untal, Bali. Since then DVP has produced at least eleven unique sendratari, including new productions of Adam dan Hawa (“Adam and Eve” – 1994) and Kelahiran Yesus Kristus (“The Life of Jesus Christ” – 1998), as well as completely new works like Amertha Candra Bhuana (“The Blessing of the Light of the World/Universe” – 2011). These eleven works have been performed primarily in Bali for GKPB services and events (e.g. annual Bali Church synod meetings), but also at foreign churches and conferences in East and Southeast Asia, and North America (Murdita et al 2012:17-21; Murdita 2011:4-6).

The convergence of theatrical and musical aesthetic developments, first with Bali tourism and later with contextualization, is not entirely surprising as a closer analysis reveals. Each of these processes of Balinese modernization gained acceptance through performing arts (in this case sendratari) because of the top-down application of a sacred/secular binary (as first espoused at the 1971 music and dance seminar). Sendratari, as developed for both tourism and contextualization, was and is able to reference narrative elements connected to the sacred while benefiting from an

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104 For a complete list of documented GKPB sendratari please refer to Appendix B. Documentation of these works is found in the GKPB contextualization treatise (Murdita et al 2012:37-45), and Murdita 2011, unpublished.
official secular designation. Such ambiguity has caused some to question the use of
the genre outside strictly sacred settings:

Other, mostly non-Balinese, observers would have it that *sendratari*
contributes to a degeneration of traditional Balinese performance and a
debasement of traditional values. They argue that sacred texts, objects,
melodies, gestures, even costumes are turned by the artists to secular
uses, profaning the sacred sources. (deBoer 1989:189)

Despite such opposition, this theatrical genre continues to move fluidly between
aspects of conventional sacred and secular performance practice. As the recent
research of ethnomusicologist Jonathan McIntosh suggests, even children are savvy
to the transmutability of *sendratari*:

I asked…if *sendratari* was a secular or sacred form… 12 year old
Tomi informed me that because the children’s *sendratari* would be
presented “for tourists,” it was a ‘secular performance’… 9 year old
Putu told me that even when presented as part of a temple ceremony in
Keramas, in which context it is performed as a means of entertainment
for the “gods and human beings,” *sendratari* is “still secular.” The
responses of Tomi and Putu concerning the categorization of
*sendratari* suggest that, despite their formative years, child dancers in
Bali are cognizant of the spiritual and human audiences for which their
performances are intended. (2014:70)

The accounts of Tomi and Putu are congruent with the employment of *sendratari*
within the Bali Church. The genre is fundamentally “secular,” but not in the common
Western sense. For these two boys, and indeed for many performing artists in Bali,
“secular” is a designation for *where* something is performed, not *for whom* or with
what intent it is performed. Whether *sendratari* is performed for tourists, gods, or
locals, whether in a temple, hotel, or church, its “secular” designation makes it a
malleable, situational performing art form, and thus highly functional as contextual Balinese art.\footnote{Even though sendratari is generally accepted as a conduit for contextual art, opposition of GKPB-sponsored productions occasionally occurs. In 1999 two contextual sendratari were aired on Bali TV. Murdita told me that there was some resistance from within the Hindu community toward these productions (interview, July 2012). Others I spoke to about this matter suggested that the inappropriate use of a kris (a dagger often thought to possess magical properties) was likely to blame for the negative response. Though the genre as a whole is commonly regarded as socially fluid, the use of certain props in certain contexts can still be perceived to transgress sacred/secular boundaries.}

Certain aesthetic reforms, which coalesced with the emergence and development of sendratari, also contributed greatly to its prominence as one of the preferred genres of contextualization. As I have already briefly touched upon, theatrical developments related to narration, linear narrative, and spatial and temporal situation helped fortify sendratari as a distinctly modern form. For many of the same aesthetic reasons that sendratari was a successful medium for tourist shows, it was also a highly practical genre for use by the Bali Church.

To understand the original novelty of the genre, it is helpful to review previous theatrical norms:

In [classic] Balinese theater, the plot is secondary, to the point of being almost non-existent. A theatrical performance does not present a “play” – Balinese theater does not have “playwrights” and it does not recount the linear development of a narrative theme from beginning to end. (Picard 1996:143)

Many aspects of this type of “plot-less” theater, though potentially compelling in its own right, require additional knowledge or interpretation to understand less obvious meta-narratives.\footnote{Such meta-narrative may include the identity of certain stock characters or implied connection to contemporary social and political situations.} Some of this knowledge comes through one’s socialization into Balinese society, yet further interpretation – even for local audiences – is often
provided and/or necessary. A penasar (clown figure) typically improvises a “vernacular explanation of the events in the drama” (Picard 1996:144).

These conventions present certain narrative obstacles when performed for foreigners/tourists, particularly since the dialogue of the penasar often relates to matters unfamiliar to visitors. To counteract this intercultural “gap,” linear driven plots (most famously, those from the Ramayana) and the juru tandak were adopted. Picard explains these changes: “A narrator (juru tandak), seated among the musicians, comments on the progress of the storyline and speaks for the dancers who mime the action on the stage” (Picard 1996:145). Those otherwise alien to Balinese theater thus benefit from these changes by more readily understanding theatrical events (at least superficially).

Many of the aesthetic developments associated with “entertainment” genres such as sendratari were simultaneously attractive to artists and leaders of the Bali Church, consciously or otherwise. Reliance on clearer, linear story lines was and is a means to proselytize (primarily local) populations while also potentially appealing to tourists and other foreigners. The close association between sendratari and kebyar instruments/style further emphasizes its connection to the “secular,” a designation desired/required by GKPB to avoid what would be perceived by many as a direct (and problematic) association with sacred Hindu music and dance. Whereas much of this sacred repertoire is conducted in a social atmosphere of rame (busyness, energy), tourist shows tend to be devoid of such “extra” activity.

In contrast, GKPB productions suggest a preference for a stricter viewer/viewed model, as popularized through tourism and the increasingly prevalent
use of raised, proscenium stages. Picard suggests this spatial shift was a contribution of the genre, calling “the raised stage facing the audience [a] prime innovation popularized by sendratari” (1996:145). This theatrical perspective makes a clearer, and often physical, distinction between the performer(s), and the audience, which is typically required to sit quietly. While GKPB is often referred to as an “indigenous,” contextual church, the format of its services is often conventionally Western and Protestant (e.g. reference to a printed program, liturgical recitations, and employment of modern worship band) and differs fundamentally from the rame-ness of many Balinese Hindu ceremonies. The quiet spectators of tourists shows are, therefore, more readily adaptable to the needs of the church, than is the traditional state of rame.107

Other Contextual Genres

Though sendratari accounts for a significant portion of GKPB contextual performances and repertoire, a number of other well-established dance/theatrical genres and character tropes have been and/or continue to be used as well. These include: tari lepas, janger, bondres, topeng, joged bumbung, kecak, wayang kulit, and cakapung. Instrumental genres aside from gong kebyar are also occasional employed, such as: jegog, gender wayang, belaganjur, and angklung. Each of these dance or instrumental genres presents their own unique interpretations of and intellectual challenges to the Balinese contextual arts movement and associated taxonomies and

107 Though all of these traits (e.g. proscenium stage, clear viewer/viewed distinction) can find direct commonalities in Western, Protestant praxis, some of these European performance norms likely arrived in Bali via Java, where they were established through similar (and slightly earlier) processes of modernization, colonization, and touristification.
binaries (esp. sacred/secular). Since many of these genres are either obsolete or rarely performed in church contexts today I will forego a full-scale historical and performative analysis of them. However, for the purpose of thoroughness I briefly address each of them in Appendix B.

Kristus Sundaring Bali: A (Tourist’s) Balinese Hymnal –

Since the 1972 GKPB synod the Bali Church has actively sought at least two distinct audiences for contextual art. The first is the wider ethnically Balinese community, and in particular majority-Hindu and minority-Christian groups therein. The relationship between these two ethnically Balinese communities accounts for the majority of this dissertation’s content. The Bali Church is also interested in appealing to other Indonesians and foreigners/tourists, a desire that was particularly evident throughout the 1980s and 1990s. I bring up this nuanced, and slightly idiosyncratic perspective here because the touristic roots of contextual Balinese arts are most apparent against this alternate social backdrop. Initiatives to induce a subset of Christian-based tourism in Bali include the aforementioned developments in touristic theology (Mastra’s “alternative tourism”), guest lodging (Hotel Dhyana Pura - HDP), and a centrally located tourist church (GKPB Bukit Doa) complete with contextual performing arts. Based on recent developments – particularly the large-scale reconstruction of HDP -- it appears GKPB’s foray into “Christian” tourism has not found large-scale, self-sustaining economic support.

From a performing arts perspective, the most compelling documentation of this link between Balinese contextual art and tourism is the “hymnal,” and
accompanying sound recording, Kristus Sundaring Bali: Christ the Light to Bali (I-to Loh 1988). The text -- published in 1988 by the Asian Institute for Liturgy and Music (AILM) -- is not in a typical Christian hymnal format, which includes a brief introduction by Loh and is followed by texts and tunes. Rather, it reads more as a treatise on contextual art in Bali with a distinct focus on the etic/outside reader. The content of the book -- including a relatively long transcription of gamelan accompaniment (21-30) and technical analysis of Balinese notation and scales (13-4) -- belies the suggested functionality of its subtitle: A collection of New Balinese Hymns. The accompanying audio-cassette features a recording of each of the text’s thirteen “hymns,” performed by a variety of instrumentalists and vocalists, mostly from the GKPB church in Pelambingan.

A touristic connection is apparent from the outset, as AILM director Francisco Feliciano’s preface makes clear:

> It is with great pleasure that AILM offers this collection of Balinese songs to the churches in Asia and to the different churches around the world. The island of Bali in Indonesia has always drawn tourists from all over the world because of its exciting colors, sights and sounds. It is only fitting and proper that the Christian churches partake of these cultural riches. (1988:4)

The use of English here, as with the rest of the publication, highlights a foreign/international audience, which is further underscored in Feliciano’s offering to “churches in Asia and…around the world.” The specific reference to Bali tourism quickly establishes the tenor of “Church-on-vacation,” with arts as the primary riches.” The casual admission of the text’s primary author, I-to Loh, that most of the fieldwork for the hymnal was competed in two weeks, hints at a methodological casualness congruent with the experience of modern, mass tourism itself: “This work
is the product of two weeks of extensive field work in Southern Bali, June 4-18, 1988” (1988:5).

Loh evokes the socially efficacious sacred/secular binary, in which he cites the sacred as specifically Hindu (i.e. relating to the temple):

There are two categories of dance: sacred dance and secular dance. Sacred dance is related to temple rituals, usually performed late at night inside the court of the temple and involving the priest and the villagers… Secular dances provide entertainment during festivals or other occasions. (1988:14-5)

By defining the sacred according to its relationship with Hinduism, Loh creates the possibility of re-sacralizing the secular. 108

He does precisely this just a few pages earlier through an analogy between kotekan (interlocking parts) and the counterpoint of J.S. Bach:

It is interesting to compare Balinese gamelan music with J.S. Bach’s choral or organ works – the foundation and uniting force of the cantus firmus having similar functions with the fixed or nuclear melody; the imitations or motivic development and the interwoven voices may be comparable, though in a lesser degree to the extended melody and the complex Kotekan (interlocking parts). (12)

The works of J.S. Bach are widely revered as the pinnacle of baroque church music. The mere comparison of contextual church music to his choral or organ works is certainly intended to make the association between sacred Western music and the likely unfamiliar church music on the accompanying cassette. 109 Comparisons to musical structure are proposed, specifically the “nuclear melody” as cantus firmus and kotekan as contrapuntal writing. The musicological accuracy of these assertions is

108 Loh cites The New Grove Dictionary (1980) as the basis for such a binary – 9:187. The dictionary reference does indeed indicate a clear distinction (at least in theory) between “sacred” and “secular” functions of Balinese dance.
109 There are several tracks on the cassette that include full gong kebyar accompaniment, including: Anak Dara, Pirengang Ja, Kesetra, and Galang Kangin. The longest track, Anak Dara, also has an accompanying dance, which is unavailable on the audio-only recording.
secondary to their function as signifiers of a legitimate (Western) sacred aesthetic. By associating gamelan with Bach, Loh is attempting to normalize and perhaps even “sacralize” the sounds of the instruments for a Western audience. He is, however, careful not to use the word sacred here, as it would appear to contradict his later categorization of sacred dance (and accompanying music) as Hindu. In much the same way that a sacred/secular binary has emboldened/enabled Balinese Christian to participate in localized performing arts, Loh provides foreign Christians with an intellectual justification for listening to contextual gamelan in the same reverent manner as J.S. Bach.

In many ways the AILM hymnal is a product of Bali tourism, or more specifically “touristification.” Picard proposes this latter model, in part, to challenge negative readings of Balinese “cultural tourism” as either exploitative or kitschy. The primary sociological thrust of touristification is that it “proceed from within” and “blur boundaries between the inside and the outside” (Picard 1995:46). In this way the AILM hymnal most clearly demonstrates traits of this intercultural process. As with Picard’s research and its focus on touristic arts, the host/guest binary suggested in the hymnal is predicated on the existence of boundaries established vis-à-vis a socio-politically prescribed sacred/secular binary. The specific circumstances of this engagement, however, differ between the two cases. For Picard’s tourists, a distinction was necessary to preserve certain arts from outside corruption. On the other hand, the (Christian) touristic audience of the AILM publication employs the same binary to theologically justify the use of gamelan in the church.
In both instances, the imposition of defined sacred/secular discourse ultimately breaks down, resulting in “blurred boundaries.” For Picard this means a partial fusion of the “inside” with the “outside” (i.e. host and guest), something that ultimately signals the failure of a strict sacred/secular division in many mass touristic arts. In contrast, the hymnal fuses the inside with the outside by promoting a “sacred = Hindu” model for the arts. Insiders and outsiders (or Balinese and foreign Christians, as it were) interact through “secular” music, which is then repurposed as the new sacred. The unintended blurring of boundaries in this case occurs within the discourse itself, especially regarding the term “sacred.” Based on the preamble of the hymnal, the AILM appears intent on benefiting from a multifaceted (and untenable) definition of the term. Certain Balinese arts are Hindu and therefore wholly sacred (a “fact,” simply stated by Loh) while those deemed “secular” are re-sacralized by association with Bach. As secular arts acquire new (sacred) meaning the original binary ceases to be meaningful.

In many ways, the type of touristic relationship underscored in the AILM publication is quite different from the Christian/Hindu, interreligious relations that are the primary focus of this dissertation. Though the hymnal is clearly touristic in orientation, I do not believe it accurately reflects touristification, as articulated by Picard. The primarily Christian audience of a Christian publisher working on behalf of an indigenous Christian church does not establish the same kind of insider/outsider dynamic as does modern twenty-first century mass tourism. Though perhaps more alien on a surface level, the interaction of Balinese Hindus and Christians more accurately embodies the guest/host model upon which touristification is based. I will
pick up on this thread in the following chapter when I illustrate how Balinese Christians (social “outsiders”) have re-established a sense of social and political belonging/identity within local Hindu (“insider”) communities.

**Conclusion**

Throughout this chapter I have illustrated the relationship between the performing arts, “cultural tourism,” and contextual reform. In some instances this interrelationship has resulted in brick and mortar institutions such as Hotel Dhyana Pura and the Bukit Doa Church. Aesthetic developments, with established links to touristic arts, also had a profound impact on GKPB contextualization as demonstrated by a preference for the *kebyar* style, certain theatrical genres, and a strong (theoretical) sacred/secular binary. The final discussion of the 1988 AILM hymnal is a compelling case study of how Balinese contextual arts were constructed with specifically foreign audiences in mind.

Against the historical and aesthetic backdrop presented, two broadly defined audiences for contextual art emerge. The first is based on Mastra’s “alternative” tourist, a foreign visitor to Bali looking to experience the island from an “indigenous,” Christian perspective. This model -- which sought to use contextual art as an “economic engine” for the Church – ultimately ran into a conflict of interest between creative integrity and financial demands. Darsane explained the difference of opinion he had with Mastra during his time as director of DVP arts bureau:

> My vision of how to use arts in the church was different from Mastra’s – he wanted to use music in a commercialized fashion – he wanted to sell dances to guests [tourists] and I didn’t. I create music to glorify
God, to tell the story of the gospel – this is how our thinking differed. (interview with the author, September 2012)

Mastra’s “alternative” tourism never materialized, a point emphasized most loudly through the demolition of the original Hotel Dhyana Pura in 2013.¹¹⁰

For the remainder of this dissertation I will focus primarily on local peoples and perspectives, the second major audience of contextual Balinese art. This local audience theoretically includes anyone claiming Bali as their ancestral origin, however, I am most interested in Christian and Hindu audiences, and in particular, when, where, why, and how the two come into contact. Because of the history of socio-political tension between Balinese adherents of these two faiths, and because of the local practice of kasepekang (excommunication), the insider-outsider-ness that drives touristification is best replicated not in performances for the traditional outsiders (i.e. tourists), but in performances with, and in many cases by, local outsiders (i.e. Balinese Christians).

¹¹⁰ A foreign audience still exists for contextual Balinese performing arts. During my research, music and dance were often used in ceremonies to welcome foreign guests who had come to Bali on official church business. The Bali Church currently maintains strong connections with schools in Australia and Singapore, relationships that have been fostered specifically by collaborative arts programing.
Chapter 3: *Tarian Perdamaian*: Enacting Alternative Hindu/Christian Identity Discourses Through “Secular” Balinese Performing Arts

This chapter aims to reconcile transformations in interreligious relations by tracing the parallel developments of tourism and touristic arts, “contextualized” Balinese music and dance, and localized identity discourse. The opening section illustrates how Balinese Christian intellectuals have established ways of talking about a uniquely *Christian* Balinese identity that bypasses the notion of “*adat*” (custom), which has historically been a point of ideological tension between Christians and Hindus in Bali. Toward this end, I will demonstrate how Christian identity discourse has been reconstructed around a “religion”/“culture” dichotomy and how the development of touristic music and dance productions have been essential in articulating this distinction. Though practical at a socio-political level, in most instances this division is artificial, and as such, I argue that the most compelling articulation of a Christian Balinese identity occurs in the production of music and dance itself, and -- as I will show in chapter four -- in the interreligious networks that form in and through such musicking. In the final portion of this chapter I will articulate the parameters of what I am calling an “interreligious gaze,” which, as I will show, is a touristic model that has enabled members of discrete religious communities to negotiate deeply politicized matters such as religion, identity, and belonging. I conclude with an analysis of the Bali Church production *Tarian*
Perdamaian to demonstrate the complex interreligious interplay embodied in this contextualized sendratari.  

Framing Christian Kebalian – Establishing an Intellectual Basis

Balinese Christians have been subject to kasepekang (excommunication) since the first Balinese were baptized in the early 1930s. Such social ostracism was and continues to be institutionalized not only at the local community (banjar) level, but also at the level of provincial policy. Indonesia has been constitutionally poly-religious since it was founded as a nation in 1945, an ideal exposed by its founding document, Pancasila. Since that time, and particularly under Suharto’s New Order government (1967-98), nationalism has been promoted vis-à-vis a rigidly defined monotheism, which fundamentally excludes other (usually indigenous) ideas of spirituality and “religion.” This has resulted in clear guidelines as to what may pass as a nationally recognized religious affiliation; since the mid-twentieth century this marriage of nation and state-approved religion has informed influential distinctions between custom (adat), culture (budaya), and religion (agama). As recently as 2001, a provincial regulation (Perda 3/01) was passed which defined the desa adat (“customary/traditional” Balinese village) according to nationally approved principles of agama (in this case, Hinduism):

A Balinese village is by definition a Hindu village and the villagers are of Hindu faith… Any other people living in the village but not following Agama Hindu are excluded… Thus, Perda 3/01 and its implementation resulted in an increased delineation of the Hindu Balinese by setting up religious and adat criteria for membership.

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111 I Nyoman Murdita, the choreographer of this work, translates the Indonesian title Tarian Perdamaian as “The Dancing of Peace.”
as well as for exclusion and likely discrimination. (Hauser-Schaublin and Harnish 2014:15-6)

The institutionalized political segregation of Balinese Hindus has created a quandary for intellectuals of the Bali Church who have attempted to counteract accusations that GKPB Christians are “foreigners” living in Bali because they do not adhere to local “adat” (customary) laws. They have sought to circumvent such accusations, in part, through Balinese music and dance productions that adhere to sacred/secular distinctions. These efforts have and continue to be couched within a terminological discourse that emerged in response to various encounters with foreign power. Central to debates regarding identity in Bali are the aforementioned terms/discourses (agama, adat, budaya) in addition to that of seni (art). I will briefly define and situating these terms before moving to a broader analysis of their implications for Christian kebalian as expressed through Balinese music and dance.

*Agama* is a Sanskrit loanword that has been adopted into the modern Indonesian language as a term roughly equal to “religion,” often used to refer specifically to “world religions” – especially those recognized under *Pancasila*. Following the formation of the Indonesian nation, and after much debate, Hinduism was granted the status of *agama* in 1962. This allowed many Balinese to register as Hindu citizens of Indonesia for the first time. Balinese Christians, on the other hand, were able to register as either Catholic or Protestant since the 1940s, primarily because these faith traditions were more easily adopted into the monotheistic

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*112 The Indonesian government presently recognizes six *Pancasila* (i.e. constitutional) religions: Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism.*
framework of the newly formed Indonesian nation. Agama, in addition to being a marker of socio-political belonging, also refers to the doctrine of a particular religious formation. This doctrine must adhere to principles outlined in the Indonesian constitution, particularly the “belief in the one and only God.”

Adat refers to localized systems of belief and practice, which are often adhered to by a particular ethnic group. In Bali, adat is used to refer to the practice of ancestor worship and knowledge imparted by ancestors (Hobart et al 1996:66). Balinese Christians have been subject to social excommunication, not so much because of an incompatibility with Hindu beliefs, but because of an “unwillingness to become integrated into the ritual system,” or adat (Ottino 2000:73). Within contemporary Indonesia the term is often used to account for certain religious traits that do not fit within the defined parameters of agama. This has resulted in a perceived binary opposition between adat and agama, which has been used in national Indonesian discourse to explain the existence of orthodoxy or orthopraxy that do not adhere to mainstream agama. This distinction was exploited as a means to develop regional and national “identities” under the New Order regime (1965-98).

The terms seni (art) and budaya (culture) have emerged as central concepts for the contemporary Balinese economy, despite the fact that neither is indigenous to the Balinese language nor existed in local discourse until the twentieth century. The development of a distinct discursive category for “art” (seni) was, in large part, a result of increasing numbers of Western tourists, artists, and scholars visiting Bali.

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113 Indonesia officially declared itself a nation in 1945. It was admitted as a member of the UN in 1950.
114 The basis of the Indonesian nation is outlined in a 1945 document known as “Pancasila.” The term is literally translated as “five principles,” the first of which is “Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa” (Belief in the one and only God).
throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The Ubud Style of painting and gamelan gong kebyar emerged during this time and both quickly attained the status of art and marked linguistically with the Indonesian term, seni. The individual terms have more recently been combined as “seni budaya” and refer to a host of “decorative aspects of Indonesian ethnic cultures,” including: dance and music, costumes, handicrafts, and architecture (Picard 1997:197). The concept and practice of seni budaya has been used by the Indonesian government for various national building projects and for the promotion of international tourism (201). The promotion of seni budaya has been particularly successful in Bali where it is at once a source of national pride, ethnic identity, and a major stream of tourist revenue. Whereas adat references a wide range of beliefs and practices, which may include music and other arts, seni budaya references only these arts in a context often abstracted from custom and ceremony. In this sense, adat is vestigial and inextricably tied to agama - and by extension the “sacred.” On the other hand seni budaya has been adopted as a discourse to reference ethnic arts in secularized socio-economic forums such as tourism. As I will demonstrate, members of the Bali Church have used the tenuous separation of seni budaya from adat as an intellectual basis for contextualized church music and dance.

**The Discourse of Christian Kebalian**

Throughout the twentieth century various ethnic groups in Indonesia have struggled with the definitions and implications of the aforementioned terms, often in an attempt to outline localized identity. Such cases are well represented in
anthropological and ethnomusicological literatures. Writings pertaining to Balinese self-understandings of identity date back to the 1920s when articles on the topic began to appear in Malay periodicals. Picard suggests this was a result of Western-educated Balinese attempting to define themselves “in terms comprehensible to non-Balinese” (1997:187). He also posits a hypothesis as to the motivations of these early Balinese authors:

…for the first time, the Balinese viewed themselves as a singular entity, as a “people.” Specifically, they described themselves both as a religious minority, the stronghold of Hinduism threatened by the aggressive expansionism of Islam and Christianity, and as a particular ethnic group, characterized by their own customs. That is to say, they construed their “Balineseness” (keBalian) [sic] – as being based simultaneously on religion (agama) and custom (adat). (1997:187)

This formulation of identity continues to have important implications for members of GKPB who have attempted to expand the parameters of conventional (Hindu-centric) kebalian. The nature of normalized identity discourse, however, poses challenges for Balinese Christians.

First, Balinese intellectuals constructed the ideology of a single, localized identity (i.e. kebalian) as a unifying front for Balinese Hindus who were, increasingly, forced to position their customs in the context of dominant world religions, most notably Islam and Christianity. The historical impetus of a unifying Balinese identity stems from a desire to distinguish difference based on agama, making a Muslim or Christian kebalian fundamentally problematic. Second, kebalian is intrinsically linked to adat, a system of practices and beliefs with roots in pre-

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115 For further reading on the topic refer to: Aragon 1996; Rappoport 2004; Harnish 2005; Purba 2005.
Hindu, animist traditions that GKPB church leaders had worked to distance their congregations from since Protestantism was first established in Bali during the 1930s. Many Balinese Christians gave little thought to *kebalian* and to its founding principles through the 1950s and into the 1960s. In fact, most Bali Church congregations actively worked to distance themselves from Balinese *agama* and *adat*, a practice that regularly led to the social excommunication of converts. Following the contextual reforms of *Sinode* GKPB 1972, however, Balinese Christian intellectuals began to postulate ways to integrate church congregations into the newly emerged discourse of *kebalian*. Though some Balinese Hindus have rejected and continue to reject Christian claims of *kebalian*, I argue that the Bali Church has been at least partially successful in articulating a Christian form of Balinese identity for two reasons: (1) adherence to and further codification of sacred/secular distinctions established vis-à-vis tourism, and (2) crafting the language of contextualized arts to conform to the discourse of *seni budaya*.

