



Questioning the Credibility of Foreign Researchers' Findings in Respect of Identity Politics of Balinese People



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Abstract

There are two main issues raised in this article i.e.: what can be contributed by history through the scientific biographical approach in defining the closest reasons of the implementation of `Eka Dasa Rudra Ceremony` at Besakih Temple in 1963? This issue is very important to be set forward due to the tendency of the foreign researchers who wrote on this topic; they tried to find out the reasons which were far beyond; therefore the related reasons became neglected. Further, what can be contributed by the biographical approach towards humanities and social science? Applying the biographical approach, the previous historians who were just as the consumers of the theory then they are able to open a new path to humanities and show the premises of theories of the critical social sciences taking place unconsciously in social practices.

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1. Introduction

This article talks about how intellectuals of Bali articulated Bali¹ as a culture and how a number of foreign researchers reconstructed it in their scientific works respectively. Its main focus is the establishment of the identity politics of Balinese people. The central arguments are that there was a tendency of a number of foreign researchers were too busy looking for the causes of the emergence of an event until far, far away, but often only based on historical information without evidence, so the actual nearest causes of the incident were neglected.

Adrian (1989), Evans (2002), the central arguments are placed in the framework of the followers of postmodernism that focused on credibility of historical work. As stated by the radical historian Robert Samuel, initiator of the *History Workshop*, each person should look at history not as past record, linked to the fact but only discovery or fiction of its own historians.² Sutrisno & Putranto (2005), in order to face the attacks that doubt the veracity of a piece of history, then C. Behan McCullagh advocated the historian to search for the nearest causes of an event because the concept of

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¹ Articulation is translated as *ngadungang* (Bali, commensurate, adjust or harmonize two different things) that meaningfully express and connect together. See, Mark Hobart, "The end of the world news: television and a problem of articulation in Bali," (International Journal of Cultural Studies, Volume 3, 1, 79-102, June, 1999), p. 19, footnote 24.

² Richard J. Evans, *In Defence of History* (London : Granta Book, 1977), p. 7.

cause includes the idea of something that creates influence. "A welcome given to a colleague at the entrance made him smile, not a *big bang*, the explosion that started the universe."³

Forge (1980), Foucault (1980), based on the central argument, the main target to be achieved in this study is to offer a number of nearest reasons for the formation of the identity of Balinese people neglected by a number of foreign researchers. "This target could be achieved by the proposed four historical events that received serious attention from a number of foreign researchers including *Ajeg Bali* movement, implementation of *Manca Wali Krama* in 1933 and 1960, the construction *Jagatnatha* Temple of Denpasar in 1961,⁴ and the implementation of *Eka Dasa Rudra* ceremony at Besakih in 1963 and 1979. Of all the events that got the most attention is the movement of foreign researchers of *Ajeg Bali* in 2003.

Due to the limited space, this article is focused only on the implementation of the *Eka Dasa Rudra* ceremony in 1963. The goal is to show historians how important to write the biography of a person by using a methodology of scientific biography. In contrast to portrayal biography that seeks only to understand the figures, scientific biography wants to explain the figures, based on scientific analysis. Harker *et al.*, (2009), Haryatmoko (2003), Hobart, M. (2000), therefore a biography of this model requires the use of concepts and theories of psychoanalysis, thus producing a psychohistory (psychiatric history). History changed from that *understanding* into history that *explains* (*erklaren*). *Understanding* the figure means understanding "from within" based on "subjective meaning" of the figure himself as he interprets his life while *explaining* is "to explain from the outside" using the language of science (causal relationships) against certain figure outside his consciousness.⁵

If the methodology is applied according to the procedure,⁶ it will produce a biographical approach that has great benefits, becomes a sort of window to see the treasures of the humanities.⁷ One example is the biography of Thitaketuko Thera which can be used to search for the closest causes of *Eka Dasa Rudra* ceremony in 1963.⁸ The findings in this biography are then paired with the discovery of foreign scholars on the causes of the execution of the ceremony. In this way, there is no single truth of an event. Lansing (1983), McCullagh (2002), McCullagh, C. B. (2004), Ritzer & Jurgenson (2010), this is a necessity because the confidence level of local researchers to foreign researchers is very high, but quite a lot of them who are not proficient in Balinese, so that the credibility of their research is questionable.⁹

