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Offerings to Durga and Pretiwi in Bali

Abstract

This article discusses the offerings dedicated to the goddesses Durga and Ibu Pretiwi in Bali, and how these offerings reflect the relationships between these deities. Betari Durga, as Great Goddess, encompasses both herself (as the goddess with power over death and destruction) and Ibu Pretiwi (as Mother Earth, the goddess of germinating life). In a similar way, the offerings dedicated to Durga comprise offerings for Ibu Pretiwi as well.

Keywords: Bali—Hinduism—ritual—offerings—goddesses—material culture

THE BALINESE PANTHEON is very extensive, encompassing deified ancestors, local deities, and Hindu gods and goddesses.¹ Although the importance of many of these invisible beings varies from place to place, most Balinese are familiar with two goddesses, Betari Durga and Ibu Pretiwi, who personify several of the most basic aspects of life. The powerful Durga, terrifying spouse of the important deity Siwa, is in Bali very much associated with death and destruction, while Ibu Pretiwi, “Mother Earth,” is connected with fertility, germinating life, and abundance. But the relationship between these goddesses, who represent two complementary aspects of the cycle of life, is not made explicit by the Balinese themselves. Thus they are worshiped on different occasions using different hymns, they do not appear together in any myth, and they are not represented together in the visual or performing arts.

However, in the course of my research on the meaning of Balinese offerings I encountered two important and common offerings that are quite closely related and are often dedicated to both Durga and Pretiwi.² Through an analysis of these two kinds of offerings, called *bebangkit* and *pulagembal*, it became clear that, at least in this context, the goddesses are indeed conceptually related. In particular, the structures of the two offerings represent not only the connection between the offerings and the goddesses but also a structural relationship between the goddesses themselves.

In the present article I explore how Balinese ideas on and images of the deities Durga and Pretiwi are reflected in the *bebangkit* and *pulagembal* offerings, and what these offerings tell us about the relationship between the two goddesses. I first describe the various forms, contents, structures, ritual uses, and related mantras of the *bebangkit* and *pulagembal*, then analyze their connection with Betari Durga and Ibu Pretiwi. In the second part of the paper I focus more on the roles of Durga and Ibu Pretiwi in Balinese mythology, ritual, and art. I conclude by comparing the relationships between the roles of the two goddesses with the relationships between the two kinds of offerings.

OFFERINGS IN BALI

In Balinese Hinduism (which developed from Indian Hinduism but was influenced by indigenous elements such as ancestor veneration and beliefs in the spiritual forces of nature), the most important means of maintaining good relations with invisible beings is through *banten*, or offerings. The rituals in which *banten* play a role are divided by the Balinese into five categories in a system known as the *panca yadnya*. These rituals are held in honor of deities, demons, souls of the dead, souls of living humans, and holy men, but in fact all ceremonies involve offerings to the gods and to the demons.

There are hundreds of kinds of offerings, the names, forms, sizes, and contents of which vary greatly. Furthermore, there is considerable variation from region to region, and even from village to village. Nevertheless, the basic structure of the offerings is similar: rice, side dishes (meat, vegetables), fruits, and cakes are arranged on palm-leaf bases of various shapes and crowned with a palm-leaf decoration, called a *sampian*, which also serves as a container for flowers and betel chewing ingredients.

Some offerings are used in a great many rituals, whereas others are specific to a particular ceremony. Many offerings are part of offering-groups (*soroh*), which are named after the main offering of such a group; the size and content of these offering-groups vary according to the importance of the rituals. Any ritual may be performed at one of three levels: elaborate (*utama*), average (*madia*), or simple (*nista*). The levels are partly dependent on the social status of the people involved, and may be further subdivided. The higher the level of the ritual the more elaborate the offerings and the more extensive the offering-groups.

Offerings are primarily gifts consisting of the food and delicacies usually presented to honored guests. In Bali, as in most other parts of Indonesia, the offer of the ingredients for betel chewing, *sirih-pinang*, is a token of hospitality. As part of the gift the contents of the offerings are often fashioned into attractive forms. Leaves are cut out, plaited, and pinned together into beautiful decorations (*jejaitan*). Multicolored rice dough is made into figurine cookies (*jaja*)³ modeled by hand to depict all kinds of creatures and even complete scenes, like a fisherman in his boat or a woman at the market.

Most ingredients are natural, the fruits of the earth. The offerings are transitory not only in material but also in intention: once offered they may not be offered again, and they have to be recreated again and again in subsequent offerings. It is usually women who are involved in the making of offerings. The most common ones can be made by every housewife, but for the more complicated ones the help of specialists (*tukang banten*) is needed. At the place where the ritual is performed the *tukang banten* arrange the various groups of offerings according to their destination and function. The

highest altars or shrines are reserved for the highest deities, such as the sun god Surya, whereas the demonic beings—*buta* and *kala*—receive their share on the ground. These latter offerings are called *caru*, not *banten*, and may contain raw meat and blood, which the others do not. The core offerings, which relate to the aim of the particular ritual, are placed on an offering table or altar close to the officiating priest. Often a god or goddess is not represented by means of a statue or other concrete visible representation, but is invited to be present at the ritual by means of the offerings dedicated to him or her. Thus, besides being gifts, offerings also mediate the presence of the deities. When the offerings are placed in their correct places and are purified by means of holy water, incense smoke carries their essence to their various destinations. After the ritual is over, the food content of the offerings, “what is left over by the deities,” is eaten by the worshippers themselves.

During the ritual the offerings are “brought to life,” as the Balinese phrase it, by the officiating priest through the use of sacred mantras. However, these mantras usually do not refer directly to the offerings; their names are rarely mentioned, nor is their destination. Usually a mantra is directed not just to one deity but to groups of related deities or spiritual beings, who are invited to enjoy the offerings meant for them. According to my priest informants, the specific forms and contents of the different offerings indicate to the individual deities which offering is intended for him or her. However, in Balinese ritual texts several mantras are listed as belonging to specific offerings, a connection that was usually confirmed by the priests.

Generally speaking, there exists a complementary division of labor in the production and presentation of offerings in Bali. The offering makers rarely know to whom the offerings are addressed, while the priests who bring them to life seldom know what the specific contents of the offerings are.

