

Exploring **DIVINITY** through
the **FEMININE**
in **ANCIENT CULTURES**



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The Feminine Deities in the Balinese Society: Local Genius, Indian Influences and its Worship

By Phil. I Ketut Ardhana PhD
Indonesia

One of the main issues that has been discussed in Indonesia regarding the democracy process in a modern world is about the feminism and gender issues. On one hand, women are considered to play limited roles, whilst and on the other hand, the men have always been considered to play a significant role. This can be traced back in the long process of the Balinese history not only in terms of political aspect, but also in the context of socio cultural aspects. It is important to look at what happening in the Balinese societies, since Bali is known as a Hindu mozaic in Southeast Asia.

The Balinese society has its own culture based on local culture and strongly influenced by Indian or Indic culture. The Balinese society is a patrilineal system, in which a man has a higher position, but in fact it was even Bali had a woman princess, who was a mixed between Javanese and Balinese, who was a wife of Udayana, the king of Bali in the 10th to 11th century. Both of them are considered as the Balinese kings at the same time. In the era of these two kings they were successfully to integrate between Hinduism and Buddhism. Until now, the Balinese believe the soul of Mahendradatta as Durga. The main question that need to be addressed in this paper are firstly, how the Balinese interpret the women or feminism deities? Secondly, how they worship them? Thirdly, what are the meaning of this worship in terms of religious and cultural aspects either in modern and postmodern time? By discussing these issues, it is expected that we will have a better understanding on how the Balinese worship the women or feminism deities in prehistoric, classical, and modern time in the context of global or universal culture.

Keywords: Local genius, women and feminism deities, Hinduism, Balinese culture.

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THE FEMININE DEITIES IN THE BALINESE SOCIETY: LOCAL GENIUS, INDIAN INFLUENCES, AND ITS WORSHIP¹

I Ketut Ardhana²

Abstract

One of the main issues that has been discussed in Indonesia regarding the democracy process in a modern world is about the feminism and gender issues. On one hand, women are considered to play limited roles, whilst on the other hand, the men have always been considered to play a significant role. This can be traced back in the long process of the Balinese history not only in terms of political aspect, but also in the context of socio cultural aspects. It is important to look at what has happened in the Balinese societies, since Bali is known as a Hindu mosaic in Southeast Asia.

The Balinese society has its own culture based on local culture and strongly influenced by Indian or Indic culture. The Balinese society is a patrilineal system, in which a man has a higher position, but in fact it was even Bali had a woman princess, who was a mixed between Javanese and Balinese, who was a wife of Udayana, the king of Bali in the 10th to 11th century. Both of them are considered as the Balinese kings at the same time. In the era of these two kings they were successfully to integrate between Hinduism and Buddhism.

Until now, the Balinese believe the soul of Mahendradatta as Durga. The main questions that will be addressed in this paper are firstly, how the Balinese interpret the women or feminine deities? Secondly, how they worship them? Thirdly, what are the meaning of this worship in terms of religious and cultural aspects either in modern and postmodern time? By discussing these issues, it is expected that we will have a better understanding on how the Balinese worship the women or feminine deities in prehistoric, classical, and modern time in the context of global or universal culture.

Keywords: Local genius, women and feminine deities, Hinduism, Balinese culture.

I. Introduction

One of the main issues that has been discussed in Indonesia regarding the democracy process in a modern world is about the feminism and gender issues. This can be understood since there are many gaps between the formation of man and women. On the one hand, the women are considered to play limited role, and on the other hand, the men play a significant role, in which this development can be traced back in the long process of the Indonesian history not only in terms of political aspect, but also in the context of socio cultural aspects.

It is important to look at what has happened in the Minangkabau and the Balinese societies, since both of these societies are well-known so strongly concern about their cultural heritage in comparison with other societies in Indonesia. The Minangkabau society in West Sumatra who most of them are muslim, in which the previous period also influenced by Hinduism, it shows that a woman has a higher position than a man, called matrilineal system. In Bali, in which most the population are Hindu, a man has a higher position than a woman, called patrilineal system. The different of the position has a significant meaning on how we

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should understand the cultures of both the Minangkabau and the Balinese society in the context of Indonesia modern and post modern.

It is important to note that Bali is the only one and the latest a Hindu mosaic in Southeast Asia (Ramstedt, 1999: 403). The Hindu religion in Bali is named also as Water Religion or *Agama Tirtha*. The meaning of water or "tirtha" refers to the River of Sindhu in India (Ardhana, 2016: 1). At the present time, there are numbers of commonalities between Balinese Hinduism and Indian Hinduism. In Indian Hinduism many people adore Brahman as a supreme God and in Balinese Hinduism many people adore Sanghyang Widhi Wasa as a supreme God. The Balinese term of Sanghyang Widhi Wasa is just like Brahman, since Sanghyang Widhi Wasa is believed to cover all global dualities. This can be seen at the *Kakawin Sutasoma*, written by Mpu Tantular as follows: "*Rwaneka dhatu winuwus wara Budha Wiswa. Bhineka rakwa ringapan kena parwanosen. Mangkang jinatwa kalawan siwatwa tunggal. Bhineka tunggal ika tan hana dharma mangrwa*". In the Balinese terminology, it is well known as *Rwa Bhineda*, in which later developed as the ideology of unity and diversity.