The opinion was once proven by Volker Gottowik from the University of Frankfurt, Germany. Along with I Gusti Ngurah Bagus, he made an analysis of the text by Clifford Geertz with the students of Cultural Studies (S-2) of Udayana University. He took one of Geertz's works called "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" (1972). Stuart-Fox (2002), (2014), in this classic ethnographic literature, Geertz describes Balinese culture from the perspective of indigenous peoples. The results of this study indicate that Balinese students see their culture is reduced in details that are not centered on themselves and less depth. The word "*sabung ayam*" ('cockfighting') in Indonesian is more suitable to be translated into "*tajen*." While the word "*siap /ayam*" is unsuitable to be translated into "cock" used by Geertz to refer to a rooster and a female, because this word has no sexual connotation.¹⁰

³ See C. Behan McCullagh, *The Truth of History* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 177.

⁴ See Nyoman Wijaya, "Power Relations In The Practice Of Hindu "Invented Religion" In Bali," a paper presented in Cosmopolis Conference, Yogyakarta 20 to 22 June 2014.

See C. Behan McCullagh, *The Truth of History* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 177.

The author has made five posts about *Ajeg Bali*. See further in the Bibliography of this paper.

See Nyoman Wijaya, "Power Relations In The Practice Of Hindu "Invented Religion "In Bali," paper that was delivered in Cosmopolis Conference, Yogyakarta 20 to 22 June, 2014.

⁵ See further Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah, edisi kedua* (Yogyakarta: PT Tiara Wacana, 2003), pp. 208-209.

⁶ During the 15 years of writing scientific biography, I always dig the slightest information provided by the figures, and then put it in a broader historical events. See Nyoman Wijaya, "Bagaimana Saya Menulis Biografi, Prosopografi, dan Novel Biografis," Paper presented in a Makalah dalam diskusi Pustaka Bentara discussion organized by Kompas Gramedia on Tuesday, March 22, 2011, at 18.00 at Bentara Budaya Jalan By Pass Prof. IB. Mantra No. 88 A, Ketewel, Gianyar.

⁷ Thanks to Bambang Purwanto from UGM who has warned about this during my lecture presenting "Pendekatan Biografis dalam Ilmu Humaniora" dalam Kuliah Umum di Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM, Jurusan Ilmu-Ilmu Humaniora, dated 28 November 2014 in the Multimedia Building of UGM

⁸ Nyoman Wijaya, "Sang Sendi Dhamma: Biografi Sosial Bhikkhu Thitaketuko Thera," Cooperation between Kerjasama Yayasan Trisadhanaputra and CV. Mama & Leon, Denpasar Bali, 2003 (unpublished)

⁹ Thanks to Marx Hobart who reminded me on this subject, both orally and in writings. Similarly, Richard Fox who reemphasized a number of cases of local researchers who cited in a chain wrong accounts of foreign researcher on art practices in Bali.

¹⁰ See Nyoman Wijaya, *Menerobos Badai : Biografi Intelektual Prof. Dr. I Gusti Ngurah Bagus* (Denpasar: Larasan, 2012), pp. 910-913.

The reduction process has spread everywhere in accordance with the level of dissemination of Geertz's works and the opinion of those who cite it as a truth. Therefore, this article is focused on a research question what can be contributed by the biographical approach in searching for the closest causes of the emergence of *Eka Dasa Rudra* ceremony in 1963 and, broadly speaking, what can be donated to the humanities and social sciences.