*BEBANGKIT AND PULAGEMBAL: FORMS AND CONTENTS*⁴

The *bebangkit* and *pulagembal* offerings are quite commonly used, but because of their complexity only the specialist *tukang banten* can assemble them. In Balinese the word *bangkit* means “attractive,” “nice,” or “always prosperous.” According to ZOETMULDER, in Old-Javanese the basic meaning of the word may have been “meeting all requirements, ideal, perfect, harmonious” (1982, 208). *Pula* means “to plant”; *gembal* does not exist in Balinese, but in Javanese has the meaning “full of fruits” (PIGEAUD 1938, 125), which suggests the connotation of generating new offspring.

The *bebangkit* (figure 1) consists, as do all offerings, of three vertically ordered main parts: a base, a middle, and a palm-leaf construction known as a *sampian* on top (cf. STUART-FOX 1974; TARUKAN 1986). Often the round base (*tadahan*) consists of two disks made of the dark older leaves of the sugar

palm (*ron*). The bottom circle displays the dark front parts of the leaves, the top disk the lighter back parts. On the disks several common offering ingredients are ordered, such as rice, fruits, betel, and flowers, sometimes on top of a human figure laid out in rice grains, seeds, and small fruits.

The middle part consists of a square bamboo framework, open on top, called a *bale* (a kind of pavilion). On the outer side of this framework a number of brightly colored rice-dough *jaja* are fastened in such a way as to form symmetrical oppositions, such as sun and moon, man and woman, and day and night. Along with the other ingredients, a bundle of various kinds of *ketipat* (figures of plaited palm leaf, which serve as containers for cooked rice) is put inside the *bale*. Flowers and the ingredients for betel chewing are arranged on the palm-leaf *sampian* on top.

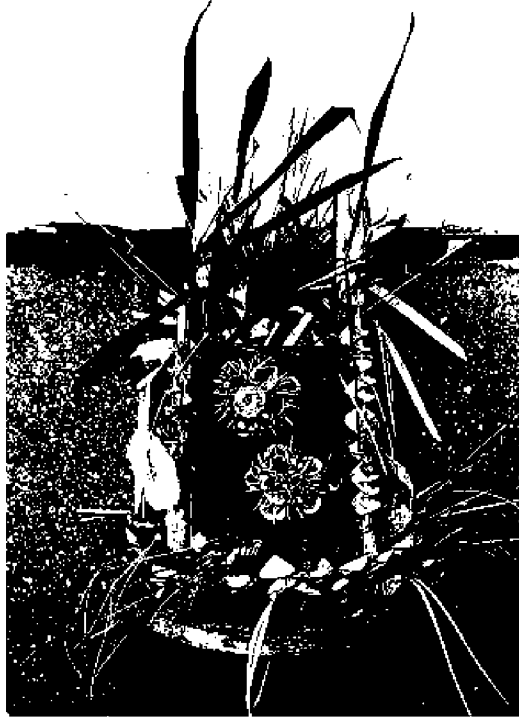


FIGURE 1. *Bebangkit* offering

Rice-dough figurines also form the main part of the *pulagembal*, but they differ from those in the *bebangkit* and are less clearly visible in the offering. The base of the *pulagembal* is a rice winnowing tray or a basket made of palm leaf; this contains a large number of *jaja*, only the upper of which are visible, and even these are partly covered by the *sampian* of the offering (figure 2).

The number and type of *jaja* vary enormously. The *bebangkit* contains from sixteen to fifty-six different *jaja* (cf. STUART-FOX 1974, 7–33) and the *pulagembal* from one to over seventy (figure 3). Each of these *jaja* has its own name and its own position in the offering as a whole. As was pointed out, the *jaja* of the *bebangkit* are made in pairs of mainly complementarily opposed items, such as sun and moon, market and garden, or road and gate-

way. The *jaja* of the *pulagem-bal* come in a variety of patterns. These are sometimes pairs, like a male and female crab or a red and a black demon; sometimes groups of four or eight figurines, such as four different birds, eight different trees, or the eight weapons of the guardians of the directions; and sometimes single, composite figures, such as the one called *cili ider buana*, which marks the cardinal directions and consists of little human figures in a circle around a tiny mountain.

According to the Balinese, both the *bebangkit* and the *pulagem-bal* contain, each in its own way, the entire world or universe, since “all the different elements of the world, like plants, animals, and people are present.” Informants note, however,

that the *bebangkit* contains more elements from the wider universe, like the sun and the moon, the rainbow and the sea, while the *pulagem-bal* contains more elements from “the island of Bali itself” (probably meaning the informants’ own world, their own ground). The offerings are meant as examples or models of the world, fashioned in the way the world is desired to be: perfect, harmonious, and fruitful, as their names indicate.

STRUCTURE OF THE *BEBANGKIT* AND *PULAGEM-BAL*

The various domains and categories of Balinese cosmology (see SWELLENGREBEL 1960, 36–51) are all reflected in these two offerings. Nature and culture are represented by, for example, *jaja* of certain flowers (such as the *bungan temu*, the Curcuma plant) and tools (like the *pamipisan*, an instrument for cleaning cotton). The inhabitants of the *sekala* (visible) world are depicted by various *cili* (human figures), and those of the *niskala* (invis-



Figure 2. *Pulagem-bal* offering

ible) world by representations of the *lingga* (symbol of the supreme god Siwa) or the weapons of the guardians of the eight compass points (*sesikepan nawa sanga*). The macrocosmos (*buana agung*) is represented by figures of the sun and the moon, and the microcosmos (*buana alit*) by those of human body parts like the breast and ribs (*tangkah iga*).

These broad classes are further divided into smaller groups, with their positions in the offerings reflecting the main principles of classification in Balinese cosmology. On the vertical plane this involves a hierarchical ordering into three parts symbolizing the underworld, the middle world, and the upperworld.

The horizontal ordering is formed by a structure of four or eight elements around a center, which refer to the points of the compass. For example, the sun is placed to the east and the moon to the west of the *bebangkit* frame, while the mountains go to the north and the sea to the south (roughly the directions of the mountains and the ocean in south Bali). Within the vertical framework the birds are placed on top of the trees in the basket of the *pulagembal*, and the head decorations are situated higher than the male and female genitals.

Even within the more complex single *jaja* that form unities or totalities in themselves, the composing elements are ordered according to the same principles of classification. For example, in the *taman* (garden), *gunung* (mountain), and *pasir* (beach, implying also the sea) one finds the three main categories of the natural realm represented in the form of miniature human beings, animals, and plants.