**Kebalian and Tourism**

Throughout the 1920s foreign visits to Bali increased to the point of sustaining a small tourist economy, highlighted by the completion of the famous Bali Hotel in 1928. These early tourists formed a new (and often wealthy) audience for the innovative musics and choreographies emerging from Bali throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Tourism peaked at the end of the 1930s when there was an estimated 250 visits per month. A crash in this new economy occurred with the onset of war in Europe.
Tourism was slow to recover in the years following WWII with “almost no tourists in the 1950s” (Vickers 1989:253). Major natural and social disasters in 1963 (eruption of Mt. Agung) and 1965 (mass anti-communist slaughter) proved but minor setbacks for the tourist industry as numbers of annual visits “slowly started to grow in the 1960s, fed by the post-war Hollywood images of ‘Bali-Hai’” (Ibid:253). Following Suharto’s rise to power (1967), the Indonesia government moved to reopen economic relations with Western nations, and accordingly promoted Bali as an ideal vacation area (Picard 1990:41). This national push to promote Bali, coupled with its prewar image as a tropical paradise, helped ensure the continued development of tourism. Tourist visits doubled after the completion of an international airport in 1969, and increased another nine fold by 1974 (Ibid:51). By the 1990s tourism replaced agriculture as the island’s main industry and has remained that way (with some notable exceptions) since that time.116

The financial success of tourism in Bali has been premised in large part on the effective incorporation of Balinese arts into the tourist experience. The integration of these arts into many aspects of Balinese society and ceremony has made them at once more appealing to tourists and more problematic for Balinese politicians and religious leaders to manage because of the conflicting interests of ritual and touristic spectacle. As I have already discussed, this tension resulted in a sacred/secular artistic binary. Due to the popularity of music and dance amongst tourists, this distinction became particularly pronounced where these performing arts were concerned. In an effort to demarcate elements of Balinese religion and custom from the tourist economy,

116 Terrorist bombings in Bali in 2002 and 2005 resulted in major downturns in the tourist economy, however, tourist visits have since returned to and exceeded pre-2002 numbers.
prominent Balinese performer and arts scholar, I Wayan Dibia, devised what he calls a “two worlds” model:

Balinese artists must dedicate themselves and their art to two worlds: traditional Bali and its emphasis on *adat* and *agama*, and modern Bali, which is dominated by tourism of other parties. (1994:30)

These “two worlds” could be interpreted simply as the sacred (Balinese “*adat* and *agama*”) on the one hand, and secular (tourism/tourists) on the other.

The distinction between sacred and secular elements of Balinese art are, in practice, much more difficult to define than a simple binary-based social context. Rather than conforming to sacred/secular categories, the tourist economy has bypassed any attempt to establish boundaries:

Far from being an external force striking a local society from without, tourism – or, rather, what I am inclined to call the *touristification* of a society – proceeds from within by blurring the boundaries between the inside and the outside, between what is “ours” and what is “theirs,” between that which pertains to “culture” and that which pertains to “tourism.” (Picard 1997:183)

Balinese Christian intellectuals are twice-over the beneficiaries of what Picard terms “touristification.” First, in their efforts to concede all sacred aspects of Balinese music and dance to Hindu religious praxis, they are simultaneously deemed sensitive to the traditions of this national minority religion while avoiding any stigma of co-opting the most revered rituals of Hinduism.

Second, and as Picard alludes to, touristification causes grey areas to emerge between the “authentic” culture of the hosts’ ritual life and the “staged” touristic culture for visitors. The *wali, bebali, and balih-balihan* categories codified at the

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117 The difficulty of distinguishing the sacred from the secular is a point that Dibia himself has observed (Dibia and Ballinger 2004).
1971 seminar suggest three clear distinctions. In practice, however, they are viewed as a spectrum with a variety of factors given consideration in determining the appropriateness of a particular dance genre in a particular place. “Entertainment” (I: hiburan) -based genres – or those belonging to the balih-balihan category – are considered secular and appropriate for essentially all tourist performances despite the ritualistic origins of many of these dances and the continued presence of images, actions, and narratives common in temple repertoires. The creation of a sub-category of Christian dances (tari secara iman Kristiani) associated with the secular end of this spectrum does not, therefore, seem unusual or out of place as many dances in the same spectral range already convey elements of adat and agama. Examples include the performance of offerings (adat) and incorporation of sacred, text-based narratives (agama) in shows considered as pure entertainment. The common association between “entertainment” and elements of ritual and religious life has meant that similar juxtapositions of sacred/Hindu and secular/Christian in contextual church repertoires are not regarded as unusual.

Figure 3.1 (below) illustrates such sacred/secular blending as dancers and stage props interacting in a contextual GKPB production at a hotel in Seminyak, south Bali (2012). The dance is known as Amertha Candra Bhuana and prominently

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118 Examples include the Ramayana-based narrative of kecak and the presence of kris daggers and feigned trancing in touristic trance dances.

119 The sub-categorization of Christian dances (“tari secara iman Kristiani”) within a secular/entertainment-based framework is outlined in the GKPB arts treatise (Murdita, “Bentuk-Bentuk,” 24-5). Its use in GKPB contexts is justified accordingly: “This genre of dance [balih-balihan/secular] may be used in church services because it is not sacred in nature.”
features three *kayonan* (“tree(s) of life”) in the opening section (*pepeson* 1). A smaller *kayonan* is used in *wayang* (shadow puppet) shows, which commonly depict stories from Hindu epic literature. In more recent years, however, the *kayonan* has been “secularized” through use in touristic *wayang* performances and through dance genres (*e.g.* kreasi baru) associated with the “profan.” This process of secularization has enabled Balinese Christians to employ the *kayonan* as a sign of a Christian, creator God. The *kayonan* below each evoke the Christian Trinity – The Father’s celestial glow above, Christ’s cross in the center, and the dove (holy spirit) below. This image has become a trope in Balinese Christian art, which now literally illustrates the problematic nature of strict social binaries.}

Touristification of Balinese music and dance has created an artistic milieu whereby the sacred is difficult and perhaps impossible to discern from the secular. This has benefited Christian attempts at staging works that can be accepted by members of both Balinese Christians and collaborating members of the Hindu majority as expressions of *kebalian* (Wiebe 2014). Christian intellectuals and artists of the Bali Church have done this by intentionally framing church-based music and dance productions as secular while benefiting from the inherently vague and problematic nature of this distinction. Both Hindu and Christian constructions of

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121 For an example of a *kayonan* in “secular” *tari lepas* context refer to Dibia and Ballinger (2005:104).

122 Reference to the *kayonan* can be seen in the contemporary contextual paintings of I Nyoman Darsane and Tina Bailey. Kayonan are also featured prominently in Balinese Protestant and Catholic architecture, including prominent positioning in altar decoration at the Renon Cathedral (Denpasar) and the *Widhi Satya* GKPB church (Denpasar).

123 Future work should explore the extent to which contextual musics are known beyond GKPB Christians and Hindus directly involved with the performance of contextual repertoires.
kebalian are based on cultural traits attributed to agama and adat, and recognized by members of these respective communities as essential to their self-understanding in relation to others. The minority Christian population has been additionally burdened to establish a kebalian recognized not only amongst themselves but also by (at least a portion of) the Hindu majority. The desire for GKPB congregants to convey kebalian was repeatedly mentioned during my fieldwork as individuals expressed concerns that Hindu Balinese may regard them as “foreigners” (I: orang asing). Members of GKPB have attempted to counter such accusations, in part, by expressing Christian kebalian through performances of Biblically inspired Balinese music and dance that avoid transgressing Hindu definitions of the sacred while accessing elements of agama and adat vis-à-vis “secular” dance genres.

124 Rituals associated with adat have been a major source of division between Balinese Christians and Hindus since the 1930s. Many Christian converts have been forced to leave their villages over disputes related to adat practices. As I will demonstrate in the next section, Christians often accessed elements of adat through the discourse of “budaya” (culture).
Hindu and Christian artists perform the contextualized musical dance drama *Amertha Candra Bhuana* at Hotel Dhyana Pura in Seminyak, Bali. In addition to the large *kayonan* held by the dancers, figures of Cili (Balinese goddess of rice – positioned between each dancer) also figure prominently in the onstage imagery (June 2012 – Photo by GKPB, used with permission).

**Figure 3.1.**

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**A Kebalian Based on Seni Budaya**

Though the relationship between *agama* and *adat* has and continues to be contested by scholars and practitioners alike, there is widespread agreement that each of these elements are inherently interrelated and cannot, therefore, be neatly separated from one another (ref. Ramseyer 1977:15; Hobart et al 1996:67; Hauser-Schäublin and Harnish 2014:14). At various points in history, however, a division between them has been promoted. For example, during the 1950s Balinese religious reformists argued that *agama* was distinct from *adat* as a basis for the national recognition of Hinduism (Warren 2007:175). More recently GKPB leaders have maintained a similar distinction, again for the purpose of religious reform. Unlike the Hindu reformists, Balinese Christians have sought to demarcate *agama*, not from *adat*, but from
budaya. They have done this to further establish a compelling basis for kebalian while avoiding the historical resistance of Christian converts in Bali to adat, or more specifically desa adat (the ritual practices of a particular village).¹²⁵

Gamelan music and dance are so integral to many Hindu ceremonies in Bali that it is impossible to differentiate these arts as either adat or agama; they are essentially both. Michael Tenzer has observed the importance of gamelan at religious events: “The Hindu-Balinese religion (Agama Hindu Dharma) requires gamelan for the successful completion of most of the tens of thousands of ceremonies undertaken yearly” (Tenzer 2000:15). For many of the Balinese who attend such ceremonies determining the role of gamelan as adat or agama is often irrelevant, but it has become essential for Christians seeking to incorporate Balinese music and dance into church services and other events.

Conflict stemming from Christian refusal to participate in desa adat has been a deeply divisive issue since the first Balinese Christian congregations were established during the 1930s. It continues to be a source of debate today as evidenced by the aforementioned provincial regulation Perda 3/01, which defines village membership on the premise of adat criteria. Christian organizations such as GKPB who have adopted elements of Hindu ceremony that have been perceived as adat have also come under scrutiny. In a 2011 book dealing with religious conversion in Bali, author Kadek Aryadharma criticizes Balinese Christians for using

¹²⁵ McKenzie describes how foreign missionaries of the 1930s encouraged new converts to reject desa adat: “One aspect of these conversions was to have long-term repercussions. This was Tsang’s [foreign, CMA missionary] insistence that Christians reject their cultural lifestyle. In this he was wholeheartedly supported by Dr. Jaffray [foreign, CMA missionary] who denounced their former religion as pagan, and encouraged them to deny their culture” (1988:21). Though not specifically addressed here as adat, such rejection of “cultural lifestyle” would have undoubtedly amounted to a rejection of desa adat.
contextualized elements in church services because the practice transgresses government regulations. Furthermore, she states: “Balinese Christians are wrong [I: *salah*] to take [I: *ambil*] from Balinese *adat*” (2011:55-6). Citing a case from a Catholic service, she mentions the inclusion of gamelan as a particular area of concern:

> Even though they use gamelan, bells and penjor\(^{126}\) it seems as though they don’t understand the theory of Balinese gamelan whereby each note has a relationship to the gods – so it is certain this is still inappropriate to use in the Church.

(2011:167)

Throughout my fieldwork interlocutors have referenced similar attitudes toward contextualized music amongst what many call “fanatic” Hindus. As a means to circumvent protracted debates regarding Catholic and Protestant relationships to Balinese *adat*, members of the Bali Church have adopted the discourse of “*budaya.*”

The decidedly secular implications of the term *budaya* (often translated as “culture”) help to distinguish it from *adat* and its common associations with *agama* and the sacred. The discourse of *kebalian* among GKPB members is, therefore, framed not in terms of *agama* and *adat* (as earlier generations of Balinese Hindus had done), but rather as a distinction between *agama* and *budaya*. Over the course of my field research I conducted numerous interviews with members of the Bali Church who repeatedly justified the use of Balinese music and dance in these very terms. For example, I Nyoman Murdita (artistic director of the GKPB arts bureau) has stated:

> When we convert we are considered foreigners [*orang asing*] because we are no longer Hindu. This is why we want to continue using Balinese *budaya*, so we don’t become foreign. This is why we at the Bali Church want to keep Balinese

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\(^{126}\) Decorative stalk of arched bamboo typically used to mark the Hindu celebration of *Galungan*. 

budaya, to preserve it. To do this we need to be strong in budaya. Then we can have a strong kebalian. (Interview with the author, July 2012)

The association between budaya and kebalian is clear here. Murdita believes that the perception of Balinese Christians as foreigners can be counteracted through the “preservation” (I: pelestarian) of Balinese budaya, which will in turn reflect a localized identity.

Other Bali Church members have supported the claim that Balinese budaya can be used in churches on the grounds that it is distinct from religion (agama).

Balinese Church musician and GKPB member, I Ketut Firman, articulates this notion:

Gamelan is not agama it’s budaya. We are Balinese Christians so we use Balinese budaya. We believe in the grace of God and we believe that we can use gamelan to praise and honor God. That’s the reason we believe that gamelan is not agama but budaya. We need to keep agama and budaya separate. (Interview with the author, March 2014)

In defining gamelan as budaya he separates it from problematic associations with Hindu temple ceremonies and creates a space for “the grace of God” to work in society. In more anthropological terms, Balinese Hindus and Christians have negotiated such “grace” on the basis of the flexibility of the term budaya, itself a result of modernizing influences, most notably colonialism and tourism.

I Nyoman Darsane, director of the Bali Church arts bureau from 1986-1992, reinforces a similar budaya/agama dichotomy as he discusses the changing views of GKPB congregants during contextual reform:

Author – When Mastra returned from America [1971] were there already people using Balinese music and painting in the church or did that happen afterward?
Darsane – My feeling is that this did not exist yet. There was definitely already gong kebyar, but church people had already rejected it because it was considered Hindu. Balinese arts [seni] and culture [budaya] were still considered to be Hindu. This was one view, but seni and budaya are not religion [agama]. (Interview with the author, July 2011)

The views described by Darsane were common amongst GKB Christians prior to the contextualized reformation movement initiated by Mastra during the early 1970s.

I Putu Suranata, long-time GKB Balinese music director, also makes similar claims about the relationship between agama and budaya. He goes slightly further by connecting this distinction to kebalian:

These types of church people [those who have grown up listening to gamelan] don’t question the use of gamelan because it’s not owned by agama. It’s part of an artistic culture [budaya]. It’s like the keyboard, it’s not owned by religion, it’s part of an artistic culture. A keyboard isn’t agama, it’s just the keyboard… Any religion has its own character on each island [within Indonesia]. Like in Bali, there’s Balinese budaya. That’s why the Bali Church uses the budaya of Bali – so it’s different… At churches throughout the world you’ll find keyboard or organ, but in Bali you’ll find the gong [gamelan]… They keep using these things because they don’t want to lose their kebalian. They do these things because they want to be called Balinese people. (Interview with the author, September 2012)

Like Firman and Darsane, Suranata specifically describes gamelan as a form of budaya so that it can be contrasted with agama and then applied in a new Christian context for the purpose of reframing the parameters of kebalian. The common association of the keyboard in Indonesia with both church and popular musics is suggested as a reason why gamelan can easily be repurposed for Christian services. In all of the aforementioned examples, and in others I have not provided here,
interlocutors have consistently cited the importance of distinguishing *agama* from *budaya*. Never have they used the term *budaya* interchangeably with *adat*.

In this same interview, however, Suranata mentions that not all people immediately accept the use of gamelan in the church – a matter that may suggest resistance to other aspects of contextualization as well. He attributes these concerns to a lack of education regarding the distinction between *agama* and *budaya*:

> Sometimes if people don’t know the difference between religion and culture, they might complain a little bit [about the use of gamelan in the church]. But we inform them because they don’t already know. After we explain it then they usually understand. We’re not stern with them and we don’t get angry, we just tell them. (Interview with the author, September 2012)

Suranata’s remarks suggest that a simple explanation is often enough to change people’s perspective on contextualized music, but others I have spoken to have hinted at much stronger resistance, especially from critics in the Hindu majority. Firman told me that some Hindus in Bali disapprove of the use of gamelan in churches because they do not recognize an *agama/budaya* distinction:

> Author – Have you ever met someone who doesn’t agree with this principle [the separation of *agama* and *budaya*]?

> Firman – Yes, I know people who think *gamelan* is owned by Hindus, but I believe there must be a distinction between *agama* and *budaya*. We need to clarify – there are some who believe that *agama* and *budaya* cannot be separated. We must understand this. We live in Bali so it’s okay for us to use Balinese *budaya* in church. We’re not foreigners, we’re Balinese. We still use Balinese names, when we make our offerings we still use Balinese *budaya*. We still

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127 Hauser-Schäublin and Harnish note that the term *adat* is “sometimes phrased in terms of ‘culture’ (*budaya*)” (2014:13). Though such terminological interchangeability may be present elsewhere in verbal and written discourses on Balinese subjects, I have rarely, if ever, encountered such variability in my own fieldwork or in written sources pertaining to the Bali Church. References to Balinese culture within GKPB contexts are almost invariably referred to as *budaya*.
blend [I: *berbaur*] with our Hindu neighbors. We must be free to worship. At first we worshipped Hindu gods, now we worship God in church. (Interview with the author, March 2014)

Dra Adri Supriyati, an administrator at the GKPB arts bureau, has noticed a similar challenge for some Christians when trying to establish a basis for *kebalian*. Like both Firman and Suranata, she links this resistance to one’s interpretation of the relationship between *agama* and *budaya*:

**Author** – I have heard that some Hindus have a problem with Christians trying to develop a *kebalian*.

**Supriyati** – This is their problem, not ours. They don’t understand that when someone converts they are only changing their faith [I: *iman*] not their *budaya*. This is still a problem in Bali. I hope that in another 20 years it won’t be a problem anymore. (Interview with the author, July 2012)

Each of the previous three interlocutors reveals that the division between *agama* and *budaya* is far from self-evident. For GKPB Christians a contextualized discourse based on such a binary is productive because it enables one to position desirable cultural attributes (that which is called *budaya*) within a Christian context while simultaneously disassociating them from Hinduism (*agama*). The choice of *budaya* - over the more problematic term *adat* - has been employed (consciously or otherwise) in an attempt to bypass the historical Christian rejection of local *adat* practices that remain “problematically” conflated (from an official GKPB perspective) with the enactment of Hinduism in Bali. Based on the success of the contextualization movement in GKPB churches it would appear that most church

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128 In this instance the term *iman* (faith) is used as a synonym for *agama*. The focus here is less on orthodoxy and what one believes than on the official proclamation of a nationalized *agama*. The “change” that Supriyati speaks of relates to a conversion and the administrative adjustments inherent therein – most notably the change of official religion on one’s national identity card (KTP – *Kartu Tanda Penduduk*).
members have accepted this intellectual distinction as promulgated by Balinese artists and Bali Church leadership.

As has been evidenced, many members of the Hindu majority remain resistant to the claim that budaya - allegedly disassociated from Agama Hindu - can form the basis for kebalian. Picard provides some insightful commentary as to why this may be. In an article entitled, “The Discourse of Kebalian,” Picard observes a desire amongst Balinese to employ the official discourse of agama as an “ethnic boundary marker” and as an “emblem of their kebalian” (Picard 1999:44). Elsewhere he has specifically connected this agama-driven desire for ethnic identity to Christianity:

Here we are no longer referring to the communal identity Balinese could secure from practicing their customary religion… but to its reformed persuasion, which characterizes the Balinese people as a non-Muslim (and non-Christian) minority within the Indonesian multiethnic and multireligious nation. (Picard 1997:195)

Based on these assertions, the construction of a Christian kebalian premised, in part, on Balinese music and dance as a form of budaya is problematic. Kebalian is by definition political, emerging during a complex period of modernization involving various forms of foreign influence such as colonization, nationalism, and the development of cultural tourism. The notion of a collective Balinese people, united under a single kebalian, was developed as a means to define “insiders” from “outsiders.” Christianity itself was - and in many cases still is - perceived as an invasive outside influence because of its association with Dutch colonialism, national religious reform, and the culture of Western (esp. Australian, North American, European) tourists. Due to this history, Christianity continues to be viewed by some as antithetical to kebalian.
From an intellectual standpoint, GKPB Christians have tended to frame their *kebalian* as a form of Protestant Christianity rooted in Balinese culture/*budaya*. In many ways this project has been highly successful in allowing GKPB Christians to reconsider the position of the Church in relation to gamelan, a musical tradition that was once quite literally demonized. For many Balinese Hindus, however, the veneer of *budaya* applied to this “foreign” world religion in the name of contextualization is too weak a claim to accept at face value. In arguing for a distinction between *agama* and *budaya* and by adopting the state-sponsored sacred/secular binary, Balinese Christians have attempted to separate themselves from all sacred aspects of the local Hindu culture. If the Bali Church has been successful in this endeavor, as many GKPB Christians claim, it is at once a resounding success for the anti-syncretists (as they have avoided the merger of Hindu and Christian traits) and an utter failure for the contextualists (who have sought holistic integration and acceptance by the broader Hindu community).

As I will demonstrate in the remainder of this chapter, the ability for contextualized Balinese music and dance to establish interreligious discourse and music networks has not been due to the successful division of *agama* from *budaya*. Just as Hindu reformists argued for the separation of *adat* from *agama* as a means to forge a political identity in the context of the emerging Indonesian nation state, Christian contextualists have argued for a division between *budaya* and *agama* as the basis for a localized political identity. Upon closer analysis, both of these distinctions have proven problematic. Contextualization has succeeded in creating a mutually intelligible discourse between Christians and Hindus precisely because *kebalian* is
necessarily intertwined with elements variously described as *budaya*, *adat*, and *agama*. According to Tenzer: “Bali is one of a handful of places in the world where there seems to be…a much greater overall respect granted to the role of music in sustaining the very foundations of society” (Tenzer 2000:19). Rarely is the social importance of music (and accompanying dances) more evident than in the interactions between Christians and Hindus artists. These interactions are often expressed as music and dance events (including rehearsals, concerts, and church services) and provide a forum for Balinese Christians and Hindus to negotiate the practical parameters of a Christian *kebalian* through the establishment of an “interreligious gaze.”

**Enacting *Kebalian*: The Interreligious Gaze**

In a 1990 monograph, anthropologist John Urry describes what he refers to as the “tourist gaze.” It describes the expectations established in a primarily Western imagination in relation to “exotic” and “romantic” locales. These expectations, Urry explains, are established through various forms of media and are based on difference (1990:1). Baerenholdt (et al) positions these developments as historical offshoots of technological advances developed during the British industrial revolution including railways, photography, and organizational innovation (2004:142). These and other technological and political developments have coalesced to produce a uniquely Balinese manifestation of emic/etic relations.
Whereas the tourist gaze is focused primarily on Western perceptions of
Others, more recent scholarship has begun to focus on the effects of gazing tourists
upon the host society. Anthropologist Shinji Yamashita notes:

Tourism also stimulates traditional culture, and this may result
in the creation of new culture. In addition, tourism heightens
the self-awareness of the local people in tourist areas, and
strengthens their identity. (2003:109)

In Bali, tourism has undoubtedly contributed to an increased self-awareness of the
potential for music and dance to form the basis for a distinct Balinese identity. In
response to the perceived socio-economic advantages of a *kebalian* partly rooted in
tourism, members of GKPB have developed arts-based discourses that connect the
Church to “desacralized” components of Balinese *budaya*. This has led to intellectual
posturing, but more importantly it has established what I describe as an
“interreligious gaze,” or the process by which members of distinct religious
formations negotiate the parameters of overlapping social, economic, and/or political
interests through the establishment of a medium (in this case performing arts)
whereby points of contention may be examined. Though this gaze may have aspects
of privacy or interiority, it is inherently public so as to be open to constant critique,
reform, and sustained dialogue. There are many forums for such interreligious gaze in
Bali; however, I will focus here on the gaze established between Balinese Hindus and
members of the Bali Church as enacted through the production of contextualized
music and dance. The interreligious relationship is not inherently connected to
tourism, however the unique history of Bali combined with the ubiquity of tourism on
the island brings it into purview of the present analysis.
Long before such a gaze had been established, however, Balinese music and dance became the subject of an “aestheticizing gaze” amidst the glow of nascent tourism. As Picard describes it, “this esteem must have been seductive to a newly colonized people, and it is not surprising that the Balinese were easily persuaded that they were ‘artists’” (Picard 1996:22). A desire to make “artists” of the Balinese -- particularly during the interwar period (as described by Picard) -- and the willingness of some Balinese to indulge them, forged an early blueprint for host/guest-based interactive models. The onset of WWII disrupted the myth of the “artistic native,” which, during the late 1960s and early 1970s, was replaced by an increasingly “modern native” and hybrid touristic arts. This development was spurred, in part, by the birth of mass tourism in Bali and resulted in a tourist gaze with an increasingly international influence.

As Yamashita suggests, this stimulated a “hybrid culture,” which privileged certain Western performance norms (e.g. punctuality, audience/performer separation) and included newly formed music and dance genres such as kecak, sendratari, and tari lepas (2003:37). Since the 1960s, as these and other arts genres have been popularized, music and dance has remained a forum of negotiation between Balinese (who seek to maintain some sense of the “sacred” in Hindu arts) and tourists (who often seek an “authentic” yet easily accessible form of local “culture”). The development of this type of hybrid culture, which is premised on ongoing negotiation

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129 Though it cannot be said that the above-mentioned genres (kecak, sendratari, and tari lepas) were created solely (or even primarily) with a foreign/touristic audience in mind, they are, nonetheless, highly adaptable modern (twentieth-century) forms that demonstrate the ongoing influence of the touristic gaze.
and change, is illustrative of tourist subjects who have “gazed back” in direct response to foreign/touristic influence (Stokes 1999:143).\textsuperscript{130}

This model of socio-economic dialogue, as expressed through the tourist gaze, has come to form a template for Balinese Christians and Hindus as they enact new forms of kebalian. Contextualized arts thus challenge conventional parameters of Balinese identity, especially when and where these boundaries have defined ethnicity in relation to Balinese Hinduism. This process of change was formally initiated at the 1972 Bali Church synod meeting as holistically contextualized church reform. From the beginning this project was intended to reconnect GKPB membership with components of Balinese budaya considered essential to kebalian. The earliest church-based productions of music and dance during the mid-1970s relied exclusively on Hindu artists as there were few, if any, Christians performing at a professional level at that time (I Nyoman Catra, interview with the author, February 2014).\textsuperscript{131}

These early performances mark the start of the interreligious gaze as expressed through Bali Church-sponsored gamelan events. Similar to many productions for foreign tourists, GKPB spectators watched programs of tari lepas (free dance) and sendratari (dance drama), both dance genres that have developed over the course of the twentieth century primarily in response to the demands of tourism. In a manner that reflected a desire to demarcate the sacred from the secular amidst the tourist economy, Balinese Christians, in collaboration with Hindu

\textsuperscript{130} This kind of “gazing back” is characteristic of the changes in guest/host relations between the interwar/“artistic native” period and the post WWII modern, “gazing native.” The creation of dances specifically for tourists (e.g. Oleg Tambulilingan, and Puspanjali) is illustrative of “gazing back” as it intellectualizes and prioritizes the merger of local values and mores with the aesthetic priorities of a foreign audience.