In the Balinese Hinduism, Sanghyang Widhi Wasa is believed to have several avatars, and most of the Hindu Gods and Goddesses of Bali were traditionally merged. Indeed, there are similarities between the beliefs in Balinese Hinduism and Indian Hinduism. However, numbers of Balinese Hindu beliefs and practices were merged into Balinese Hinduism due to historical links which the Balinese had with the Javanese, particularly in the Golden age of Hindu Javanese culture, namely the Kediri period in the 10th to 11th century. Kieven notes that there are many ritual and religious practices in Bali such as the concept of Kundalini in the context of *Pitrayadnya* which supports the idea of *tantra* rituals *sraddha* (Kieven, 2014: 107). *Pitrayadnya* is a ritual or Hindu ceremony for the ancestors, started from the death to the holy ceremony in Bali.

These kinds of religious issues have actually already rooted in the long process of Indonesian history from prehistoric period to classical history, and we can see now in the modern and postmodern times. Therefore, to have a better understanding of these issues it is important to have a look at what had happened in the prehistoric times, later when the Balinese society got Indian or Indic influence in terms of the spread of Indianisation or Hinduism. Additionally, one needs to also touch on the classical Balinese history regarding on how the Balinese people have interpreted the role of woman or feminism deities in a long time of Balinese history, in which in this period we can see the dominant role of Hindu Javanese culture in creating the present day Balinese culture.

Therefore, in this paper I would like to focuss on certain main issues: firstly, how the Balinese people have interpreted the women or feminism deities? Secondly, how they worship them? Thirdly, what are the meaning of this worship in terms of religious and cultural aspects either in modern and postmodern time? By discussing these issues, it is expected that we will have a better understanding on how the Balinese worship the women or feminism deities in prehistoric, classical, and modern time in the context of global or universal culture. By analysing these issues, it is expected that we will have a better understanding on how the Balinese worship the women or feminism deities in relation to the notion of sustainable religious and cultural developments in the context of the strengthening the Indonesian and global or universal culture.

II. Oral Tradition and Folklore on Woman Deities in Bali

Based on the archeological and historical accounts show that the ancient Javanese and Balinese cultures were, in many respects, influenced by Indian or Indic culture. Eiseman

(2000) notes, at a highly evolved level, flourished as far back as 3000 BCE along the banks of the River Sindu, now called Indu. It is from this name of River Sindu or Indus that the word "Hindu" derives (Eiseman, 2000: 14). Early contacts between India and Indonesia began 2000 years ago and today. Balinese culture has been strongly influenced by the Indian culture. Despite of that the Balinese culture has been very much based on Indian or Hindu philosophy, indigenous animism and ancestor worship that are still being practised.

Ardika (2012: 2) notes that archeological excavations at Sembiran and Pacung in north eastern Bali unearthed several types of Indian pottery as well as glass and carnelian beads. He adds that Sembiran and Pacung produced the largest collections of Indian potteries in Southeast Asia. In addition to this, he argues that there were direct contacts between Bali and India in the first century. Philosophy has been the main wellspring of ideas and Hinduism and Buddhism which originated in India, which has been travelling beyond the frontiers of their origin to Southeast Asia for more than two thousand years (Timbul Haryono 2012: 41-42). In addition, Heine-Geldern (1956: 1) notes that this philosophy had spread to the Southeast Asian regions such as Java at the beginning of the century. The development of the Indian civilization was not a coercive expansion in Java and it can be seen how the local people are showing loyalty to the original Indian culture against outside influences. The ancient Balinese people are called *Bali Aga* or *Bali Mula* (Indigenous Balinese). The centre of Bali Aga is located in East and North Bali, generally around the coastal lakes or in the mountaneous regions such as Sidatapa, Pedawa, Tigawasa, Sembiran, Lateng, and Dausa (Rema 2014: 5). Bali Aga society has been maintaining its cultural traditions in villages such as Trunyan and Tenganan that were built before the Hindu era.

In Southeastern of Indonesia, in Sumbawa for instance, there are much evidences showing how its traditions could be closely linked to Hinduism regarding to Bima legends. It is still unclear about the previous *rajas*, but the Ninth *Raja* is believed to have begun human history in Sumbawa. The ninth *Raja*, Maharadja Pandu Dewanata ruled the Paradise, called Kahyangan. He had five children namely Dharmawangsa, Sang Bima, Sang Dewa, Sang Lula or Kula, and Sang Rajuna. It is told that the first child stayed in the Paradise and the other children went to Java and ruled the island. Later other traditions claim that Sang Bima was brought by a bird to Bima where he established a *kerajaan* or kingdom (Ardhana, 2000: 34—35). This evidence shows the attempt of legitimisation of the Biman kings as the descendants of ancestors who were Javanese Hindus. In addition to this, there is also, the belief in a mythological snake, called *naga* that is believed to be the *Gottin* (Goddess) of the underworld. These beliefs have been found in India and other regions in Asia such as China, Myanmar, Assam, Thailand and Java; important influences that still exist as collective memories of the people in the region.

Regarding to these indigenous and ancestor worships, there are not so many accounts on the women and feminism deities in the prehistoric times in Bali. We can see only several statues in certain regions particularly in the mountainous regions on these women and feminism deities that are worshipped by the Balinese. The story about Men Brayut (a mother with her many children), for instance, tells the extraordinary strength of character of a Balinese woman by mentioning this name. It is believed that by doing so they will be blessed with children. It is said that Men Brayut was a housewife who came from a poor family and had 18 children. To fulfill the needs of her big family, she had to work very hard and even had to do 'men's work'. In addition to this, she was able to keep peace and harmony within her big family and with others in her community, so she is considered a very good example to be followed by the Balinese people. Men Brayut is a symbol of prosperity and a symbol of

the motherland as described by how her children always stayed closed to her and even grasped her hair or legs to survive. She was able to apply the principle of equality to her family by giving the same heritage to each of her child. This story has become part of Balinese folklore and is often told as a bedtime story. From this story, it is informed that a symbolic tale of how strong Balinese women are in carrying out the tasks of their daily lives. Having a strong work ethic, patience, honesty, care, and a sense of camaraderie and ability to remain steadfast in facing problems are qualities that are highlighted in this ancient tale. It is noted that there are several villages in Bali have shrines and temple reliefs devoted to Men Brayut, where people come to pray. At the present time, it can be found at the Pura Goa Gajah and the Pura Dalem in Belang Samu Village, Kusamba and there are two examples of sites where, on specific days, people come to pay honour to Men Brayut.