2. Research Methods

*Findings of foreign researchers*¹¹

In 1960 the local government of Bali held a ceremony of *Panca Wali Krama* and followed in 1963 by *Eka Dasa Rudra*, a ceremony held once every 100 years. The ceremony began on March 8, 1963,¹² and lasted until the top event on March 17, 1963. On March 21, 1963,¹³ coinciding with the Umanis Galungan, the land around Besakih vibrated loudly, but the ceremony continued. At night, there was a very strong earthquake. After that RRI announced that Mount Agung had erupted.¹⁴

Wijaya (1986), (2009), (2012), (2004), (2007), (2012), (2012), the implementation of the ceremony got considerable attention from foreign researchers. Adrian Vickers said that the initiative to hold *Eka Dasa Rudra* ceremony came from the King of Klungkung, Dewa Agung.¹⁵ Anthony Forge believed that the ceremony was held due to the fact that for so long, more than a hundred years the ceremony had never been repeated and because of a very bad situation for some time in previously, so a purification ceremony was needed.¹⁶ David J. Stuart Fox mentioned several factors behind the ceremony, i.e to celebrate the Balinese status as a province after being separated from the East Nusa Tenggara region in 1958 and the status of Hinduism as a religion recognized by the government, and to assert that Pura Besakih as a very important temple in Indonesia.¹⁷ Meanwhile, Stephen Lansing related it with a number of disasters that occurred prior to that year, including the political and economic turmoil that occurred at that time. Everyone felt throughout the twentieth-century bloody disaster that destroyed justice, such as the Dutch and the Japanese occupation, the struggle for independence, widespread corruption and economic ruin after independence.¹⁸

Yasraf (2004), the opinions were more of a cross-generational interpretation than a result of the actual research process on history. Stuart Fox, for example, obtained the information while researching Besakih temple for ten years (1977-1997), and J. Stephen Lansing for eight years (1971-1979) for his book *The Three Worlds of Bali*. They did not use historical documents, so many facts were overlooked.

3. Results and Analysis

3.1 The overlooked historical facts

The overlooked facts are clearly revealed in the biography of Thitakuteko Venerable Thera, that the main cause of the implementation of the ceremony was a desire to purify back Besakih temple after the disclosure of a *tumbal* planting in the temple area. The *tumbal* (sacrificial offerings) was mounted by followers of Gusti Aji, a leader of the spiritual sect in Yogyakarta. The goal was to revive Hinduism in Indonesia that was stored in Bali.

One of his followers named I Ketut Tangkas, from Mengwi, Badung, Bali. He was assigned to search for *tumbal* materials to be planted in Bali. In spite of the quite heavy job for he was forced to steal *keris* (dagger) owned by his

¹¹ This section is a rewrite and improvements from one sub-chapter the author's dissertation writers. See Nyoman Wijaya, "Mencintai Diri Sendiri: Gerakan *Ajeng Bali* dalam Sejarah Kebudayaan Bali 1910-2007," a dissertation to obtain a Doctoral degree in Ilmu Sejarah, Program Pascasarjana Fakultas Ilmu Budaya Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, 2009.

¹² David. J. Stuart Fox, *Pura Besakih: Temple, Religion and Society in Bali* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002), p. 313.

¹³ The determination is based on the date of the document "Daftar Nama-nama Korban Bencana Gunung Agung dari Kampung Subagan Karangasem," see Nyoman Wijaya, "Cahaya Kubah di Ujung Timur Kahyangan: Studi Perkembangan Islam di Kabupaten Karangasem 1950-1980," Thesis S1, not yet published (Yogyakarta: Jurusan Sejarah Fakultas Sastra Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1986), Table 1

¹⁴ See further Nyoman Wijaya, *Menerobos Badai*, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-264.

¹⁵ See, Adrian Vickers, *Bali A Paradise Created* (Australia: Penguin Books, 1989), p. 167.

¹⁶ Anthony Forge, "Balinese Religion and Indonesian Identity," dalam *Indonesia: Australian Perspectives*, J.J. Fox, R.G. Garnaut, P.T. McCawley, J.A.C. Mackie, ed. (Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies The Australian National University), p. 227.