The main difference between the arrangement of the *jaja* within the

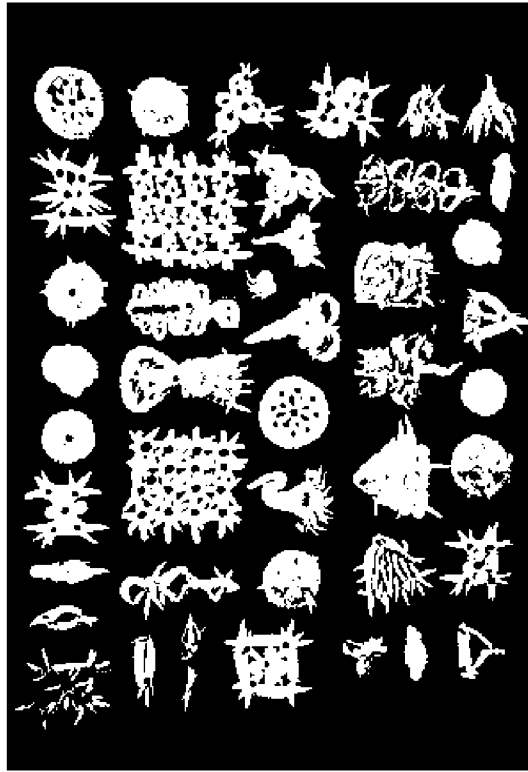


FIGURE 3. *Jaja*, colored rice-dough figurines

two offerings is that the *bebangkit jaja* are visible and ordered in an explicitly balanced structure through the way in which they are fastened onto the *bale bebangkit*, while the *pulagembal jaja*, although ordered, are more or less hidden within the basket. This basket is called a *wadah*—a container, place, or object where things are received and stored. Many of the other components besides the *jaja* are meaningfully ordered in the offerings. In the *bebangkit*, for instance, the *ketipat*, the palm-leaf containers for cooked rice, represent various cosmic elements or categories depending on the shape into which they are plaited. There are sun and moon *ketipat*, and fish, birds, objects, and so on.

In both offerings plant life is further subdivided into roots, leaves, fruits, and flowers. These groups are again subdivided according to the same basic principles of classification. Fruits are divided into *pala gantung* and *pala bungkak* (hanging fruits and those sprouting from the earth, like onions and garlic). The leaf containers are classified according to color (light or dark) and age (young or old), and the flowers on top are divided according to color. The rice and other foods are ordered according to variety, color, size, and manner of preparation (cooked, fried, dried, and the like).

The most important thing about these offerings, according to the Balinese, is that together the different classes and subdivisions form a totality that reflects the totality of life on earth. The various elements, chosen from so many different domains, make the offerings “complete” (*lengkap*), a crucial concept in Balinese rituals. The spatial arrangement of the elements express cosmological categories. An example of this is the two disks that form the base of the *bebangkit*. One, called the “male” disk, lies on top, is of a lighter color (called “white”), and contains mainly cooked food; the other, called the “female” disk, is on the bottom, is of a darker color (called “black”), and contains mainly raw ingredients. Both of these oppositions—white and black, cooked and raw—correspond to Balinese gender classifications.

THE *BEBANGKIT* AND *PULAGEMBAL* GROUPS

Both the *pulagembal* and the *bebangkit* are part of larger wholes, extensive groups of offerings called *soroh*.⁵ Of the other offerings in these groups, which will not be described in detail here, many have names that have to do with the continuity of life and prosperity, like *udel* (navel), *penyeneng* (from *jeneng*, life), *sangga urip* (support of life), *bagia* (happiness), *ibu sugih* (affluent mother), and *kurenan* (family).

An important difference between the two groups is the meat component. Whereas only some meat is included in the *pulagembal* group, the *bebangkit* group usually contains two complete meat offerings. The meat in the *pulagembal* is roasted chicken, whereas in the *bebangkit* group pork is



FIGURE 4. Cosmic offering made of pig fat and pig meat

offered. This consists of *babi guling* (roasted suckling pig) and *gayah*, which is also a cosmic offering (figure 4). Images representing all kinds of cosmic phenomena are made, not of rice dough, but of pig fat and pig meat, which are put onto skewers together with red peppers. These skewers are stuck into the soft trunk of a young banana plant in an arrangement that again reflects cosmological classifications.

The main point of interest in the comparison of the two groups, however, is that the *pulagembal* group is much smaller than the *bebangkit* one. The *bebangkit soroh* consists of dozens of different offerings, with the number used depending on

the size of the ritual (cf. STUART-FOX 1987, 183), whereas the *pulagembal soroh* contains no more than five or six offerings. It is significant that the *pulagembal* group as a whole is usually incorporated into the *bebangkit* group.

ENLARGEMENTS OF THE OFFERINGS

For elaborate rituals both the *pulagembal* and the *bebangkit* offerings are sometimes enlarged into rather spectacular constructions. The *bale* of the *bebangkit* may be topped by a roof to make the entire construction look like a house, or by an uneven number of receding roofs as on the pagoda-like shrines (*meru*) in the inner court of a temple. These shrines represent the heavens, the abode of the deities on the summit of the holy mountain Mahameru (RAMSEYER 1977, 132).

The *pulagembal* is enlarged into a different shape, which in some areas



FIGURE 5. *Sarad* with the face of Boma, an elaborate form of *pulagembal*

is called a *sarad*, consisting of a frame several meters high completely covered with rice-dough figurines. The *jaja* from the basket of the *pulagembal* are included among the ones on the frame, and a great variety of decorative cookies, mainly representing flowers or plants, are added to them. This large, elaborate type of *pulagembal* or *sarad* shows similarities with the roofed-over gateways to temples called *candi kurung* or *kori agung*. Such temple gateways, which are decorated with many floral motifs, represent the lower slopes of the holy mountain—the sphere of the earth—covered with thick forests (TITIB 1983, 85). Usually the door itself is depicted on the *sarad* as a frame for a short story connected with the specific ritual, in the same way that the reliefs on a temple wall tell a story related to the nature of the building. In the center of the *sarad*, as above the temple gateway entrances, a large face with outstretched hands is usually fastened (figure 5). This is the face of Boma, the son of Mother Earth, Ibu Pretiwi, who, as will be shown later, is the symbol of vegetation sprouting from the earth.

