



Indian Influences on Balinese Culture: The Role of Hinduism and Buddhism in Present Day Bali



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Abstract

Indian culture has dominantly influenced the Indonesian people, particularly in the western part of the archipelago. This, which started centuries ago, can still be seen in the peoples' daily lives in social, cultural, economic and political matters. Both the Hindu and Buddhist lessons have been practiced in Bali, although it is argued that the Buddhist lessons had been developed earlier than the Hindu ones. These developments have strongly characterized Balinese daily life, so, it is very important to understand how people anticipate and solve some crucial issues regarding the processes of modernization and globalization. There are some important questions that need to be addressed on the Indian influences in strengthening the Balinese culture from the earlier periods until the modern and even postmodern times. In this case, the specific questions are: Firstly, how did the Balinese accept these two lessons in their daily lives in the context of Balinization processes? Secondly, what kinds of tangible and intangible cultures of the Hindu and Buddhist lessons can be seen in the present day Bali? Thirdly, how do they strengthen the Bali identity or Balinization, known as "Ajeg Bali"? Through this analysis, it is expected to have a better understanding of the issues of social, cultural, economic and political changes in Indonesia in general and Bali in particular in modern and postmodern times.

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1. Introduction

Archeological and historical evidence shows that the ancient Javanese and Balinese cultures were, in many respects, influenced by Indian culture which [Eiseman \(1990\)](#) notes, at a highly evolved level, flourished as far back as 3000 BCE along the banks of the River Sindhu, now called Indus.¹ It is from this name of River Sindhu or Indus that the word “Hindu” derives. It can be said, that early contacts between India and Indonesia began 2000 years ago and today, in Balinese culture can be seen strong influences of the Indian culture. However, despite the Balinese culture is very much based on Indian or Hindu philosophy, indigenous animism and ancestor worship are still being practiced.² [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, have been traveling beyond the frontiers of their origin to Southeast Asia for more than two thousand years ([Haryono, 2012: 41-42](#)). [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 center of Bali Aga is located in East and North Bali, generally around the coastal lakes or in the mountainous 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.

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 East Kalimantan (Kutai), 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. Meanwhile, Buddhism developed in the country around the 5th century or perhaps earlier. This is based on the finding of the Buddha statuette made from bronze in Sempaga Village in South Sulawesi. Astawa refers to Magetsari’s argument noting that the Buddha statuette is similar to that found in Amarawati, which developed in India between the 2nd and the 7th Centuries ([Astawa 2014: 13](#); [Magetsari 1981: 3](#)). In addition, there have been found three Buddha statuettes in Bukit Seguntang near Palembang which are similar to the Buddha statuette found in Sempaga. These statuettes depict Buddha Maitreya and Avalokiteswara in the form of Amogaphasa. From the style, it can be said that these Buddha statuettes are similar to those in Central Java ([Astawa 2014: 13](#); [Kempers 1959: 117](#)).

According to Chinese sources, a priest, Fa-Hsien, was stranded on the Island of Yeh-p’oti (Java?) on his journey from Ceylon to China in 414 CE, when, it is said, Hinduism or Brahmanism was already developed, with Buddhism less so ([Astawa 2014: 13—14](#); [Bosch 1974](#); and [Krom 1956](#)). Due to Fa Hsien’s efforts, Buddhism then developed strongly. This can be seen in the information perpetrated by Gunawarman who came from Ceylon to Java but left in 414 CE. The first work on Buddhism was written by I Tsing in Sumatra (Sriwijaya) at the end of the 7th century (689-692 CE). Astawa argues that Mahayana Buddhism was already developed in Sumatra ([Astawa 2014: 14--15](#)). He bases his argument on that there were some Buddha statuettes found there. I Tsing notes his experiences during his travel from China and several months stay in Sriwijaya, Sumatra, before continuing his journey to learn the Sanskrit language in order to more easily study Buddhism in Nalanda, India. After studying in Nalanda for ten years he returned to Sriwijaya to translate the Buddhist Scriptures for the Chinese. It can be said, that Sriwijaya and Melayu were two Buddhist kingdoms in South Sumatra that had already appeared in the 7th century. Therefore, from these two sources, it can be concluded that the Buddhist influences had already developed in Indonesia between the 5th and 7th centuries. In addition to this, I Tsing mentions that a Chinese traveler, Hui Ning, visited Holing (Java) in 664 -665 CE. At this time, Mahayana Buddhism was already developed there, based on the discovery of the Talang Tuwo inscription. In addition to this, there is also mentioned the term *Vajra Sarira* referring to Vajrayana, the Buddhist Tantrayana scripture. This Tantrayana stresses magic ideas or *vajra*. It is important to note, that both Mahayana Buddhism and Tantrayana had developed in Central Java, where Mahayana Buddhism and Shiwaism could live side by side in the context of harmony and togetherness ([Astawa 2014: 14—15](#); [Coedes 1965: 160](#)).

¹ Indus, in what is now Pakistan, [Eiseman \(1990: 14\)](#)

² In the heritage sites in Pejeng (Gianyar), there is an important artefact older than the pre Hindu period, that is the nekara “*Bulan Pejeng*” which is still kept in Penataran Sasih Temple ([Ardhana and Setiawan 2014: 634](#)). Balinese performing arts often depict stories from Indian or Hindu epics such as the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, but with heavy Balinese influences. Famous Balinese dances include *Pendet*, *Legong*, *Baris*, *Topeng*, *Barong Kecak* etc.