\textsuperscript{131} I Nyoman Catra was one of the first Hindu artists to collaborate with GKPB in the mid-1970s and is now Professor of Dance at Institut Seni Indonesia, Denpasar.
performers, designed programs that would not transgress normative sacred Hindu arts.

Foreign influences became manifest in Church practice and in relations between Balinese Hindus and Christians as touristic arts genres and taxonomies were employed as a part of the Bali Church’s contextualization project. Similarities between Hindu/Protestant relations and newly emerging socio-economic models, then, highlight the wide-ranging influence of tourism. The reorientation of this interreligious relationship included the adoption of an arts discourse that was mutually intelligible and acceptable to both Hindus and Christians.

Contextualized productions of the 1970s were characterized by Christians consuming media produced by Hindu artists. This began to change during the 80s and into the 90s as Christian artists increasingly became involved in Balinese performing arts, including composition and choreography. Hindu artists were no longer simply performing for Christian audiences, they were now performing, rehearsing, and creating together, and this fundamentally changed the nature of the interreligious gaze, and the interreligious music networks that followed (as I will show in chapter four).

This resembles similar transformations in interactions between Western tourists and Balinese over the course of the twentieth century. Though slight changes were made, some of the earliest tourist shows in the 1920s and 30s were essentially replicas of existing temple-based repertoire.\(^{132}\) As tourism developed in Bali concerns

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\(^{132}\) Sanger notes that slight changes were made in instances of ritual that transgressed Western norms, such as eating live chickens to help dancers come out of trance (1988:93). Not all of these early touristic performances, however, were derivatives of temple-based repertoire. For
were raised that certain dances were being “desacralized” in the context of tourist shows and this set off a complex process of negotiation between Balinese Hindus (including politicians, artists, and religious leaders) and tourists. In other words, the expectations of the tourist gaze must be met in performance or risk retribution, which in the case of tourism equals fewer tickets sold and less revenue.

Like these early tourist shows, contextualized music and dance of the 1970s relied primarily on a preexisting repertoire, particularly *tari lepas* (I Wayan Mastra, interview with the author, June 2013). These shows came as “secularized” touristic content that, from the perspective of Hindus, could be easily adapted to new foreign contexts such as a church event. As Christians became proficient practitioners of Balinese art, new works were composed that more clearly conveyed contextualized Balinese Christian perspectives and Biblical narratives. GKPB members thus shifted from being primarily consumers of repurposed touristic media to collaborators. Unlike tourists who interact indirectly with art, Balinese Christians became direct collaborators, capable of *producing* art that could subsequently become the subject of an interreligious gaze. In the instance of Balinese Christians and Hindus performing together, this gaze is further defined by a mutual ability to produce discourses that are subsequently used to articulate shared traits of ethnicity and identity.

In *The Birth of the Clinic* Michel Foucault identifies a pivotal moment in Western medicine when the power to “see,” or to “gaze,” became a dominant epistemology. Foucault describes this transition:

> It meant that the relation between the visible and invisible – which is necessary to all concrete knowledge – changed its structure, revealing

example, *legong* (a dance not directly associated with the temple) was already being performed for tourists in the 1930s (David Harnish, communication with the author).
through gaze and language what had previously been beyond their
domain. A new alliance was forged between words and things,
enabling one to see and to say. (1973:xii) (Italics by Foucault)

The gaze thus becomes the means by which things are identified, observed, and
defined according to empirical systems of knowledge. Nineteenth-century medicine,
and its newly formed gaze, reflects similarities to that imposed on Balinese arts
during the twentieth century. The will to “see and to say” was exercised at every turn,
always under the surveillance of another’s gaze. Under Dutch colonialism, Protestant
missionization, nationalism, and finally tourism the Balinese were required to define
who they were in relation to foreign categories (e.g. adat, agama, budaya). The
weight of this empiricizing gaze eventually manifested as a distinction between
“sacred” and “secular” dances. The Bali Church adopted those deemed secular
because they had been carefully amputated from Hinduism through 60 years of
observation.

**Analysis – Tariaan Perdamaian ("The Dancing of Peace")**

Victor Turner has argued that theater is much more than a story conveyed by
actors on a stage. Rather it reflects the struggles of life in what he calls “social
drama”:

By means of such genres as theatre…performances are
presented which probe a community’s weaknesses, call its
leaders to account, desacralize its most cherished values and
beliefs, portray its characteristic conflicts and suggest remedies
for them, and generally takes stock of its current situation in
the known “world.” (1982:11)

Likewise, the production of theatrical events by the Bali Church is a way to recognize
the conflict that has plagued Christian/Hindu interactions and to embody a collective
negotiation that has more recently emerged. Murdita understands the performance of these arts as a way to create kehadiran (a presence) in the wider Balinese community, and cites this as a way to ensure that “our Christianity is compatible with Balinese culture and art” (Murdita, in discussion with the author, August 2012). By creating kehadiran GKPB sustains a venue for both an interreligious gaze and an embodiment of kebalian. Such productions are also vestiges of empiricizing gazes as the following analysis of Tarian Perdamaian (“The Dancing of Peace”) – a touristic dance drama/sendratari premiered by the Bali Church in 2006 – will reveal these conflicting viewpoints. Through the analysis I will also highlight how contextualized art functions as an expression of Christian kebalian and the social drama therein. For a complete performance of Tarian Perdamaian please refer to YouTube.

The storyline of the dance drama is enacted in four scenes (ref. figure 3.2), opening with angels and followed by the introduction of the king (presumably Jesus). It then shifts to earth where commoners stumble blindly for direction, all of whom are finally redeemed in the presence of the king. On the surface this appears to be a classic Pauline conversion narrative as characters transition from sin to epiphany, repentance, and forgiveness. There is little doubt that Murdita, who wrote and choreographed the work, intentionally fore-grounded this conversion story with a

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133 The Translation of Tarian Perdamaian as “The Dancing of Peace” is Murdita’s own. In my conversations with him he has used the titles interchangeably.
134 The term “sendratari” is a combination of three Indonesian words: seni (art), drama (drama), and tari (dance). The genre is a twentieth century development, premiering first in Java during the mid-1960s and shortly after in Bali. Since that time, the genre has developed under the influence of both Western (touristic) and Balinese (“local”) aesthetic priorities.
135 A complete performance of Tarian Perdamaian is available on Youtube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BrFHWdvw8qk
136 The division of the production into four scenes (over two acts) is detailed in the GKPB contextualization treatise (ref. Murdita et al 2012).
king-like Jesus figure at the center, but a closer analysis reveals a more complex narrative.

The four scenes of “Dancing of Peace”

1. Angels dancing
2. Introduction of King/Jesus
3. Stumbling commoners
4. Redemption

Figure 3.2. The four distinct scenes that comprise the dance-drama (sendratari) Tarian Perdamaian.

Divine Terminology: Sang Hyang Widi Wasa

GKPB Christians use a number of terms to refer to the divine, or some aspect of it as a component of the trinity. These include: Tuhan (God/Lord), Allah (God), Pencipta (Creator), Bapak (Father), Yesus (Jesus), and Roh Suci (Holy Spirit). These words, however, have all arrived in common parlance amongst Balinese Christians through other languages (e.g. Malaysian, Sanskrit, Arabic). The one Balinese term used by
GKPB Christians for “God” is Sang Hyang Widi Wasa.\textsuperscript{137} It is widely used by Bali Church leaders and congregants in prayer, song, and speech. Interestingly, it is also the same term used by reformist Indonesian Hindus (including Balinese) for “The One and only God.” This designation was made in the 1950s as a condition of the state recognition of Hinduism under Indonesia’s monotheistic constitution.

Steenbrink and Aritonang have noted that some Hindus protested the use of this term by Christians as they considered it “a violation of their exclusive rights to these specifically Hindu-Balinese words” (2008:740).\textsuperscript{138} Over the course of my research many of my interlocutors have echoed similar sentiments, and although some have suggested the term is less contested today, it is clear that Sang Hyang Widi Wasa has been a point of ideological tension between Christians and Hindus.\textsuperscript{139}

\textit{Tarian Perdamaian} features a chorus, a complete kebyar group, and dancers, and over the last nine years as this work has been performed the group has been variously composed of Christian and Hindu men, women, and children performing in ensemble (Suranata, email communication with the author, August 2015). Together the chorus sings the following text in Balinese: “It has been told that all people are like angels praising the great name of Sang Hyang Widi Wasa.” The kingdom of the

\textsuperscript{137} Though Sang Hyang Widi Wasa is the only Balinese term I know of in regular use as referent to “God” amongst Balinese Christians, others terms that roughly translate to “God” are in regular use amongst Balinese Hindus, and include: Sang Hyang Tunggal, Acintya, and Brahman. Even the term for the sun god (Batara Surya) is often conflated with the notion of “God” in Balinese temples. (David Harnish, communication with the author, March 2016)

\textsuperscript{138} Christians and Muslims in Malaysia have faced a similar conflict over divine terminology. In 2014 a Malaysian federal court upheld a ruling forbidding Christians in that nation from using the word “Allah,” citing the term as exclusively Islamic.

\textsuperscript{139} I Nyoman Darsane - former director of the GKPB arts bureau (DPB) – explains: “For people that don’t have a lot of insight they feel that because Sang Hyang Widi is Balinese it should only be used by Hindus. The problem is that Christians have been using the term to worship Tuhan [God/Lord] for much longer. Hindus say it didn’t happen like that.” Despite these ideological differences, he goes on to suggest that this debate between Hindus and Christians is no longer a pressing concern. (Interview with the author, July 2011)
almighty Sang Hyang Widi Wasa is eternally peaceful.” So what does it mean, then, for Balinese Christians and Hindus to join their voices in recognition of Sang Hyang Widi Wasa as the “almighty” “One and Only God”? Is it a sign of solidarity? A means of further “Balinizing” Christianity (with the hope of increasing church membership)? Or, is it simply Hindus performing the music they were hired to play in the context of a “secular,” touristic performance? Of course, there is no single answer to these questions, and depending on whom one asks, all responses could portray some element of truth. Such fluidity of definition is characteristic of the interreligious gaze. To see is to say, but not definitively.

**Halus and Keras – A Caste-based Dichotomy**

The performative context of Tarian Perdamaian illustrates the flexibility of “Sang Hyang Widi Wasa” to function as a religious marker for both Balinese Hindus and Christians; and this suggests overlapping priorities in how members of these religious groups construct notions of the divine. The continued performance of this dance drama also points to similar flexibilities in Balinese social epistemologies. Historically, the kings of Balinese society have realized great socio-economic privilege, in large part a result of their position atop the local Hindu caste structure.

The massive rituals of nineteenth-century Bali were executed within this hierarchic system, and as such, every person from the king down to the lowliest peasant had his

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140. The text as sung in Balinese: Kacerita yang ring suargan, Maka sami malaikate. Ngeluwihang parab ida sanghyang wide wasa. Sutrepti rahayu sane langgeng wantah wenten ring keraton ida sanghyang wide wasa.

141. Hindu musicians and dancers who perform in professional or semi-professional GKPB productions at various church events are typically paid for their work. Christian performers generally do not receive direct remuneration for artistic contributions as these are seen as service to the church (I Putu Suranata, email communication with the author, June 2015).
or her role. In Clifford Geertz’s magnum opus on Balinese society (Negara, 1980) he describes the disparate yet equally essential roles of those within this system, finally summarizing this state of affairs: “Functional, or, as the Balinese would say, ‘coarse’ toward the bottom, the Negara [State] was aesthetical, ‘refined’ toward the top – a model itself of the nature of hierarchy” (1980:132). This idealized vision of hierarchy is mirrored in the costumes, language, and dance/musical gestures associated with the characters throughout Tarian Perdamaian and is a common element of many Balinese performing arts.

The spectrum of character types in Balinese theatre is marked by oppositional extremes with many combinations and variations present in between. On the one end are traits described as “halus” (refined), which are most easily identified by slower, compact movements, thinner musical textures and softer dynamics. In contrast, “keras” (coarse, hard, or strong) characters demonstrate affect; often with larger, more abrupt movements accompanied by louder, more densely orchestrated music. As Geertz notes, these ideals are generally applied hierarchically and in Bali this inevitably references caste. In other words, more refined characters are generally regarded as higher caste (brahman or satria) while coarse characters belong to the lower caste (sudra).

These conventions are applied to figures throughout Tarian Perdamaian, with two principle characters embodying the traits of these oppositional poles. On the one hand is the Jesus/king figure who utilizes slow and graceful dance gestures. As the

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143 For a more complete explanation of Balinese caste, refer to: Hobart et al 1996:65-82.
king first appears onstage in the second scene the music becomes decidedly softer as the louder elaborating instruments temporarily sit tacit.\textsuperscript{144} His white costume, almond-shaped eyes (exaggerated with make-up), and an often-downcast gaze further enhance his refinement and humility (Gold 2005:93–4). On the other hand is a decidedly \textit{keras} figure who enters the stage toward the end of the third scene. In Christian terms he represents a Satan, or “accuser” character and his coarseness is easily identified. A bright red \textit{kain} (sarong) and \textit{udeng} (head dress), wild, frantic gestures and loud music punctuated with percussive attacks from the \textit{reyong} and \textit{ceng-ceng} readily indicate his opposition to the king.

Not all figures, however, represent these idealized extremes. Two sets of characters portrayed as human each convey subdued aspects of refinement and coarseness, respectively. \textit{Tarian Perdamaian} begins as six dancers dressed as angels enter the stage. A description of the scene written by Murdita, who choreographed the production, identifies them not as angels but human beings (I: \textit{manusia}): “human beings who live in peace are likened to angels” (Murdita et al 2012:42). Their subservience to the king is illustrated in gesture when they kneel with hands folded in prayer upon seeing him. Their white robes (wings) and \textit{kains} coupled with golden crowns and earrings are further evidence of their morally refined nature.

The second group of human characters first appears at the beginning of the third scene as seven male dancers enter the stage wearing \textit{topeng} and \textit{bondres} masks.\textsuperscript{145} They appear to suffer from various physical afflictions (blindness,

\textsuperscript{144} The instruments used for melodic elaboration (most notably the \textit{reyong}, \textit{pemade}, and \textit{kantil}), which have been active throughout the piece, suddenly fall away as the king enters.

\textsuperscript{145} These types of masks are typically used in comedic performances (\textit{bondres}) and various genres of masked dance performance (\textit{topeng}).
lameness, and other handicaps), and this, coupled with masks featuring bright reds and browns, and deformed and exaggerated facial features, as well as bright red head dresses (udeng), coalesce to indicate the coarseness of this group. Such characterization is further underscored by the scene description provided by Murdita: “It has been told: The world has fallen into chaos, which is seen in the suffering of humanity and the hardness [kekerasan] of hearts” (Murdita et al 2012:42). The word “kekerasan” (hardness) is based on the root word kera, the same word used to describe unrefined dance gestures, character traits, and in Geertz’s analysis also indicates low social position. The desperate fate of this group is not coincidence, a result of tragedy beyond their control. Rather, their suffering is a direct result of disobedience to the king as evidenced in the text sung by the female chorus: “It is now told, all of humanity suffers as a result of the sin of the world because they have not followed the command of Sang Yang Widi Wasa. Because of this all of humanity suffers deeply.”

The drama concludes in scene four as the coarse characters (including the accuser figure) sit cross-legged with hands pressed together and elbows raised, a common posture of prayer among Balinese Hindus. Some of the unrefined dancers remove their masks as a symbol of their transformation (resulting from an aversion to further suffering?), now subjects of the king. In this way they have yielded to the commands of the refined members of the hierarchy, most notably the king. The aestheticization of this hierarchy is thus complete (ref. figure 3.3). Those of lower

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146 As sung in in the original Balinese: Kaceritayang ne mangkin, jatmane sami ke lara lara. Santukan akeh dosa, karyan ipun ring merce pada, santukan sampun lali ring titah ida Sang Hyang Widi Wasa. Nika mawinan jatmane sami ke tibenin baya.

147 I Made Bandem has noted that the removal of masks in Balinese arja (opera) is a common symbol of personal transformation (Interview with the author, May 2015).
social standing (the *kersas*) have deified the king and empowered other members of the higher castes (the *halus*) through their subservience. This hierarchy is performed using well-established conventions of Balinese theatrical and musical arts that are closely connected to local socio-religious norms. Though Balinese theater does not always seek to confirm such social structures, this caste-affirming performance is an effective means of blending local and more globally situated norms.
The image of the king as divinity has a long history in Bali and as Clifford Geertz suggests it is a divine status realized through the dramatic participation of all Balinese citizens in what he calls the “theatre state.” In Geertz’s own words: “It was the king’s cult that created him... for, without the dramas of the theatre state, the image of composed divinity could not even take form” (1980:131). The same holds true for the dramas of the Bali Church. At the most obvious level, the dramatic enactment of Tarian Perdamaian creates new images of Christ as a contextualized Balinese king in local clothes and dancing to gamelan music. As one moves closer and begins to take account of the members of this “theatre state,” composed of

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Balinese Hindus and Christians respectively, the composition of the onstage divinity takes on unexpected qualities. The raw artistic materials that form this contextualized Jesus are thus transmuted as a result of Hindu/Christian collaboration.

This sort of diversity, which is an inherent component of any interreligious gaze, is also central to Geertz’s model of theatrical spectacle:

Yet the frequency, richness, and scale of those dramas, and thus the extent of the impress they made upon the world, was in turn dependent upon the extent and...the diversity of the political loyalties that could be mobilized to stage them.

(1980:131)

In a similar fashion the “cult” of Jesus-as-king has sought legitimation in Balinese society through theatre. Not the dramatic ritualistic drama of nineteenth-century Bali, but the staged “social drama” described by Turner. The king has entered and he has been attributed divine status, but whose king is it? The name of the king, Sang Hyang Widi Wasa, does little to clarify matters, as it is a name shared by Balinese Hindus and Christians alike. The people singing, dancing, and playing gamelan serve to further obscure the king’s orientation as they perform together as a collage of Christians and Hindus. What at first glance so clearly appeared as another example of colonial, touristic domination – an embodiment of the empiricizing gaze – is, upon closer examination, a dramatic enactment of Balinese king deification. Through this process the parameters of kebalian are renegotiated in an effort to confirm that Balinese Christians may legitimately claim Balinese ethnicity.
Conclusion

This chapter began with two quotes intended to illustrate a transformation in the nature of relations between Balinese Christians and Hindus through the twentieth century and now into the twenty-first. In the second quote, Suranata likened the production of contextualized music and dance to the activities of the sekehe gong, or village gamelan ensemble. In this chapter an intellectual framework was established that attempts to account for the manner in which this transformation has come about, ultimately resulting in church-based sekehe gong comprised of both Hindus and Christians performing Balinese music and dance together.

A contributing factor to this shift in interreligious relations was the increased importance and influence of tourism in Bali, especially during the 1960s and early 1970s. The influx of tourists, many of whom were drawn to Bali because of its rich artistic traditions, led to the formal distinction between “sacred” and “secular” dance types. This binary was advantageous to Christians of the Bali Church as it allowed them to more easily draw from elements of Balinese music and dance as one means of contextualization. The incorporation of these secular dances into church services and events was simultaneously folded into an intellectual discourse regarding the nature of Balinese Christian identity. Such discussion ran parallel to existing debates about a pan-Balinese identity (kebalian) that had already been underway since the early twentieth century. Unlike the Balinese Hindus, Christians constructed a model of kebalian devoid of reference to adat (custom), instead electing to forge a Christian kebalian based on a distinction between agama (religion) and budaya (culture). I have shown that this distinction is ultimately fraught with complexities, as it does not
adequately reflect the nature of this identity as enacted through contextualized dramatic works.

As an alternative, I have proposed the “interreligious gaze” as an interpretive lens through which it is possible to recognize the role of Balinese Christians and Hindus in the process of restructuring conventional (Hindu-centric) definitions of kebalian. The preceding analysis of Tarian Perdamaian has illustrated the inseparability of agama and budaya by revealing terminological confusion (Sang Hyang Widi Wasa) and an aestheticized caste hierarchy resulting in the deification of a Balinese king. Though it is clear this king is intended to represent Jesus Christ, separating agama (that is, Balinese Hinduism) from budaya (gamelan music, dance, costumes etc.) remains a murky proposition. The interreligious gaze is catalyzed through the production of contextualized music and dance as Hindu and Christian members of a new sekehe gong redefine what it means to be Balinese in the twenty-first century. In the next chapter I will demonstrate a number of examples of the interreligious gaze as realized vis-à-vis Protestant/Hindu gamelan networks.
Chapter 4: Capital Development and Interreligious Networks

As I highlighted in chapter two, the Bali Church’s program of contextualization was originally intended as a core component of an economic model designed to attract foreign tourists looking for a “Christian” version of the existing touristic experience in Bali. Balinese theologian I Wayan Mastra promoted this template most prominently, however, it never developed into the financially sustainable and potentially lucrative economic “engine” that he first envisioned (1986). Despite this, contextual arts in Bali bear the indelible mark of touristic influence, most obviously in the way GKPB has employed music and dance genres designated as secular/touristic/balih-balihan while rejecting those associated with the sacred/Hinduism/wali. This move amounts to a secularization of the sacred through a connection with the increasingly prominent and powerful economic model that is Bali tourism.

In this chapter, I argue that the institutionalization of gamelan music by the Bali Church during the early-mid 1970s created a platform for the development of social linkages, which in turn facilitated the formation of sustainable interreligious musical networks between Balinese Protestant and Hindus. Furthermore, I will demonstrate how the gamelan instruments themselves have functioned as essential actors in these networks with tangible agency that has assisted the Bali Church in legitimating its claim for a Balinese identity based, in part, on a distinction between agama and seni-budaya. I will use principles from social network analysis (SNA) to develop network graphs that illustrate four Protestant or Protestant/Hindu gamelan groups in Bali. As a means to adapt SNA (a theoretical framework commonly used
for large-scale data processing) to a comparatively small ethnographic setting, I will also employ phenomenologically oriented theories (e.g. symbolic interactionism – Moore 2015; Herbert 1969) to accommodate the inclusion of the types of ethnographic methodologies and details inherent throughout the present work.

This chapter also explores the development of contextual Balinese Christian congregational music with a focus on the ways it has reversed earlier trends of socio-religious segregation. Although the practice of social ostracism (B: *kasepekang*) remains a common response to religious conversions in Bali, the sustained practice of Hindu/Protestant music and dance performance in Balinese churches since the mid-1970s suggests alternative reactions to emergent religious pluralism.149

I will show that the development of mass tourism in Bali over the course of the twentieth century created a unique set of circumstances whereby GKPB Christians were able to participate in the production of gamelan music, an artistic tradition once considered a solely Hindu practice. I also consider Bourdieu’s tripartite model of capital (1986) and, toward the end of the chapter, Putnam’s theories of social capital (2000) as theoretical lenses to examine how the Bali Church has transformed economic capital into knowledge-based capital, which is subsequently utilized in representations of *kebalian*.

These capital investments have resulted in the reconfiguration of existing social networks of Balinese musicians, often across once divisive religious boundaries. Drawing from principles of SNA, I will demonstrate how gamelan

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instruments themselves function as central actors within these interreligious networks and, by extension, facilitate the ongoing negotiation of socially and theologically/cosmologically acceptable church music practices. Over the course of the chapter, and particularly in the network analysis section, I will also make reference to the notion of the interreligious gaze with a focus on its applicability within various interreligious network settings.

In drawing upon theories of capital I wish to point out the inherent connection between music and the enactment of power; in this case the power to articulate new ontologies, namely, the redefinition of local identity constructs. The nature of this power, like all powers, is dynamic and shifting. The interpretation presented here is, admittedly, based upon the ideal that power can be enacted through music to stimulate dialogue, whether that dialogue be in the form of music making, verbal communication, or in the relationships that arise as a result of creating music across religious frontiers.\textsuperscript{150}

\textbf{Investments in Capital: Forming a Basis for Interreligious Music Networks}

The process of \textit{kasepekang} systematically ostracizes a person (or group of people) from all social relations, including a disconnection from musical instruments, the

\textsuperscript{150} Other interpretations undoubtedly exist, some of which would inevitably focus more on the role of global Christianity in Bali as a means to subvert localized ways of thinking, living, and being. I have chosen to focus my attention elsewhere, not because I believe they do not exist or that they are not present in some form within the Bali Church’s project of contextualization. Rather, I explore the communicative potential of music because it too is real and present as evidenced in the role of contextual music making in stimulating new interactive venues for developing and maintaining interreligious music networks.
social networks affiliated with them, and the knowledge required to use them. When leaders of the Bali Church first proposed the use of contextualized music and dance in local churches it was apparent that the Church alone lacked many of the requisite resources -- such as instruments, performers, music and dance instructors, costumes etc. -- necessary to successfully execute the often complex music and choreographies of the Balinese tradition. The institutional separation of Church and localized music practices amongst members of GKPB for more than forty years (1931-1972) created a situation whereby substantial capital investments were needed to establish a program of contextualized music and dance. The emergence of contextual repertoires amidst the formative years of mass tourism coupled with the Bali Church’s vision for an “alternative”/Christianized tourism contributed greatly to the notion that contextual repertoires were products for foreign consumption. Because of this close association between cultural and economic production I have chosen to employ a variant of Bourdieu’s forms of capital model (1986) as a means to understand how GKPB has leveraged gamelan instruments and repertoires as conduits of a Christian kebalian.

My argument, that GKPB invested in a project of contextualization in order to assert a claim for kebalian, is premised on the notion that capital, in its various forms, is capable of generating profits (broadly defined). In chapter three I demonstrated how the Bali Church has constructed an ideological discourse for Christian kebalian through the adoption of “cultural arts” (I: seni budaya) as a means to discuss contextual performing arts. This intellectual underpinning alone is insufficient to access the political power necessary to disseminate these ideas more broadly, particularly within the Balinese Hindu community. In the hope of achieving wider
ideological acceptance, GKPB has mobilized various forms of capital with the intention of legitimating these claims.