When the *sarad* is used as a kind of showpiece, an equally large meat offering is put next to it. Since offerings of the *pulagembal* group do not contain much meat, the *gayah* from the *bebangkit* group is enlarged into a spectacular construction to form a pair with the *sarad*. In this way the *bebangkit* group's meat component and the *pulagembal* group's rice component (in the form of the numerous *jaja* on the *sarad*) form a complementary whole.

THE USE OF THE *BEBANGKIT* AND *PULAGEMBAL*

How the *pulagembal* and *bebangkit* offerings are used depends on the size and kind of the ritual. The *pulagembal* group by itself, without a *bebangkit*, can only be used at rituals of moderate size. The *bebangkit* is normally never used without the *pulagembal*, except in the case of *caru* offerings to demonic beings. Because generally the *bebangkit* group is more elaborate than the *pulagembal* group, and may even include this latter group, it is used for a more elaborate level of ritual than those that require only a *pulagembal*. Moreover, the more elaborate the ritual, the more *bebangkit* groups that are needed for placing at various places. If only one group is used, the offerings are placed, as one offering specialist put it, “near the other offerings,” meaning the core offerings of the ritual. This implies that they are put on a *bale* or offering table in front of the officiating priest, or on the ground together with the offerings to the demons.

Being the most important offerings of the whole group, the *bebangkit* and *pulagembal* are placed next to one another at the “head” of the offering table in the sacred *kaja-kangin* (upstream-east) direction,⁶ or in the center of the *caru* on the ground. When more *bebangkit* groups are used they are placed on a special temporary bamboo altar in front of the entrance to a temple or courtyard as a welcome to the newly arrived divine guests, as well as on a small platform at the bottom (*sor*) of a temporary altar erected for Surya (Siwa in his manifestation as god of the sun).

Tukang banten were always quite explicit about the fact that this group of offerings can never be placed on a high altar, or on any shrine for that matter, but always at its foot (*ring sor*). In other words, these offerings belong more to the lower, or worldly, part of the ritual domain.

In the temple Pura Kehen in Bangli, a large *pulagembal* or *sarad* is always erected in the pavilion dedicated to Ibu Pretiwi. As usual, the centerpiece of the *sarad* is formed by the face of Boma, the son of Ibu Pretiwi. This large offering is accompanied by a *bebangkit* displaying only black *jaja*, since the color of the earth is black as opposed to the white of the sky or sun.⁷

MANTRA *BEBANGKIT* AND *PULAGEMBAL*

Many offerings are not associated with any specific mantra, but the *bebangkit* is important enough to have its own. According to Balinese texts dealing with ritual (the *Kusuma Dewa*, for example) there are two different mantras related to the *bebangkit* offering group, used during different kinds of ritual. The shorter one is recited at *dewa yadnya* and *manusa yadnya*—rituals for, respectively, deities (i.e., temple festivals) and human beings (i.e., life-cycle ceremonies). HOOYKAAS translates it as follows:

Kalas in plenty, Great Kala, Kala of the Earth, Kala of the Slaughtering Place... Kala with the Lion's Head... all of thee together, look at my devotion to thee; may I escape illness and suffering. (1977, 72–73)

Although this mantra is addressed to the *kāla* (demonic followers of Durga), in most other versions that I have seen the text starts with a homage addressed to Durga herself.

The more elaborate mantra, used for the *bebangkit* as part of *caru* offerings on the ground, has also been published and translated by HOOYKAAS:

Homage to Durga the sorceress, to the Kalas the sorcerers, to the Bhutas the sorcerers. Let Kala Serious Bewilderment, eat on the spot of slaughtering (and drink); let Kala Sensual Pleasure, eat in gambling company; let Kala-Sitting-along-the-road, eat on the great road; let Kala Katung, eat at the market. Thou shouldst enjoy the essence. After thou hast enjoyed the essence, come together again and return homeward, everybody to his own heaven, homage.... After thou hast enjoyed the essence, return homeward into my mortal body, to help me in doing what is right, to be my companion in shaping the right things. Sam-Bam-Tam-Am-Im-Nam-Mam-Sim-Vam-Yam, AM-UM-MAM. (1977, 76–77)

One of my Brahmana priest informants gave me another mantra for the *bebangkit* at *buta yadnya* and *pitra yadnya* (rituals for demonic beings and the souls of deceased persons, respectively). This can be translated as follows:

ONG Bhatari Durga, invite your followers, like Bhatari Pulung in the South, Bhatara Gana in the Northwest, Bhatara Bhukti in the Southwest. ONG the honorable Durga. ONG the honorable Maya. ONG the honorable Brahma kala smara. ONG the honorable Maha-suka.

Honorable Bhagawan Rudra [a terrible manifestation of Siwa, the husband of Durga], you are equally spiritually powerful. Show us your power in this world, give life to mankind in this world, receive this food for your followers so that they may be allowed not to enter the gateway because you have already received food in this world. Since you are especially venerated by the deities, you are the ruler of power and you protect life. Permit me to talk to you now, honorable Kaki [grandfather], please give us the right lessons of the highest knowledge and health, you can be thought of very deeply and followed by mankind in this world.

During some rituals a Durga *stava* (a hymn to Durga) is recited immediately after the *bebangkit* mantra, again suggesting a connection between this offering and the goddess. This *stava* is translated by GOUDRIAAN and HOOYKAAS (1971) as follows:

The Great Goddess who dwells on the place of cremation,
 the fear-inspiring One, Consumer of the deceased—
 to this Lady, the Goddess Durga, honor, honor!
 She maintains her aspects of divisibility and indivisibility;
 and Her terrible and benevolent natures;
 to that Goddess who encompasses everything,
 to Goddess Durga, honor, honor!

When the *pulagembal* is part of the *bebangkit* group it does not have its own mantra. When used by itself, informants often said, it is destined for all of the gods, or for the main deities invoked at the ritual, and is used without a specific mantra. However, *pulagembal* mantras are mentioned in several written sources. In marriage rituals especially the mantras for the *pulagembal* and the related *sekar taman* (flowers of the garden) offering are quite elaborate. First the *sekar taman* mantra is recited; this can be translated as follows:

The honorable Bhatari Prathiwi [Pretiwī], Bhatari Gayatri, Bhatari Suparni, Bhatari Wastu, Bhatari Kedhep, Bhatari Angukuhi, Bhatari Lulut-Asih, Bhatari Kundangkasih, Bhatari Kamajaya-Kamaratih [all goddesses of beauty]. The honorable heavenly nymphs, sang Kuranta, sang Tunjung Biru, sang Tilottama, sang Gagarmayang, sang Towok, sang Lengleg-mandanu, and sang Suprabha, who is beautiful without make-up.