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Later, the Sailendra Dynasty ruled in Central Java and built Borobudur in mid 9th century where we can see symbols of Mahayana Buddhism as well as in Sewu and Sari which were built around 800 CE. It is unfortunate, that there cannot be found any inscriptions or written sources regarding what kinds of Buddhist scriptures are depicted in the 1300 reliefs of Borobudur. However, it can be said that at least from the reliefs we know the symbols regarding the ways of how a Buddhist can reach Nirwana or heaven.³ During the time of the spread of the Hindu kingdoms from Central to East Java in the 10th century, it seems that Buddhism in Central Java was less developed. In the 13th century, it grew strongly particularly in the reign of King Kertanegara --who was a Buddhist as indicated by the terms *Jinabhiseka* for the King and *Siddhacarya* for his *Guru*, Bharada from Singosari in East Java, which can be seen in several shrines in East Java such as Candi Jago, Candi Jawi and Candi Singosari. Buddhism developed not only in Sumatra (Sriwijaya) and Java but also in Bali as can be seen in several artifacts in Pegunungan, Kalibukbuk, Goa Gajah and Candi Dasa (Astawa 2014: 16). Astawa notes that there are many Buddhist remains like the statuettes of the Dhyani Buddha, Bodhisattva reliefs etc., consisting of Buddhist mantras in Prenagari letters and in the Sanskrit language. These archeological remains originate from the 8th Century. The Buddhist mantra, called *ye te mantra* is as follows (Goris 1948: 11; Budiastara 1980):

Ye dharma hetu-prabawa (the condition about the reasons of the events)
Hetun tesan tathagato hyawadat (already explained by *Tathagata/ Buddha*)
Tesan ca yo nirodha (Sir, the *Mahatapa* already also explained about it)
Evam wadi mahasramanah (what should be done by the people, in order to solve the reasons)

From this can be gauged to what extent the Buddhist lessons regarding the Tathagat/ Buddha were already developed at that time. It is also important to note that most of the Buddhist remains can be found in Pejeng and Bedulu villages (now in the District of Gianyar). Both of these villages are considered to be very significant archeological and historical sites particularly from the period of Classical Balinese history. In addition to this, these two villages, Pejeng and Bedulu, are considered as the most important villages, with Pejeng (which at that time included Bedulu) the centre for King Udayana and Princess Mahendradatta who are thought to be the founders of Balinese civilization and culture (Ardhana and Setiawan 2014; Stuttherheim 1929). In addition to this, the uniqueness, diversity and excellence of Balinese culture in the local, national and universal contexts has led UNESCO to provide world class recognition and others to grant awards such as the Balinese Dagger (*Keris*) in 2005 and the Balinese Irrigation System in 2012 (Geriya 2013: 2--3).

2. Research Methods

We use mostly the secondary data. In the context of the theoretical framework, we apply the concept of Sartono Kartodirdjo, in which historical method has been used in analyzing the data.⁴ In this context, we apply five theories namely historical understanding, historical explanation, historical objectivity, historical causation, and historical determinism.⁵

3. Results and Analysis

3.1 Hinduism in Bali: Early Developments

From historical sources, it is clear that the Hindu kingdom, Mataram, had been established in Central Java when all of the Hindu lessons were still in Sanskrit and Pallawa. So, it was hard, for the common people, to understand the contents of the Hindu scriptures. Later, many Hindu lessons were translated into the Old Javanese or Kawi language. This means that the Hindu lessons could be understood more easily by the common people. Both Hinduism (Shiwaism) and Buddhism were considered as similar religions in East Java in the 13th century as stated in the book of *Sutasoma*: "*Bhineka Tunggal Ika tan hana dharma mangrwa*," meaning unity and diversity (Lukisan *Sutasoma*, 2012). These

³ Until now, the Buddhists pray to the Buddha (International Mahayana Buddhism or Agama Buddha Mahayana International) at Borobudur in the context of the celebration of the Day of Vesak.

⁴ Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Pendekatan Ilmu Sosial dalam Metodologi Sejarah* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka, 1992), p. 3.

⁵ Ida Bagus Sidemen, "Lima Masalah Pokok dalam Teori Sejarah," dalam *Widya Pustaka* edisi Tahun VIII Nomor 2 Januari 1991 (Denpasar: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Udayana, 1991), pp. 30-31.

Indian names and influences can be seen in the inscriptions particularly in the architecture of Southeast Asia which can be described as in the Indic regional style. Through this it can be said that the Indian influences provide scientific concepts in the development of Southeast Asia. Despite that, the Balinese strongly preserve and maintain their, prior to Hinduism and Buddhism, cultural traditions. This can be seen until now, for example, in the concept of *Bhatara* and *Bhatari* and the ancestor worship, called *Atmasiddhadewata* or *Dewa Pitra*, held in certain temples (family temples) such as *sangghah*, *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 the present time as is articulated in this paper in describing the influences of India on the Balinese culture and also its further impacts on the spread of Hinduism and Buddhism as it exists in present-day Bali.

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.⁶ King Udayana had been known since the 11th century as the King of Bali, is the man who laid the foundations of Balinese culture, especially in terms of politics, law, and government of Ancient Bali. 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 had 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.

In relation to this issue, Sidemen (2010: 25) notes that in the 8th century, Balinese society is believed to have adhered to Hindu-Buddhist culture, as also happened in the kingdoms of Central Java in the era of Sailendra (Bosch and Poerbatjaraka 1975: 22). Sidemen support this view with the discovery of artifacts, inscriptions and archeological relics that indicate that Balinese society before it believed in Hinduism, firstly adhered to the Buddhist religion. Then, 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 center of the Balinese kingdom in the Classical Balinese history period. At that time the concept of *Devaraja* (The *Raja* or King as God) also developed (Rema 2014: 2). 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. These had the function of organizing and maintaining social harmony (Geriya 2013: 43). The two religions, Hinduism and Buddhism, could develop contiguously which in India did not happen because of conflict between their believers (Goris 1974: 10). Living peacefully alongside people of other ethnicities happened in the era of the Udayana Kingdom when some political dynamics occurred. Sedyawati et al. (2012: 205) argue that in the center of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms in Java there was competition in the political constellation. According to their argument, there were two strong reasons: One, a pressure for humans to live a better life and the other, an alliance of power as a form of competition. In the period of King Udayana, particularly in the Ancient and Middle Bali periods, acculturation and tolerance could be created. Hinduism as inherited today is the result of a process of acculturation and tolerance between the Buddhist and Shiwa religions.