¹⁷ David J. Stuart-Fox, David. J. Stuart Fox, "Pura Besakih A Study of Balinese Religion and Society," unpublished, A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The Australian National University, May, 1978, pp. 36-37.

¹⁸ J. Stephen Lansing, *The Three Worlds of Bali* (New York: Praeger Publisher, 1983), p. 116.

family, he could carry out his duties well. The *tumbal* planting affair was handed over to Captain Margono, a theosophical teacher who had lived in Yogyakarta and was on duty in Bali. The *tumbal* was further submitted to Putu Serangan (Acting Head of Department of Religion of Bali) and Ida Anak Agung Agung Karangasem Anglurah Ktut (former stakeholder of Karangasem).

Putu Serangan then brought it to Karangasem on October 17, 1958.¹⁹ Together with Ida Anak Agung Agung Anglurah Ktut Karangasem, Anak Agung Gde Agung Jelantik (Chairman of the Governing Council of Karangasem), and Ida Rauh Wayan Gde Pidada, he planted the *tumbal* witnessed by *pamangku* (leader of ceremonies) of Besakih, without reporting the Pejabat Sementara Kepala Daerah Bali (Acting Regional Head of Bali).²⁰ The report was not considered necessary, because the *tumbals* were not to be worshiped or evil purposes, but to redevelop Balinese Hinduism in Java and built a temple in Malang.²¹

The existence of the *tumbal* was finally known by I Gusti Ananda Kusuma, a member of parliament of Bali. He was surprised to see there was a strange building just behind the *palinggih padmatiga* (shrines of god Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva). On July 15, 1959, he sent a letter to the Chairman of the Board of Representatives of Bali to be forwarded to the Regional Head of Bali to inquire the matter.²²

The letter was addressed quickly by the Regional Government of Bali. They then dismantled the building at 1 November 1959 accompanied by a simple ceremony. A parcel containing hair and incense was found. The objects were then returned to the owner, Eyang Gusti Aji in Malang.²³ The demolition ceremony was reported by the daily *Suara Indonesia* on November 3, 1959, and November 9, 1959, that the planting of *tumbal* was on Putu Serangan knowledge.

That event has a relatively large influence on the history of Balinese culture. It was started from a letter sent by the Head of Kantor Agama Daerah Tingkat II Klungkung, Pedanda Gede Oka Gunung to the Acting Head of Dinas Agama Daerah Tingkat I Bali in Denpasar on 18 November 1959.²⁴ In addition to an inquiring explanation why the planting of *tumbal* could happen, in the letter, he also explained the history of Besakih temple. He then revealed the contents of *lontar Widdhi Sastra Regasanggara*, and made the conclusion, that the cultivation of the *tumbal* had caused Besakih to experience *kadurmanggalan* (contaminated). This condition should not be allowed but must be cleaned to restore its sanctity by carrying out religious ceremonies at *madia* level (intermediate), or primary.

A few days later there was a discussion on the implementation of *Panca Wali Krama* ceremony at Besakih, by involving all the Hindus of Bali. Bali Local Government submitted the plan in an announcement and published in the daily *Suara Indonesia* on December 10, 1959, which was essentially notification and request for donations. Donations of money or goods could be delivered to the Chairman of DPRD Tingkat II in their respective places.²⁵

The announcement was responded through readers column of *Suara Indonesia* by someone from Gianyar on December 12, 1959. He said for “the sake of Besakih, Hindu-Bali followers would surely dare to sacrifice everything. Provided that the course is right, not what it is today”. Then he asked for what reasons the government of Bali *juari* (without shame) asked for donations to the people for the implementation of a large ceremony at Besakih. As a respected institution, the government should provide a satisfactory explanation to the Hindu Balinese about the planting of *tumbal*.²⁶

The local government of Bali unmoved. *Panca Wali Krama* ceremony was finally implemented in 1960. The series of ceremonies referred to the implementation of a similar ceremony in 1933 because many perpetrators were still alive so there were people who could be used as a guide.²⁷ It was followed in 1963 by organizing the *Eka Dasa Rudra*

¹⁹ “Surat Turunan, Denpasar, 19 Oktober 1959.- No: 1990/1959, Lamp: Acara: Penanaman Tumbal di Pura Besakih.”