In the forthcoming analysis I reference capital as an “investment of resources with expected returns in the marketplace. Capital is resources when these resources are invested and mobilized in pursuit of a profit – as a goal in action” (Lin 2001:3). Since the early 1970s, the Bali Church has invested various forms of capital in an artistic marketplace focused on Balinese music and dance as a tradable commodity within the international tourist economy. This form of music, that which became known as secular and appropriate for mass consumption, is the base upon which Balinese Christians and Hindus have subsequently negotiated the parameters of a more pluralistic kebalian. Throughout this process of negotiation, the Bali Church has relied on three primary types of capital as outlined by Bourdieu: (1) economic, (2) cultural, and (3) social (Bourdieu 1986:243).

**Economic Capital**

During the 1930s and throughout most of the first three decades of institutional development, the Bali Church was heavily reliant on donations from Dutch churches to support its day-to-day operations. This pattern of foreign, economic dependence began to shift during the 1960s and 70s, and was supported in large part by major financial donations from German and Swiss churches (Mastra-ten 2009:32; I Wayan Mastra, interview with the author, June 2013). A substantial portion of the money donated by the German Christian organization “Bread for the World” was used to purchase land in southern Bali and to fund construction of Hotel Dhyana Pura – HDP (McKenzie and Mastra 1988:50). Bourdieu contends that
“economic capital is at the root of all other types of capital,” and indeed the Bali church was able to contribute and engage with the broader Balinese society because of its strong economic base, realized in part through investments such as HDP. The international tourist industry has, therefore, not only informed the development of “secular” Balinese arts suitable for Christian use, but has also provided economic capital to support the development of contextualized productions of Balinese performing arts.

Cultural Capital

In “The Forms of Capital,” Bourdieu outlines three states of cultural capital: objectified, embodied, and institutionalized. This tripartite model lends a compelling theoretical structure for the analysis of contextualized GKPB music and dance since the 1970s. Generally speaking, cultural capital comprises the material objects, knowledge, and institutions that inform social interactions and public discourse between individuals and groups of individuals. Bourdieu argues: “the link between economic and cultural capital is established through the mediation of the time needed for acquisition” (1986:246). In the following analysis I will map this framework onto key aspects of GKPB’s contextualization project as one interpretation of how the Bali Church transformed economic capital into cultural capital that have and continue to facilitate social interactions between Balinese Christians and Hindus.

Bourdieu refers to the first form of cultural capital as the “objectified state” (246). Such capital includes cultural goods such as books, artifacts, artwork, and, of course, musical instruments. One of the first capital investments the Bali Church
made toward its project of contextualization was to obtain gamelan instruments, objects with deep identity-based associations amongst members of the Bali-Hindu majority. This resulted in the construction of five sets of gamelan instruments during the mid-1970s, a project paid for by funds donated from the aforementioned European churches.

The literature on Balinese arts traditions is full of references to the central role that gamelan plays in the ceremonial life of Balinese Hinduism. Michael Tenzer states this matter plainly: “The Hindu-Balinese religion requires gamelan for the successful completion of most of the tens of thousands of ceremonies undertaken yearly” (Tenzer 2011:15). When Tenzer speaks of “gamelan” I understand this to refer to both the performance of music and dance and the objects (instruments, dance costumes etc.) used to enact these traditions. The association of gamelan-as-object with Balinese identity was a driving force behind GKPB’s interest in these instruments, and thus represent the acquisition of cultural capital in the objectified state. However, the objects alone are incapable of leveraging their full potential. For this GKPB required educated individuals to act in collaboration with these objects.

The “embodied state” of cultural capital is focused on knowledge acquisition and like “a muscular physique or a suntan…cannot be done at [sic] second hand” (Bourdieu 1986:244). These types of capital necessarily require time and effort such as those involved in acquiring knowledge of law, medicine, or music and dance. When the Bali Church initially embarked on the process of contextualization they had little embodied cultural capital within their own church membership, a result of
policies forbidding participation in Balinese performing arts amongst church
congregants.

Over the last forty years the Bali Church has invested economic capital in the
development of musical skills amongst people linked to the church, particularly
children (both Hindu and Christian) in residence at its eight children’s homes (panti
asuhan) throughout Bali. As of October 2014, there were about 250 children studying
music and dance at these institutions (Murdita, communication with the author,
October 2014). I Ketut Firman and his older brother I Rai Redana are both Balinese
Christians who began studying gamelan at a church-run children’s home in west Bali
during the 1970s. These brothers represent a portion of the long-term results of the
arts programs at these children’s homes, as Firman, Rai, and others have continued to
perpetuate Balinese music in Christian contexts well into their adult lives.

All of the music and dance instructors working at these homes during the
early years of contextualization were Hindu, including I Gusti Ngurah Suwarta,
Firman’s instructor while in residence. As the Bali Church has continued to invest
economic capital in the acquisition of cultural knowledge amongst children at these
homes, the music and dance instructors working for the church are increasingly a
mixture of both Balinese Christian and Hindu artists. As I explained in chapter two, I
Nyoman Murdita (dancer/choreographer) and I Putu Suranata (musician/composer)
were both residents at GKPB-sponsored children’s homes during the late 1970s and
early 1980s. Each received funding from the Church to pursue advanced study of
Balinese arts (at STSI/ISI and KOKAR respectively) and are now the principle
performing arts instructors at GKPB. The emergence of this embodied state of
cultural capital (i.e. musicians and dancers with deep ties to the Bali Church) has, therefore, been a direct outgrowth of the investment of economic capital into gamelan instruments and arts education.

Randal Johnson cogently summarizes Bourdieu’s theory of how such cultural capital (what he also refers to as “codes”) are acquired, which, in addition to time also includes “the pedagogical action of the family or group members (family education), educated members of the social formation (diffuse education) and social institutions (institutionalized education)” (Johnson 1993:7). Though it is true that, as an institution, GKPB was largely devoid of the desired cultural capital necessary to enact contextual reform, individuals (such as Murdita and Suranata) were able to draw from their personal relationships and experiences with family and educated members of their community in constructing their own forms of capital. Both men were raised Hindu (with Murdita converting to Christianity as a young man) and as they began to lend their skills to the church, it too was able to access their understandings of localized artistic culture and the social networks connected therein. In this case, GKPB’s financial investment in education resulted in access to networks typically reserved for “insiders” (historically speaking, those who follow traditional adat practices).

The third form of cultural capital proposed by Bourdieu is the “institutionalized state” and refers to the conference of academic credentials upon individuals as a way to transfer power and socio-economic advantages. These credentials, therefore, are “what makes the difference between capital of the autodidact, which may be called into question at any time…and the cultural capital
academically sanctioned by legally guaranteed qualifications” (Bourdieu 1986:247-8). The Bali Church has sought government-approved accreditation for its programs through its sponsorship of Murdita’s formal studies at the state-run college (ISI – Institut Seni Indonesia) in the Balinese capital of Denpasar.\footnote{When Murdita graduated from the college in the 1980s, it was still known as STSI – Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia.}

Anthropologist Brett Hough has written at length about the role of this arts college within Balinese and Indonesian society (1999; 2000). In particular he discusses the challenges faced by seniman alam, or village artists, who have been practicing their respective crafts (including music and dance) since before the opening of the college in 1967. He notes that even though some of these artists are revered for their creative virtuosity, many still feel “resentment toward the formal education system” and “perceive [it] as a threat to their economic and social position in the wider community” (Hough 1999:247). Many of these same artists “now put their own children through STSI [now ISI] as they recognize the necessity for them to gain academic credentials” (247-8).

Though most of the seniman alam from the generation that practiced before 1967 are now deceased, credentials issued by STSI/ISI continue to bear significant professional influence. Thus, it is clear that their worth lies not only in embodied cultural knowledge, but also as a sign and “guarantee” of authority therein. When Murdita’s name is attached to productions through video or printed programs, or when he signs his name to published documents and articles, the academic credentials issued by the conservatory are always present – I Nyoman Murdita, S.S.T. (ref. figure 151)
4.1 below).¹⁵² This indicates not only his own achievement but also a qualification that is now associated with the Bali Church. More specifically, the credential now lends a professional stature to GKPB’s arts bureau – an office that Murdita has directed since 2002. As referenced earlier, I Putu Suranata also received funding for formal music training, which he received at the Balinese high school of performing arts (KOKAR). He has composed/arranged much of the music for GKPB contextual productions since the mid-1990s and the knowledge (embodied capital) he received through his studies has enabled him to do so. In the following pages I will now demonstrate the role that certain these key actors – including non-human actors, i.e. gamelan instruments -- have played in the development of these networks, each with distinct roles to play in the articulation of a distinctly Christian kebalian.

¹⁵² The academic credential “S.S.T.” is the equivalent of a bachelors degree and is the Indonesian acronym for Seniman Seni Tari (“artist of dance”).
Figure 4.1. Closing credits from a 2012 GKPB produced video of various contextual music and choreography. Murdita’s formal artistic accreditation is indicated in the title, SST (seniman seni tari – “artist of dance”).

Social Capital, Kebalian, and Tourism

GKPB’s pre-1972 institutional opposition to Balinese performing arts, coupled with the local practice of *kasepekang*, ensured the social rupture of all preexisting musical interactions between Balinese Hindus and new converts to Christianity. With the investment of economic capital into education, gamelan instruments, and academic qualifications a social milieu was created with the potential for interreligious interaction and communication. Such social potential was instigated through GKPB’s financial investments in cultural capital and were realized in the development of church institutions such as Divia Pradana Bhakti (GKPB arts bureau) and the Widhya Asih children’s homes. The coalescence of economic and cultural forms of capital fostered the conditions necessary for a shared discursive language between Balinese Christians and Hindus, which has served to bolster interreligious relationships. This has subsequently resulted in a mutually comprehensible socio-religion and aesthetic system of art capable of supporting and generating *social* capital. It is instructive once again to draw a definition from Bourdieu:

> Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network…which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a “credential” which entitles them to credit. (Bourdieu 1986:248-9)

A common theme that has emerged during the course of my field research in Bali is a desire amongst GKPB Christians to maintain a sense of their Balinese “identity,” or
One way of doing this, as I have already outlined, is through investment in and production of various forms of cultural capital. Investing in instruments, new compositions, and education, however, only gets at the surface of how an ethnic identity is formed, developed, and maintained. As Bourdieu alludes to, it is the formation of interpersonal bonds or a “durable network” that create the catalyst for social capital, and kebalian forms a critical part of this discourse.

Not only has mass tourism effected the categorization of Balinese arts (and subsequent development of sub-genres of church music) it has also become a medium through which aspects of kebalian are constructed and maintained. Michel Picard argues this point extensively (e.g. 1996) and suggests that, “Once it [Balinese culture] had become a tourist asset, the Balinese resolved to preserve and promote their culture…to obtain full recognition of their ethnic identity” (Picard 1997:184). A parallel effort within the Bali Church to establish ethnic identity through the tourist economy is outlined by Mastra: “In recent years the Bali Church has attempted to retain as much of its Balinese culture as possible in order to build its identity” (Mastra 1986:38).

I draw attention to tourism to illustrate how it – a subject of scholarly discourse that has historically focused on the visitor/host model – has actually effected the formation of internal understandings of self among Balinese Christians and Hindus. More importantly, however, is the fact that tourism has helped establish a basis for social capital by causing Balinese to reflect more directly on what makes us (Balinese) different from them (tourists). Though Christian and Hindu understandings

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153 Many of my interlocutors use the Indonesia term identitas interchangeably with kebalian as they articulate reasons for incorporating Balinese music and dance into church services and church related events.
of kebalian differ in some ways, common themes have emerged, including the role of music and dance as embodiments of identity. Common conceptions of the role of arts in identity formation have resulted in shared social capital between Christians and Hindus.

**Gamelan as “Actant” and the Interreligious Gaze: Developing the Capital of Kebalian**

I have already shown how gamelan instruments purchased by the Bali Church function as cultural capital insofar as they, as objects, embody aspects of kebalian while simultaneously facilitating the production of knowledge-based music and dance practices. DeVale and Dibia have previously outlined how gamelan instruments, as “material culture,” are capable of reflecting Balinese societal and cosmological norms: “Balinese gamelan instruments are, through their design, symbolic depictions of macrocosm and microcosm; and are through their function and the music performed on them, icons of processes within and between them” (1991:8-10). As DeVale and Dibia cogently demonstrate, gamelan instruments themselves are capable of indexing systems of local knowledge, and this makes them important purveyors of cultural capital. This model, however, does not position objects as social agents (i.e. those interacting with human actors) capable of directly mediating and/or affecting human network structures.

In an effort to more clearly articulate the role of instruments in small-scale social network formations, I argue that gamelan instruments are actually brokers of social capital. In a fashion similar to Bourdieu, sociologist Robert Putnam describes social capital as, “connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of
reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (Putnam 2000:19). Like DeVale and Dibia, Putnam and Bourdieu restrict the interactions implicit to social capital to those between human actors, thus ruling out the agency of objects within the supporting network structures. In the forthcoming network analysis, I position gamelan instruments as actants within network graphs as a means to emphasize the “inextricable link between humans and material things” (Woodward 2007:15).

Though the positioning of objects in network graphs is still unusual, the intersection of human- and object-oriented interaction are already well theorized in actor network theory (e.g. Latour 2005) and symbolic interactionism (e.g. Blumber 1969).

By positioning humans and objects as mutually informing members of social networks I aim to contribute to a small but growing body of ethnomusicological literature concerned with the social life of musical instruments (Bates 2012; Dawe 2013). Part of the motivation behind this scholarship is a reorientation of organology, a branch of ethnomusicology long considered by some to be theoretically obsolete because of its focus on “instrument-as-vibrating-body” at the expense of “music-as-social-phenomenon.” Ethnomusicologist P. Allen Roda suggests the study of human relationships to instruments as the basis for a “new organology”:

I propose that by studying the intimacy of their sonic relationships, the physical experience of bodies interacting, and the cultural and intellectual knowledge that musical instruments embody and transfer; the musical instrument – human relationship could be a unique realm of analysis for a new organology that both draws from and contributes to an interdisciplinary approach to the human/non-human relationship. (Roda 2007:1)

In refocusing attention on the socializing potential of musical instruments, their ability to affect the nature of human relationships can be better recognized. Such a re-
conceptualization of instruments in society forms a unique lens through which to interpret the use of gamelan within the Bali Church because these instruments have become more than a mere symbol of a shared ethnic identity. Rather, they are the very medium that has facilitated the sustained interreligious interaction between Balinese Christians and Hindus. These instruments are essential to the formation of interreligious music networks and the social capital that forms through their repeated use. In this way, gamelan becomes a “protagonist of stories” and, therefore, must be accounted for when mapping out relations between human actors (Bates 2012:364).

Methodology of Network Analysis

In Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications (1994) -- Wasserman and Faust’s landmark study of network analysis and methodology – the authors highlight the importance of establishing the parameters of a proposed network. In their own words: “Somehow, in order to study the network, we must enumerate a finite set of actors to study” (32). They also note that a number of important factors are often taken into consideration, such as “the frequency of interaction, or intensity of ties among members as contrasted with non-members” (31). Such methodological parameters can be further focused, as Burt et al (1983) suggest, by clearly establishing “the object of explanation for a given study” (19) and by focusing on “those actors participating in a social relationship of a specified type” (23).

In light of these prudent and logical guidelines, I set out to define the boundaries of the following network diagrams accordingly. Given this dissertation’s focus on interreligious relationships and contextual performing arts, I sought to
explore the interaction of artists across religious boundaries. My choice to focus here primarily on musicians, and mostly male musicians at that, highlights my own perspective and bias. Due to my training as a musician and experience performing Balinese gamelan, I was readily accepted amongst musicians and often encouraged to participate in rehearsals and performances. This granted me access to conversations and vantage points that I may not have had otherwise. I suspect that if, conversely, I had significant training in dance that I would have been encouraged to intermingle and perform with the dancers.

The focus herein of primarily male musicians underscores my own “maleness” and the still-typical gender segregation of musicians in Bali. Women in the Bali Church do have access to gamelan instruments and some minimal training; however, the majority of Protestant musicians participating in contextual performances are still overwhelmingly male. On the other hand, the majority of dancers involved with contextual GKPB shows are female (often from Widhya Asih children’s homes). Furthermore, the regularity of rehearsals among members of these two groups during fieldwork periods (particularly between May 2013 – May 2014) and the groups’ ability to consistently bring Balinese Christians and Hindus into working proximity of one another were also important factors in defining the parameters of the following networks.

A number of other church-based groups could have also been included in this study, and indeed, future research should continue to examine other network

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154 A notable exception to this trend is the all women’s group (*gamelan ibu-ibu*) based in Blimbingsari. This group typically alternates with the all men’s group (*gamelan bapak-bapak*) in providing musical accompaniment for the monthly contextual service at GKPB PNIEL in Blimbingsari.
possibilities. However, even if time and resources had permitted a more thorough study of existing contextual music networks the fact remains that these, like any networks, are only snapshots in time. The meaning and nature of networks are dynamic and constantly changing. Like the Balinese *nawasanga* – which implies transformation despite its graphic stillness – the following network graphs should be read as one possible icon for understanding the complexities of ongoing relationships occurring in time and space.

A variety of ethnographic methods were used to collect the data that informs the following network diagrams and the accompanying analysis; such methods include formal interviews with both the Christian and Hindu musicians involved in the production of GKPB contextual performing arts. Other forms of data collection such as information acquired through casual conversation, the review of church documents, and general observation of interactions between musicians at rehearsals and performances also inform the content of these graphs.

The implications of contextualized music within the Bali Church are vast and the present graphs are intended only as a mechanism through which to begin to understand the interaction between Hindu and Christian musicians and the music-based organizations to which they belong. Such limitations are defining features of even the broadest and most complex network structures. As Benjamin Brinner has noted in his study of Israeli/Palestinian music networks, “…one need not trace every thread of this multifaceted complexity to gain insight into the working of such networks” (Brinner 2009:133). Subsequently, I have chosen the actors that I have (including the gamelan instruments) because I believe that much can be learned
through an analysis of how these musicians and instruments function to reorient discourses of Balinese identity and subsequently debase institutionalized assumptions that position Hinduism as an exclusionary pillar of *kebalian*.

Finally, before proceeding onto the network analysis, I would like to further frame the nature of these graphs by drawing upon the work of several phenomenological sociologists, in particular Schutz (*Studies in Social Theory*, 1964), Berger and Luckman (*A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*), and Blumber (*Symbolic Interactionism*, 1969). The work of these scholars was brought to my attention through the writing of ethnomusicologist Rebekah Moore (2015), and several of the central ideological pillars found in these works would do well to inform the following network graphs, so as not to appear overly fixed or “structural” in their orientation. The work of Blumber is particularly critical of approaches that privilege large social models at the expense of “separate acts”: “In dealing with collectivities and with joint action one can easily be trapped in an erroneous position by failing to recognize that the joint action of the collectivity is an interlinkage of the separate acts of the participants” (1969:17). Similarly, I want to avoid conclusions that place people in fixed social positions while recognizing the critical role that certain actors (human and non-human) have played in developing the repertoires and groups of musicians necessary to sustain the practice of contextual music in Bali. For this reason the graphs must be read in tandem with the ethnographic information provided and as representations of highly dynamic interactions with no two edges/relationships alike (though many edges look alike in their visual form).155

155 “Edges” are the lines that connect two nodes on a network graph.
Network Brokers and the Interreligious Gaze

Of all the actors present in the following network analyses, four are of particular importance – I Nyoman Murdita, I Putu Suranata, and four sets of gong kebyar instruments: one in residence at the GKPB church offices (Kapal), one at the Widhya Asih home in Blimbingsari, one based in Singapore, and the other at GKPB Bethlehem (Untal-Untal). All have played a unique and critical role in the formation and maintenance of interreligious interactions between Balinese Christians and Hindu musicians as well as in the development of contextualized repertoires. I therefore refer to each of them as brokers because of their unique and pivotal positions in the following network diagrams as mediators of Christian and Hindu practices respectively.

Network theorist Ronald Burt suggests that “opinion and behavior are more homogeneous within than between groups, so people connected across groups are more familiar with alternate ways of thinking” (Burt 2004:349). He goes on to say: “The link between good ideas is key to the social capital of brokerage” (351). This and other related work by Burt (e.g. 1997) makes explicit the connection between networks and social capital (Schuller et al 2000:21). Citing the “heterophily principle,” Lin further supports the idea that certain social brokers may enhance diversity: “as one reaches out of one’s inner circle, one is more likely to encounter ties with more diverse characteristics and resources” (2008:61). The role of brokers within interreligious music networks in Bali have been vital to the success of contextualization as a means to claim and express kebalian, and to the ability of
GKPB and its Hindu collaborators to sustain an arts-based discourse for more than forty years.

Murdita and Suranata function as brokers, in part, because of the legitimacy ascribed to their shared embodied capital (knowledge of Balinese music and dance), which in turn has bolstered the development of social capital between Christians and Hindus. Suranata’s affiliation with numerous Hindu sanggar (professional music and dance clubs) and sekehe (community-based music and dance groups) combined with his familiarity of church practice and personnel place him at a nexus point of interreligious creativity.\textsuperscript{156} Similarly, Murdita’s familiarity with Hindu temple practices -- a result of growing up in a primarily Hindu family and his periodic attendance at Hindu ceremonies at the temples in his village -- and decades of service to the Bali Church also place him in a unique brokering position.\textsuperscript{157}

Since the early 1990s when Murdita and Suranata first began working together as employees of the Bali Church, they have collaborated in the creation of a large body of contextualized music, all of which has relied on the position of gamelan

\textsuperscript{156} Suranata explains his “brokering” position: “To clarify, we bargain, we begin with an invitation… If they are able (to help) oke. “Yeah, I can do that, I’ll bring a song” [Putu speaking here as though he is someone accepting an invitation]. People don’t usually refuse these invitations, they always accept… We depend on an initial conversion. \textit{I function as the guide}, and I help the church so that it’s not hard. It’s possible that if someone doesn’t know about the church, or know someone involved with the church that this process may be a little difficult” (interview with the author, September 2012).

\textsuperscript{157} The following are from my personal fieldnotes (May 31, 2013): During my first two weeks at Murdita’s place [in Buduk, Bali] there has been an elaborate series of upacara and shows at the pura dalem across the road. Pak and I have attended several of these events, including events in the inner part of the temple (pendet dances, observing others praying, gong kebyar group playing) and those in the outer courtyard (wayang gambuh, wayang angklung, tari lepas, bondres, topeng). One of the reasons Pak wants to go to these shows is likely because he wants to expose me to a wide range of Balinese arts, which has been wonderful and I’ve really appreciated this. However, I feel that he himself also wants to go, and that he may have attended these events whether I was present or not. He knows many people in the local banjars, many of whom are close relatives and I think these events are a chance for him to interact with the community.
instruments as signs of “Balineseness.” The agency of church-owned instruments to affect the public perception of these works as markers of kebalian, both within the Bali Church membership and the wider Balinese Hindu majority, form the basis for my inclusion of the instruments themselves in subsequent graphs. In other words, the interreligious networks that have formed between GKPB Christians and Hindus have fundamentally relied on a shared socio-musical discourse as embodied vis-à-vis the gamelan. I adopt anthropologist Alfred Gell’s general definition of an agent as “one [someone or something] who causes events to happen in their vicinity” (1998:16). With this definition in mind, I also draw from ethnomusicologist Kevin Dawe’s argument that, “in the study of material culture we should not just concern ourselves with how people make, exchange and consume the material world, but also how material forms are central to the socialization of human beings in culture” (2013:22). Dawe’s understanding of material culture (in this case the guitar, writ large) lends further credence to the notion of instruments as social agents.

In the previous chapter I introduced the notion of the “interreligious gaze,” and in the remainder of this chapter I would like to explore its application to each of the following network sketches. In brief, I described the interreligious gaze as the sustained process by which distinct religious groups publically negotiate the parameters of shared and/or disputed aspects of socio-religious life. In theory such a gaze could exist in a number of discursive, disciplinary, and social spheres, but for the purposes of the present work I have focused on its applicability as a method of political negotiation in and through the ongoing practice of Hindu/Protestant performances of contextual repertoire. The prior analysis of Tarian Perdamainan
The Dancing of Peace”) illustrated the religious ambiguity that often arises in the context of the interreligious gaze and how this particular work has reinforced such ambiguity through its repeated performance. In this chapter I will continue to expand on this framework as I employ the interreligious gaze an interpretive device for understanding the broader social function of Protestant/Hindu gamelan groups and the contextual repertoires they perform. As I will demonstrate, however, not all interreligious groups enact this social function to the same affect.

**Bridging & bonding networks**

Social capital can materialize as a variety of network types, including “bridging” and “bonding.” Putnam has, most famously, developed these principle network types in his writing related to social capital (e.g. 2000:22). Putnam describes this model in the following terms:

> Of all the dimensions along which forms of social capital vary, perhaps the most important is the distinction between *bridging* (or inclusive) and *bonding* (or exclusive)… Bonding social capital constitutes a kind of sociological superglue, whereas bridging social capital proves a sociological WD-40. (2000:22-3)

More recently, however, these categories have come under criticism “for failing to address issues of power and conflict” (Schuller et al 2000:10). However, Schuller et al have noted that “in support of this [criticism], Putnam now gives considerable emphasis to the tension between ‘bridging’ and ‘bonding’ forms of social capital” (ibid:10).

The work of Lin further reflects this drive to problematize the potential for this dyadic theory to become an overly simplistic binary. Similar to Putnam’s earlier
formations of exclusionary social ties, Lin refers to networks that are “characterized by intimate and confiding relations” as “binding” (as opposed to Putnam’s use of the term “bonding” in similar circumstances). As something of a nuanced corollary to earlier definitions of bridging networks, Lin (borrowing Putnam’s earlier terminology) describes “bonding” as “characterized by ties that generally share information and resources… These relations, typifying most social networks with a mixture of stronger and weaker ties or direct and indirect ties, nevertheless are said to be bonding” (Lin 2008:60). The key term here, for the purposes of the subsequent analysis, is mixture, insofar as “inclusive” networks may show traits of more “exclusive” ones. In this way there remains the theoretical possibility for overlap between generally archetypal social networks (bridging/bonding for Putnam, binding/bonding for Lin). This potential for overlap also reinforces the idea that multiple perspectives and/or agendas may be at play; in other words, there may often be inherent social tension within a defined group of actors. I employ Putnam’s terminology, therefore, not to convey a digital, either-or scenario but to draw attention to the complexities of Balinese Christian/Hindu interactions.
The gamelan group depicted in figure 4.2 is primarily a bonding network by virtue of the fact it has only Christian members and represents the relationships formed through a seniors gamelan group at GKPB Betlehem, Untal-Untal. The instruments used by this group were purchased in 2012 as part of an initiative led by the church’s seniors to reinstitute Balinese music in church life. The village of Untal-Untal, like many Balinese villages, has a history of gamelan performance, but when 95% of the area converted to Christianity in the early 1930s new converts abruptly stopped playing at the urging of foreign missionaries (Aritonang and Steenbrink 2008:737).
From discussions with members of the Untal-Untal gamelan it became apparent that they understand this new group as a means to (a) establish a Balinese identity (I: kebalian or identitas) through performing arts, and (b) form new relationships with the surrounding Hindu majority. This overarching sentiment was well summarized by Ni Nyoman Tris Narwati: “I think it’s important [to play gamelan] because we live in a Hindu environment. This way we can become one with them. We’re Christians but we still need to use the culture from Hinduism, like gamelan” (interview with the author, February 2014).