devotion
care
loyal

III. Local Genius, Lingga, and Yoni

From the historical accounts, it is mentioned that the Indian or Hindu ideas on astrology or cosmology already existed in the Western part of India in the 3rd century. The spread of Indic or Indian knowledge occurred over a long period in Southeast Asia and other regions. These ideas spread to Java, early century Heine-Geldern (1956: 1). As other Southeast Asian countries, in the Balinese life, Indian ideas are very significant and have even become strong evidence in the formation of Balinese identity (Ardhana, 2011).

It can be seen in the context of parallelism between the macro cosmos and the micro cosmos. In addition to this, it would appear that these ideas spread to the regions in a peaceful way (Villiers 1993: 44, Sardesai 1997: 17). Certain inscriptions from the Hindu period, particularly in the 4th century, have been found in Indonesia. For example, it is known from the inscriptions found in the first Hindu kingdom of Kutai in East Kalimantan. According to archeologists that it was the first Hindu kingdom in Indonesia subsequently followed in West Java in the seventh century, by Tarumanegara as the second Hindu kingdom in Indonesia. Historical accounts show that after West Java, Hindu spread to Central Java. Natural disaster was one of the reasons why spreading from West Java to East Java. In addition to this, during the period (7-8th Century), Hindu lessons were much in Palawa scripts and Sanskrit language. This could be one reason why not many people could understand better the Hindu or Indic lessons. Stutterheim (1929: 190) researches the Ancient Bali civilization within the historical periodization of Java, especially in the beginning of the Mataram era, and continues with the power deprivation by Sanjaya of which the exact period is unknown. Following this period, a new period started, called Ancient Bali periodization (*Oudebalische Periode*). Moreover, the developments which took place from the pre-historical period until the classical history period of Bali shows that Balinese people had gained civilization and obtained enrichment with the appearance of Hindu-Buddhist values at the same time. These values strongly developed with the Hindu influences from East Java in 11th to 12th centuries in the time of King Udayana's government.

A relatively new element in the context of world division is the concept of *Tri Hita Karana* which originated from the Hindu scriptures. It shows a close relationship between religious philosophy and the space orientation in the Balinese traditional architecture namely in the positioning of God, Man, and Devil, called *Tri Angga*. The concept of *Tri Angga* relates very closely with the spiritual compass which consists of nine directions called the *Nawa Sanga* or the *Sanga Mandala* (Wiseman Christie, 1986). In terms of the cosmological

orientation it consists of eight cardinal directions and its centre. Each direction is symbolized by a God and his colour:

Picture 1: The Mandala System

Puseh (Center)	Pusat (Center)	Semua warna/ All colours	God Shiwa (Dewa Siwa)
Kaja (North)	Utara (North)	Hitam/Black	God Wisnu (Dewa Wisnu)
Kaja Kangin (Northeast)	Timur Laut (Northeast)	Biru/Blue	God Sambu (Dewa Sambu)
Kangin (East)	Timur (East)	Putih/White	God Iswara (Dewa Iswara)
Kelod Kangin	Tenggara (Southeast)	Violet	God Maheswara (Dewa Maheswara)
Kelod (South)	Selatan (South)	Merah/Red	God Brahma (Dewa Brahma)
Kelod Kauh	Barat Daya	Orange	God Rudra (Dewa Rudra)
Kauh (West)	Barat (West)	Kuning/Yellow	God Mahadewa (Dewa Mahadewa)
Kaja Kauh	Barat Laut	Hijau/Green	God Sangkara (Dewa Sangkara)

Tri Loka	Swah Loka	Bhwah loka	Bhur loka
Tiga Tempat (three places)	Atmosphere	Lithosphere	Hydrosphere
Tri Angga	Utama (main)	Madya	Nista
Tiga wilayah /ruangan (three areas/spaces)	Tinggi / atas (high/upperword)	Tengah (centre)	Bawah (underworld)
	Kepala (head)	Badan (body)	Kaki (foot)
Universe	Atmosphere	Lithosphere	Hidrosphere
Bumi / Dunia (earth)	Gunung (mountain)	Daratan (land)	Laut (sea)
Desa (village)	Pura (temple)	Masyarakat Kampung (compound)	Laut (sea)
Pura (temple)	Meru	Daerah di Tengah (centre)	Daerah di Luar (outside area)
	Merajan / Sanggah	Tugas, Bekerja / Tidur (duty, work/sleep)	Jalan Masuk ke dalam rumah (kori)

It shows that some elements of the Indic culture had been absorbed and adapted as Balinese culture, or underwent Balinization.