²⁰ “Surat Pemberitaan Daerah Tk. I Bali, Denpasar, 9 November 1959.- No : B. 6/5/b3.-, Lamp: I.- Acara: Penanaman tumbal di Pura Besakih.”

²¹ See again “Surat Turunan, Denpasar tanggal 19 Oktober 1959.”

²² “Surat I Gusti Ananda Kusuma, D.HLM.R.D Daerah Tingkat I Bali, Jl. Kamboja D 58, Denpasar. Denpasar, 15 Juli 1959 Kepada Yth. Sdr. Ketua DPRDHLM. Daerah Tingkat I Bali di Bali. Perihal: Ada Bangunan Baru di Belakang Padmasana Pura Penataran Agung Besakih.”

²³ “Surat No : 712/1.- Denpasar 20 November 1959 Turunan dikirim kepada anggota D.HLM.R.D.-Swatantra Tk. I Bali Yth. Saudara Ananda Kusuma di Denpasar, sebagai Jawaban atas surat: tanggal 15 Juli 1959 tidak bernomer Ketua D.HLM.R.D. Swatantra Tk. I Bali Bertanda: Mantja Tk. I.t.d.t I Gst. Ngurah Gde Pugeg.”

²⁴ The letter was copied to Pejabat Sementara Kepala Daerah/Ketua Dewan Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat I Bali di Denpasar; Ketua Parisada Dharma Hindu Bali di Denpasar; Pedanda Tentara CPRAD di Denpasar; Pejabat Sementara Kepala Daerah/Ketua Dewan Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat II Klungkung; Pejabat Sementara Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Tingkat II Klungkung di Klungkung; Dewan Pimpinan Partai Nasional Agama Hindu Bali (Ida Idewa Agung Gede Oka Geg, former King of Klungkung); Dewan Majelis Hinduisme Klungkung; all Kepala Kantor Agama Daerah Tingkat II Seluruh Bali to be informed. Surat Kantor Agama Daerah Tingkat RI Klungkung, No: 357/1959. Klungkung, 18 November 1959 Lamp: -.-, Acara: Penanaman dan Pembongkaran benda-benda di Pura Besakih: “Kandur manggalan (*sic*)” (kecemeran).

²⁵ “Persoalan Tumbal di Pura Besakih, Suara Pembaca, *Suara Indonesia*, tanggal 12 Desember 1959.”

²⁶ The writer of Surat Pembaca turned out to be I Made Kembar Kerepun, as he told it to the author in 2002.

²⁷ According to David. J. Stuart Fox, the ceremony of 1933 was aimed to purify Bali back after experiencing successive disasters, namely the earthquake in 1917, the world influenza outbreak in 1918 which killed 23,000 people, and a plague of rats that

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ceremony. Unlike the *Manca Wali Krama*, no single person could be questioned regarding *Eka Dasa Rudra* ceremony, because the ceremony had never been carried out in Bali for four centuries. Therefore, the committee entered into a collaboration with the Faculty of Letters Udayana University to conduct a research in order to seek the true sense of the meaning of this ceremony. The study was led by I Gusti Ngurah Bagus, field coordinator, by including a number of students from the Department of Archaeology and Indonesian.²⁸

3.2 Contribution of the biographical approach

The description above shows that the biographical approach serves not only as a window opening the repertoire of the humanities but to some extents also provides space for the application of a number of social theory to the behavior of leaders involved in the theory. There are at least two critical social theories implemented unconsciously by the perpetrators of the ceremony. Seen from the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu, religion can be part of the social capital, while its leaders are associated with the symbolic capital related to *doxa* causing symbolic violence relationship to occur. Meanwhile, from the perspective of Michel Foucault, religion is the site of knowledge-truth- power.²⁹

Then how to prove the statement in these findings? Related to Bourdieu, the important thing to know is to understand the workings of his Generative Structural Theory, namely (*habitus x Capital*) + *Domain = Practice*. In this theory, Bourdieu seeks to unite action, power, and changes in the structuralist framework.³⁰ As the name implies, then this theory should not be read in Mathematics, but Biology. Therefore, the *x* is not a multiplication, but smelting (marriage), while the = sign does not mean the same or equivalent to, but conception.