During an extended period of dissertation field research (2013-14) I rehearsed and performed regularly with this group and got to know many of its members quite well. On February 10, 2014, I conducted interviews with ten members of the Untal-Untal gamelan (the same members represented in figure 4.2) to gain a deeper understanding into the nature of each person’s relationship to these particular instruments and to Balinese music and dance in general. In a move to better understand the meaningful and unique character of each linkage (i.e. edge) between individuals and object (gamelan) in figure 4.2 -- and in much the same way that Blumber calls for recognition of “separate acts of participants” (1969:17) – I prepared a series of questions to ask each group member, with a particular focus on elucidating details of network linkages.158 I had originally hoped that similar interviews with group members of all of the networks mentioned in this chapter could be similarly...

158 I asked each interviewee the following nine questions: 1) What is your name?, 2) How old are you?, 3) Where were you born?, 4) What is your religion?, 5) When did you start playing gamelan?, 6) Have you ever played in another gamelan group besides the one at Untal-Untal Church?, 7) What instrument do you normally play, 8) Are there other people in your family who play gamelan?, 9) Why do you think it’s important that Untal-Untal Church owns a gamelan?
documented, but for various social and ethical reasons this was not feasible.\textsuperscript{159}

Despite this methodological asymmetry, I still find it instructive to review some of the findings and details of these interviews for the purpose of adding ethnographic description to the network edges between human actants and the gamelan. For complete transcriptions and translations of these interviews please refer to Appendix C.

The questions I asked (refer to fn. 154 for complete list) were relatively simply, ones that I hoped would elicit short responses that could be easily collected and tabulated for the type of quantitative, statistical analysis that I thought most appropriate for social network graphs. As I started to review the data I realized that a good deal of information would be lost if I tried to reduce the content of my interviews into statistics. Therefore, for a more complete understanding of the edges that connect human with object, I suggest reviewing the transcripts in Appendix C. For the purposes of prosaic continuity I have not included them in their entirety here in the main text, however, it is still valuable to review a few of the overarching trends related to this group of amateur musicians. First, all members of the group are Protestant Christians and members of GKPB Betlehem at Untal-Untal. Eight of the

\textsuperscript{159} The gamelan groups conveyed/represented in figures 4.3 and 4.4 each presented unique challenges for collecting ethnographic data. In the case of Sanggar Seni Budaya GKPB (and indeed, with many of the church-based groups) I always worked closely with Murdita to ensure that he approved of my research and methods. Murdita rarely objected to requests for interviews with various musicians and dancers that he knew, but seemed reluctant when I asked about interviewing the Hindu musicians that collaborated with Sanggar Seni Budaya. I am hopeful that such interviews may still be able to happen in future ethnographic trips. In the case of the primarily children’s group represented in figure 4.4, I did not feel that it was ethically responsible to interview minors without parental consent, and in a situation where acquiring such consent could affect the reputation of Widhya Asih as a provider of uncompromised child education and care. I chose, instead, to rely on more peripheral methods (casual conversation and attending rehearsals, for example) of collecting information about the edges (relationships) between nodes (children).
ten members were born in Untal-Untal and their ages range from 48-79, with a median age of 66. Few of the members have had sustained contact with gamelan instruments and music throughout their life, and many only began playing when this particular group formed in 2012. A few group members confirmed that there is little Hindu/Protestant interaction that occurs through playing gamelan in the church, though some mention that such interreligious music making sometimes happens at the nearby banjar (community center).

In my review of the interviews, I counted three members whose father and/or mother had extensive contact with Balinese performing arts (these were first and second generation Christians whose parents were Hindu or converted later in life), two whose parent(s) were amateur janger dancers (likely in GKPB janger productions), and five whose parents had never danced or played gamelan. Four of the ten had no prior experience participating in the performance of Balinese music and dance, and another four had limited experience as children (either in school or local banjar) but had not played gamelan for decades, and two (I Nyoman Martina and I Putu Widiana) had extensive experience playing. With the exception of Martina160, all of the members of this group (including Widiana161) reflect the

160 Martina’s story was unique in that he was a recent convert to Christianity who had been very active in his village sekehe (gamelan group/cooperative). After marrying a GKPB Protestant woman he converted to Christianity and continues to play with the Untal-Untal group where he is an important performer (he often leads the group on kendang) and teacher (In the absence of Suranata, Martina has led group rehearsals). My interview with him was highly influenced by two senior members of the congregation who accompanied him into the interview, and as such I was not able to elicit clear responses for several of my questions (as per the transcription in Appendix C).

161 Widiana’s story is also unique amongst the group members in that he played gamelan for decades as a child and adult. When he converted to Christianity in 1964 (a partial result of what he describes as “slander” (I: fitnah, Widiana 2012:iv)) he abruptly stopped playing gamelan until the group at Untal Untal was formed in 2012. Widiana mentions in his interview that his son (who is also the pastor at GKPB Betlehem) also plays gamelan,
intergenerational network ruptures that I have described at various points in this
dissertation. Even though the group is primarily a bonding network of Christians
performing with other Christians, this relatively limited analysis alone demonstrates
the “intersubjective” nature of edges in figure 4.2, and the varying degrees of
generation rupture represented by the edges connecting group members to the
gamelan (Schutz 1964:14).

Suranata’s participation as the group’s instructor provides an important link to
Hindu gamelan groups and associated “sacred” musics. For example, because of his
continued participation in musical aspects of Hindu ritual, Suranata is aware of
artistic elements that may be considered offensive by Hindus in the area.
Furthermore, his participation with other largely Hindu gamelan groups ensures
accountability for his artistic decisions when collaborating with this church-based
ensemble. The formal church policies governing those performing arts genres that are
and are not appropriate for church use help ensure that such perceived transgressions
do not occur. With this system of checks and balances in place, the flow of cultural
capital (as illustrated) between Suranata and the group, and as mediated by the
gamelan, is a driving force in the development of the social capital necessary to
maintain the broader network.

It is also interesting to note that despite the fact there are no regular Hindu
members in Untal-Untal gamelan (save for, perhaps, Suranata as the instructor), the
set of gong kebyar instruments in residence at Gereja Betlehem has been loaned to

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However, it is doubtful that he received the same sort of emersion in the tradition that his
father did as a young Balinese Hindu. Though perhaps not a generational “rupture,” the
cultural capital passed between Widiana and his son has been restricted by political strife and
GKPB policies and resource distribution.
Hindus of the village for use in their temple ceremonies. Murdita noted that this has happened only once and explained the situation simply: “because our Hindu brothers do not yet own a gamelan” (communication with the author, October, 2014). The ability of this particular set of instruments to move across previously distinct, and often radically enforced, boundaries is remarkable and further demonstrates the position of material culture (in this case musical instruments) to broker new, interreligious social realities. Beyond the island of Bali itself, it is a point worth highlighting that the same instruments have been used in the services/ceremonies of Hindus and Christians, respectively.

Though relatively limited in their frequency, interactions between Hindus and Protestants do occur as a result of the institution of the gong kebyar at GKPB Betlehem. Though human-to-human and human-to-object interactions are minimal, the mere inclusion of gamelan at this church beginning in 2012 would have been a powerful sonic indicator of changing social and aesthetic priorities (particularly to those living within earshot of the gamelan). In this way alone the primarily bonding group at GKPB Betlehem engages in an interreligious gaze generated through shared musical discourse and disseminated to an interreligious audience by way of this very loud collection of instruments.
Figure 4.3. Representation of Sanggar Seni Budaya GKPB as a “bridging” network. Gamelan instruments help mediate this exchange by facilitating flows of economic and cultural capital.

The graph in figure 4.3 represents an interreligious gamelan group based at the GKPB head office in Kapal, Bali. It is a bridging network in that it connects Christian and Hindu musicians and is the culmination of approximately 40 years of investment in economic and cultural capital. The group regularly performs at church-related events throughout the island, a practice sustained by shared musical “competence”, which Benjamin Brinner defines as “the knowledge and skills involved in performing a particular type of music” (2009:133). In this model competence also includes the understanding of “what to play for whom and when” (134). This interreligious group is the most technically sophisticated of the Bali Church-based groups, a level of proficiency that is bolstered by the inclusion of skilled Hindu musicians playing some of the more technically challenging parts.

Though it could be argued that competence is a necessary component of the previous network as well (figure 4.2), it is of even greater importance for this group because of
the relative high level at which they play and due to higher profile of events at which
the Kapal-based group regularly performs (e.g. the bi-annual GKPB synod assembly).

The presence of these musicians is also a sign of solidarity to the broader
religious majority that contextualized Balinese music is not solely a Christian entity.
Since it is a shared initiative between two religious groups it is subject to the aesthetic
and social scrutiny of both Christians and Hindus. Contextualized Balinese music is,
therefore, not the domain of the Bali Church alone, but is a collective effort that
fundamentally relies on shared competence and the participation of members of the
Hindu majority. This is made possible by a mutual understanding of the gamelan as a
component in the constellation of a shared kebalian.

This shared musical competence is driven by a model of capital exchange
informed by the tourist economy. Mass tourism in Bali has thrived because of the
idea that cultural capital (Balinese music and dance, painting etc.) can be exchanged
for economic capital. This in turn necessitated a distinction between sacred and
secular dances so as to avoid defacing the sacred while justifying the
commoditization of the arts. One Balinese musician aptly summarizes the
implications of this new binary: “In the temple we ask for a blessing, and at a hotel
we ask for money” (Picard 1990:37).

The Bali Church displays an interreligious “competence” by adopting the arts
deemed secular (e.g., sendratari and tari lepas) for use in its contextualization
project. This exchange of cultural capital for economic capital through the gamelan
instruments is illustrated in the directional edges (links) in figure 4.3. Unlike mass
tourism, however, which involves a direct exchange of economic capital for cultural
capital, this graph highlights a mono-directional exchange of economic capital for a mutual exchange of cultural capital. This bi-direction exchange of cultural capital forms the basis for the interreligious gaze, as it is necessarily dialogic. Unlike the previous graph, however, figure 4.3 is based much more on regular, direct connections between human and material actors and as such forms a stronger basis for sustained interaction.

The mono-directional flow of economic capital is supplied from the Bali Church’s coffers to each performer in the form of a cash payment. Even though all members are given money, the payment is not a precondition for Christian participation the way it is for the Hindus. In conversation with group members I found out that there is limited contact between Christian and Hindu musicians outside of performance and rehearsal, thus limiting other non-monetary forms of reciprocation. *Gotong royong*, or the principle of mutual-aid that undergirds much of Balinese society including temple-music/sacred performances, is not present between Christian and Hindu members of this group as evidenced by financial compensation and their limited interactions. Money earned by Christian members of the group is, however, redistributed amongst the broader church community where it is used, for instance, to buy a roast pig during church celebrations (Suranata, communication with the author, March 2015).  

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162 When I played with this group in 2013-14, I was paid 100,000 Indonesian Rupiah per performance (in 2013 this was the equivalent of about $10 US).  
163 During my last trip to Bali (June-July 2016) I asked Murdita if Sanggar Seni Budaya GKPB would be rehearsing during my time there. He told that the group had not rehearsed for a while and had no immediate plans to start rehearsing again. Over this same period the bi-annual GKPB synod assemble was held, an event that the Seni Budaya group has typically performed at. Instead of having this men’s group play, a children’s group performed from the GKPB-run *Sekolah Harapan* in Denpasar. It is difficult to draw any conclusions from this
Figure 4.4. A network graph representing the capital-based exchange between a collective of international schools in Singapore (represented by the French NGO, React) and the interreligious music network of Widhya Asih “all-stars.” As with the prior graphs, green lines represent exchanges of cultural capital while purple represents economic capital.

A third graph (figure 4.4) represents the conceptual socio-cultural and economic arrangement that stimulated a series of fourteen concerts/workshops by twenty-three Widhya Asih “all-star” musicians and dancers in Bali and Singapore during 2006. The graph illustrates the basis for socio-cultural and economic exchange between institutions, with WA/GKPB on the one side and international isolated circumstance, however, it is important to point out the ebbs and flows in performance that a given group may experience.

164 A similar series of concerts and workshops was held 2009 (Murdita et al 2012:20), and Murdita has mentioned to me at least two or three other occasions when a group of children from across the Widhya Asih homes is selected to go on a mini-tour in Singapore. During my fieldwork trips alone Murdita and Suranata twice prepared a group of children for such tours (June 2013 and February 2014). More recently these international events include protracted periods of study with students of various Singapore based international schools, and the instructors (i.e. Murdita and Suranata) and children of the music and dance groups.
schools represented by React (a French NGO) on the other. The nodes representing this organization and its partner schools are indicated in yellow to indicate that they do not have any formal religious affiliation. With the exception of the group’s instructors (who share artistic knowledge amongst themselves through teaching), cultural capital flows unidirectional (toward the Singapore-based groups) and is reciprocated by economic remuneration.\footnote{A certain amount of cultural capital is undoubtedly returned to members of the gamelan group in figure 4.4, particularly through the opportunity to travel to Singapore (a trip that most WA residents and their families could not afford). This exchange is, however, not a condition for the formation of this network and is therefore not accounted for in the graph.}

Since the initial 2006 tour, Widhya Asih (WA) leaders (including Murdita) have developed an ongoing relationship with a series of international schools in Singapore, which student-musicians from WA now regularly participate in. I have chosen to focus on the 2006 group because of a short documentary video about this trip (produced by the French NGO, React), which was given to me by Murdita in June 2016. The narration in this video provides interesting insight into the nature of socio-economic and cultural exchanges, particularly from the perspective of the React group. In addition to some valuable statistics that speak the broader context of these workshops\footnote{Twenty-three child performers (twelve musicians and eleven dancers) from the Widhya Asih “orphanage” network performed in 14 shows before 5000 students at seven international schools in Singapore. During the ten-day tour, children (and their instructors) gave workshops to over 600 viewers/participants. The video concludes with a clear social frame for React’s relationship with GKPB and WA: “In a country like Indonesia whose political and social situation can remain fragile, orphans are in the most fragile position of all. The possibilities for further training and education are limited and choices few, but their dreams are boundless. By giving them self confidence, dignity, and broader access to the world, React hopes to open doors for these young people, an organization that can help them to get to where they want to go and will help them to make friends.”}, the documentary (entitled, \textit{Enfant Artistes de Bali} [Child Artists of Bali]) also articulates, surprisingly clearly at times, the socio-economic construction of this international partnership. For example, the tour undertaken by WA children is
described as a form of assistance (presumably financial) in the documentary: “The
tour was organized to support the orphans of the Widhya Asih network of seven orphanages.”

Ran Donald (a representative of one of the partner schools in Singapore) also touches on many of these socio-economic and culturally informed linkages in his address to the audience before a 2006 evening concert featuring WA musicians and dancers. I quote this speech in its entirety below (the text underlined demarcates the basis for five talking points below):

Good evening ladies and gentlemen, my name is Ran Donald and we’re very pleased to welcome you tonight to a very special performance. The entire troupe on stage this evening is comprised of orphans from the island of Bali, including the adults, there’s several adults here and two of the dancers you’ll see later who lived in an orphanage in Bali when they were younger. Now sometimes when children are raised in an orphanage they feel a little underprivileged, a little less fortunate than others. So we organized this event to give them a chance to be center stage, so to speak, sharing the stage of course with the string orchestra from SAS this evening, but nevertheless giving them an opportunity to share their Indonesian identity and culture because that’s what they have to offer, their friendship and their music and their dance.

Let me tell you a little bit about the performance tonight so that you’ll understand it. Although, it is fairly straightforward in your program. What’s going to happen is, you’ll have to image we’re in a temple setting in Bali. The sun is set, the crickets start to sing, the frogs start to make the sound that frogs making, then there will be a welcome song. Balinese people cannot start any ceremony without some sort of song of blessing or welcome. After that we will meet an evil giant and his henchmen. Who are going to try to battle what is good. This is a snippet from the Ramayana story – a universal struggle between good and evil. Then a good monkey will come on stage. Does anyone know his name? [banter with the audience]. So Hanoman starts out as a simple monkey, but

GKPB has received major donations through its connections to International schools in Singapore, including funding for large-scale renovations to the WA children’s home in Bangli (2011) and the purchase of a complete set of new gong kebyar instruments for the home in Blimbingsari (2013).
he receives a special blessing at some point. [Then] four angels will come out to give him a special blessing, and at that point he becomes like a super monkey, or Jackie Chan. He has special powers to battle the evil. And there will be a battle, and I just want to point out that because there’re no words on stage being exchanged between the actors and actresses, everything is done through mine and gesture, and there is a lot of exaggerated gesture. And I want to let you know that the people who have been practicing this have been doing this for years together. The two adults that you’ll see in a moment have been dancing together for twelve years.

And we just wanted to say again that these children are very pleased to be here. Before they came here two days ago they had never ever left the island of Bali. Today they were sitting on a plane for the first time, and saw a sky scraper. In a few days we take them on the metro to see what it’s like to go underground and come up somewhere else. And that’s kind of what we wanted to do, give them an opportunity to see something outside their normal community. So without further adieu, I would like to thank you again and invite you to enjoy the show [Applause, show begins]

There are five points I would like to make in response to five comments from this speech. I review them here to provide further social context for the exchanges of cultural and economic capital inherent in the GKPB/React partnership as represented in figure 4.4. First, it seems to be very important that the children (and even some of the adults) be identified as “orphans.” As I have already pointed out in chapter one (in the section on the Widhya Asih children’s homes), the vast majority of children living at WA homes are not orphans, having either one or both parents. It’s difficult to determine the precise origin of this confusion, but the idea of needy, parentless performers (and the other WA residents they represent) seems to motivate this interaction. Second, Donald suggests that WA, and specifically the children, are able to reciprocate in this relationship by “sharing their Indonesian identity” through music and dance. This reciprocal gesture from the children is then exoticized by
Donald in points three and four (first through exotic transportation, then repertoire selection), and in much the same way that Balinese performers have done for decades, the leadership of Divia Pradana Bhakti (including Murdita) conformed to these requests. Donald then concludes by further articulating some of the key social motives of the WA-GKPB/React partnership, namely that this collective of Singapore international schools wants to give “opportunity” to “orphans.”

Similar to the previous graph, figure 4.4 shows a mutual exchange of cultural capital for a mono-directional flow of economic capital. In both cases the interreligious interaction is a condition of the network, however, for very different reasons. In figure 4.3 the interaction of Hindus and Protestants through Sanggar Seni Budaya GKPB happens at the bequest of the Bali Church. Though the exchange of cultural capital in this group setting can be beneficial, it is not regarded as having monetary value and the exchange of money (economic capital) is reserved for services rendered. The “touristic viewer” in this setting is the Hindu musician who is watching a foreign (Christian) performance, but because he is also being paid cannot be called a tourist in any conventional sense.

Figure 4.4, on the other hand, also portrays a Hindu/Christian gamelan but within the context of differing cultural and economic values. Here, an interreligious group of children performs “Indonesian identity” for an international audience of teachers and students. Though there is a reciprocal nature to this relationship (e.g. bringing the children to Singapore to show them life in a modern city) it is premised primarily on the kind of economic/cultural exchange that has characterized tourism in Bali (and, indeed, throughout much of the world) since the early twentieth century. In
this way the gaze initiated by this network is far more like Robert Urry’s “tourist gaze” (1990), with elements of exotic appeal and financial gains functioning as the primary catalyst of guest/host interactions. Such an exchange of money (economic capital) for performances of Balinese music and dance highlight the prototypical tourist model, with guests exchanging money for cultural products. Admittedly, the network presented here also differs in fundamental ways from the typical guest/host exchange model, most notably because of the ongoing collaboration between GKPB and at their various partner institutions in Singapore. Because of the primacy of this touristic model in the processes of exchange between these institutions any attempt at establishing an interreligious gaze within this social configuration must be considered as secondary to this function. Despite this, the continued normalization of Christian and Hindu children performing together in WA groups continues to cultivate the notion (if only amongst the performers themselves) that Hinduism is not the sole marker of religious identity in Bali.

Despite the presence of an interreligious gamelan network, figure 4.4 is fundamentally contrasting to the other graphs mentioned here (and much of the content of this dissertation) insofar as it examines network linkages beyond Bali and with very different implications and meanings for the discourses of Christian kebalian, which have comprised much of the discussion throughout this dissertation. An important reason for including this graph, however, is to give a glimpse into the sometimes-international character of Divia Pradana Bhakti’s various relationships (and associated networks) with church colleagues, groups and “sponsors” from
around the world.\textsuperscript{168} Though beyond the scope of the current work (which has focused primarily on intra-Balinese relations), future research should take into account the influence of these and other international partners and specifically whether GKPB has been able to leverage its appeal as a broker of Balinese culture to secure foreign partnerships/sponsorships.

\textbf{Figure 4.5.} A network graph of a prototypical Widhya Asih children’s gamelan group. The residential nature of this group (i.e. all group members live and study together at Widhya Asih children’s homes) creates a unique living situation whereby Hindu and Christian musicians are in much more continual contact than other groups discussed in this chapter.

\textsuperscript{168} In conversations with Murdita he regularly spoke of international partnering agencies, such as React, as “sponsors” (the same term is used in both English and Indonesia).
The fourth and final graph is a representation of a prototypical group from one of the five Widhya Asih homes with resident gamelan instruments.\textsuperscript{169} This is in some regards a theoretical network graph, though it is based on tangible ethnographic information. For example, my decision to include twenty-two child/student nodes (labeled “\textit{anak}”, Indonesian for “child”) is premised on the idea that this is more or less a complete \textit{kebyar} group, and represents the size of an average group at the more active Widhya Asih homes between 2009-2016 (specifically the ones in Melaya and Blimbingsari). The ratio of Hindu to Christian children (at approximately 3:1, or 75-25\%) is based on conversations I have had with several WA employees who confirm that the number of Hindu children staying at the homes is far greater than the number of Christian children.\textsuperscript{170}

Like in all the other graphs, cultural capital is exchanged through strategically placed brokers. The gamelan (again, writ large) together with the children’s gurus (Suranata, Pak Wira, and Ketut Wirta) function as these brokers, themselves capable of sharing acquired cultural capital with their pupils through the gamelan instruments. The green edges in figure 4.5 indicate the connections between guru (physical/instrumental and human teachers) and student, and the direction arrows indicate the flow of cultural capital. Absent from this graph is any direct exchange of

\textsuperscript{169} As of April 2017, WA homes with resident gamelan instruments include those located in Melaya, Blimbingsari, Singaraja, Bangli, and Abianbase. The gamelan at Abianbase was formerly at the GKPB offices in nearby Kapal, but due to lack of use and increased demand at the children’s home, the instruments were moved in late 2016.

\textsuperscript{170} Pak Franky, director of the WA home in Singaraja, told me in a conversation that about 75\% of the kids under his care were Hindu and also suggested that this number was reflectively of overall trends during his approximately twenty years of service at this and other WA homes (including the facility in Blimbingsari).
economic capital, though the institution of providing WA residents/students with arts education undoubtedly requires funding at a higher level of abstraction.

I have placed the gamelan node in the center of the children/anak and the gurus at the periphery to indicate the residential nature of WA homes and the instruments housed therein. The role of the guru is fundamental to the transference of critical cultural knowledge, as represented by the bright green edges. However, they remain at the periphery of the network because they do not reside with the children at the residences, day-in and day-out. During my many stays at these homes, I regularly heard children assemble, in groups small and large, to rehearse sections of a piece for upcoming performances or to simply have fun playing some old favorites. The gamelan could and often did become the center of attention for the children, even when their gurus were not present. Because of the arts education the children at WA homes receive, the availability of instruments, and the curiosity of the children, the gamelan often becomes an important focal point in the social life of WA students/residents. In this way WA-based gamelan groups are perhaps the most critical progenitors of an interreligious gaze, establishing in these young, impressionable minds that, a) Balinese Christians play gamelan, and b) that Christians and Hindus playing gamelan together is a part of daily life. The impact of these children’s groups can already be seen in the formation of adult groups like Sanggar Seni Budaya GKPB (represented in figure 4.2), which has no fewer than four WA alumni (including critical brokering actors like Murdita and Suranata) who regularly perform with the group.
It could be argued that the children’s relationships with one another, including those between Hindu and Christian children, are not conditionally linked to their participation in the gamelan group, as most of them already live and study together at their respective WA homes. This graph, then, is unique amongst those presented in chapter four insofar as the gamelan is not the sole catalyst for interreligious interaction. With or without the gamelan, these children would likely come into regular contact with one another. While this line of argument seems to move contrary to the central position of the gamelan in figure 4.5, I have chosen to place it there because of its critical brokerage position in the transference of cultural capital from guru to student.

It is interesting to note that both the Widhya Asih network of homes and schools, and the incorporation of a Balinese performing arts education within this network occurred almost simultaneously, shortly after the institutionalization of contextual reform in 1972. Hindu and Christian children have, therefore, been interacting through their shared performing arts education at WA facilities for about forty years. Several people represented as network brokers in the above graphs (particularly Murdita and Suranata) grew up in a similar artistic milieu during their time at WA Blimbingsari in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Others (e.g. Rai and Firman) spent time at WA Blimbingsari during this same period and are among the few GKPB congregants who are today strong gamelan musicians. The types of residential children’s networks represented by the stylized model in figure 4.5 have come to have important implications in the development of contemporary
interreligious gamelan networks between older generations of Christians and Hindus (as represented in figure 4.3)

As I already mentioned, WA “all stars” are often recruited for the now regular mini tours of concerts and workshops at Singapore international schools (ref. figure 4.4). Children from the types of networks represented by figure 4.5 are the ones selected for these tours, which demonstrates the ways these children are part of a larger project to raise funds for GKPB and to maintain sponsorship relationships. In essence, figures 4.4 and 4.5 could be linked themselves to highlight this economic connection. The monetary/financial value of these networks as sources of young talent for international shows is juxtaposed against their short- and long-term social value as institutions of interreligious musical expression.