This is followed by the *pulagembal* mantra:

ONG Sri Wasundari [Bearer of Riches, another name for Ibu Pretiwī], all honorable manifestations of Siwa that provide the sources of life, we [mankind] enjoy your gifts at your feet and aim to bring food to you. Foremost the honorable Ra Nini [Grandmother, another name for Durga], Bhatari Anungkurat [who rules the world], Bhatari Wisesa [who has *śakti*, supernatural power], Bhatari Wastu [hail, blessing], Bhatari Kedhep [belief, feeling, faith], we request that their meeting is as the meeting of the gods and goddesses, the meeting between the spouses, so that as a result they will have offspring. And then, to the

heavenly nymphs, sang Suprabha and sang Tilottama, who are beautiful without make-up, here is food for you, choose what you like, now I request permission for the gift of blessing, let them come out, open slowly the door that is closed with an iron key... after this... give them satisfaction as husband and wife, happiness in this world. [provisional translation]

When the *pulagembal* is used in other ceremonies the mantras are shorter. For example, some sources mention a *pulagembal* mantra for ceremonies like tooth-filings, small weddings, house consecrations, and the ritual for babies who become three months old. This mantra is addressed to the goddesses who are wives of the Trimurti, the three main gods of Balinese Hinduism:

ONG the honorable white goddess Uma [wife of Siwa]. ONG the honorable red goddess Saraswati [wife of Brahma]. ONG the honorable yellow goddess Durga [wife of Siwa]. ONG the honorable black goddess Sri [wife of Wisnu].

The colors of the goddesses correspond to those of the cardinal directions: east is white, south is red, west is yellow, and north is black. For the associated *sekar taman* offering the mantra is “ONG the honorable Ghana-ghana-patih.” Gana or Ganesha, the son of Siwa and Uma or Durga, removes obstacles and difficulties. I G. A. Mas PUTRA claims that the *pulagembal* is always directed to Gana, but she does not support this with textual evidence (1982, 56).

STRUCTURAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE *BEBANGKIT* AND *PULAGEMBAL*
 PUTRA suggests that the *bebangkit* and the *pulagembal* are complementarily related, forming respectively the negative and positive aspects of a balanced whole because of their connection with negative and positive deities, respectively (1982, 56).

However, the relationship between the two offerings seems to be more complex. What is desired by presenting the *bebangkit* offering, as expressed in the mantra, is protection from illness and suffering and help in “doing the right things,” which implies the maintenance of order in one’s personal life and the restoration of order on earth by having the demons return to their proper places. This reflects a state of harmony in both microcosm (*buana alit*) and macrocosm (*buana agung*). The deity believed to be of central importance in bringing about this effect of being “always prosperous” or “in harmony” (as the name of the offering indicates) is Betari Durga, since she

rules over the demonic forces. This proper order is symbolized by the outward appearance of the *bebangkit*, especially by the complementary pairs of *jaja*, clearly visible on the square structure of the *bale*.

By directing the mantra for the *pulagembal* offering towards the female deities of the cardinal directions, the officiating priest aims for the unity and wholeness of life in a fertile, fruitful world. But at weddings the desire for human fertility is made explicit, since it is wished that the couple will have offspring, guaranteeing the continuation of the family and descent lines. The first deity invoked here is Wasundari (Ibu Pretiwi), goddess of abundance and bearer of riches. The form of the *pulagembal* offering, with all the fruits or seeds of life kept in the internal safety of the basket, the womb, or the earth, is a strong expression of this idea, which is already suggested by the name of the offering. When, in the case of the *sarad*, the *jaja* are made visible on the outside, the rich vegetation of the earth is accentuated in the form of the many floral motifs and the face of Boma, the son of the earth, in the center.

Neither offering, as mentioned above, is ever put on the highest shrines, since they both belong to the lower half of the universe, associated more with earth than with heaven. But on the horizontal plane they are placed on the same level at the “head” of a platform, since they are associated with the whole world. However, at the level of the *soroh* (offering group) the relationship between them is more one of encompassment than of complementarity: the *pulagembal* group is usually incorporated in the *bebangkit* group and never the other way round. Moreover, the *bebangkit* group is regarded as more complete by the Balinese, since it also contains an important meat component.

In the next part of this paper I will investigate the extent to which these relationships of complementarity and encompassment between Durga and Ibu Pretiwi exist in other domains of Balinese culture, outside the context of the *bebangkit* and *pulagembal* offerings.

BETARI DURGA

Betari Durga is widely known in Bali as the terrifying goddess of death who resides in the various Pura Dalem, the temples near the graveyards and cremation grounds. She is the destructive manifestation of Uma, the wife of Siwa. The goddess is commonly feared, since as the ruler and controller of the *buta* and *kala*, the demonic servitors of the gods, she can destroy life. It is said that people interested in black magic (*pangiwa*) worship Durga by means of offerings and prayers in the graveyards in the middle of the night. Also believed to be under her power are the *leyak*, disease-producing witch-like spirits. She is the “pre-eminent deity in the Balinese magico-medical system” (LOVRIC 1987, 251).⁸ Her terrible features are well illustrated in a

passage of the *Purwa Bhumi Kamulan*, a litany about the creation of the world. In this text it is told how Durga developed out of the goddess Uma. HOOYKAAS (1974, 64, 65, 71) translates this passage as follows:

The Goddess [Uma] then looked on Her Self
 And full of wrath She then became.
 Her urge was then to eat mankind;
 She screamed, and like a lion roared.
 Her teeth were long and sharp, like tusks,
 Her mouth an abyss in between,
 Her eyes shone, they were like twin suns.
 Her nostrils, deep and cavernous.
 Her ears stood like two thighs, straight up,
 Matted and twisted was Her hair;
 Her body was misshapen, huge,
 There was nothing that broke its height.
 It pierced The Egg of Universe,
 Reached to the center of the Sky.
 Such then, was the Goddess Durga,
 That was the name that she then bore....
 With blood, as ashes, She was smeared,
 And garlanded with human skulls,
 Intestines were draped over Her,
 She wore a scarf of red and black....
 Then in the graveyard she did dwell
 In the graveyard of the infants.