Thus, *habitus* should be mated to the *capital* and then added with a *domain*, so it will produce a social *practice*. That is, to be able to do social practices in society, human beings can not just rely on the *habitus* of course, because it takes capital too. *Habitus* and good capital could generate social practice, but if it is not within the right domain, it will not be able to do good social practices. Social capital can be converted in accordance with the domain or areas of life chosen.

Social practices in this study are the implementation of *Eka Dasa Rudra* ceremony at Besakih in 1963, a religious activity, which belongs to the social capital. It is a network of relationships and connections which becomes resources that are useful in the determination and reproduction of social standing.³¹ Everyone needs social capital because it is a valuable social relationship between individuals.³² But only the religious leader who is able to use it to reproduce social standing, because he has a symbolic capital. Symbolic capital can not be separated from the symbolic power, the power that enables one to get something equivalent to what is obtained through physical and economic power, resulting from a special result of a mobilization.³³

The symbolic capital was owned by Pedanda Gede Oka Gunung, who for the honor and prestige as a Siwa priest, then he was able to move the Acting Head of Dinas Agama Daerah Tingkat I Bali to hold *Ekadasa Rudra* ceremony. At that moment, according to Bourdieu's theory, he had done a symbolic domination, as seen from how the domination was imposed and sustained by others as compliance. So delicate, so the effects of symbolic power, it is not felt, can not even be seen by the victim.³⁴

damaged crops in South Bali 1919. The ceremony was combined with *Ngenteg linggih* the ceremony to reaffirm the gods after the restoration of *palinggih* (holy building) due to damage caused by an earthquake in 1917. David. J. Stuart Fox (1978) *Pura Besakih A Study of Balinese...* "op. cit.", pp. 378 and 283. However, these reasons did not correspond to the real conditions at the time. Based on the results of studies of print media in the period, the ceremony proved to be intended to demonstrate to outsiders, even Christianity had got followers in Bali, but Balinese people still stood firm in their religion through the implementation of *Manca Wali Krama*, which was the biggest ceremony of the time, See Nyoman Wijaya, *Serat Salib dalam Lintas Bali: Sejarah Konversi Agama di Bali 1931-2001* (Denpasar: TSPbooks, 2007), pp. 58-69.

²⁸ The discussion of this matter is further discussed in Nyoman Wijaya, *Menerobos Badai*, loc. cit.

²⁹ Thanks to Haryatmoko from Universitas Sanata Dharma who has given me that kind of frame of thought.

³⁰ Gui do Carmo de Silva, "Strukturalisme dan Analisis Semiotik atas kebudayaan," *Teori-teori Kebudayaan*, Mudji Sutrisno & Hendar Putranto, ed. (Yogyakarta: Kanisius: 2005), p. 124.

³¹ Haryatmoko. "Landasan Teoretis Gerakan Sosial Menurut Pierre Bourdieu: Menyingkap Kepalsuan Budaya Penguasa," *Basis*, No 11-12, Tahun Ke-52. November-Desember 2003, p. 12.

³² George Ritzer-Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern*, terj. Alimandan. Edisi Keenam. Jakarta: Prenanda Media, 2003), pp. 525-526.

³³ Haryatmoko, loc. cit.