Prior to 1350, the *Raja* or King left written evidence, therefore, it is easier to determine the inclusion of Hindu and Buddhist religions in Bali. The King as the highest ruler and priests, were applying central Hindu values, such as the *mandala* system which can be seen in the structure of Balinese temples which are usually divided into three parts (*Tri Mandala*): *Jaba* is the outer yard, *Jaba Tengah* is the middle yard and *Jeroan* is the inner yard. This *Tri Mandala* is also associated with the human body: feet (*Jaba*, outer yard), body (*Jaba Tengah*, middle yard) and head (*Jeroan*). *Tri Mandala* is also associated with *Tri Loka* (three worlds). *Jaba* is *bhurloka*, *Jaba Tengah* is *Bwahloka*, and *Jeroan* is *Swahloka* (heaven). In addition to this, the functions and activities in each yard are also different, namely, *Jaba* is profane, *Jaba Tengah*, middle yard, is semi-sacred and *Jeroan*, inner yard, is the most sacred.

In Bali, many temples were built, particularly in the post-Majapahit period, after the 14th century. Therefore, Bali is known as "The Island of a Thousand Temples". It is important to note that temples in Bali can be classified into several groups based on genealogy, territory and special purposes. Firstly, the genealogy temples such as *Sangghah* or *Pamerajan* and *Paibon*. Secondly, temples based on territories such as *Kahyangan Tiga* (Village Temples), *Kahyangan*

⁶ The name of the King, between 896 CE and 914 CE is unknown.

Jagat (the State Temples e.g. Besakih, Batur) and Thirdly, temples for special purposes: temple for market (*Melaning*), voluntary temple (*Pura Pemaksan*) and *Subak* Temples (*Hulun Suwi/ Bedugul*). In addition to this, it is important to understand about the Balinese temples and associated Gods. *Kahyangan Tiga*; *Pura Puseh* (Wisnu as the protector), *Pura Desa* (Bale Agung) Brahma as creator and *Pura Dalem* (Shiwa as the destroyer). Meanwhile, for the *Kahyangan Jagat*: Lempuyang Temple for Iswara, Andakasa Temple for Brahma, Batukaru Temple for Mahadewa, Batur Temple for Wisnu, Besakih Temple for Shiwa, Gowalawah Temple for Maheswara, Uluwatu Temple for Rudra, Pangelengan Temple for Sangkara and Besakih Temple for Sambhu. Despite the influences of India or Indic influences, however, it can be concluded that the Balinese are able to synergise their cultural traditions and Hinduism, Buddhism as well as ecology, to make them capital assets. The Balinization in terms of art and culture as a source of identity has become the basis of inspiration and harmony as well as a never run dry source of creativity (Covarrubias 1937; Eiseman 1990).

The *Subak* system in Bali can be explained as follows: It is the complex of ricefields obtaining water from the one conduit or from the one branch of a conduit. The owners of the rice fields 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). The Balinese archeological evidence from the 9th century CE mentions several terms related to the irrigation system. The term of *Subak* or *Kasuwakan* already appeared in Balinese incipations 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*, particularly in the context of Balinese rituals, means three things that cause happiness or prosperity including *Palemahan* (environment), *Pawongan* (human beings/people) and *Parhyangan* (God). The *Palemahan* relates to 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 a human being and human being and in harmony with the environment.

In past Balinese history, the *Subak* played a major role, as we can see in the heritage sites along the riversides of Pakerisan and Petanu and also in the villages of Pejeng and Bedulu. For example, on the riverside of Pakerisan spring, from the upstream, is the Temple of Tirta Empul with its unique water spring that was mentioned in the old script dated 960 CE or 882 on the Saka calendar system. At the riverside of Patanu, there is an important site that represents two religious faiths; Hinduism and Buddhism. Until now, this site is still well known as the Elephant Cave or Goa Gajah. It is related to the power of Bali with all of those heritage sites belonging to the Warmadewa Dynasty between the 10th and the 14th centuries CE or to the Old Bali period (Geriya 2013: 41). Sri Kesari as the seed of the Warmadewa Dynasty left three old scripts, two found in the mountains of Malat Gede and Panempahan Tampaksiring and the third in Blanjong, Sanur. Geriya (2013: 41) mentions that the three old scripts had a similar date of 835 of the Saka calendar system or the equivalent to 913 CE. The government of Bali has proposed several *Subak* as World heritage sites, namely, the rice terrace of Jatiluwih in Tabanan and several *Subak* irrigated from the water of Batur Lake in Bangli and Gianyar Districts. Indeed, UNESCO has declared that several *Subak* in Bali is included as World heritage sites in June 2012.

3.2 Buddhism in Bali: Shifting Religions

One of the oldest forms of acculturation in Bali remains visible in the form of inscriptions of the kings of ancient Bali. The inscription Sukawana, from the 9th century (882 CE) mentions the similarities between the situations in Bali and Java.⁷ This inscription also tells us about the activities following the king's order to the monks⁸ to build a hermitage in Cintamani, now Kintamani.⁹ Inscription Trunyan, 10th century (911 CE) is written in Ancient Balinese language, however, it is impossible to understand the translation very thoroughly.¹⁰ In this inscription, is found a comparison between two religions, namely the Brahmin religion and the community Trunyan religion.¹¹

In the 11th century (1001 CE) there was an inscription which proclaims that the king commissioned the Shiwa - Buddha religious leader and Senapati Kuturan to investigate the circumstances of the villagers in the Air Tawang.¹² The incident occurred during the reign of (Queen) Ratu Sri Gunapriyadharmapatni (Mahendradatta) and her husband, Dharmodayana Warmadewa or Udayana. In running the government, they were assisted by the *senopati* and the leader

⁷ I Gusti N Panji Tisna, *Djatajoe*, No. 5, 25 December 1936, Tahoen ka 1.