The family shrine as the most sacred area of the compound, located in the most auspicious northeast (*kaja-kangin*) corner of a Balinese house compound. It is identified metaphorically with the head. The area of the family shrine is always enclosed within a

sacred enclosure (*pamerajan*). Inside the family shrine areas are shrines dedicated to various Hindu gods (e.g. Surya, Saraswati), nature spirits (*Sridevi*, *Ibu Pertiwi*), and family ancestors. It is important to note that the Indonesia refers to their land as *Ibu Pertiwi* (woman or feminine) and not *Bapak Pertiwi* (Man). Goddess Sri or Dewi Shri (Javanese language), Nyai Pohaci Sanghyang Asri (Sundanese language), is the God of agriculture, the rice, and the ricefields, both in Java and Bali. The worship has already taken place since pre Hinduism, pre-Islam of Java. It is mentioned about the role of Setesuyara, who is considered as a Goddess in the Balinese mythology. She together with the God Kala controls the underworld in the Balinese folklore. The Balinese believe that all of the human being has its soul, in which the people should respect it. It is important to relate with the Balinese calendar in which by using the calendar it can determine the good and the bad days in the context of rituals and ceremonies (See: Eiseman, 2000). The *Tumpek Wariga* is celebrated every 210 days or six months in the Balinese calendar. *Wariga* means the seventh wuku in the Balinese calendar which can determine the good and bad day in the context of Hindu rituals and ceremonies in Bali. Indeed, *Tumpek Wariga* has internal and eksternal meanings (Eiseman, 2000: 172).

Certain rituals related to ancestors already existed in Bali and megalithic culture also continued in relation with the establishment of the Balinese or Hindu temples and palaces (Ardhana, 1993 and Ardhana, 2011). The statues worshipped as Gods in India can be seen in Bali in the form of stones, namely the God Surya or Sun God. In the old Balinese myths, four Gods had the task of protecting the four directions in the form of the Gods Kosika, Garga, Metri and Kurusia. However, in the process of Hinduzation, these Gods received new names (Gust, 1994: 14).

Picture 2: the Balinese and Indian Names

Balinese name	Hindu name
Kosika	Iswara
Garga	Brahma
Metri	Mahadewa
Kurusia	Wisnu
Pretayala	Shiwa
Centing Kuning	Uma

From the above table it can be seen that *Centing Kuning* also changed into the Goddess of Uma. According to *Wayang Purwa* or the Old Puppet story, the story of Uma related to the story when the *Betara Guru* or God *Shiwa* persuades her wife to fall in love with him. But, Uma opposed his willingness, since his behavior opposites against ethics. The sperma of the God *Shiwa* or *Bathara Guru* fall in the ocean and gave a birth of *Bathara Kala*. In Bali for instance, before the 9th to 11th, before the *Majapahit* period in East Java, it was believed that most of the people were the *Wisnu* adherents, in which the God *Wisnu* was considered as the highest god in the process of Hinduisation in Java. The God *Wisnu* and his partner the Goddess *Sri* or Goddess *Danu* were believed as the prosperous Gods. It is not surprising, if in the period of *Udayana* reign, was in power from the 9th to 11th century the *Wisnuism* also developed. When *Kediri* was under the reign of third son of *Udayana* namely *Aerlangga* he was a king who rides the bird, called *Garuda*. The bird is symbol of *Wisnu* and not *Shiwa*. It is interesting to mention that *Aerlangga* was an oldest son of the king *Udayana* (989 - 910), who reigned Bali marrying with *Mahendradatta* coming from East Java. After becoming a princess or a king she was well known as *Sri Gunapriyadharmapatni* (989-1011). At that time,

the concept of *Devarajacult*, in which the *Raja* or King was believed to be similar as God, also developed (Rema, 2014: 2). Bali had a woman princess, who was a mixed between Javanese and Balinese, Shri Gunapriyadharmapatni or Mahendradatta who was a wife of Udayana, the king of Bali in the 10th to 11th century. Both of them are considered as the Balinese kings at the same time. It is important to note that according to the local tradition that Mahendradatta as "a woman king of Bali" was also worshipped as Durgha Deity and in the story of Calonarang she was related to the Goddess Durga (Gottowick, 2005: 160). Goddess Durgha is a partner of Shiwa. Therefore, the Dewi Durga is considered as the partner of Dewa Siwa in Balinese Hinduism. Sculptures of Dewa Durga are located at Hindu Pura Dalem sites of Bali. In certain local tradition in Kediri, East Java and also in Bali mention that Mahendradatta is related to the story of Calonarang, in which this story is well-known by the modern Balinese people. Therefore, the story of Calonarang is not well-known in East Java, but in Bali (Ardhana, 2015). Gottowick mentions that this Calonarang relates with the story of Rangda and Barong in the context of Balinese dance. Gottowick quotes from Bandem (1981, 1995) states that "the Rangda is the heroine of the performance and represents the protection of the village against sorcerers" (Gottowick, 2005: 78). In addition to this, he mentions that the Rangda is related to the Goddess Durga who was the wife of the God Shiwa (Gottowick, 2005: 78). In addition to this, there is also the performance of the Barong Landung in which in this performance the wife of the Barong Landung or Jero Gede is a Chinese woman, called Jero Luh. The Jero Gde and Jero Luh are symbolize as a man and a woman which are represented in the belief in lingga and yoni. As Gottowick quotes from Kemper (1991):

"the Lingga is a phallic representation, the attribute of, or symbol for, Shiwa. The Yoni, in whose centre the lingga is placed, is the female symbol. Together they represent the unity of all phenomena (Gottowick, 2005: 162, 173, 184).