³⁴ Haryatmoko, *Dominasi Penuh Muslihat: Akar Kekerasan dan Diskriminasi* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2010), p. 13

But from the perspective of the knowledge-power theory of Michel Foucault which is strongly opposed to Pierre Bourdieu, then the end result will be different. It was true that Pedanda Gede Oka Gunung, because of the honor and prestige he was capable of moving the Acting Head of Dinas Agama Daerah Tingkat I Bali to hold *Ekadasa Rudra* ceremony, but the final decision was in the hands of the Province of Bali. He was certainly not affected by the symbolic domination of Pedanda Gede Oka Gunung, because as stated by Michel Foucault, according to the explanation C. Behan McCullagh, that man's social practice is not driven by their values, but only compromise with the discourse.³⁵ The prominent discourse at that time was tourism as revealed from the President Sukarno's decision to build the Bali Beach Hotel in 1962 and Ngurah Rai Airport in 1963 covering research, drilling, and landfill.³⁶ The same thing was repeated in the *Eka Dasa Rudra* ceremony in 1979, but it is not the place here to talk about it.

This kind of logical thinking can be understood through an explanation of Yasraf Amir Piliang about the theory of Knowledge-Power of Michel Foucault, that in every discourse there is an interrelated relationship between the *expression* of discourse, *knowledge* underlying it, and *power* relations that operate behind it. Each discourse integrates with the operating power behind it; and it can not be separated from the power relations behind them either, which is a product of power exercise. The Foucault's power is plural not centralized, which grow out of a variety of peripheral space, and available everywhere.³⁷

Foucault seeks power in the most difficult places, namely the performance of feelings, love, awareness, instincts and within the confines of the guidelines, the observation of doctors as well as changes that have broad impact in the fields of science such as biology and linguistics. Power does not reflect the class (bourgeoisie) or the ruling elite and its attributes³⁸ and the Province of Bali also sought power in the most difficult places that were the implementation of *Eka Dasa Rudra* ceremony.³⁹

4. Conclusion

On the basis of the above discussion, foreign researchers actually didn't need too far to look for the causes of the implementation of Eka Dasa Rudra ceremony in 1963.⁴⁰ They should seek the nearest, namely, how the religious leaders exercised the symbolic dominance. How did the state officials caught the hidden knowledge in planting *tumbal* discourse, then processed it into power for the benefit of each? I Gusti Ananda Kusuma used it for political purposes in accordance with his position as a member of DPRD Tingkat I Bali (the regional House of Bali). Pedanda Gede Oka Gunung also used it to establish his symbolic dominance at once for political importance because he was also the Head of Kantor Agama Daerah Tingkat II Klungkung. Meanwhile, the Head of Bali Government had a wider interest, including to get the attention of President Sukarno. The administration officials and ordinary people did it for the sake of their own interests in accordance with their respective domains. The conclusion is certainly not final, because there are other possibilities, for both social theories have its own critics respectively, so it is possible to analyze with other more critical social theories.

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Statement of authorship

The author(s) have a responsibility for the conception and design of the study. The author(s) have approved the final article.

³⁵ See, C. Behan McCullagh, *The Logic of History* (London, Routledge, 2004), p. 95.

³⁶ It could be seen in a biography of Tjokorda Gde Raka Sukawati written with the use of scientific biographical method. See Nyoman Wijaya, "Biografi Sosial Sang Penemu Sostrobahu: Tjokorda Raka Sukawati." (2009, unpublished)

³⁷ Yasraf Amir Piliang, *Dunia Yang Dilipat, Tamasya Melampaui Batas-Batas Kebudayaan* (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2004), p. 223.

³⁸ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, Colin Gordon, ed., trans. Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, Kate Soper (Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1980), p. 114.

³⁹ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, Colin Gordon, ed., trans. Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, Kate Soper (Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1980), p. 114.

⁴⁰ David j. Stuart-Fox actually got the information that the planting of *tumbal* was a direct effect of the implementation of the ceremony, but not explored further. See David j. Stuart-Fox (2002), *op. cit.*, pp. 329-330. That's because for a time he deliberately put aside the question of why and how the ceremony can take place. See p. 313.

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