⁸ N D Pandit Shastri, *Sejarah Bali Dwipa, I*, Denpasar: Bhuvana Saraswati, 1963.

⁹ R. Goris, *Sejarah Bali Kuno*, Singaraja, no publisher, 1948: 16.

¹⁰ I Gusti N Panji Tisna, *op. cit.*: 164-165.

¹¹ ND Pandit Shastri, *op. cit.*: 25.

¹² *Ibid.*: 46-47.

of the Shiwa and Buddhist religions. Ratu Sri Gunapriyadharmapatni and her husband, Darmodayana Warmadewa were replaced by Dharmawangawardhana Marakata Pangkaja Sthânauttungadewa who issued inscriptions in 1022, 1023 and 1025. According to Goris, this king was the son of the Ratu Sri Gunapriyadharmapatni and Darmodayana Warmadewa.¹³ In the first inscription (1022), Marakata ordered people to clean the cemetery Banyu Weka and improve the park and temple Baturan (Batian). By carrying out this obligation, the people in this village were exempt from paying taxes. The inhabitants were also required to serve the guests who visited this place. In the reign of King Anak Wungsu, the king left a number of chartered ruins, such as a giant statue, found in the temple in the village Pegulingan Pejeng. There was also an Anak Wungsu inscription written in 1049 found in Trunyan. The inscription tells the villagers in Trunyan that they have their own customs and mentions that as the inscription made by the previous king had become damaged the people in this village begged the king to update it by using a copper plate.¹⁴ Behind the statue's inscription, the names of employees during the reign of the Anak Wungsu are mentioned. On the wall of a cliff in the village there is also an article Sangsit of the year 1071 CE and at the Gunung Penulisaan, there is a twin statue from 1074 CE.¹⁵

Anak Wungsu was replaced by Maharaja Çri Maharaja Çri Walaprabhu. This king bequeathed three inscriptions, but none shows the year number. An expert suspects that the inscriptions were made between the years 1079-1088 CE.¹⁶ The Kings of Bali who used the title of emperor is Walaprabu, Sakalendu Kirana, Çri Çûrâdhipa, Jaya Çakti, and Jaya. Even if his identity cannot be ascertained, a thing that can be noted from the reign of this king is the emergence of the Vishnu Hindu sect. Walaprabu was a religious follower of Vishnu.¹⁷ Thus, in the 7th century began a process of transformation from the Shiwa to the Vishnu religion. The religious devotees of Vishnu refer to themselves as the Wesnawa. This community is divided into two groups namely Bhagawata and Pancarata. Both are now no longer in Bali, but remnants can still be traced, because the glory of these teachings is still maintained by the group *Sengguhu*.¹⁸

In the 13th century, the Tantrayana lesson developed in Bali, in the religious beliefs espoused by King Kertanegara. After Kertanegara conquered Bali in 1284, for a long time there were no inscriptions found in Bali. New inscriptions reappeared between 1296-1300 and number two, but do not mention the name of the king; just of the king governor (*raja patih*) Kebo Parud. According to Goris, Kebo is a name used in the royal rank Singhasari. Besides Kebo in the royal government bureaucracy of Singhasari, there is also the name and rank of a minister who also uses the name of an animal.¹⁹ The Shiwa-Buddhist religion eventually collapsed during the reign of King Astasura Ratna Bhûmi Banten and his name is found on a statue in the temple Tegeh Koripan on Gunung Penulisan. The name was found on the back of this statue and there are also paintings from the year 1332 CE and on the Langgahan inscription written in 1337 CE. In this inscription, there is the name of Paduka Bhatara Çri Asta-sura Ratna Bhûmi Banten. Gora Sirikan argues Çri Asta-sura Ratna Bhûmi Banten was the last king of the ruling Warmadewa Dynasty in Bali.²⁰

3.3 Tangible and Intangible Cultures in Present Day Bali

After the end of the ancient Balinese King, Çri Asta-sura Ratna Bhûmi Banten when Bali was controlled by the Majapahit regime there developed the Çaiwasiddanta lessons. This religion survives until now by the name of Hindu Dharma. The followers of this lesson do not damage or destroy the acculturation that has been formed, but rather adopt that which seems to be their own. This can be seen from the propping up of a number of artifacts that constitute the previous symbols.

¹³ R Goris, *op. cit.*: 9.

¹⁴ N D Pandit Shastri, *op. cit.*: 63.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*: 93-94.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*: 88.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*: 68.

¹⁸ Gora Sirikan, *op. cit.*: 42.

¹⁹ R. Goris, *Sejarah Bali Kuno, loc. cit.*

²⁰ N D Pandit Shastri, *op. cit.*: 126.

Shiwa- Buddha relics

Initially, many suspected, the influence of Buddhism in Bali came at about the same time as the Shiwa religion. However, after a thorough study, it turns out that Buddhism came much later than the Shiwa religion.²¹ Shiwaism developed in the 8th century, while Buddhism arrived in the 10th century. Evidence of the entry of Buddhism can be seen from the finding of hundreds of *stupika* and clay stamps in the Bedulu and Pejeng villages. Besides containing Buddhist *mantras* called *yete* spells, these stamps also contain reliefs shaped as ornaments of the Dhyani Bodhisattva.