This can be understood since Shiwa is believed to be the highest God in Bali. It is also important to note that after the 10th century, more Balinese people believed in the Hindu religion, especially Shaiwa Siddhanta as is shown by the presence of many *Lingga Yoni*, particularly in Gianyar, which was the centre of the Balinese kingdom in the Classical Balinese historical period. It can further be said that the people believed in respecting the ancestors combined with the Hindu-Buddhist values which came from the influence of religious leaders brought to the local society by Mpu Kuturan and Mpu Bharadah. Mpu Kuturan also built traditional Balinese villages, called *Desa Pakraman* (*Pakraman Village*) in the period of Udayana. This had the function of organizing and maintaining social harmony (Geriya, 2013: 43). It is important to note that in the period of Classical Balinese history, particularly in the period of the 10th to 11th centuries, there was a new epoch in the context of Balinese history. This focusses particularly on the new foundation of the Balinese civilization and culture in the reign of the King or Raja Udayana. King Udayana had been known since 11th century as the King of Bali, being the man who laid the foundations of Balinese culture, especially in the terms of politics, law, and government of Ancient Bali.

The worship of woman or feminism deities can also be found in Central Java. It is believed that after the spread of Hindu from Central Java to East Java and then there was a Hinduisation or Indianisation from East Java to Central Java, during the fall of Majapahit kingdom as the biggest Hindu kingdom in East Java. This can be seen at the building of certain Hindu temples such as the Suku and Cetho temples that had been built around the 15th century. In these temples there are many linggas and yonis meaning the symbol of prosperity. These temples become interesting for the tourists who want to understand the meaning of the temple, lingga and yoni, and the prosperity. According to the local tradition, it

is noted that, if there was a uncertain situation due to the failure of harvest then there would be a ceremony in which the water would be splashed in the yoni as the symbol for the woman or feminism deities. Later, the holy water would be sprinkled to the ricefields in the regions in order to get the peaceful and prosperity. That was they way in which the people both in Central Java and Bali in the past time to worship the woman and feminism deities. However, beside the local rituals, it seems that the religious rituals and ceremonies in accordance with the Goddess Saraswathi, Sri or Danu or Laksmi, and Durga are still practiced in the Bali modern and postmodern times as explained below.

IV. The Worship of the Woman and Feminism Deities in the Present Day Bali

As other places in Asia in general, and in Southeast Asia in particular, the Hindu adherents believed in Tri Murti (Brahma, Wisnu and Shiwa) or the Hindu triad meaning God as creator, preserver, and dissolver or recycle of life. Temples are dedicated for them namely the *Pura Desa* for Brahma, the *Pura Puseh* for Wisnu, and the *Pura Dalem* for Shiwa (Eiseman, 2000: 351). Each of the three gods has his partner such as Brahma is Saraswathi, Wisnu is Laksmi or Sri, and for Shiwa is Uma or Durga. Below, it will be discussed on how the Balinese worship their women or feminine deities. In addition to this, the most important shrines is the *Sanggah Kemulan*. Each family who is Hindu adherent has the *Sanggah Kemulan*. The *Sanggah Kemulan* is a shrine containing three compartments dedicated to the Hindu Trimurti of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiwa. The *Sanggah Kemulan* is a simple, house-like, wooden structure raised on pillars and standing on a column made of brick or sandstone. The *Sanggah kemulan* is naturally located on the most sacred corner of the family shrine compound, the *kaja-kangin* corner. The God Brahma is also associated with male ancestors of the household, while Vishnu is with female ancestors. When a Balinese man marries, he should build one of these shrines. This *Sanggah Kemulan* is commonly referred to the Besakih Temple, as a Mother Temple for the Balinese Hinduism (Ramstedt, 1999: 408).

4.1 The Worship of Goddess Saraswathi

The Brahma is believed to be a creator. His wife is the Goddess Saraswathi, which is considered to be a Goddess of knowledge. The Balinese worship the Goddess Saraswathi in every 6 (six) months called the Saraswathi Day. The date for this celebration is the last day of the Pawukon cycle, Saniscara Watugunung which is devoted to her worship and it is depicted playing a musical instrument and astride a swan (Eiseman, 2000: 354). There are some folklores mentioning that the students are not allowed to read their books before giving the offerings. The aim is to make the student aware that the books are so important to educate people to have a good emotion and moral. Therefore, it is well known also the Banten Saraswathi (Saraswathi offering). It is commonly said, that the Saraswathi day is celebrated not only in the family temple, but also for the community and even the government temples.

There are some values that need to be elaborated to make the students will understand about this meaning. In this case, it is important to understand the meaning of Goddess Saraswathi who is depicted as a beautiful woman. In the context of philosophical terms, there are some reasons on how the Goddess Saraswathi is depicted as a beautiful woman. The aim is that the Goddess is a symbol of knowledge. So, everybody who wants to have knowledge should try to reach her though, but in fact nobody can touch her, since the characteristic of knowledge is not to be owned. Everybody has to learn and continue to learn. In each

household the celebration of the Saraswathi day is started by collecting all of the books including the school books in one table. The parents will give the offerings, named *canang* that will be put on the books. The *canang* is a common, small, everyday offering in the shape of a shallow square tray containing a porosan, fruit, flowers, and a *sampian*. The *sampian* is a decorative part of some offerings, consisting of intricately cut young coconut leaves "sewed" together with bamboos skewers, size and degree of elaboration varies greatly (Eiseman, 2000: 352 and 364).

It is commonly celebrated and a celebration of the Saraswathi Day is held by a *pemangku* (lower rank of a priest) or priest. However, before the celebration of Saraswathi, is named also as the Deity of Book, knowledge and learning held in each household; it is commonly held earlier in the square with many people such as students, lecturers, governments offices etc. This is commonly held in certain village in each city or regency called the Jagatnatha temple. The Jagatnatha temple is built in every city and regency, particularly in the period of New Order regime in Indonesia (1967—1998).