A Nawasanga-based Network

As I noted in chapter one, key members of the Bali Church contextualization project (e.g. Mastra, Darsane, and Murdita) have modified several Hindu concepts in order to align more readily with GKPB doctrine. One such concept is the nawasanga, a spatially oriented symbol of both micro- and macro-comic “balance” (Stephen 2005:132). An anecdote regarding the nawasanga shared with me by Darsane (also mentioned in chapter one) is particularly germane to the present discussion of networks, and I quote him again here in his entirety:

Actually there was a synod between the [church] agencies of Germany and Africa. They were having a debate, a dialogue, about land. I said, “I am going to look for friends, a German and an African”… When I dance I look for a friends, so I took a bishop from Germany and one from Africa. The three of us danced together [Darsane chuckles]. This is the artist. Art can unite the north and the south. The artist is in the
In this sort of a limited analogy, Darsane connects disparate factions (in this case, German and African churches) through a broker, “the artist.” This network triad can be superimposed on the *nawasanga* (figure 4.6) to suggest a much broader network of church partners, all connected through “the artist” (figure 4.7). This analogy, in itself, is intriguing, with a central, mediating figure (the artist broker) interceding in ecumenical affairs. Though significant socio-cultural differences exist between the ecumenical relationship described by Darsane and the interreligious networks illustrated above (most notably their respective religious orientations, i.e. inter- and intra-religious respectively), both sets of circumstances foreground “the artist’s” mediating role (and in my analysis, objects as well).

![Figure 4.6](image)

**Figure 4.6.** Intra-religious network triad based on Darsane’s account of ecumenical (North/South) interaction and superimposed on a Balinese *nawasanga* (ref. Stephen 2005:128). As with all other graphs in this chapter, blue represents Christians nodes.
Figure 4.7. A “complete” rendering of a two-dimensional nawasanga network with “the artist” as the centrally positioned brokerage node. The color scheme used reflects those traditionally associated with each of the eight cardinal directions in Balinese cosmology.

The two dimensional nature of this model, and indeed all of the graphs thus far, belies the inherent three dimensionality of the nawasanga. As Michele Stephen has observed of the nawasanga’s employment in the artwork of I Ketut Budiana, “[it] is not a static grid. It represents a spinning helix or cone” (2005:127). Michael Tenzer’s well-known diagram of the gong kebyar pitch gamut superimposed on precisely the helix structure described by Stephen is (despite its lack of rotation) a good spatial illustration of the nawasanga. Tenzer’s diagram is of particular interest as a network model because it illustrates the kebyar pitch gamut as a series of nodes,

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171 I wish to make clear here that I do not think that Darsane provided an inaccurate or incomplete analogy as applied to the nawasanga. The interview from which I took the above quotation came from a conversation not centered on this symbol, and the information shared by Darsane likely represents a fraction of his conceptualization of the nawasanga model within a Protestant theological framework.
connected through multiple plains/edges, all of which share a common center point.\textsuperscript{172}

\textbf{Figure 2.3.} A three-dimensional model for the \textit{kebyar} pitch gamut

\textbf{Figure 4.8.:} (Tenzer 2000:39)

In a similar fashion, the network-like relationships described by Darsane are better understood within this three-dimensional frame as it illustrates the interconnection of all nodes by way of conventional, straight edges, and by a single, spiraling edge running along the outer surface of the helix structure. It is the spiraling edge, moving in three dimensions, that differentiates this graph from all others presented above. Symbolically it represents shared cultural discourses, in large part articulated through GKPB contextual reform and the performing arts tradition that

\textsuperscript{172} Though Tenzer’s diagram (figure 4.8.) shares some similar characteristics of the networks described in this chapter, his theorization of the \textit{kebyar} pitch gamut does not directly reference the diagram as a network or reference network theory in doing so.
followed. Just as importantly (and particularly for political reasons), this edge represents a shared ethnic identity as articulated, in part, through the creation and performance of contextual performing arts. One of the aims of these (ritualistic) performances is, as Stephen suggests of Balinese Hindu rituals, to bring about cosmic balance (2005:132). Still it is difficult to directly correlate the generally favorable relations between Hindus and Protestants since the 1970s with the contextual reforms instituted over the same period. However, the very nature of some of the interreligious groups presented in this chapter presuppose a certain minimum “social balance threshold” required for such collaborations to occur over the protracted period they have.

The network is built around the gamelan as a fundamental pillar of these interreligious interactions and the negotiated identity(ies)/kebalian associated with the instruments and repertoires. Other important brokers (most notably teachers/gurus) would occupy positions close to center and near the pinnacle of the diagram, highlighting their important role in the dissemination of cultural capital, particularly to GKPB congregants who often have little access to the music resources necessary to play gamelan apart from groups based at churches. Other actors (mostly amateur musicians) occupy those nodal positions lower on the diagram and further from center.

It is important to note that like the nawasanga itself, this graph represents a cosmological ideal, one that Stephen notes “is not inherent in the Balinese cosmos” (2005:132). The continual transformation and occasional instability of Balinese Protestant church music, and the networks therein, are a good micro-cosmic examples
of precisely this point. All GKPB-based groups surveyed during the course of my fieldwork conveyed aspects of this ideal, but none embody it as illustrated.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter I have employed models of capital exchange (esp. Bourdieu 1986) as a means to articulate the GKPB’s move to claim an ethnic (Balinese) identity through the use of localized performing arts. In and through this process, Balinese Protestant and Hindu musicians have developed a shared aesthetic discourse that has become the basis for social capital and sustained artistic collaborations. As a means to better understand the underlying, capital driven forces inherent these interactions, I borrow from principles of social network analysis to map interreligious gamelan networks that I have variously identified as portraying qualities of bridging and bonding network types (Putnam 2000). Particular to these graphs is the inclusion of gamelan instruments as key cultural “brokers” (Burt 2004), who together with human actants function to mediate various forms of capital exchange.
Conclusion

Contributions

Over the course of this dissertation I have mobilized theories, concepts, and methods from several branches of the humanities and social sciences, including: ethnomusicology, anthropology, network analysis, sociology, and religious studies. Within ethnomusicology alone a number of important topics of geographic and social inquiry were addressed, for example: Indonesian and Balinese music studies, music and religion, music and tourism, and music as expression of (socio-political) identity. At certain points in the dissertation I have leaned on the thoughts and theories of others (e.g. Bourdieu and Putnam in chapter four), while at other points I have attempted to advance, update, and/or challenge existing conceptions of how contextual Balinese performing arts function within Indonesian society. As part of the conclusion, I would like to articulate: a) the primary contributions of this dissertation to Indonesian music studies, the study of music and religion, and ethnomusicology (broadly speaking), and b) work that remains to be done and directions for future research.

Within the field of Indonesian music studies, the present work intersects with a number of contemporary trends and theories. For example, the documentation and theorization of an increasing number of indigenous and/or localized Indonesian Christians sects have been near continual points of interest in Indonesian music scholarship since the mid-1990s (Aragon 1996, 2000; Rappoport 2004; Poplawska 2008, 2016; Byl 2014). The present work, together with two articles by the author (Wiebe 2014, 2016), represent the entirety of scholarly writing on contextual church
music practices (either Protestant or Catholic) on the island of Bali, and are an important advancement in establishing a more comprehensive understanding of how music functions as a socializing agent in intra- and interreligious relations. In addition to the social theory and repertoires discusses in the main body of the dissertation, Appendix B functions as a concise summation of all contextual repertoire presently know to the author.

Of particular concern for many Indonesian church authorities is establishing parameters for “proper” Christian worship in localized/indigenous settings, a matter often ensnared in discourses that set religion/agama against custom/adat. Reflecting this trend, my research shows how the Bali Church reoriented this discourse to encompass religion and, not adat, but seni-budaya (ref. to chapter three). This shift in the typical agama/adat dichotomy is unique in Indonesian music, and displays one of the ways in which religious minorities have (re)intellectualized established categories of belonging to work contrary to local religious norms. In my analysis I showed how this discourse was connected with parallel developments in touristic performing arts.

Though I began my research in places and with people who I thought were far from the touristic influence of popular international destinations like Kuta Beach and Ubud, I quickly learned the far-reaching effects of touristic reform. As I illustrated throughout the dissertation (and particularly in chapter two), the policies drafted by Balinese religious leaders and other intellectuals to address the social strain induced by mass tourism were soon reflected and eventually instituted and codified in GKPB contextual reforms. This in turn stimulated an interreligious arts discourse, which has formed the basis for long-term interaction between Hindu and Protestant musicians.
The apparent functionality of a touristic guest/host model to catalyze interreligious relations is compelling, and future research should explore the feasibility of similar models to stimulate similar interreligious interaction in other locales.

The study of religion and/or cosmology in Indonesian musical life has been an enduring feature of ethnomusicological research since the first half of the twentieth-century (Kunst 1949; McPhee 1966). More recent scholarship has continued in this vein, with an increased interest on the influence of the Indonesian nation-state and other political entities on localized musical expressions (Heimarck 2003; Harnish 2006; Sumarsam 2011). The present work continues in this tradition of conceptualizing music -- and more broadly performing arts -- as an important agent of socio-religious discourse and human interaction. This work is, however, one of the few that focuses on the function of music in a specifically interreligious context. Extending the study of music and religion beyond Indonesia reveals some similar trends and helps to highlight some of the present work’s broader implications. The number of studies focusing on music in the context of traditional “world religions” has increased greatly in the past two decades, and in particular since 9/11. This trend is reflected not only in the literature but also in other forms of intellectual life such as special interest groups and academic conferences.

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173 The McPhee text was published in 1966, however, it was based largely on research conducted over the course of the 1930s. Though McPhee’s treatise does not focus primarily on the socio-religious context of music in Bali, it is an important factor in how he frames his analysis.

174 Several works by Harnish (e.g. 2006) focus on relationships maintained between Hindus and Muslims at the Lingsar Festival in Lombok, Indonesia (the island immediately to the east of Bali).

175 The Religion Music and Sound “special interest group” (SIG) was formed within the Society for Ethnomusicology about five years ago and functions as one of the main organizational fountainheads for ethnomusicological research on topics of religion (broadly
Christianity has, perhaps not surprisingly, been one of the main focuses of this renewed interested in the study of music and religion, a trend that was identified by Engelhardt (2009) as the “ethnomusicology of Christianity.” The more recent Oxford Handbook of Music and World Christianities (2016) illustrates the growing interest in understanding Christian musics beyond the Euro-American canon. With ever increasing numbers of Christians now inhabiting those parts of the globe to the east and south, greater attention has been paid to church musics not only in Indonesia, but other parts of Asia (e.g. Sherinian 2014; Howard 2016) and Africa (Taylor 2016; Dueck 2016). The mere study of a minority Christian group is, therefore, not remarkable in itself. I will suggest, again, that one of the defining features of this dissertation is not religion and music, but rather interreligiosity and music. In this context the present work is in much more select company with only a handful of publications dedicated specifically (or largely) to the role of music in interreligious relationships (e.g. Brinner 2009; King 2014; Frishkopf 2016; Yun 2016).

In chapter three I introduced the notion of the interreligious gaze, a concept I used to theorize the social parameters and function of Balinese Hindu/Protestant interactions as they relate to the production and performance of Balinese music and dance. In short, the theory suggests that performing arts traditions (or some aspect thereof) shared between religious groups (or some hybrid of the traditions shared between them) can become a ritualistic site to negotiate shared ideological concerns. In the case of the Bali Church this negotiation has often taken place through the sustenance of interreligious music networks. As I showed in chapter four, the defined). The bi-annual Christian Congregational Music Conference, held at Ripon College (UK) since 2011, is one example of a recurring conference that positions religion (in this case Christianity) as a central subject of consideration.
interreligious gaze can exist if a variety of network formations and toward different ends. All such networks, however, are similar in that they rely on a minimum threshold of local (and sometimes regional and national) support for their existence and, in particular, their longevity. Further research on socio-cultural contexts generated (at least in part) by a sustained interreligious gaze should be conducted in Bali (particularly between majority Hindus and other religious minorities, esp. Muslims, Catholics, Buddhists) and beyond it to other sites in Indonesia where long-term interreligious collaborations have occurred.¹⁷⁶ Further work should also seek to understand these trends in a more global context as a means to identify aspects of music and musicking that variously contribute to (or are reflective of) the constantly shifting relations within and between religious groups on a broader scale.

In a combined theoretical and methodological manner, one of the key contributions of this dissertation to the ethnomusicological literature is the integration of elements of social network analysis with aspects of intersubjectivity and phenomenology. In this way the sketches presented in chapter four, and in particular the edges connecting broker nodes, become more than static representations as ethnographic data functions to dynamicize the social relationships in these graphs. I see these edges as dynamic linkages that are in a constant state of transformation. For this reason it is theoretically impossible for any network sketch to be “complete,” however, even within this flawed model work remains to be done to understand a greater number of the linkages represented in the graphs. Central to my observations

¹⁷⁶ The work of Hauser-Schaublin and Harnish (eds., 2014) has already document longterm relations between various religious groups (including Christians and Hindus) in Bali and Lombok.
from these graphs is that brokers (Burt 2004) are critical in the formation and maintenance of interreligious music networks.

**Further Research Directions**

As with any ethnographic project, the work represented here is ongoing. There are also those areas where the present work has provided details that could be made clearer through more ethnographic inquiry. In addressing both of these categories, I would like to make some suggestions for future work.

The current work relies on both Hindu and Christian perspectives in its analysis, however, those of Christians outweigh those of Hindu interlocutors. Future work should seek to obtain more ethnographic data (particularly through interviews) from collaborating Hindu musicians and other Hindu officials (at the Parawisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia, for example). The analysis provided here also relies heavily on data collected from and models that consider primarily musicians and not dancers. My decision to focus primarily on musicians as the basis of network diagrams reflects my own bias as a male musician (most musicians I performed with were also male), however, networks of contextual dancers should also be consider.

Beyond Bali, the connections between GKPB and their international partners and sponsors (particularly in Europe, Singapore, and Australia) should be further elaborated to provide a fuller picture of how contextual arts, and the interreligious networks they generate, work within local *and* international systems of economic and cultural capital exchange.
Future work should also move beyond Hindu/Protestant gamelan networks in Bali to consider how other religious minorities in Bali interact with majority Hindu groups through the production, performance, and dissemination of localized performing arts. During the research period for this dissertation (2009-2016) I visited several Catholic churches, Buddhist temples (I: vihara), and “Tri-faith” (I: Tridharma) temples (I: kongco), all of which were regularly incorporating gamelan into worship services and often with some majority/minority, interreligious component to the networks of musicians and other performers involved. For purposes of clarity and concision -- and because of GKPB’s relatively long and sustained history of contextual performing arts – I decided to focus only on Hindu/Protestant relations, however, it is already clear that gamelan musicking is impacting relations between Hindus and other minority religions in Bali as well.

In chapter four I expanded on the idea that material objects can function as actants in a network, thus influence relations between humans. Much more could be said about how and why gamelan instruments have become a powerful vehicle for the promotion of interreligious interaction. One such area is to more thoroughly analyze the iconography carved into the cases on sets of instruments owned by churches in Bali (both Protestant and Catholic). My decision not to include this analysis here was primarily due to the relative lack of published research on iconography on Balinese gamelan instruments in general (with the notable exception of DeVale and Dibia 1991). Future work should, therefore, look to understand gamelan iconography on Christian owned instruments in relation to broader trends in Hindu iconography.
Refer to Appendix D for images of various church-owned gamelan instruments and their iconography.

Finally, more ethnographic work should be conducted to document the performing arts programs at Widhya Asih children’s homes (and affiliated schools). Because of the importance of these children’s homes in the development of contextual music and dance it is critical to better understand how these arts developed within this Church-run institution. Including perspectives from this vast alumni network of former WA residents (both students and teachers) will be an effective way to collect information that will help to paint a more complete picture of contextual reform and the nature of interreligious music networks since the mid-1970s.177

**Final Thoughts: Looking to the Future**

Throughout this dissertation I have drawn connections between GKPB and its project of contextualization, the influence of touristic policies upon this Church, and the subsequent ways in which it has sought to legitimate claims to localized identity through a discursive shift (e.g. an emphasis on “cultural arts” (I: seni budaya) over “custom” (I: adat)). The coalescence of these factors, in addition to the intellectual development of “secular” performing arts, have enabled the Bali Church to participate in a social space previously admonished by local church officials and identified as a defining (often exclusionary) feature of Balinese Hinduism. These developments have

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177 Some interviews with former WA residents have already been conducted (e.g. Pak Rai and Pak Firman), but more work undoubtedly remains.
served to counteract a legacy of religious segregation in Bali, most profoundly exemplified in the practice of *kasepekang*.

Balinese anthropologist I Nyoman Dhana has suggested that, “today, a substantial part of the social tensions existing within Bali are related to interreligious relationships” (2014:245). The long-term sustainability of GKPB contextualization -- with its underlying basis on interreligious collaboration -- certainly supports the assertion that reforms instituted by GKPB in the early 1970s have served to alleviate this prominent source of social angst. Indeed, one of the main thrusts of this dissertation has been to illustrate this very point; however, it is important not to convey contextualization as an unequivocal, social success.

Concerns remain amongst Bali’s Hindu majority that contextual art is, at its core, a means to attract new followers; in other words, a tool of evangelization. F.L. Bakkar documents precisely this misgiving: “The [Balinese] Christians are mainly criticized for their missionary activities, but also because of the use they make of attributes and dress taken from Balinese tradition in order to create their own Balinese form of Christianity” (1993:312). More recently I have spoken to Balinese artists beyond the GKPB membership who have criticized the Church’s efforts to employ Balinese arts in settings that are too evangelical.

Like most Protestant denominations and sects, GKPB is a Church that seeks to expand its numbers and influence through religious conversion and prominent leaders of GKPB openly support this position. In an early article on Balinese contextualization, Mastra clearly states this goal:

*The gamelan orchestra is used in church services, especially on Christmas Day when with dances and the orchestra the Christmas*
story is told in a dramatic performance that is usually crowded; it is a good time to preach the Gospel to non-Christians. When they see and hear that the Gospel has been given Balinese clothes they no longer think of Christianity as a foreign religion. (1974:399)

The use of gamelan in the church is, not surprisingly, more than a mere sign of mutual ethnic belonging. At one level, and for a particular segment of the GKPB body, gamelan is a means to transform social norms and individual ideologies. From this perspective it is difficult to argue against the potential for contextualization to be a subversive tool of missionization.

The use of music as tool of religious conversion is among the primary reasons that, until very recently, the study of Christian music practices has historically fallen outside the scope of mainstream ethnomusicology. As Dueck and Reily have pointed out:

…ethnomusicological researchers in the United States have been relatively uninterested in (and sometimes even hostile toward) the cross-cultural study of Christian musics. One reason for this is surely that, in many of the canonical areas explored by the discipline, it is nearly impossible to dissociate Christianity from a history of missionizing projects, which have been understood (across the disciplines) as modes of cultural imperialism and as threats to the integrity of local musics and cultures. (2016:2)

Based on written sources and the many interviews conducted throughout dissertation research it is obvious that contextual performing arts are regarded as evangelical, both within GKPB and amongst members of the broader Hindu majority. This interreligious tension, however, has not prevented the amelioration of Christian/Hindu relations in Bali.

If interreligiosity is marked by social and intellectual attitudes of tolerance and respect, the commonly held desire from within the Bali Church to “preach the
Gospel” and convert Balinese Hindus is theoretically problematic, technically illegal, and potentially damning. Because GKPB has historically lacked the requisite cultural resources to carry out their proposed contextual reforms, and because they have also relied on the cooperation of Hindu artists for the performance of contextualized music and dance repertoires, it is curious that such a project ever got off the ground, if indeed it was simply a means to convert the local population. Despite comments from church leaders that would suggest otherwise, contextualization has not proven successful in growing Bali Church membership. GKPB membership has grown from 7,000 members in 1970 (MacKenzie and Mastra 1988:30) to approximately 15,000 members in 2016 (Mastra, interview with the author, June 2016). In relation to the growth of Bali’s overall population during the same period, GKPB members made up 0.330% of Balinese residents in 1971 compared to 0.355% in 2014. 178 This is marginal growth for a religious sect that already holds a peripheral position in mainstream Balinese religious life. Even amongst those who converted over this period, it is difficult to ascertain how many have done so as a direct result of preaching a contextual gospel.

The relative impotence of contextualization to produce tangible numbers of Christian converts is one of the reasons I decided not to focus on this aspect of contextual music and dance throughout this dissertation. More importantly, however, I wanted to draw attention to the social value of Church-based repertoires beyond the Christian body. This type of work is particularly important and germane in light of the aforementioned skepticism of the academy with regard to the nature of church

178 Over approximately the same period the population in Bali rose from 2,120,322 (1971 census) to 4,225,384 (2014 census).
music, and more specifically, those repertoires that project localized styles and aesthetics. A reduction in the scale and severity of kasepekang, as exemplified in part by the interreligious music networks required for the production of contextual music and dance, is a very real, and I would argue beneficial, shift in how Balinese Hindus and Christians have related to one another since the 1970s.

One final tension remaining at the conclusion of this dissertation is whether Balinese Christian claims for kebalian have been successful in terms of creating a sustainable model for long-term Christian/Hindu interaction. I have argued that the incorporation of Balinese performing arts into GKPB praxis established interreligious networks that have, in part, counteracted a legacy of extreme Protestant/Hindu segregation.

The practically artificial, yet politically significant, sacred/secular dichotomy brought about by the local tourist economy has been a major contributing factor in defining a sphere of artistic participation for Balinese Christians. Ultimately, Balinese Christians intend for “secular” art to become “sacred” through its inclusion in Church liturgy. Murdita stressed this point in a recent rehearsal for the 45th GKPB synod assembly, urging energetic (and often rambunctious) children performers to take these preparations seriously because they are for a “sacred service” (I: ibada sakral). On the surface, this type of sacred/secular shift does not appear to be problematic as there are numerous examples of Balinese Hindus incorporating once “profane” arts into a more revered context (e.g. Brunner 1996:166-7; McIntosh 2014:70).

Rather than establish clear boundaries around genres, the appropriateness of a particular dance work for a given religious ceremony often relies on context. The
mere inclusion of a certain composition and choreography in the inner-courtyard of a Balinese temple is usually reason enough to consider it sacred, at least for the occasion in question. Many Balinese Christians, I believe, would argue a similar point; so-called secular arts transcend such labeling when included in the liturgy. The tendency for both Balinese Christians and Hindus to demarcate place and belonging through the performance of a wide range of (sometimes conflicting) repertoires demonstrates a shared desire to enact the communal and religious self, and to distinguish what is essentially Balinese from the “invasion” of outside forces. In this sense, then, Christians and Hindus share similar traits of sacred self-identification.

For Balinese Christians, however, a desire to belong to Bali (politically and culturally) is complicated by a simultaneous urge to evangelize. The idea that all Balinese are connected by a common history and a shared fate was originally a form of resistance against Javanese (Muslim) nationalists, Dutch colonialists, the archetypal foreign tourist, and Christian (often Western) missionaries. The very notion of a *kebalian* that can be shared across religious frontiers, then, is at very least problematic. This inherent tension between Balinese self-preservation and a Protestant transformation was a key component of contextual reform from its earliest articulations, striving to both “proclaim…the Gospel of Jesus Christ” and to “stimulate greater inter-religious dialogue and cooperation amongst Balinese residents” (McKenzie and Mastra 1988:31-2).

Ultimately, the Bali Church’s efforts to claim *kebalian* are a constant work in progress and can never be declared a definitive “success” or “failure.” As a general guideline, however, those projects that strive for genuine interreligious dialogue and
understanding should be privileged as a means to a religiously plural *kebalian*. In contrast, those driven primarily by religious orthodoxy and orthopraxy should be regarded as counterintuitive to such an interreligious project. Both Balinese Christians and Hindus have continually advanced and hampered efforts to express an identity that reflects Bali’s ever-increasing diversity. In these terms, interreligiosity is not clean, neat, or utopian. It is messy, and fraught with tension, but if the alternative is to succumb to one’s fear of the Other, it is a *dialogic* tension worth maintaining.
Appendix A: Bibliography of Recorded Interviews


Untal-Untal Interviews – A series on interviews conducted with members of the seniors gamelan group from GKPB Bethlehem. All interviews conducted by the author the evening of Feb 10, 2014 at the GKPB Bethlehem church in Untal-Untal, just north of Denpasar.

1. Dingar, I Made
2. Kurnia, I Wayan
3. Martino, I Nyoman
4. Negara, I Wayan
5. Raharja, I Nyoman
6. Sastrawan, Oka
7. Sugama, I Wayan
8. Suwastika, I Nyoman
9. Tris, Ni Nyoman
10. Widiana, I Putu
Appendix B – An Index of Known Contextual Performance Genres (Historical and Extant)

Baleganjur – This sub-genre of Balinese gamelan is characterized by regular eight beat gong cycles, and interlocking cymbals (ceng-ceng kopyak) and drums (kendang). Belaganjur literally means “walking warriors,” a term that speaks to the prevalence of such music ensembles in moving events like ceremonial processions and parades. Michael Bakan notes the importance of the genre in Balinese Hinduism: “Today, beleganjur’s role in Hindu-Balinese religious life remains vital…[and] the functional presence of beleganjur sound is of crucial importance” (Bakan 1998:441-2). Despite this affiliation with important Hindu ceremonies, baleganjur is also commonly heard in more casual, social settings and as a highly competitive performing art known as kreasi baleganjur (Tenzer 2011:107).

The official stance of GKPB, as indicated in the contextualization treatise, is that baleganjur is appropriate for church use because: “In our service we may use those types of gamelan that do not have sacred [I: sakral] qualities, such as…gambelan blaganjur [sic]” (Murdita et al 2012:49).

Baleganjur is used to accompany Baris Tombak Salib, a processional choreography prepared by Murdita for the 41st GKPB synod in 2008.

During my research I heard baleganjur at GKPB churches on two notable occasions. On New Year’s Eve, 2013, I casually observed a group of men rehearsing baleganjur at the church in Blimbingsari (figure ab.1). I was not able to confirm whether they were practicing for anything in particular, however, the use of the church as a rehearsal space for these instruments was, nonetheless, insightful. I also saw baleganjur employed during a service for the dedication of a new church building for the GKPB Efrata congregation based in Buduk (July 2011). A short sermon was held under a temporary tent, after which the pastor gave a blessing and opened the front gate of the church. The baleganjur group that was assembled for the occasion immediately erupted into an energetic accompaniment for the masses of people now trying to pass through the narrow entry portals. The group itself processed into the inner courtyard area of the church – they stopped playing shortly thereafter.