Example of Stupika and clay stamps
Taken from www.google.com

In addition to this, there were also statues of the Dhyani Buddha and umbrella stupa series in the Goa Gajah Temple, as well as some of the Gana creature reliefs in the Pegulingan Sukawati Temple in Tampaksiring. Buddhist *mantras* show similarities with the *mantra* of the type found in Central Java. From the archaeological style, the Dhyani Buddhas in Goa Gajah Temple are such as the Dhyani Buddha Amithaba and the Dhyani Buddha Amoghasidhi also in the Pegulingan Temple. The Dhyani Buddha in Basangambu Village in Tampaksiring shows the style that spread in Southeast Asia (Astawa 2014: 18). At about the same time, Hinduism entered Gianyar. This is evident from the discovery of the Çiwa Mahaguru with four arms and in the *lalitasana* attitude, in the Pura Desa Alit, Bedulu.²² Buddhist relics fused with the Shiwa religion can be looked at the Pura Subak Kedangan. In this temple, there are two statues of Bodhisattvas placed on the altar Pengaruman. In addition to the statue of Buddha, there is also stored in the altar, a statue of Ganesha. Another Shiwa element contained in this temple is a Lingga. According to Ida Bagus Mantra, a Bodhisattva statue influenced by Khmer of Cambodia can be classified to be from the time of Balinese Hinduism. This statue has international and classical characteristics. At that time, the art production was still influenced by outside elements that may have directly come from Southeast Asia and India.²³

²¹ On July 16, 1962 Pandit Shastri obtained an answer based on aspects of paleography. The Pejeng tablets were derived from a Xth century tablet of this kind found in the Tokum niche, Wellesly Province in Malayasia in a building which is about nine feet into the cave in Kedah, N D Pandit Shastri, *loc. cit.*

²² A A Gde Oka Astawa, "Menyingkap Peradaban Bali di antara Tukad Pakerisan dan Petanu" in Seri Penerbitan Forum Arkeologi Oktober, Denpasar, Departemen Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Balai Arkeologi Denpasar, 2007: 26-27.

²³ Ida Bagus Mantra, "Arca-arca Kuna di Desa Bedulu dan Buruan Refleksi Pemersatu Bangsa" in Ayu Ambarawati, *Manfaat Sumberdaya Arkeologi Untuk Memperkokoh Integrasi Bangsa*, Denpasar, Upada Sastra, 2002: 220.



Bodhisattva Statue in Subak Kedangan Temple
Taken from www.google.com

It can be said, that the Bodhisattva statue in the Subak Kedangan Temple is a sculpture that shows direct influence from Southeast Asia, especially Cambodia, although the original elements of Indonesian art are still visible. This statue described as of Bodhisattva Simhanada Awalokiteswara originates from the Bali Hindu era of the 8th to the 10th centuries.²⁴ According to [Stutterheim \(2002: 225\)](#), the Bodhisattva statue has similarities with relief sculptures of Bodhisattva in Borobudur under the influence of India.²⁵ In celebration of the birth (temple ceremony) Pura Subak Kedangan, sculptures from the Shiwa and the Buddhist pantheons, are worshipped by members of the local *Subak*. This shows that the visible elements of Hinduism and Buddhism have fused so that the values of both religions have become united. Religious tolerance is not only reflected in the Pura Subak Kedanga but also in some of the cultural complexes such as the Pura Goa Gajah. In the Goa Gajah temple complex, there are two statues of the Buddha, located on the banks of the river Petanu. In addition to the statues of the Buddha, this temple has a statue of Ganesha, a Lingga, a Guard, Fountains, and Hariti. This evidence indicates, that the Shiwa and Buddhist faiths can coexist peacefully. Relics of the Shiwa religion (Ganesha, Lingga) can be seen in a complex to the north and of Buddhism (Stupa, Dhyani Buddha Amitabha, Men Brayut) in a complex to the south. Thus, a number of Hindu and Buddhist physical cultural elements can still be seen in Bali up to the present time. However, because of the growing influence of Çaiwasiddanta religion, the practice of Buddhism weakened so that it can be found only in certain places, such as in Budakeling, Klungkung.

²⁴ Astawa, "Arca-arca Kuna di Desa Bedulu dan Buruan Refleksi Pemersatu Bangsa," Ayu Ambarawati *Manfaat Sumberdaya Arkeologi Untuk Memperkokoh Integrasi Bangsa*, Denpasar, Upada Sastra, 2002: 221.

²⁵ Stutterheim, "Arca-arca Kuna di Desa Bedulu dan Buruan Refleksi Pemersatu Bangsa" in *Manfaat Sumberdaya Arkeologi Untuk Memperkokoh Integrasi Bangsa*, Denpasar, Upada Sastra, 2002: 225.



Ganesha Statue in Goa Gajah Temple.
Taken from www.google.com



Lingga in Goa Gajah Temple.
Taken from www.google.com



Pancoran Statues in Goa Gajah Temple.
Taken from www.google.com



Hariti statue, *Men Brayut* (on the right) in Goa Gajah Temple
Taken from www.google.com



Debris perhaps part of the stupas in Goa Gajah Temple
Taken from www.google.com

Return of Buddhism

At the time of the Indonesian Independence (on August 17, 1945), Buddhism reappeared in a new form, called Theravada Buddhism. This religion began to rise again in Indonesia in the late 1950s. Brought in by the nun Ashin Jinarakkhita (Tee Boan An); ordained in Burma by Mahasi Sayadow on January 23, 1954. She arrived in Indonesia on January 15, 1955. Not long after, she spread Theravada Buddhism to almost all of Java.²⁶ One of her followers was I Ketut Tangkas, a theosophy group member in Yogyakarta who came from Mengwi in the Badung Regency of Bali. In December 1955 he took part in the vipassana meditation at the monastery Watugong.²⁷ After arriving in Singaraja (North Bali), he introduced Theravada Buddhism to his friend, Ida Bagus Giri.²⁸ Although Ida Bagus Giri was not initially interested in the Buddhism described by I Ketut Agile, following frequent conversations, in the end, he knew that it meant freedom from negative things in this life; unlike the desire to go to heaven. He eventually received the spirit to be able to escape from the law of karma that leads to sadness. After that, he practiced vipassana.²⁹ Ida Bagus Giri's study of Buddhism had the support of the young, especially those who often came to his house to play the gamelan. More serious support came from Ida Bagus Ketut Jelantik, an uncle of the author Geguritan Sucita. He too was a theosophist, so his work was loaded with religious teachings.³⁰ Ida Bagus Giri eventually became very interested in Buddhism, so did not hesitate in making his home a gathering place for enthusiasts of the Buddha's teachings. They were people who were happy with the Buddhist teachings contained in *Saracamuscaya* and *Sutasoma*. Quite soon, there came the initiative of Ida Bagus Giri to build the Yehpanes Vihara, Banjar, on land owned by his family. The