Perhaps the most popular or well-known representation of the goddess is as the teacher of the blood-thirsty Rangda, the frightful witch-widow who became closely associated with her (WECK 1986, 189). The legend of Rangda, or Calon Arang, tells how the widow (*rangda*) of the king of Girah tries to destroy the kingdom of Daha because nobody wants to marry her beautiful daughter (the reason for which is that the widow is suspected of practicing evil magic) (BELO 1949, 29). This famous story is dramatized time and again in theatrical performances all over Bali, and wooden masks of Rangda are kept in numerous temples. Visual images of Durga in, for example, reliefs, sculptures, and (magic) drawings, often depict the goddess in the same monstrous form as Rangda.⁹

Of a completely different kind is a representation of Durga in the ancient memorial statue of Queen Mahendradatta, who ruled at the beginning of the eleventh century (STUTTERHEIM 1930, fig. 27). This image, at

Bukit Dharma in Kutri, shows Durga in the role of the Mahisasuramardini, the slayer of the demon-king Mahisa, who had assumed the shape of a buffalo. This was a common stone representation of Durga in ancient Java. In Bali there are several similar Durga statues besides the one at Kutri; two have been found in the nearby villages Pejeng and Bedahulu, once centers of old kingdoms (STUTTERHEIM 1930, figs. 28, 47; RENIK 1985).

In this role the goddess is usually depicted as a beautiful eight-armed woman standing on top of the buffalo, pulling the defeated demon out of the animal's corpse with one hand and holding weapons and other attributes in her other hands.¹⁰ These old Durga Mahisasuramardini figures express features of the great goddess that are different from the terrible iconography of more recent representations. Here she is clearly the mighty protector against evil. Thus Durga not only brings death and destruction to mankind, but is also very much capable of protecting mankind from these things. She came into being to maintain or restore cosmic order. The word *durga*, which in Sanskrit and Old Javanese means "inaccessible, stronghold" (ZOETMULDER 1982, 436), clearly expresses the strong, powerful, protective character of the goddess.¹¹

Although many visual images of Durga in Bali seem to stress her terrible, fearful aspects, representations of her as the all-encompassing Great Goddess are also present. This becomes clear when one looks at the *stuti* and *stava*, hymns in praise of Durga, as recited by priests at certain rituals. Often she is addressed first in her terrible and then in her more favorable aspects, in order that she may rescue the worshipper from all evils and dangers (GOUDRIAAN and HOOYKAAS 1971, 197).

GOUDRIAAN and HOOYKAAS's translations contain various descriptions of Durga. She is "That Goddess who encompasses everything," who has both "terrible and benevolent natures" (1971, 459), "reducing all enemies to ashes," "bringing death and life," who is "embodied in all the gods" and who "presents the supreme bliss to all beings" (1971, 151). A clear example of the world-protecting and all-encompassing nature of Durga is given in the following Durga *stava* (1971, 192):

The Daughter of the Mountain, Goddess of Gods,
the Support of the Worlds, the Great Goddess;
[Who is] Uma, Ganga and Sarasvati,
the Gayatri and Visnu's Wife, the Goddess.

Fourfold divine, of great potency
the Lady, [to be worshiped] in the four stages of life;
the Wife of Siva the Lord of the World,
the Goddess Who is embodied as Durga.

She should be honored by the entire world,
 She renders powerless the world's obstacles;
 Durga, Who brings about safety from wandering demons,
 Who brings release from obstacles and faults.

[By her] grace, [She gives] Water of Life to the earth,
 destroying obstacles and sins,
 destroying all evils and all great sins.

The Goddess of Gods, of great wisdom,
 the Lady of the World Who removes the obstacles;
 the support for the entire world,
 [Who combines in Herself] the grace of all the gods.

There is other evidence as well for the perception of Durga as protector and restorer of the cosmic order. Once every 210 days (the length of a Balinese *wuku* year) the Galungan festival is celebrated. On this day all over Bali ancestors are thanked and venerated in households and in family temples. The background of this festival, often called the "victory of *dharma* (religious order) over *adharma* (disorder)" (ARWATI 1988/1989, 5), relates to events in the mythical past. The kings of Bali, it is said, had long neglected to celebrate the Galungan festival, and as a result many people fell ill and died and no ruler was able to reign for more than a year. Finally, King Jayakusunu turned to Betari Durga and asked her help. She advised him to immediately restore the tradition of celebrating the Galungan festival, the feast of yearly renewal and ancestor veneration. After he had done this all problems were solved, the harmony in Bali was restored, and order was victorious once again (SUGRIWA 1957, 14).

Durga is also often called upon for help at the level of the family or the individual. As H. GEERTZ notes,

Durga, the great spiritual being of the Pura Dalem... is also the protector and life giver of the village. It is to this being that infertile couples go in hope of conception, and the very ill in hope of cure.... The same acts that kill also bring life. Destruction and life giving are not exclusive opposites but inclusive complements of one another. (1994, 81)

Calon Arang, or Rangda, as a pupil of Durga and a manifestation of her terrible, horrifying aspects, can also use her power in a positive way. For example, the holy mask of the Rangda in Banjar Tengah in Kerambitan, kept in the Pura Bale Gong, is often visited by students who request her

blessings in order to successfully pass their exams. After the fulfilment of these wishes, a *babi guling* (roasted suckling pig), part of the *bebangkit* offering group, is often offered to her in return.

Even the terrible, man-devouring Durga as described in the *Purwa Bhumi Kamulan* has the power to transform into a benevolent, protective figure, if she is given the right worship and proper offerings:

And the God Kala had to eat,
 And the Goddess Durga also
 Fermented liquor, flesh and rice:
 Much food there was, and of all kinds.
 Too many to give each a name....
 They looked with joy upon their feast,
 Too many to give each a name....
 Worship was the result of it,
 Of mankind in the Middle Sphere
 Being eaten by God Kala,
 And by the Goddess Durga, too.
 And then a covenant they made:
 ... The Goddess Durga eat him not;
 From his Ten Evils he be freed.