179 Varient spellings of the term include: beleganjur, baleganjur, and blaganjur.
Bondres – Stock characters, usually of low caste, who provide comic relief and interpretive support for the events on the stage and often comment on matters of interest within the audience. They may appear in a number of theatrical contexts including topeng pajegan. Bondres characters are often marked by exaggerated facial features and physical deformities, which are most often portrayed vis-à-vis the masks themselves.

Since 2009 I have observed bondres performed several times, including within the context of church services, a church anniversary celebration, and New Year’s Eve festivities. Though some Balinese Christian artists can and do perform bondres (e.g., I Nyoman Darsane and I Wayan Rajeg) many of those who perform at GKB events, including church services, are hired Hindu professionals. Like all bondres, topics discussed during contextual bondres performances can vary widely, and are most often related to the local socio-political situation and/or thematic content of a given event. Indeed, many pages could be written solely on the dialogue of these performances. For now I will briefly discuss one case study that is particularly germane to this dissertation’s overarching examination of interreligious relations.

On New Year’s Eve 2013 I attended a children’s dance competition in Blimbingsari. The competition was the first of its kind in the village, a result of a new sanggar based in Blimbingsari and dedicated to arts education for
local children and youth. Following several rounds of competition a bondres performer entered the stage. He began with a few jokes but his tenor quickly shifted to a more serious register:

Let’s preserve all culture! It doesn’t matter your religion, there are Balinese Christians, Hindus, and Muslims. We all belong to one nation, Indonesia! We should all preserve Balinese artistic culture [I: seni budaya].

A dance interlude then leads to the introduction of another comedic character. Again, a few jokes are shared followed by a discussion of local interreligious relations:

Good evening and Merry Christmas [I: Selamat Natal] to our Christian people. And Om Swastiastu to the Hindu people. Salam [can’t understand] for our Christian brothers. Wa salam alikum warma pura [laughing] for the Muslim people… In all of Bali there has never been a show like this, it’s really exceptional. Anyone in Bali, regardless of religion... If Muslim people had a show like this I would be there. What kind of dance is this? This is Balinese dance! If you’re Christian you can use Balinese dance. Hindu songs must be used for Balinese dance.

Following this brief node to West Bali’s religious diversity, the duo break into a comedic routine full of one-liners and playful audience interaction. Their discussion of the relationship between local Hindus, Christians, and Muslims, however brief, is a powerful way to address common concerns within and between these religious groups regarding the promulgation of contextual repertoire in an increasingly pluralistic religious milieu.

Documented contextual bondres performances at GKPB churches and/or events (2009-14):

Mar. 12, 2014 -- GKPB Betlehem in Untal Untal – performed as part of a sermon by Pastor Widiarsana (ref. image 2). The service honored the congregational seniors, many of whom play in the new church-based sekehe gamelan.

Dec. 31, 2013 -- Bale banjar, Blimbingsari – performed as a part of festivities during a children’s music and dance competition (ref. image 3).

Dec. 22, 2013 -- GKPB Padang Luwih, Dalung – Bondres performed as part of a contextual Christmas event (ref. image 4).

June 8, 2013 – GKPB Betlehem, Untal Untal – Bondres performed outside the church during a anniversary celebration for the congregation in Untal Untal.

July 10, 2011 – GKPB Efrata, Buduk – Bondres performed inside the church during the dedication service for the new church building.
Nov. 5, 2009 -- GKPB PNIEL in Blimbingsari -- Darsane performs *bondres* during the GKPB bishop installation ceremony for Dr. I Ketut Siaga Waspada (ref. to image 2 below).

**Figure ab.2** – Pastor (I: *Pendeta*) Widiarsana gives a sermon wearing a *bondres* mask (Untal Untal, March 12, 2014).

**Figure ab.3** – Hindu *bondres* performers in character at a New Year’s Eve music and dance competition in Blimbinsari (2013). Children (center) watch the performers from the rear of the stage.
Figure ab.4 – Bondres performed in a Christmas service at GKPB Padang Luwih (Dalung, December 22, 2013). Members of Sanggar Seni Budaya GKPB look on from behind their instruments in an alcove beside the stage.

Figure ab.5 – Two professional Hindu artists perform bondres at a church dedication service in Buduk (July 10, 2011).
**Jangger** – A twentieth century development, *jangger* is a social dance typically performed in mixed dance groups of girls and boys or young men and young women. The term *jangger* can be translated as “infatuation,” thus alluding to the sometimes flirtatious nuances in choreography (Bandem and deBoer 1995:97). The Bali Church has officially employed *jangger* in church related events since as early as 1986 when I Nyoman Darsane first became director of DVP (GKPB arts bureau). Under Darsane’s direction, “*jangger* was performed by children from GKPB Kristus Kasih (Denpasar) together with children from the GKPB-sponsored children’s home in Denpasar [I: PA Widhya Pura I Denpasar] (Murdita et al 2012:16).”

I saw *jangger* performed three times in the context of GKPB church events during my research in Bali, each time with a demographically distinct group of dancers; once with an ensemble of young Hindu professionals from ISI, Denpasar, once with a group of amateur Christian adults (all married) at a church anniversary service, and once with a group Christian and Hindu youth from the GKPB sponsored school, Sekolah Harapan (Sesetan, Denpasar). The diversity of each of these groups, and the contexts in which they performed, hint at flexibility of *jangger* to adapt to the dynamic socio-religious conditions of contemporary Indonesia.

**Documented *jangger* performances**

- **1986-92** -- Performed by children from GKPB Kristus Kasih and PA Widhya Pura I (Murdita et al 2012:16)
- **June, 2011** – Performed by children from Sekolah Harapan (Denpasar) as part of a ceremony for the 43rd GKPB synod meeting at Hotel Dhyana Pura (Seminyak).
- **July 10, 2011** – Performed by children from Sekolah Harapan (Denpasar) for the dedication of the new GKPB church building in Buduk.
- **June 8, 2013** – Performed by members of the GKPB Betlehem congregation for the anniversary celebration of their church.
- **July 15, 2013** – Young professional musicians from ISI are hired by GKPB to perform before a delegation from the German-based organization Evangelical Mission in Solidarity (EMS) at Universitas Dhyana Pura (Dalung).

![Image](image_url)

**Figure ab.7** – Children from Sekolah Harapan (Denpasar) perform *jangger* at GKPB Efrata (Buduk 07/10/11).

**Jegog** – A bamboo ensemble constructed from the “monstrously” sized bamboo that is native to the West Bali regency of Jembrana (Tenzer 2011:101). Three sets of GKPB-owned *jegog* instruments were documented during the fieldwork period, all of which are housed in churches and children’s homes in the same regency (two of these sets are pictured bellow, ref. images 8 and 9). Though I rarely saw the instruments used during my time in Bali, Pak Wira (a professional musician and teacher based in Blimbingsari) told me that the *jegog* are often used for important church events:

**Author** – Do you ever use these *jegog* instruments in church services [I gesture to the nearby instruments, ref image 9]
Wira – Yes, they will be used to open the church [GKPB] synod conference. The conference starts at 9am and before that the jegog will be played to greet the people.
Author – That’s interesting, I have never seen these instruments being played.
Wira – Oh no!? We use them to welcome guests, for concerts, to accompany dances. If there’s not a special occasion they’re not usually played in church. (April 2014)

Figure ab.8 – A set of jegog instruments housed at GKPB PNIEL (Blimbingsari, April 2, 2014).
Figure ab.9 – Two residents of PA Widya Asih II hold an impromptu rehearsal (Blimbingsari April 2, 2014).

Figure ab.10 – I Putu Suranata teaches a group of volunteers from Singapore to play a basic melody on jegog instruments. The volunteers stayed at PA Widya Asih II while helping with maintenance and minor construction projects at the children’s home facilities (Blimbingsari April 2, 2014). This set of instruments is not owned by GKPB, but rather rented especially for this occasion.
**Joged bumbung and tingklit** – *Tingklit* is the most common term used for a wooden instrument made from bamboo tubes, suspended from a low-lying frame, and played with two spindly rubber tipped mallets. This is one of the primary instruments in *gamelan joged bumbung*, which serves as a musical accompaniment to a flirtatious dance of the same name that features a largely improvised dance between the female dancer and male members of the audience. Due to its simple and inexpensive construction, *tingklit* (or other closely related instruments) can be found in abundance throughout Bali. The instrument is also a popular soundtrack (live or recorded) in touristic areas, especially beaches, restaurants, and spas.

The first recorded evidence of *tingklit* in a GKPB sanctioned forum comes from the AILM songbook and accompanying cassette (Loh 1988). The recording is of Darsane, apparently “improvising,” at the *tingklit*. In 2013 I attended a small church service at Darsane’s home in Batubulan, after which he took some time to explain the relationship between pitch, direction, Balinese cosmology, and Christian theology. He used the *tingklit* to illustrate his points as he spoke:

> You have five notes, this is pentatonic. So this is a symbol of the cardinal directions/compass rose [plays the complete five note sulendro scale]. It’s a symbol of the west, east, north, and south. So when someone goes to heaven he/she will ask, is it in the east, the west, the north, the south? Where is heaven? Finally heaven will meet you in your faith, in each one of us. [plays a few more notes]. What I’m going to play for you now, the *polos*, is the answer to direction [I: *arah*] [following brief performance] – *gathered audience claps* [Darsane begins to explain again] – We have the east, west, north, and south, and in the center is the cross. (Darsane, interview with the author, June 2013)

Darsane’s remarks demonstrate the ability of a simple “folk” instrument to convey intellectual and aesthetic complexities of Hindu/Christian relations. In contrast to this intellectualized performance, I have also regularly seen amateur Christian musicians playing *tingklit* in their yards in Blimbinsari.

During my research in Bali I became aware of a set of *tingklit* instruments that were in residence at the GKPB Betlehem in Untal Untal. The *tingklit* were originally used to accompany congregational music, but, after the church acquired a complete *gong kebyar*, the older bamboo instruments fell into disuse. In June 2013 a professional *joged bumbung* group was hired to play at the anniversary celebration of the GKPB church in Untal Untal. A formal service (including gamelan and dance) was held inside, after which a more festive celebration was held on the street in front of the church. Included in this event was the performance of *joged bumbung*, which came as a surprise to me given the inherently flirtatious nature of this dance. Most of the men in
the crowd refused to dance with the *joged* dancer, but after much cajoling a few reluctant participants agreed to perform on stage.

*Figure ab.11* – I Made Suwita gives a demonstration on the *tingklit* (PNIEL Blimbingsari, April 2, 2014).
Figure ab.12 – One of four diatonically tuned, twenty-one tube tingklot in resident at GKPB Bethlehem (Untal Untal). The signature GKPB “dancing cross” adorns the instrument’s upper front panel.

Kecak – This dramatic form -- sometimes referred to as “Monkey Dance,” “Monkey Chant,” or simply “cak” -- is defined as much by its narrative content as by its unique vocal texturing. Kecak features a chorus of men who vocalize a core melody (B:pokok) interlocking patterns (B: kotekan) and a basic colotomic sub-structure. This vocal music provides an accompaniment for dancers who enact the abduction of Sita’s as told in the Ramayana. Though the vocal parts are closely related to those used in trance rituals associated with sang hyang dedari (a dance consider wali/sacred), kecak is widely considered a secular dance form and has been performed primarily for tourists since its earliest iterations (at the request of foreigner Walter Spies) during the 1930s (Bandem and deBoer 1995:128).

One of the only known performances of kecak in a GKPB event took place during the installation service for the new GKPB bishop on November 5, 2009 at the church in Blimbingsari. The work was written, choreographed, and composed by I Nyoman Darsane and performed in collaboration with the congregation of GKPB Margi Kahuripan, Gianyar.

180 There is also a record of kecak being performed as part of an original GKPB work entitled, “Seni Tari Jangger dan Kecak dengan Pangeran Kodok”. This piece was premiered in Singapore in October 2009 at the United World College of South East Asia under the direction of I Nyoman Murdita (Murdita 2011:5,6).
Instead of depicting the typical Ramayana-based narrative, Darsane’s creation gives an account of the crucifixion of Christ. Image 1 shows a portion of the original music notation as prepared by Darsane, which was also used as a pedagogical aid in rehearsals leading up to the performance.

**Figure ab.13** – The first two pages (2 of 6) of the rehearsal score for Darsane’s contextual kecak. Melodic materials are represented in numeric notation and colotomic syllables are present throughout, especially page 1 (e.g. “yang-nggar”, “yang-nggor” etc.). Interlocking sections are indicating by “kecuk” and “kecak” syllables.

**Kidung/Congregational Singing** – Broadly speaking, *kidung* refers to a poetic and musical style of textual recitation, typically in Kawi/“Old Javanese” (Bandem and deBoer 1995:148). Since the 1980s several collections of congregational songs have been published by or in collaboration with GKPB members and leaders. The tradition of Christian congregational singing in Bali is sometimes referred to as *kidung jemaat*; a practice reinforced by the title of the Bali Church’s most widely used hymnal of the same title, *Kidung Jemaat*. A less commonly used hymnal, *Kidung Jemaat Pentatonik Bali*, also employs this term. The contextualization treatise mentions the common practice of singing songs in Balinese that were also “infused with Christianity” (I: *bernafas Kristiani*) as early as 1984.181

181 Lelia Lewis -- a Christian missionary who has worked in Bali since 1953 -- recalled one Balinese Christian man who sang Biblical texts in Balinese sometime during the 1950s (interview with the author, June 2013).
A song by Darsane, entitled “Kawit Sari Warga Anyar” (Hymn of the New Covenant) is stylistically similar to kidung – e.g. long melismatic passages, rhythmically free/unmetered, extensive use of vibrato, recitation of an ancient text/story. A transcription of the performance on the 1988 AILM recording indicates, to some extent, these musical qualities (ref image 16). This piece, however, requires virtuosic vocal abilities and is therefore unsuitable for congregational singing. The knowledge and ability to sing “Kawit Sari” as a solo is also beyond the knowledge and ability of most GKPB congregations.

Conversely, the vast majority of Balinese congregational songs feature a much simpler melodic contour. When and where musicians and instruments are available, congregational singing is done with gamelan (gong kebyar) accompaniment. Congregational songs with gamelan accompaniment are most commonly sung at the monthly, contextualized service at the GKPB church in Blimbingsari. Further research is still needed to establish the relationship (if

**Figure ab.14** – I-to Loh’s transcription of Darsane’s performance of “Kawit Sari” reflects the unmetered, rhythmically free nature of the performance and, more broadly, the kidung musical style (transcription from Loh 1988:41).
any) between this relatively new phenomenon of Balinese Protestant congregational songs with gamelan accompaniment and the much older practices associated with kidung.

Collections of congregational music by Balinese composers:

- Kaulan, (I Nyoman Yohanes, n.d.)
- Gita Suksma, (I Nyoman Yohanes, c. 2000)
- Kristus Sundaring Bali, (I-to Loh, 1988)
- Kidung Jemaat Pentatonik Bali, (I Putu Widhiyana, 2012)
- Puji dan Sembah (Divia Pradana Bhakti, 2016)

Some popular “spiritual songs” (I: lagu rohani)

- “Pirenganja”* – I Nyoman Darsane
- “Galang kangin”* – I Nyoman Darsane
- “Luwihanja parab ida”* – I Nyoman Darsane
- “Kesetra” – I Nyoman Darsane
- “Carang Anggur”* – I Nyoman Yohanes
- “Dengar dan laksanakan”* – I Nyoman Yohanes
- “Peparuman”* – I Wayan Sudiarta
- “Ya Allah Bapa” – I Putu Widhiyana (tune only)

**INTROITUS (Jemaat duduk)**

### Bishop

: "Pikullah kuku yang Kupasang dan belajarlah pada-Ku, karena Aku lemah lembut dan rendah hati dan jiwamu akan mendapat ketenangan." (Mat 11:29)

### Jemaat

: *(menyanyikan “Pirenganja” diiringi tabuh gong)*

Pirenganja puniki masan sametone kaledangin antuk Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa
Tur puniki rahina pabuat sameton
jaga nampi karahayuan

**Figure ab.15** – Darsane’s “Pirenganja” in the order of service (I: tata ibadah) for a pastor ordination ceremony (Blimbingsari, August 31, 2012). Following the scripture reading by the Bishop (Matt 11:29) the congregation (I: jemaat) is asked to “menyanyikan ‘pirenganja’ diiringi tabuh gong” (sing ‘pirenganja’ accompanied by the gamelan [gong]).

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182 These pieces are referred to as “spiritual songs” (I: lagu rohani) in contextualization treatise (Murdita et al 2012). Those marked with a (*) are listed as examples of the genre in this text (50-1).
Sendratari – Balinese Sendratari is a genre of dance-drama that is typically accompanied by gamelan music and borrows considerably from “traditional” gestures and styles of Balinese dance, music, and dress. Central to this style is the enactment of narrative-driven drama, most commonly conveying stories from Hindu epic literature such as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Due to the genre’s ability to convey linear narrative and its association with secular entertainment, it has become a popular contextual medium. For a more thorough description of the genre and its position in GKPB church praxis refer to chapter two (pgs. 32-8).

Contextual sendratari and pragmentari\(^{183}\) choreographies:

- 1991 – Baptisan Pertama (“The First Baptism”)
  - Choreography and music by Darsane
- 1994 – Adam dan Hawa (“Adam and Eve”)
  - Choreography by I Nyoman Murdita; music by I Putu Suranata and I Ketut Pasek Supartika
  - Choreography by I Nyoman Murdita and Ni Made Rai Winati; music by I Wayan Darya; I Nyoman Darsane as dalang
- 1998 – Kelahiran Yesus (“The Life of Christ”)
  - Choreography by I Nyoman Murdita; music by I Putu Suranata
- 2006 – Tarian Perdamaian (“Dancing of Peace”)
  - Choreography by I Nyoman Murdita; music by I Putu Suranata
- 2011 -- Tari Amertha Candra Bhuana
  - Choreography by I Nyoman Murdita and Ni Made Warsiani; music by I Putu Suranata
- n.d. – Pan Loting: Sejarah Penginjilan di Bali (Pan Loting: The History of the Mission in Bali)
  - Choreographed by I Nyoman Murdita; music by I Putu Suranata and I Ketut Pasek Supartika

Tari lepas – Tenzer briefly and cogently summarizes this wide-ranging performance genre: “Tari lepas are the forum for pure kebyar dance, and the visual embodiment of the music’s emblematic capriciousness. They are brief…and unencumbered by the literary influence that shapes theater.” It is this disconnect from theatricality -- which throughout the twentieth century was increasingly marked by linear narratives -- that most thoroughly differentiates sendratari (ref to chapter 2) from tari lepas. Oleg Tambulilingan (1952) and

\(^{183}\) Pragmentari is also a genre of dance drama and is very closely related sendratari. Pragmentari differs only in that it employs a written interpretation of the events on the stage (e.g. in the form of a printed program) as opposed to sendratari, which employs a dalang (a dramatic actor who interprets these same events).
Panyembrama (1967, 1970) \(^{184}\) are two of the most famous examples of the genre, both of which Picard states were “conceived from the outset for a foreign audience” (1996:142).

Given the “secular” and touristic origin of these pieces, it is interesting that both have been performed in temple and church ceremonies in Bali. Bandem and deBoer note the performance of Panyembrama and Oleg Tambulilingan at Hindu ceremonies, such as an Odalan (1995:78,135). During one of our many interviews, Mastra told me that Oleg was regularly performed at GKPB churches in the 1970s, albeit with a somewhat revised version of the piece’s erotic subtext. Originally conceived as a touristic version of “sacred” music and dance (pendet), Panyembrama has since been employed in Balinese Catholic services. Other formally secularized versions of ceremonial pendet, including puspanjali and tari pendet, are also used in GKPB services and events (Wira, interview with the author, April 2014).

Since the mid-1990s, various dancers, choreographers, composers, and musicians have contributed to a small corpus of contextual tari lepas. Since 2010 Tarian Malaikat (1995, “Angel Dance”) has been, by far, the most frequently performed of the group, and tari lepas as a whole (including non-contextual repertoire – e.g. Manuk Rawah and Cendrawasi) appears to form the core of GKPB performance practice.

**Presently known contextual tari lepas choreographies:**

- c. 1976 – *Anak Dara*
  - Choreography and music by I Nyoman Catra
- c.1988 – *Anak Dara*
  - Choreography and music by I Nyoman Darsane
- 1994 – *Tari Burung Merpati*
  - Choreography by I Nyoman Murdita and I Ketut Bingin; music by I Nengah Astika
- 1995 - *Tari Malaikat* (“Angel Dance”),
  - Choreography by I Nyoman Murdita; music by I Putu Suranata
- 1996 – *Tari Bunga Bakung*
  - Choreography by Murdita and Ni Made Rai Winati; music by I Wayan Daryan
- 2000 – *Tari Putri Zion*
  - Choreography by I Nyoman Murdita and Ni Made Rai Winati; music by I Putu Suranata
- 2002 – *Seni Tari Sepuluh Anak Dara*
  - Choreography – I Nyoman Murdita; music – I Putu Suranata
- 2008 – *Tari Baris Tombak Salib*
  - Choreography by Murdita; music by Suranata; ref. image 18 below

\(^{184}\) According to Bandem and deBoer, panyembrama was originally created in 1967 by I Gusti Gede Raka. It was later “reworked” by I Wayan Beratha. It is a “kebyarized,” and officially secular, version of the ceremonial dance pendet.
- 2009 – *Tari Galang Jagat (Tari Kebesar Dhyana Pura)*
  o choreography by I Nyoman Murdita and Ni Ketut Asmini;
  music by I Putu Suranata

Popular/non-contextual *tari lepas* are performed primarily at GKPB churches, children’s home (*panti asuhan*), and other church owned venues. Based on my research, I also indicate where and when these pieces have been performed.

- *Manuk Rawah*
  o Performed at the Blimbingsari children’s home (*panti asuhan*) in the early 1980s (Firman, interview with the author, March 2014)
  o Commonly taught and performed at GKPB children’s homes throughout Bali from 2011-2014

- *Oleg Tambulilingan*
  o Performed at GKPB church events during the 1970s and 1980s (Mastra, interview with the author, June 2013)
  o Performed at Blimbingsari children’s home, early 1980s (Firman, 2014)

- *Tari Pendet*
  o Performed at Blimbingsari children’s home, early 1980s (Firman, 2014)
  o Featured in GKPB promotional video, by Majelis Sinode Harian GKPB (2012)

- *Puspanjali*
  o Performed at a welcome banquet for a group of German church leaders (May 2013)
  o Performed at children’s music and dance competition, Blimbingsari (Dec 31, 2013)  
  o Blimbingsari-based teacher and musician, I Made Suwita (Pak Wira), mentions *puspanjali* as a form of *pendet* that has been performed in GKPB events (interview with the author, April 2014)

- *Cendrawasii*
  o Children from church *panti asuhan* perform the piece in concerts at United World College of South East Asia (Singapore), January 2014
  o Performed by I Nyoman Murdita at GKPB Yudea Padang Luwih, Dalung, Bali (Dec 23, 2013)
  o Performed by GKPB arts delegation during teaching/performance residency at an international School in Singapore (Jan/Feb 2014). Also performed prior to this

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185 The competition was an event held at the Blimbingsasri *bale banjar* and presented by the new village “sanggar”/music and dance school. The group is referred to locally as “sanggar tabuh tari”. 
residency for a small delegation of teachers from the Singapore school (Melaya, Bali, Jan 2014).

- **Hanoman**
  - Performed by GKPB arts delegation during teaching/performance residency at an international School in Singapore (Jan/Feb 2014). Also performed prior to this residency for a small delegation of teachers from the Singapore school (Melaya, Bali, Jan 2014).

- **Puspa Wresti**
  - Performed at children’s music and dance competition, Blimbingsari (Dec 31, 2013)
  - Blimbingsari-based teacher and musician, I Made Suwita (Pak Wira), mentions *Puspa Wresti* as a form of *pendet* that has been performed in GKPB events (interview with the author, April 2014)

- **Belibis** –
  - Performed at Blimbingsari children’s home, early 1980s (Firman, 2014)

- **Margapati**
  - Performed at children’s music and dance competition, Blimbingsari (Dec 31, 2013)

- **Kidang Kencana**
  - Performed at Blimbingsari children’s home, early 1980s (Firman, 2014)

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*Figure ab.16 – Tari Baris Tombak Salib*
Figure ab.17 – A group of girls from PA Widya Asih prepare to perform *Tarian Malaikat* before a pastor installation service (Kediri, November 2013).
Figure ab.18 – Young musicians and dancers from PA Widhya Asih II and V (Blimbinsari and Melaya) perform Manak Rawah for a small group of representatives from an international school in Singapore (January 2014).

Figure ab.19 – Women from the GKPB Betlehem congregation rehearse Tarian Malaikat with members of the seniors’ gamelan group (Untal Untal, April 2014).
**Topeng** – A series of masked dances used in various Hindu ceremonies. Depending on the context, *topeng* may be danced by a single male performer (as in *topeng pajegan*) or a small group of male dancers (as in *topeng panca*). Bandem and deBoer note that this genre traverses a variety of socio-religious contexts including *Odalan* (annual temple ceremonies), cremations, tooth-filings, and weddings (1995:48). The genre is variably considered sacred or secular depending on sub-genre and physical context.

I Nyoman Darsane began dancing a contextual version of *topeng tua* (“old mask”) in 1981 while in West Germany as part of a GKPB delegation (Darsane, interview with the author, July 2012). He called this work *Kelahiran Baru dalam Kristus* (New Life in Christ), and differs from conventional *topeng tua* performances in its conclusion, as the performer removes his mask (symbolizing Christian renewal/rebirth). Darsane has performed this work many times since, including and at a conference of Indonesia churches in Surabaya in 1989 (Murdita et al 2012:16), and as recently June 2014 at the GKPB head offices in Kapal. Image 1 shows Darsane posing for a photo with the *topeng tua* mask removed.