²⁶ Edij Juangari, *Menabur Benih Dharma Di Nusantara: Riwayat Singkat Bhikkhu Ashin Jinarakkhita*, Bandung, Yayasan Penerbit Karaniya, 1995: 56-58.

²⁷ Nyoman Wijaya, "Sang Sendi Dhamma: Biografi Sosial Bhikkhu Thitaketuko Thera," Denpasar, Cooperation Yayasan Trisadhanaputra and CV Mama & Leon, 2003: 172.

²⁸ *Ibid*: 218.

²⁹ *Ibid*.

³⁰ Nh. Dini, *Panggilan Darma Seorang Bhikkhu Riwayat Hidup Saddhamma Kovida Vicitta Bhanaka Girirakhito Mahatera*, Semarang, Yayasan Buddhagaya Watugong, 1996: 45.

building area of approximately 12 x 8 metres was enough to accommodate about thirty people.³¹ It was at the edge of the rubble of the former thermal baths built by the Japanese occupation government. The roof is made of thatch.³²

The existence of the vihara pushed I Ketut Tangkas to invite the nun Ashin to give a lecture to Buddhists and ordain a number of *upasaka* and *upasika*. After the ordination ceremony, the Buddhist atmosphere really shone in the Yehpanes Vihara area, particularly during the exposition of the Buddha's teachings, philosophy, and meditation. In order to be more satisfied, then, I Ketut Tangkas recommended that they practice vipassana meditation at Watugong Vihara in Semarang. The proposal continued to resonate, so that nine serious enthusiasts, including Ida Bagus Giri, Ida Bagus Jelantik, Ida Bagus Ngurah Tugil, I Nengah Astika and Ida Bagus Gede went to Semarang.³³ After they returned from the Watugong Vihara, Buddhist religious activities in the Yehpanes Vihara continued making the Yehpanes Vihara increasingly recognized as a place of meditation, especially after Narada Mahathera, a monk from Sri Lanka, came to Bali to give lectures on Buddhism.³⁴ Since the number of followers of Buddhism had increased there came the desire to implement vipassana meditation in Bali by inviting the nun Ashin. The designers of this event, among others, were I Ketut Tangkas, Ida Bagus Giri and Nengah Astika. Graduates of vipassana Watugong could also participate, while still practicing. However, whether or not they participated in the official vipassana meditation depended on their own decisions.³⁵ In fact, there were some vipassana Watugong graduates who participated more than once. Also participating were the theosophists of the Beringkit, Pupuan and Gianyar groups; theosophical groups that were formed in Bali since the Dutch colonial era. One of the Theosophical leaders was I Gusti Ketut Jelantik who in 1937 founded the lodge Adnyana Nirmala in Bali. He came from the Kapal village about 12 kilometers north of downtown.³⁶ I Ketut Tangkas contacted I Gusti Jelantik, invited him to discuss Buddhism and meet in Gianyar.³⁷ I Ketut Tangkas also visited Dharma Wijaya, the name coined by Gusti Jelantik for one of the theosophy groups. He came from Jero Oka Ssetan, a local manor house, but stayed at Sanglah, at the eastern end and Jalan Nias, Denpasar.

On May 21, 1959, I Ketut Tangkas ordained some *samanera* novices.³⁸ On June 3, 1959, he has ordained a monk in the Besakih Temple when his name was changed to Jinapiya.³⁹ Ordination placed I Ketut Tangkas as a third monk in Indonesia after the nun Ashin and monk Jinaputta. He was the youngest among the three. Once ordained, Monk Jinapiya attracted almost all to the Yehpanes Vihara and was greeted with hope by the followers of Buddhism in Bali who wanted to invite Jinaputta to devise a plan for the development and dissemination of the teachings of Buddhism in Bali.⁴⁰ They proposed that Monk Jinapiya stays in Bali. That desire, however, could not be realized, because he had to carry out duties in Java to get through the first year obligation as a rover *dhamma*.⁴¹ Once it was decided, the development of Buddhism in Bali would continue to be under the coordination of Ida Bagus Giri.⁴²

While Ida Bagus Giri was active in Bali, Monk Jinapiya fell into very solid activity as rover *dhamma* in the Watugong Vihara, so increasingly rarely returned to Bali. His trips were not limited to Java and Bali, but he also went to Sulawesi and Sumatra. The goal to preach and promote the teachings of Buddhism remained. In 1959, with the other monks, he traveled *dhamma* to Makassar.⁴³ After a full month in Makassar, at the beginning of November 1959, Monk Jinapiya went to Medan, North Sumatra to the Bodhi Vihara, Jalan Medan Asia. In March 1960, he left to return to the Watugong Vihara to perform the following three-month period, ie, living in a monastery while providing and studying the teachings of Buddha. After that, he attended meetings in foreign countries like Singapore, Vietnam (Saigon) and Cambodia; in places where he was assigned to represent Indonesian monks in discussions of Buddhism.⁴⁴ Thus, Buddhism which after the entry of Majapahit to Bali had dimmed for centuries, finally, in the mid-1950s bounced back with a new face, which is Theravada Buddhism. However, the presence and development of Theravada Buddhism in Bali did not run smoothly. One of those who participated in inhibiting its entry was the Ida Bagus Mantra.