4.2 The Worship of Goddess Sri or Laksmi, Danu, and Uma

According to the Balinese oral tradition, the God Wisnu makes pregnant Dewi Pertiwi or the Goddess of Earth and give birth rice. Therefore, the Goddess Sri is the favourite Goddess in the Balinese society. It can be understood on how the Balinese respect to the Goddess Sri as the Goddess of rice, since the Balinese by eating rice they can live and then they develop certain religious rituals and ceremonies for the rice plants. The daughter of Goddess Sri is named Dewi Melanting or Goddess Melanting who is also popular in the Balinese society in accordance with the Goddess of Market (Covarrubias in Adrian Vickers, 2012: 288). The worshiped for the Goddess Sri or Laksmi in every ceremony named *Odalan* is related to the God Wisnu who is believed to be a protector. The *Odalan* is the anniversary festival of a temple, it may fall once every 210 days, if set by the *Pawukon* calendar or it may occur once every lunar year, if it set by the Saka calendar. The *Pawukon* is the Balinese 210 days calendar that governs most, but not all anniversaries, auspicious days, and religious events. (Eiseman, 2000: 360). In Balinese Hinduism, Dewi Sri symbolises an extremely exceptional god. The reason of this is that Dewi Sri is considered to be exclusive to Bali. To put it differently, Dewi Sri is considered as a Balinese Hindu body which the Balinese traditionally didn't derived from a different tradition. Dewi Sri is the Goddess of Rice.

The Balinese are really dependent to the Goddess Sri or Laksmi, since most the nature of Bali is dependent on agriculture. In other words, the irrigation system, called the subak system has a significant role. The Balinese archeological evidence from the 9th century CE mentions several terms related to the irrigation system. The term of *Subak* or already appeared in Balinese inscriptions in the 11th century CE. The *Subak* as the traditional Balinese irrigation system is based on the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana*. The concept of *Tri Hita Karana*, in the context of Balinese rituals. It means three things that cause happiness or prosperity including *Palemahan* (environment), *Pawongan* (human beings/people) and *Parhyangan* (God). The *Palemahan* is related with the areas and environment of the *Subak*. The *Pawongan* is related to the *Subak* members and the *Parhyangan* is related to the *Subak* Temple or Pura Bedugul. *Tri Hita Karana* is a concept of balance and harmony between humans and God, between human being and human being and in harmony with the environment.

Therefore, it is important to look at how the Balinese worship the women or feminine deities are related to the goddess protector. The Balinese belief in mandala system in which

in every compass is one God. For instance in the middle is the God Wisnu. In other words, since the Batur lake is located in the middle of Bali island, it is believed that the God Wisnu and his partner the Goddess Laksmi is worshipped in the Batur temple, which is located very closely to the Batur Lake and Batur mountain. In addition to this, it is interesting to look at a myth that relates between the Batur temple and the Besakih temple as noted in a myth of Sang Kulputih, in *Usana Bali*. The Batur temple represents left, woman, daughter, lake or water and Mount Batur, while the Besakih temple represents right, son, mountain, Mount Agung (Stuart-Fox, 2010: 74).

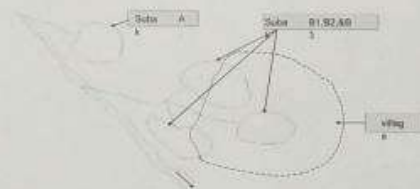
The great pura like the Besakih temple, Dewi Danu or Ulun Danu Beratan, and Batur temple are located in the high elevation of the forest. God Wisnu and the Goddess of water are positioned in the upstream area. The Balinese believe that the Goddess who is worshipped in the Batur temple, called Dewi Danu (the Goddess of Lake). The Batur Lake has a significant role in watering many subaks in the north parts of Bali and Southern part of Bali. The water which is coming from the mountain will irrigate the ricefield as long as the subak (traditional irrigation system in Bali) in the Tabanan regency. It means that there are many subaks with the water coming from the Batur Lake. It is interesting to show in here that the Balinese are proud that God awards them the fertile lands. It is not surprising also, if there are some important ceremonies and rituals related to the worship of the women or feminine deities like the Goddess Sri or Laksmi in Bali.

Picture 3: Overlapping the border between village and subak in Bali (Windia, 2015b)



Sumber: Windia, 2015b: 69

Picture 4: Subak and its management (Windia, 2015b)



Source: Windia, 2015b: 71

Subak system and its relationship between religion and ritual in the context of Tri Hita

Karana:

Picture 5: Tri Hita Karana

Man – God	Man – Man	Man- Nature
<i>Mapog toya</i>	<i>Krama subak</i>	Waterdistribution
<i>Ngendagin tanah</i>	<i>Nguun-sekaa</i>	Land management
<i>Nandur</i>	<i>Nguun-sekaa</i>	Rice planting
<i>Kekambuhan</i>	<i>Nguun-sekaa</i>	Cleaning the ricefields
<i>Biyukukung</i>	Petani, penyabit rumput, peternak itik	Maintenance

(Source: Kaler Surata, in Artha Wiguna dan Suprio Guntoro, 2003: 84, cf. Windia, 2015a: 75)

Subak or *Kasuwakan* is an irrigation system that links with the certain temple called *Pura Uluncarik*, or *Pura Bedugul*, that was built by the farmer communities and worshipped to the God of prosperity, called Goddess Sri, wife of the God Wisnu. The *Subak* system can be described: It is the complex of ricefields in Bali, obtaining water from the one conduit or from the one branch of a conduit. The owners of the ricefields making up such a complex constitute a *Subak* Association called *Sekeha Subak*. The *Subak* leaders open the meetings, see that the decisions and rules are carried out, impose fines and penalties and act as treasurers of the organization (Covarrubias 1937: 72). As Geertz (1972: 30, in Staab, 1997: 26) mentions as follows:

"The focus of this ritual system is a rice-goddess cult..., and it is conducted at every level of the subak from the individual terrace, through the subsections of the subak, to the subak as a whole. At the higher levels there are specific temples, with assigned priests, special ceremonies at special times, and specific altars, gods, offerings, and prayers. These various ceremonies are symbolically linked to cultivation in a way which locks the pace of that cultivation into a firm, explicit rhythm. Even more interestingly, however, the ritual system not only does this internally within the subak, but also reaches beyond the individual subak to insure intersubak coordination within a given drainage region..."