(HOOYKAAS 1974, 74, 75)

IBU PRETIWI

More exclusively associated with life is the goddess Ibu Pretiwi. She is in Bali widely known as the goddess of the land, the ground, and the earth. In Sanskrit her name means “the broad or extended one” (ZOETMULDER 1982, 1,421). Her name Ibu, Mother, emphasizes the fact that she carries the seeds of all new life in her womb. Her fertility makes possible life on earth, including that of human beings. She not only produces new life, but as a warm, nurturing mother she also nourishes and sustains all creatures that live upon her (KINSLEY 1988, 8–9, 178). Her other name, Wasundari, Bearer of Riches, refers to the stability of the earth itself and the inexhaustible fecundity it possesses. In hymns, where she may be addressed as Putra-yoni, the “Womb of sons” (GOUDRIAAN and HOOYKAAS 1971, 420), she is sometimes requested to bear the worshipper (GOUDRIAAN and HOOYKAAS 1971, 421).

Being the actual land or soil, she is worshiped during many rituals that involve the opening of the earth, like the preparation of the rice fields for planting or the burial (also called “planting”) of the dead (FISCHER 1929, 16). Equally important is her role at the first touching of the earth by chil-

dren who have reached the age of three Balinese months, or the consecration of a new building, when the substances that give life to houses and temples are buried in the earth.

The concept of the earth as a womb or vessel, a container of life, is related to the idea of the origin and ancestral source of life. *Ibu*, *Ibu Pretiwi*, or *pai-bon* are the names of a shrine in an ancestor temple, whose three compartments, dedicated to the deities Brahma, Wisnu, and Siwa, symbolize the cycle of birth, life, and death. Sometimes *ibu*, or *paibon*, is the name of the ancestral temple itself.

One of the main motifs on *lamak* (palm-leaf banners or runners used as temple decorations) is a square that encompasses a little center-section (BRINKGREVE 1993, 139–40). The word for this design is *ibu* or *gedong*. The four sides are associated with the four cardinal directions, representing the world order on the horizontal plane. A *gedong* is a closed building, especially in temples, but can also refer to the *umah meten*, the closed building in a courtyard where ancestral heirlooms are kept, where husband and wife sleep, and where, traditionally, women give birth. *Magedong-gedongan* is the name of a ceremony for a baby that is still in the womb. Just as the center of the motif is protected by the encompassing square, so life itself is protected by the womb.

This particular *lamak* motif with its double name reminds one also of the image of the *yoni* sometimes found in Hindu temples in India and ancient Java, although rarely in present-day Bali. This piece of sculpture, a phallic pillar or *lingga* rising from the center of a square pedestal, is the primary symbol of female creative energy (ZIMMER 1962, 127), and represents also the womb and fertile soil. It illustrates clearly the relationships between the concepts of motherhood, fertility, ancestral source of life, and land of origin.

New life, however, cannot germinate by itself; the soil must be fertilized. Mother Earth is often regarded as the partner of Bapak Akasa, Father Sky, and their union procreates and sustains the life of the universe (FISCHER 1929, 35). Together they are called as witnesses (*pasaksi*) at many Balinese rituals (HOOYKAAS 1977, 97). Sometimes the three compartments of the ancestral shrine are said to be dedicated to Pretiwi, Akasa, and the ancestors. In the ritual of the Brahmanic priests, certain prescribed hand movements and gestures (*mudra*) play an important role. Among these is the so-called *prthivi mudra*, which complements the *akasa mudra*. In the *prthivi mudra* the palms of the hands are directed upward, and in the *akasa mudra* downward (HOOYKAAS 1966, plate 1, plate 29). In front of the priests is a container of holy water, which is regarded as a result of the meeting of Akasa and Pretiwi as husband and wife (HOOYKAAS 1964, 139). In Bali as in many other parts of Indonesia, the complementary relationship of female and male (in Balinese, *luhmuani*) is so important that it has become a basic structuring

principle, endlessly repeated in every context. It is also expressed in the so-called *rwa bhineda* principle, “the unity of two separated”—the idea that all phenomena consist of two complementary parts, essentially male and female. The sky is often replaced by the sun as the counterpart of the earth (FISCHER 1929, 43). Indeed, in Bali the sun god Surya is a major manifestation of the main god Siwa.

Ibu Pretiwi is not often depicted visually. A representation of her as a kind of womb appears with Father Sky in the form of a cloud in an illustration in HOOYKAAS 1974 (86), while a statue from Tenganan is shown in RAMSEYER 1977 (plate 178). Much more common are representations of her son, Boma. His big face, with its bulging eyes and open mouth, and his outstretched hands are found crowning the entrance to many Balinese temples, comparable with the heads of Kala in ancient Javanese temples.

Boma, or Naraka, was born of the union of Ibu Pretiwi and Wisnu, who had taken the form of a boar. In the Linggodbhawa myth

Brahma and Wisnu challenge Siwa’s omnipotence. Siwa changes himself into an enormous, erect penis with the grimacing face of a demon. Wisnu and Brahma make futile attempts to destroy the giant object with their weapons *cakra* (discus) and *danda* (club). As a boar, Wisnu searches for the bottom of the pillar and begets a demonic son, Bhoma, with the earth goddess Dewi Prthiwi. Brahma, metamorphosed into a bird, looks for the upper end of the pillar. Both gods’ efforts are useless; Siwa is the highest god, Brahma and Wisnu pay homage to him. (RAMSEYER 1977, 96, plate 121)

The name Boma is derived from Sanskrit *bhauma*, which means that which comes out of the earth (*bhumi*) or stays in the earth, or is related to the earth (TITIB 1983, 3). Since Wisnu is the god of the waters, Boma is essentially a child of the fertile conjunction of water and earth, and as such is regarded as a symbol of the growth of all Bali’s trees and plants. For this reason the *kori agung* temple gateway, which symbolizes the lower slopes of the holy mountain covered with large trees, is usually decorated with a carving of Boma (*karang Boma*), symbolic of this vegetation (TITIB 1983, 81, 85).

CONCLUSION

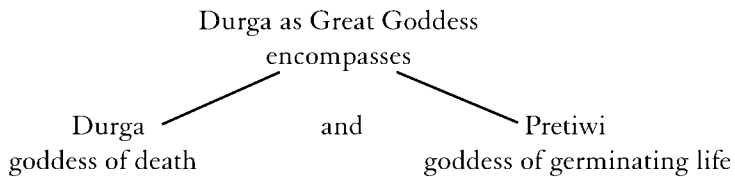
In comparing the roles of the goddesses Durga and Pretiwi in Bali, certain relationships become clear. Although both are wives and mothers, the fertility aspect is more obvious in the case of Ibu Pretiwi. She is the personification of abundance and fecundity, although not the sole source of life, since a male partner is needed for fertilizing the soil. Durga, on the other

hand, controls death and destruction. However, the realms of death and of fertility and germination are conceptually related—they are complementary, not exclusive, for together they complete the cycle of life.