³¹ Nyoman Wijaya, *op. cit.*: 219.

³² Nh. Dini, *op. cit.*: 53.

³³ Nyoman Wijaya, *op. cit.*: 221.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Tollenaere, Herman A O de, 1996. *The Politics of Divine Wisdom. Theosophy and labour, national, and women's movements in Indonesia and South Asia 1875-1947*, Leiden, Uitgeverij Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen:17.

³⁷ Nyoman Wijaya, *op. cit.*: 223.

³⁸ *Ibid.*: 259.

³⁹ Edij Juangari, *op. cit.*: 122.

⁴⁰ Nyoman Wijaya, *op. cit.*: 273.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*: 275.

⁴³ Edij Juangari, *op. cit.*: 131.

⁴⁴ Nyoman Wijaya, *op. cit.*: 299.

3.4 Doubt about the Reception of Theravada Buddhism

Ida Bagus Mantra was of Brahmin descent, a graduate of Visva Bharati University Shiva, Shanti Niketan, India which was founded by Rabindranath Tagore. He began to study at this university in 1950, through the Association Office of the Government of Indonesia.⁴⁵ On his return from India, Ida Bagus Mantra devoted his time to work for the Indonesian government. He was given a job as an Assistant Expert in the Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia, on June 11, 1956. With little time for teaching, he returned to India to continue his studies at the doctoral level. On December 22, 1957, he earned a Doctorate of Philosophy. On 1 November 1958, Ida Bagus Mantra moved to Bali to become a lecturer at the Faculty of Letters, the University of Airlangga which was inaugurated by President Soekarno on 29 September 1958.⁴⁶

Knowing Ida Bagus Mantra was already in Bali, I Ketut Tangkas invited Oka Diputhra to visit the Faculty of Arts. He intended to ask for advice on what should be done to deepen the knowledge of meditation and Buddhism. Ida Bagus Mantra suggested that they not propagate Buddhism in Bali, because its elements and even more, were already there. If I Ketut Tangkas was prepared to propagate Buddhism in Java, then Ida Bagus Mantra promised to provide support which he was certain he could do as he had given lectures to Buddhists when he was a teacher in the city of Malang. Having said that, Ida Bagus Mantra explained the concepts and teachings of the causes of the decline of Buddhism in Java. He was able to explain the problem even including also explanations of the basics of Buddhism very ably, far exceeding the descriptions by I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa in his writings in newspapers.⁴⁷

Discourse on the objections to the presence of Theravada Buddhism in Bali shows that this was caused by many factors. In addition to being confronted with the widespread influence of the Christian religion, the Balinese Hindus were celebrating the recognition of Hinduism as an official religion in Indonesia. The victory was obtained after Hindus in Indonesia showed themselves to be against the hegemony of the political Islam which lasted for nearly eight years. Recognition of the existence of Hinduism occurred on September 5, 1958.⁴⁸ After this, Hindu religious leaders in Bali busied themselves with preparing a big agenda, which established the supreme council of Hindus, now called the Hindu Association of Indonesia. Therefore, it is understandable, if Ida Bagus Mantra like I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa and Ida Pedanda Made Kemenuh were very sensitive to the inclusion of Theravada Buddhism. In the days of the New Order, the Indonesian government recognized Buddhism as an official religion in Indonesia. The legal basis is the Decree of the President of the Republic of Indonesia No. 45 of 1974 and the Decree of the President of the Republic of Indonesia No. 30 of 1978 which established the Directorate General of Community Guidance of Hindus and Buddhists. In 1983, the Day of Vesak was set by the government as a national holiday with Presidential Decree No. 3/1983.⁴⁹

That recognition put Buddhism on a par with four other religions, namely Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, and Hinduism. Thus, Theravada Buddhism was not only believed to be the successor of the ancient Balinese religion and the Buddhist kingdom of Majapahit but represented Buddhists all over Indonesia and made it possible to build a temple in the complex of five houses of worship in Nusa Dua, Bali, known as the Puja Mandala area. The place of worship which they built was named Vihara Buddha Guna in line with the four other places of worship, namely Pura Jagatnatha, Mesjid Ibnu Batutah, Gereja Bukit Doa and Gereja Khatolik Maria Bunda Segala Bangsa.⁵⁰ New Order government policies on religion became ambivalent. On the one hand, the New Order regime recognized the existence of Buddhism, but on the other, they prohibited Confucianism. Not only Confucianism, but the New Order regime also prohibited Sai Barong dance performances, but this tradition had entered Indonesia, together with the migration of the people of China to Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, some 5,000 years ago. Anonymous.⁵¹ Prohibition of the religion of Confucianism was a step backward by the Indonesian government in religious policy. For in the days of President Soekarno where Confucianism never gained recognition by the government it was reinforced by Law No. 1 / PNPS / 1965 and confirmed by Act No. 5 of 1969. The recognition continued until the beginning of the Soeharto era, when finally there appeared the presidential decree which forbade all kinds of Chinese traditions, including Confucianism.

⁴⁵ Ida Bagus Rama, et al. *Prof Dr I B Mantra Biografi Seorang Budayawan 1928-1995*, Denpasar, Upada Sastra, 1998: 62.

⁴⁶ Ida Bagus Tirtha, "Sejarah Fakultas Sastra Universitas Udayana 1958-1989," *Thesis S1*, Unpublished, Denpasar, Department of History, Faculty of Letters, University of Udayana, 1993: 82.

⁴⁷ Nyoman Wijaya, *op. cit.*: 224.

⁴⁸ Dewan Pimpinan Pusat AMHI. Surat No. 5300/dpn/58.