Falyey pinpoints that in all regions of Southeast Asia, the sophisticated water system integrated rivers and canals and included timed water rights and water reuse (Falyey, 2015: 21). The Balinese worship the feminine or woman deities or Goddess Sri, called *Tumpek Wariga*, *Tumpek Bubuh*, *Tumpek Uduh* or *Tumpek Pengatag*. In the Balinese calendar, *tumpek* occurs 35 days of the five day week, falls upon Saturday or Saniscara. There are certain *tumpek* namely *Tumpek Landep*, *Tumpek Uduh*, *Tumpek Kuningan*, *Tumpek Krulut*, *Tumpek Kandang*, and *Tumpek Wayang* and so go by other names (Eiseman, 2000: 367). The worship in the *Tumpek Uduh* is addressed to the God or God Sangkara regarding the vegetation and plants (Pink, 1993). Through this ceremony, the Balinese love the nature. In that ceremony, the Balinese give bubur (porridge) to the plants symbolizes the prosperity. The dependency of the Balinese is not only related to the nature, but also to the spiritual aspects as mentioned by Bandem:

"In the early stages of Balinese society (...) also known as pre-Hindu Society) the people not only depended on nature, they also dedicated themselves to a spiritual life. Their dances also were spiritual and their belief in animism and totemism gave their dances a magical quality. One Balinese dances which may be inherited from the pre-Hindu society is the Barong dance. (Bandem: 45 in Gottowick, 2005: 141).

This is the local wisdom of the Balinese to their nature (Eiseman, 2000: 181—182).

4.3 The Worship of Goddess Durga or Uma

The Balinese strongly preserve and maintain their local culture, prior to Hinduism cultural traditions. This can be seen until now, for example, in the concept of *Bhatara* and *Bhatari* the Balinese terminologies for Gods and the ancestor worship, called *Atmasiddhadewata* or *Dewa Pitra*, held in certain temples (family temples) such as *sanggah*, *merajan*, *pura dadya* or *paibon*, *pura panti* and *pedharman* (Rema, 2014: 3--5). The Balinese greatly respect their ancestors through ancestor worship as they have written in *lontar* or *tal*, or *babad* and inscriptions. From this, it can be seen to what extent the Indian or Indic culture influenced the Balinese culture until now. In this regard, it shows clearly the Balinese worship for the woman or feminism deities in Bali.

The important role of the Goddess or woman deity in Bali can be seen, for instance, at a famous myth on the lunar eclipse that relates how Goddess Ratih or Dewi Ratih (the symbol of the moon) was eaten by Kalarau. The Kalarau is a demon in the Balinese mythology, who possessed only a head and not a body. It is told, that the Kalarau disguised himself as a god and took a mouthful of *Tirta Amertha*, though the water is only for the gods. The Goddess Ratih informed to the God Wisnu, who at once took up his magic discus-like *Cakra* and hurled at Kalarau and cut off his head. However, Kalarau had just reached his throat. The head touch the holy water in the *Tirta Amertha*, and the Kalarau can live again. The Kalarau was very angry with the Goddess Ratih as he had been deceived by her. The Kalarau pursued her and successfully devoured her. Since the Kalarau had no body, the Goddess Ratih disappeared for a moment and reappeared again from his rear (Eiseman, 1: 66). However, the Kalarau wants to attack the God Ratih until in the heaven. When the Kalarau successfully catches the God Ratih, and then the *Gerhana Bulan* or lunar eclipse happens. Nala argues that for young Balinese generation it is difficult to give explanation to understand the lunar eclipses based on this myth (Nala, in Ramstedt, 2004: 79).

As we already known that the Balinese gods have been changed to the Indian names. In the *lontar*, *Andhabhuwana* for instance, mentions about the change from Goddess Uma to become Goddess Durga. The God Shiwa asked the Goddess Uma to find milk. However, the Goddess Uma lied to God Shiwa, in which the Goddess Uma did not say truly where she got the milk. Accordingly, the God Shiwa was angry with her. Therefore, the God Shiwa changed the Goddess Uma to the Goddess Durga. It can be said that the Balinese seldom merged gods, into Balinese Hinduism, without changing their beliefs or the form which surrounded them. Therefore it is consequently, even though most of the Hindu Gods and Goddesses of Bali eventually descend from Indian Hinduism, these days however there are not many parallels between, the Goddess Durga from Balinese Hinduism and the Goddess Durga from the Indian Hinduism. The reason is that the Goddess Durga, in the Indian Hinduism, is believed to be one among the female avatars from the God Shiva. In the Balinese belief it is said that the Goddess Durga is the god who protect the cemetery.³ It can be understood in the Balinese Hindu beliefs, that the God is not only in the temple, but also in the cemetery, in which the cemetery is also considered as a sacred place, in which the Goddess Durga is worshipped.