In a 2011 interview Murdita also indicates that a contextual form of *topeng* is still performed: “Topeng shows in Java and Bali usually represent characters of kings and people from the kingdom… In the life of Christians and the church we often use *topeng* dances [I: *seni tari topeng*].” During my fieldwork in Bali I saw contextual *topeng* performed only once for the gala banquet of an FGBMFI conference (Full Gospel Business Men Indonesia) at the Puri Saron Hotel in Seminyak, Bali. The event took place in June 2011 and the role of *topeng tua* was performed by I Putu Suranata.
Figure ab.20 -- Darsane poses with a topeng mask (c. 1988). Photo published in the AILM hymnal (Loh 1988:35).
**Wayang kulit** – This form of shadow puppetry/theater, has been a popular medium to convey epic Hindu literature in Java and Bali for centuries. *Gender wayang* is a type of gamelan often used to accompany this theatrical form. Ethnomusicologist Marzana Poplawska has already documented the development of a Catholic form of *wayang kulit* known as *wayang wahyu*, which initially developed during the 1960s (esp. following VII) and has remained a popular “inculturated” form of Catholic art since then (2004:194-5). In Bali, however, the production of contextual, Protestant *wayang kulit* has been far more sporadic.

At the present time, it is not possible to say with certainty when Balinese Protestants first became involved with *wayang kulit* (or, in fact, whether the church was ever truly void of these puppeteers and musicians at all). The contextualization treatise gives the earliest accounts of Church sanctioned *wayang*:

> Beginning in the 1950s and through the 1980s, several GKPB congregations began to use characteristics of Balinese art as a means to communicate the Gospel. This movement was supported by prominent congregational figures that were blessed in the arts. Several of them include Pastor I Made Runggu… There were several forms of Balinese art that were used as forms to communicate the Gospel. In Blimbingsari Pastor Made Runggu, together with his friends, established a *sekehe wayang kulit*. The purpose of this group was to entertain the community, to preserve Balinese culture and to make the non-Christian community aware that they [Christians] had a God [“Allah”] that was different and stronger than all the “evil spirits” [I: *roh-roh jahat*]. Each of the group’s performances followed a public theme [I: *tema umum*] like that which normally takes place in the *wayang* stories of Balinese Hinduism. Elements of dogmatic and theological teaching were not of central importance for exposing the themes of the show. (Murdita et al 2012:11)

The apparent prominence of Pastor Runggu in establishing the *sekehe wayang kulit* gives us a more specific indication of when the group was founded, as Runggu’s tenure as pastor in Blimbingsari during the 1960s. Given these years, this arts *sekehe* clearly predates official contextual reform. The initial reliance of these Christian artists on “Hindu *wayang* stories” is also noteworthy, and raises interesting questions about the nature of contextual reform and interreligious relations in Bali, and Indonesia more broadly.

The next wave of Christian *wayang* coincides with the increasing prominence of I Nyoman Darsane as the Bali Church’s premiere contextual artist. One of Darsane’s earliest contextual *wayang* performances was in 1981 at the 25th GKPB synod meeting (I Ketut Firman, interview with the author, March 2016). Murdita records the regular performance of *wayang kulit*, both
in Bali and abroad, after Darsane became director of the church arts bureau in 1984 (Murdita 2011:2).

Anthropologist Paul Webb also documents a performance of Protestant Balinese wayang in 1988:

The writer [Paul Webb] was present at the Protestant Church Training and Conference Centre, Dyana Pura [sic], Seminyak in 1988, during a performance of the wayang which told the story of the Prodigal Son, using a mixture of wayang kulit and wayang orang as well as traditional Balinese dances and songs. (Webb 1990: end note n. 34)

During my research I never saw a Christian wayang, either Protestant or Catholic. Some of my interlocutors suggested that the absence of this performance sub-genre was due to a lack of capable Christian dalang (puppeteers). Some feel that there is currently no one interested/qualified to assume this challenging role after Darsane. In 2011 Darsane told me that he was working on a new contextual wayang, however, to the best of my knowledge this work has not yet been performed.
Appendix C: GKPB Bethlehem (Untal-Untal) Interview Transcriptions

The following ten transcriptions are based on interviews conducted by the author on February 14, 2014. All interviews were conducted in Indonesia and are represented here in an English translation (by the author). The numbered questions are presented here as they were asked in the interview (i.e. not always exactly as they were originally written -ref. below). The interviews are presented here in the order they were conducted.

Prewritten research questions:

Each of the following research questions was asked (in some form) to each of the interviewees. Additional question were asked when and where appropriate.

Prepared research questions

1) What is your name?
2) How old are you?
3) Where were you born?
4) What religion do you follow?
5) Where do you live now?
6) When did you start playing gamelan?
7) Have you ever played in any groups besides the one you are currently in?
8) Do you play any instrument other than gamelan?
9) Are there other people in your family who play gamelan?
10) Have you ever played gamelan with Hindus?

1. I Made Dingar

1. What is your name?
   M – I Made Dingar

2. How old are you?
   M – 67

3. Where were you born?
   M – I was born in Untal Untal.

4. What religion are you?
   M – Protestant

5. Where do you live now?
M – Ya, Untal Untal

6. **When did you start playing gamelan?**

M – We just got the gamelan here.

D – So you started to play gamelan when the church bought these instruments?

M – I first started playing in middle school [I: SMP]. (From that experience) I could play just a little bit. I knew how to play, but not too much.

7. **Have you ever studied gamelan with a teacher (guru) or have you just played with this group?**

M – When I was in middle school we had a guru.

D – You went to middle school in Untal Untal?

M – Ya.

8. **Have you ever played with another group or sanggar? (other than the church group or the one at SMP)**

M – I never have.

8. **Have you ever played music other than gamelan? Like guitar or piano?**

M – no

9. **Are there other people in your family that play gamelan?**

M – Yes, there are some here (at the church).

D – Did your parents ever play gamelan?

M – no

10. **Have you ever played gamelan with Hindus?**

M – At first I did, it was a mix [campur].

D – In middle school?

M – Ya. And before/at first [I: dulu] in the banjar there was a mix.

D – Did you play at the banjar?

M – Yes.

D – Were you still a child?

M – Ya, I was still a child.
D – Are there any Hindus that practice with the group here?

M – There aren’t any right now. At the banjar there was.

11. 4:10 Why is it important for you to express your faith through gamelan?

M – It helps to spur on the culture. It’s actually really good to have the arts enter the church. I am really happy that we can use the other songs [likely referring to the songs from the hymnal, *Pentatonik Bali* (2012), which are often sung with gamelan accompaniment at the Untal Untal church].

2. Oka Sastrawan

1. What is your name?

S - Oka Sastrawan

2. How old are you?

S – 64, no, I’m 65 now.

3. Where were you born

S – I was born here

D – Untal Untal?

S – Yes

4. What religion are you?

S – I am Christian.

5. Do you still live in Untal Untal?

S – I do. I went to school in Salatiga and then worked in Jakarta for a while.

D – When did you move back?

S – 1986. I also worked in America for a while.

D – Where?

S – Illinois, Chicago.

6. When did you start to play/study gamelan?

S – When I was still a child. I started when I still lived in the country (I: *kampung*) and then continued when I was in elementary school, then middle school.
D – Have you played continuously since then?

S – No, I stopped playing when I finished SMP. I didn’t start playing again until recently.

D – How long have you had the gamelan here at the church?

S – One year, I think. Maybe a little more.

D – So it’s still new?

S – Ya, but before the gamelan [gong kebyar] we had rindik [bamboo gamelan].

D – And how long have you had the rindik here.

S – About 10 years.

D – Do you often use the rindik?

S – Before we had the gong we did – the seniors liked it.

7. **Have you ever studied gamelan with a guru?**
   
   S – Just by myself. We have teacher here, Pak Putu.
   
   D – And before that?
   
   S – In middle school we had one, too.

8. **Have you ever played with another sanggar other than the one here?**
   
   S – No

9. **Do you play instruments other than gamelan instruments?**
   
   S – No

10. **Are there other people in your family who play gamelan?**
    
    S – Yes, my father played.
    
    D – He played gong?
    
    S – Yes, gong and gender, for the wayang.
    
    D – What is his name?
    
    S – Widih Wirata
    
    D – Is he a Christian?
    
    S – He became a Christian before he had children.
11. Have you ever played gamelan with Hindus? Perhaps in middle school?
   S – Often in middle school, and in the country [I: kampung].

12. Has the group here ever played with Hindus? There’s a pura across the street.
    Have you ever played with anyone from there?
   S – No, we never have

13. Why is it important for this church to own a gamelan?
   S – This is a contextualized culture. Because we’re Balinese we use Balinese culture. The way for Balinese people to praise God is to use contextualized art like gamelan. We are rehearsing/practicing Balinese culture [I: latihan kita budaya kontekstual].

3. I Wayan Sugama
   1. What is your name?
      S - Wayan Sugama
   2. How old are you?
      S – Last February I turned 71.
   3. Where were you born?
      S – Here, in Untal Untal.
   4. What religion are you?
      S – Yes, my parents were Christian. My grandfather was the first.
   5. You still live in Untal Untal?
      S – Yes, I still do.
   6. When did you start playing gamelan?
      S – Before… the banjar had a gamelan. When I was still young I studied there a little bit. Before this (gamelan) we had a rindik. We’ve had the rindik since 2010. The seniors group started with that.
   D – So you started by playing rindik?
      S – Ya. The gamelan we have downstairs now, we got that two years ago. We just started this gamelan.
   7. Before Pak Putu, have you ever had a gamelan teacher?
8. **Have you ever played with another group or sanggar?**

S – No (laughs)

9. **Have you ever played music other than gamelan?**

S – Yes, I can play guitar.

D – You play guitar?

S – (laughs) Just a little bit.

10. **What instrument do you usually play with the group here?**

S – I usually play the ukulele

D – And with the gamelan group?

S – [Makes a hammering gesture like when playing gangsa]

D – Gangsa?

S – Ya, gangsa. Is that what it’s called? Ya, gangsa.

11. **Do you have other family members who play gamelan?**

S – From this group (here at the church) I have family whose children can. Before we had the gamelan I didn’t but now I have lots (of family who can play). I had a brother who had children, a boy, 2 girls, but they don’t play.

D – Did your parents play gamelan?

S – Yes, my father was a dancer. He could dance janger.

D – He was Christian?

S – Ya

12. **Have you ever played gamelan with Hindus?**

S – At the moment, no. But when we played at the banjar there were lots. We don’t have any Hindus playing with us here. This doesn’t work for them. But at the banjar Christians and Hindus have become one [I: menjadi satu].

D – So, I want to clarify, the banjar here has Christians and Hindus together?

S – Yes, together. When someone passes away (in the church) the service is certainly Christian but they [Hindus] will come for a portion of the service. They only come when they’re invited, but we do it together. They don’t come for worship.
D – When Christians pass away do you have a cremation for them?
S – No

13. 7:15 - Why is it important for the Untal Untal Church to own a gamelan?
S – Because we do not want Bali to pass away/die \([I: \text{meninggal}]\), so that we can use gamelan in the service of the Church. We have an old man named Widiana here that wrote a book of pentatonic songs – so that he can worship God.

4. Ni Tris Narwati
1. What is your name?
T – Ni Nyoman Tris Narwati
2. How old are you?
T – 62
3. Where were you born?
T – Untal Untal
4. What religion are you?
T – Yes I’m Christian, since I was a child.
5. Where do you live?
T – Untal Untal.
6. When did you start to play gamelan?
T – Two years ago. No, last year – we did janger.
D – That was the first time?
T – Yes
7. Have you ever played with another group?
T – never
8. Have you ever sung in a style other than “Balinese style”?
T - Yes, I sing in Jasmine Choir, the church choir and the seniors choir.
D – How long have you sung in the choir?
T – Four or five years.

9. What instrument do you normally play with the gamelan group?

T – I don’t have one instrument that I normally play. At first I tried (makes reyong gestures)…

D – Reyong?

T – Ya, and then when I could play that a little bit I tried (makes gangsa gestures)…

D – Gangsa?

T – The one with five…

D – yeah, gangsa [I am clearly wrong here – she probably meant calung or jegogan].

T – Sometimes I just play wherever someone is needed – if we need someone to play gong I play gong, if we need someone over here I play there…

10. Are there other people in your family who can play gamelan?

T – No, but there are some who can play organ, violin, trumpet, saxophone…

D – Who is that?

T – My nephew/niece [I: keponakan] and my older sibling [I: kakak]

D – And your parents?

T – My father is a pastor, he just sings.

11. Have you ever played gamelan with Hindus

T – I never have (slight chuckle).

12. Why is it important that the Untal Untal Church owns a gamelan?

T – I think it’s important because we live in a Hindu community/environment I: lingkungan. This way we can become one [I: menyatu] with them. Even though we’re Christian we need to use the culture…from Hinduism, like the gamelan.

5. I Wayan Negara

1. What is your name?

N – I Wayan Negara
2. How old are you?
   
   N – 67

3. Where were you born?
   
   N – Banjar Untal Untal.

4. You are a Christian?
   
   N – Yes. I first believed in 1970. I was in the Hindu church first [I: gereja Hindu dulu]

5. You still live in Untal Untal?
   
   N – I still do.

6. When did you start playing gamelan?
   
   N – 2012.

   D – You never played before that?

   N – Never.

7. Have you ever sung or played other instruments?
   
   N – Yes, I’ve played angklung.

   D – Angklung bamboo?

   N – Yes, angklung bamboo.

   D – You played that here?

   N – Yes, at the church

8. Are there other people in your family who can play gamelan?
   
   N – No.

   D – Your parents never played?

   N – No.

9. Why is important that the Untal Untal Church owns a gamelan?
   
   N – It helps to support the service of the church. You have the service and you have something in between, singing, gong…

6. I Wayan Kurnia
1. **What is your name?**
   K – I Wayan Kurnia

2. **How old are you?**
   K – 66

3. **Where were you born?**
   K – I was born in Untal Untal. I’m originally from here.

4. **You’re a Christian?**
   K – Yes, my parents were, too.

5. **How long have you played gamelan?**
   K – Since we got a gamelan here at Untal Untal.
   D – Before that you never played gamelan?
   K – No, but I did dance.
   D – Where?
   K – When I was still young?
   D – When was that?
   K – It was…1968.
   D – Did you dance with Hindus?
   K – Yes, I joined a *sanggar* at Kesuma Budaya.
   D – Where is that.
   K – Gaji.
   D – Where is that?
   K – It’s at Gaji Village, it’s close to here. We had rehearsals on Saturdays and Sundays
   D – How long did you dance for?
   K – About half a year.

6. **Can you play any instruments?**
   K – Not really, I just started to play gamelan.
   D – Have you ever done any singing?
K – What kind of singing?
D – Like in a choir?
K – Yes, I sing in the choir. We sang in a festival.
D – What festival?
K – Pesta Rawi – Gereja Bali

7. Are there other people in your family who can play gamelan?
K – No, the gamelan just got here.
D – So your parents didn’t play gamelan?
K – No.

8. What instrument do you usually play with the group here?
K – jegog (laughs – quite heartily)

9. Why is it important that the Untal Untal Church owns a gamelan?
K – It helps to cultivate Balinese life within the Church. So that together we can walk [I: berjalan] in the culture. We are Christian but we are still part of the culture.

7. I Nyoman Suwastika

1. What is your name?
   S – I Nyoman Suwastika

2. How old are you?
   S – 61.

3. Where were you born?
   S – I was born in this village, Untal Untal.

4. You still live here?
   S – I still live in Untal Untal.

5. When did you start playing gamelan?
   S – I started playing gamelan for this church last year, 2013.
   D – So you’ve just started?
K – Yes, because we’ve just got the gamelan.

6. Have you ever played musical instruments other than gamelan?
   K – Not myself, but when we were still children we did.
   D – What did you play?
   K – We played…what was the name…ketipung (a drum).

7. Are there others in your family that play gamelan?
   K – There are many Hindus in my family, so there are a lot. But there are none among the Christian members of my family.
   D – Have you ever played gamelan with them (the Hindu members of your family)?
   K – No

8. Why is it important that the Untal Untal Church owns a gamelan?
   K – The story is quite long. It is important that we the people preserve the culture. So in the church we use music of the Balinese people. We must help in the preservation. In this congregation we use and study church songs, not the other songs [Hindu songs?]. We must help to defend [I: mempertahankan] the Balinese people through gamelan even though we are Christian.

8. I Nyoman Raharja

1. What is your name?
   R – Nyoman Raharja.

2. How old are you?
   R – 66.

3. Where were you born?
   R – Here, in Untal Untal.

4. You are a Christian?
   R – Yes. My grandmother was one of the first Christians here. She was baptized at Tukad Yeh Poh.
   D – What year was that?
   R – 1931. There is a relief carving there (points to the front of the church) depicting the baptism.
5. **You still live in Untal Untal?**
   R – My grandfather has already passed away, but I still live in Untal Untal.

6. **When did you start playing gamelan?**
   R – I began in 1962 when I was in middle school. We had a teacher from Tabanan.
   
   D – What was his name?
   R – Pak Beji. He lives in Jakarta now. He was our Indonesian teacher but he could also play gamelan. At that time the banjar also had a gamelan. As an extracurricular activity he chose some of us to play there. So I played with the group there. I played with the group there for three years but when I started high school I didn’t continue. In 2011 I started playing again.
   
   D – Did you ever play with another group?
   R – No, just the student group when I was in middle school.
   
   D – So the group at your middle school included Hindus as well?
   R – Yes, there were Hindus and Christians together.
   
   D – What was the name of the school?
   R – SMP – Kristen Dua Harapan, it’s right here [He is referring to a school just a few blocks away from the church].

   D – Is there a gamelan there now?
   R – No, it was at the banjar at that time. The banjar owned it. We borrowed it.

   D – So students from the school could play at the banjar?
   R – Ya.

   D – So the school never owned a gamelan?
   R – No.

7. **What instrument do you normally play with the group here?**
   R – Jublag.

8. **Are there other people in your family who can play gamelan?**
   R – Yes, my older brother. He plays right beside me, that’s my brother.
   
   D – Did your parents play?
R – No… My parents were dancers, janger dancers. It’s possible that the arts came down to me from my grandfather. (we laugh)

D – So they danced together with Hindus as well?

R – Ya.

9. Why is it important that the Untal Untal Church owns a gamelan?

R – Gamelan is Balinese culture. We here at the Untal Untal Church are Balinese people. Gamelan is absolutely a part of our culture. We were born in Bali, in a Balinese environment, with Balinese culture, with Balinese tradition (adat). However, we must choose things that are appropriate for the Christian religion.

9. I Putu Widiana

1. What is your name
   W – I Putu Widiana.

2. How old are you?
   W – 79.

3. Where were you born?

D – When did you move here?

W – Last year. My son is the pastor here. When he started his job here I moved with him. I became a Christian when I was 34. I was expelled [I: usir] from my village. It wasn’t a problem for me to follow my son, wherever he goes I go.

4. When did you start playing gamelan?
   W – Before I became a Christian I played gamelan all the time. I became a Christian when I was 34, but before that I was still Hindu and I played gamelan regularly.

D – So you started when you were still young?

W – Ya, when I was a child.

5. What gamelan instruments can you play? Can you play kendang (drum)?
   W – No, I just play gangsa.
6. Have you ever played with a *sanggar* or a group other than the one here at the Church?

W – Not yet.

D – So when you were still young what group did you play with?

W – With the village group.

D – So have you continuously played gamelan throughout your life or did you stop at some point?

W – Not all congregations own a gamelan. The congregation in Singaraja didn’t have one, but they do here so I play.

D – So you haven’t played gamelan since becoming a Christian until now?

W – Ya.

7. Since you’ve moved here have you played gamelan with any Hindus?

W – No.

8. Are there others in your family who play gamelan?

W – Yes, my son, the pastor. He plays.

D – Your parents could play?

W – Yes.

9. According to you, why is it important that the Untal Untal Church owns a gamelan?

W – It’s like this… Jewish people want to become Jewish. This is good for Jewish people. We’re Christian people living in Bali so we want to become like Balinese people. We don’t want to change our culture. We change our religion but we don’t want to change our culture. Up until now all we do is sing songs from the West – we sing in Indonesian, not Balinese, our local language.

D – You’ve also published a book of pentatonic songs, right?

W – Ya, I published that book so Christians in Bali can become Balinese. The gamelan has two tunings. There’s *pelog*, which you can hear right now (the group downstairs was having a rehearsal on *gong kebyar* instruments) and then there’s *sulendro* like with the bamboo instruments (probably referring to the *rindik* owned by the church). So pentatonic, there’s 5 notes.

D – What was your inspiration for publishing this book?
W – I feel like when people become Christian they adopt Western culture. They follow the teachings of the West. For Balinese they must be Balinese. What they make doesn’t fit. What we sing doesn’t fit with the gamelan – it’s chromatic [I: kromatis]. I’ve created something new, something pentatonic. People say this to me all the time, “Pak, I am Christian but I never sing in a Balinese style or a Javanese style.” We sing in your language but the songs are Balinese. I’ve made songs in the Balinese style. Later I’ll be invited to America and the reaction will be, “that’s right.” I sing, “What a friend we have in Jesus, All our sins and gifts to bear [Widiana continues sing using the selisir mode of pelog]

D – That’s pentatonic, right?

W – Yes, pelog. You have two kinds of scales, pelog and sulendro.

D – Gender wayang uses sulendro, right?

W – Ya, this is pelog. Sulendro is from bamboo, the rindik.

D – The rindik instruments here have 7 notes, they’re diatonic aren’t they?

W – Ya, that’s not Balinese style. That’s like the piano, it’s become diatonic.

D – You can accompany Western songs with that (the rindik).

W – You can also play sulendro and pelog songs with the rindik. It’s the same with organ, with piano.

D – Thank you Pak, I don’t have any more questions. Would you like to say anything else?

He starts to talk about an event held at the church on Jan 8-9 (2014). Pastors from other churches came and he tried to get them to teach some new songs (presumably pentatonic songs) but they didn’t want to teach them. The tone and volume of Pak’s voice indicates this was something that annoyed him.

10. I Nyoman Martina

1. What is your name?

M – I Nyoman Martina.

2. How old are you?

M – 48.

3. Where were you born?

M – Tumbak Bayuh. [A village about 10 minutes from the church]
Are you a Christian?
M – I follow my wife [I: ikut istri] – before Martino answers one of the other gentlemen answer for him, “ikut istri” – Martino says the exact same things after he initially responds

4. Do you still live there [Tumbak Bayuh]?
M – Yes

5. When did you start to play gamelan?
M – When I was still small (masih kecil) – there is some muffled talking between Martino and one of the other gentlemen with him. He mentions that he began when he was in SD.

D – Have you continued to play gamelan since you were young?
M – Yes.

6. Have you ever played in a sanggar or group other than the one here?
M – I played with the sekehe.

D – Where?
M – Tumbak Bayuh.

7. What instrument do you normally play
Pause
D – Kendang? [I asked this knowing he normally played kendang with the Untal Untal group]
M – Gender.
D – Oh, do you play semar pegulingan?
M – No, in Tambak Bayu [doesn’t seem to answer my question…]

8. Are there others in your family that play gamelan?
M – At my house there are lots.

9. Why do you think it’s important that the Untal Untal Church owns a gamelan?
M – Ya, because art… but sometimes I play gamelan, I’m happy. Ya if the guitar plays with the gamelan, I’m happy. I like to play gamelan.
Appendix D: Some Church-owned Gamelan Instruments and Sample Iconographies

Figure ad.1. A gangsa (foreground) and two jegogan (background) from the set of gong kebyar instruments in residence at the Blimbingsari PNIEL church. Like many of the instruments commissioned by GKPB during the mid-1970s, scenes from Hindu epic literature are featured prominently on the decorative front panels (Photo by the author, June 2013).
Figure ad.2. Like figure ab.1, this instrument is also from one of the original, mid-1970s set of kebyar instruments commissioned by GKPB. A preliminary examination of the iconography between the two sets indicates some similar and some diverging features. Both sets, for example, feature woodcarvings depicting stories from Hindu epics (in the above case, from the Ramayana). (Photo by the author, June 2013)

Figure ab.3. Also from the mid-1970s commissions, this gangsa from a five-tone gamelan angklung features the heroic monkey Hanoman on its front panel. Other instruments (mostly gangsas) can be seen to the right. This set of angklung instruments is currently in residence at the Widhya Astih children’s home in Bangli. (Photo by the author, April 2014)
Figure ad.4. This set of instruments was commissioned and completed during the early 1990s and has been in residence at the Widhya Asih children’s home since that time. It is the first known set of gamelan instruments to include overtly Christian imagery. The above image highlights the decorative front panel of the *reyong*, which features a dove descending from above (ref. Luke 3:21). Grapes and vines are also prominent (ref. John 15:1-8). (Photo by the author, January 2014)
Figure ab.5. This instrument (from a complete jegog set) features the GKPB “dancing cross” on its decorative front panel. The set is housed at the Blimbingsari PNIEL church. (Photo by the author, April 2014)

Figure ad.6. This is one of four diatonically tuned rindik instruments in residence at GKPB Bethlehem in Untal Untal. The GKPB “dancing cross” is feature prominently on its decorative front panel. The set was purchased during the early 2000’s and used to accompany congregational singing until the church bought a complete gong kebyar in 2012. (Photo by the author, January 2014)
Figure ad.7. This *ceng-ceng* is a part of the *gong kebyar* instruments that have, since 2012, been in residence at GKPB Bethlehem in Untal Untal. This one-of-a-kind, contextualized instrument is shaped like a dove and accented with a Christian cross. (Photo by the author, June 2013)

Figure ad.8. The iconography on this *reyong* is conventional save for the “Bali Bridges” logo featured in the center of its front paneling. Bali Bridges is the name of a “*yayasan*” (organization) co-operated by Widhya Asih and its international school partners in Singapore. These instruments were gifted to the WA children’s home in Blimbingsari in June 2013. (Photo by the author, June 2013)
Figure ad.9. A gangsa from the newest GKPB-owned gong kebyar set. The front panel features images of Adam and Eve (ref. Genesis 3). It has, since its completion in July 2016, been in residence at the GKPB-sponsored Universitas Dhyana Pura in Dalung, Bali. (Photo by the author, July 2016)

Figure ad.10. This calung (center) – prominently featuring a dove, Bible, and grapevines on its front panel -- is part of a gong kebyar set currently in residence at the home of I Nyoman Darsane in Batubulan. This photo was taken when the instruments were still housed at the former Gateway Community Center in Sanur. These instruments are owned by American expats Jonathan and Tina Bailey and are used as the primary practice and performance
instruments of *sanggar* Narwastu (ref. to chapter 1 for more information on Narwastu). (Photo by the author, May 2013)

**Figure ad.11.** This *jegogan* is part of a complete *gong kebyar* in residence at the Tritunggal Maha Kudus Catholic Church in Tuka, Bali. An image of Jesus is prominent on the instrument’s front panel. (Photo by the author, June 2013)
Bibliography