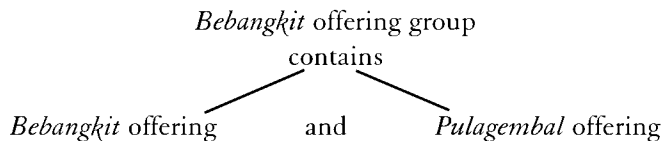
This idea is supported by the relations of the goddesses with temples. Ibu Pretiwi is connected with ancestral temples or shrines, while Durga is localized in the Pura Dalem, which are usually associated with death. However, according to STUART-FOX,

One finds in west Karangasem, and elsewhere in Bali, two kinds of *pura dalem*: a *pura dalem suci* [pure] honours the female principle in its auspicious aspect related to earth, fertility and agriculture, symbolized by the goddess Pretiwi, while a *pura dalem setra* [graveyard] honours that principle in its destructive aspect, symbolized by the goddess Durga. Pura Dalem Puri [one of the main temples in the important temple complex of Besakih], it would seem, has characteristics of both kinds. (1987, 108)

But Durga is more than the goddess of death, complementary to the goddess of fertility. Through her power over death she is able to protect and sustain life. She is the Great Goddess, who combines in herself “the grace of all gods,” who is independent, all-encompassing, and powerful. She controls the totality of life. In this sense, the role of Betari Durga encompasses the role of Ibu Pretiwi. This can be depicted as follows:



As we have seen, these relationships of complementarity and encompassment are also reflected in the relationships between the offerings *bebangkit* and *pulagembal*, particularly in the form and structure of these offerings.



At the level of single offerings, the “fruitful” *pulagembal* contains the symbols of new life, and the “harmonious” *bebangkit* represents the order desired

in the world of Bali. They thus stand next to one another on the offering table. But at the level of the *soroh*, the offering groups, the *bebangkit* not only incorporates the *pulagembal* but also two important meat offerings. In the hierarchy of ritual elaboration, the *bebangkit* group occupies a higher position than the *pulagembal* group. In a similar way, Ibu Pretiwi contains and produces life, but Betari Durga protects and restores it and safeguards the all-encompassing, eternal, cosmic order.

NOTES

* I would like to thank Rens Heringa, David Stuart-Fox, and Robert Wessing for helpful comments and editorial assistance on previous drafts of this article.

1. Throughout this article Indonesian spelling has been used for the names of Hindu deities.

2. The basic data for this article were collected during field research in 1988–89, financed by the Programme of Indonesian Studies, The Netherlands, and sponsored by LIPI and Universitas Udayana, Denpasar. I am very grateful to my Balinese informants and friends. See BRINKGREVE and STUART-FOX 1992 for more general information on, and numerous photographs of, Balinese offerings.

3. *Jaja* is the general name for cookies made of rice dough. In some areas rice-dough figurines that are modeled by hand have different names, such as *cacalan* or *sesamuhan*.

4. In this paper the description of the form and contents of the *bebangkit* and *pulagembal* is mainly based on the situation in Sanur, South Bali, where I conducted most of my fieldwork. However, there exists an enormous regional and local variation as regards form and contents. For example, in Buleleng (North Bali) the *pulagembal* has only one *jaja*, which incorporates many others.

5. The elements of the offering groups also show a wide regional variation. For example, in Bangli the *pulagembal* is often replaced by the related *sekar taman* (flowers of the garden) offering, and in Pura Besakih, the main temple of Bali, the *bebangkit* group does not incorporate a *pulagembal* at all (STUART-FOX 1987, 183).

6. In Balinese cosmology certain values are attached to the main directions of orientation: *kaja*, “upstream” (or the direction of the mountains), and *kelod*, “downstream” (or the direction of the sea), are generally associated with favorable and unfavorable respectively. Also *kangin*, east, is regarded as more favorable than *kauh*, west, since the sun rises in the east. Therefore, the direction between *kaja* and *kangin* is the most propitious direction.

7. Usually the *jaja* of the *bebangkit* and *pulagembal* are multicolored. For special rituals however, all the *jaja* of a single offering are of the same color. For example, the *jaja* of the *bebangkit* used for big *caru* offerings for the demonic beings are colored according to the colors of the corresponding direction in which the offering is placed (black for the north, white for the east, red for the south, yellow for the west, etc.).

8. A Balinese text, *Tutur Kayuktian*, relates the emergence of Betari Durga and her five siblings, who have the capacity to cause all kinds of illnesses (WECK 1986, 130–35). See LOVRIC 1987 for an analysis of this important aspect of Durga.

9. See, for instance, photograph 6a in HOOYKAAS 1977, plate 12 in BELO 1949, photograph 119 in RAMSEYER 1977, page 96 in GEERTZ 1994, plates 16, 17, and 22 in WECK 1986, and many drawings in HOOYKAAS 1980. A discussion of the historical development of the role of Durga in Bali (especially her connection with tantrism) and her relationship with Rangda is beyond the scope of this paper. See, for example, BELO 1949.

10. The sources of this myth, of which no Old Javanese version has been discovered, are the Sanskrit texts *Maṛkaṇḍeya Purana* and *Matsya Purana*.

They tell the epic story of the battle between the Asura demons, led by their king Mahisa, and the gods led by Indra. After the army of the gods was defeated and Mahisa laid claim to power in heaven, Brahma led the defeated gods to seek the help of Visnu and Siva. From the miraculous power of the combined wrath of these two gods, the goddess Durga was born. All the gods hastened to provide her with the most powerful weapons in the hope that she would succeed in defeating Mahisa. (FONTEIN 1990, 156)

11. This image is much in accordance with the values attached to Durga in India. According to KINSLEY (1988, 95–116), her primary mythological function is to combat demons who threaten the stability of the cosmos—she intervenes on a cosmic scale whenever disorder threatens to disrupt the world. But in times of distress she also acts as a personal comforter and savior of her devotees. Moreover, Durga has a close connection with the fertility of crops and of vegetation in general. Her festival is held at harvest time, thus associating her with plants. She also receives blood offerings, which may suggest the renourishment of her powers of fertility through the death of the sacrificed animals.

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