Therefore, the God Shiva is described in the Indian Hindu faith that Shiva may take the shape of Kali or Paravati and Uma. In addition to this, the Kali is commonly portrayed, in Indian Hinduism, as a vengeful version of Shiva, a black body, a body with several hands gripping a

³ She is believed to be live in a cemetery together with 108 bhuta buti such as *bhuta banaspati*, *yamapati*, *mregapati*, *banaspatiraja*, *bhuta saliwah*, *bhuta salah rupa*, *bhuta enjek pupu*, *tangan-tangan*, *laweyan*, *kumangmang*, *anja-anja*, *mamed*, *bhuta sungsang*, *udang basur*, *ileg-ileg*, *papengkah*, *barang asepek*, *i gagendu*, *suku tunggal*, *kakawa*, *mretyu*, *toptogsil*, *raregek*, *raparayu*, *kala ngadang*, *bhuta tan pakuping*, *bhuta bungut*, *sasibak*, etc.

This my pleasure and for woman to be here in my teaching 13

bloody knife and the other hand holding a dismembered head, and a body which has a necklace of skulls. In other words, in the Balinese Hinduism, it is also called as *Rangda*, which is believed to be among the avatars of Dewi Durga. In other words, the *Rangda* is literary "widow" and the *Rangda* is one of the two central figures in the Barong play, representing the negative side of man. The *Rangda* is related to Goddess Durga, wife of Shiva who represents his destructive role (Eiseman, 2000: 363). Additionally, the *Rangda* or a demon is similar to Kali. However, while Kali, in Indian Hinduism, symbolises an extremely gloomy as well as revengeful aspect of Shiva, in the Balinese Hinduism, the *Rangda* symbolises an extremely gloomy and revengeful aspect of Dewi Durga. The *Rangda* is commonly portrayed, in the Balinese Hinduism, like a body with ugly physical qualities and an arch foe of Bali's favourite defender(s), a cannibal, bloodthirsty, a specialist in black magic, and as the Queen of Witches, (like inch lengthy nails, hairy knuckles, and sagging bosoms) (Gottowick 2005, 120). Therefore, the *Rangda* is believed to be a body which the Balinese traditionally got from the Javanese as mentioned in the Javanese historical account.

compartments

VIII. Conclusion

The Hindu or Indian lessons have been adopted in Bali from the first to the eighth centuries through the trade route between India and China and its influences can still be observed at the present day Bali or Indonesian society. Though the influences of the Indian or Hindu lessons have been in existence, the Balinese society has still its own local culture that can be traced back at the present day Bali, for instance the story of Men Brayut, a mother with many childrens.

At the present time, there are a number of similarities between Indian Hinduism and Balinese Hinduism. In Indian Hinduism many people adore Brahman like a supreme God and in Balinese Hinduism many people adore Sanghyang Widhi Wasa like a supreme God. However, the Balinese term of Sanghyang Widhi Wasa is just like Brahman, since Sanghyang Widhi Wasa is believed to cover all global dualities in Balinese terminology. In the context of women or feminine deities in Bali, frst it is significant to look at the Goodess Saraswathi, who is believed to be a Goddess of knowledge. She is considered as a partner of Brahma and the Brahma is believed to be a creator. The Balinese have their ritual in related with the worship to the Goddess Saraswathi in every 6 (six) months called the Saraswathi Day.

Secondly, it is the Goddess of Sri, or Goddess Laksmi. The worshiped for the Goddess Sri or Laksmi is related to the God Wisnu who is believed to be a protector. The Balinese really depend on the Goddess Sri or Laksmi, since most the nature of Bali is dependent on agriculture. In other words, the irrigation system, called the subak system has a significant role in the daily life of the Balinese. It is important to look at how the Balinese worship the women or feminine deities is related to the goddess as protector. Thirdly, it is the God Shiwa who is partner of the Goddess Uma. From the Indian and Balinese accounts it is mentioned that the Goddess Uma has changed her name into the Goddess Durga.

Indeed, the Balinese seldom merged gods, into Balinese Hinduism, without changing their beliefs or the form which surrounded them. Therefore, even though most of the Hindu Gods and Goddesses of Bali eventually descend from Indian Hinduism, these days there are not many parallels between, the Goddess Durga from Balinese Hinduism and the Goddess Durga from the Indian Hinduism. The reason is that the Goddess Durga, in the Indian Hinduism, is believed to be among the female avatars from the God Shiva.

Therefore, the God Shiva is described in the Indian Hindu faith that Shiva may take the shape of Kali or Paravati and Uma. In addition to this, the Kali is commonly portrayed, in

*MM - female
peace of balance
harmony
woman - love, tender*

*spirit, happy, healthy
creator - heart
omit - human*

Indian Hinduism, as a vengeful version of Shiva, a black body, a body with several hands gripping a bloody knife and the other hand holding a dismembered head, and a body which has a necklace of skulls. In other words, in the Balinese Hinduism, it is also called as Rangda, which is believed to be among the avatars of Dewi Durga. The story of Durga can be seen at certain period when Bali for instance entered its historical period, in the 10th to 11th century in the context of story of Calonarang in East Java, in which according to the local tradition in Bali, the Calonarang is Mahendradatta, a wife of the king Udayana. Until now, the Balinese believe the soul of Mahendradatta as Durga or wife of Shiva.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

I Ketut Ardhana is Professor of Asian History in the Faculty of Humanities Studies—Udayana University. He was the former Head of the Southeast Asia Division-Research Center for Regional Resources- the Indonesian Institute of Sciences, Jakarta (PSDR-LIPI), 2001-2009. His research project is on tourism and border studies in the Southeast Asian region, including: Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines. Previously he took the English course at the School of Oriental and African Studies, (SOAS) - University of London-England (1990), at the University of Belconnen in Canberra-Australia (1992), the Dutch course at Erasmus Huis, Universiteit te Leiden in the Netherlands (1990), and the German course at the Goethe Institute in Mannheim and at Passau University (UP) in Germany (1996-1997).

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