⁴⁹ Anonymous, "Sejarah Perkembangan Buddhisme di Indonesia," downloaded via www.google.com dated October 14, 2013.

⁵⁰ Erlina Kang, "Sejarah Vihara Buddha Guna," downloaded via www.google.com dated October 15, 2013.

⁵¹ Anonymous, "Turis Korea-Taiwan Minati Vihara Dharmayana," *kompanybermedia*, downloaded via www.google.com dated October 20, 2013.

This decree legitimized the beginning of discrimination against Confucianists.⁵² For the sake of having a place of worship, the people modified their Confucian temples (*Kelenteng*) into monasteries (*vihara*). The existence of the relationship between the *Kelenteng* and the *vihara*, then come to be one of the causes of the widespread following of Theravada Buddhism in Bali.⁵³ One of the results of the merger can be seen in the monastery Dharmayana, in Kuta, Bali. Prior to February 23, 1980. This vihara was known as a place of The Leeng Gwam Klenteng, Kuta, or the Bio Kuta Klenteng, which was established by the Chinese community in Kuta.⁵⁴

The function of the combined *Kelenteng/vihara* can be seen in the two buildings: The main building, the *kelenteng*, is decorated with various forms of banners like in temples and Chinese symbols such as dragons and lions. The architecture of the building is dominated by the red color. In the building, there are four figures used in Chinese ancestor worship, the *Kelentengs* Tan Jin Hu Cin, Kwan Tee Yes, Kong Tik Cun Ong and Too Tie Kong (Hok Cing Tik Sin). In addition, *Kelentengs* are also believed to be the abode of gods of the Earth, Soil, and Air; and The second building is the monastery building named Dharmasala. It is on the left of the *Kelenteng* that serves as a Buddhist spiritual location generally.⁵⁵ The ambivalence lasted long enough for Indonesian President Abdurrahman Wahid to finally repeal the prohibition of religious instruction of Confucianism in 2000. Not only recognition, but President Wahid also gave freedom of religion to the majority of Indonesian citizens of Chinese descent to perform worship openly and celebrate their religious days, even for the first time, the Chinese New Year celebration was held nationally.⁵⁶

3.5 Balinization (*Ajeng Bali*): The Strengthening of Balinese Identity

The spirit of “*mengajegkan*” (enforce) Bali began to appear at the end of the 1990s. In mid-2002, it was transformed into the concept of the spirit “*Ajeng Bali*”. In 2003, a few months after a bomb blast in October 2002 in Legian, the “*Ajeng Bali*” concept turned into the “*Ajeng Bali*” movement. At first, the parties initiated and reawakened the spirit of “*Ajeng Bali*”, for Bali to articulate the concept of culture, which was interpreted as the customary and ancestral religion. All parties agreed with that meaning. But once the spirit of “*mengajegkan*” Bali developed into the “*Ajeng Bali*” motion, without releasing the articulation, it widened substantially to the various areas of activity, including acts of resistance against “keindonesianization” and Islam. Thomas Reuter, the anthropologist from Melbourne University, tracks the “*mengajegkan*” Bali revival spirit of the practices of power for three decades of the New Order regime when the Balinese felt marginalized. Marginalization was reflected in their powerlessness to prevent uncontrolled tourism development, environmental degradation, widespread corruption in the government bureaucracy, the emergence of the economic gap between the rich and the poor, the increasing dependence on the global economy, the commercialization of religion and local culture for the sake of tourism and the increasing flow of Muslim migrants mainly from Java and Lombok.⁵⁷ The causes of the rise of the spirit of “*mengajegkan*” Bali were also tracked by Reuter through the events in 1958. It was used as a provincial Bali ethnic and religious affiliation to present Bali as different from all other provinces in Indonesia. Furthermore, Reuter traces the events of the 1920s, when the Dutch colonial government obscured reminders to the public of the violence in the conquest of the kingdoms of South Bali in the early twentieth century. Memory blurring was done by way of bringing in a policy to save the culture of Bali to be considered truly original.⁵⁸

Furthermore, Reuter tracks the spirit of “*mengajegkan*” Bali revival to the emergence of the reforms, the revival of the power of hardline Islamists after the fall of Suharto in 1998, the implementation of regional autonomy, the negative

⁵² Anonymous. “Pengakuan negara atas Konghucu,” BBC Indonesia, Newest April 7, 2011 - 04:58 GMT, downloaded via www.google.com dated October 15, 2013.

⁵³ Anonymous, “Turis Korea-Taiwan Minati Vihara Dharmayana,” kompascybermedia, downloaded via www.google.com dated October 20, 2013.

⁵⁴ Anonymous. “Pengakuan negara atas Konghucu,” BBC Indonesia, Newest April 7, 2011 - 04:58 GMT, download via www.google.com dated October 15, 2013.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Thomas Reuter, “Global trends in religion and reaffirmation of Hindu identity in Bali,” Monash University Press, 2008:7. A similar opinion was delivered by Graeme MacRae: that the Movement of *Ajeng Bali* was intended solely to stem Islam. See further, “Ethnography, Ethnology and the Ethnography of Ethologies”: 10 downloaded via Google. com. December 15, 2008.

⁵⁸ It seems that foreign researchers agree that the spirit to “*Ajeng Bali*” can be traced back to 1920. See, among others, Helen Creese, “Reading the Bali Post: Women and Representation in Post-Suharto Indonesia”, *Intersection: Gender, History and Cultural Context in the Asian tea*, Issue 10, August 2004: 2.

effects of development in the 1970s and the dominance of outside investors in Bali's tourism economy.⁵⁹ Especially with regard to the dominance of the investors, it, according to Reuter, mainly occurred under the leadership of Ida Bagus Oka as Governor of Bali (1988-1998), which was characterized by the development of the Bali Nirwana Resort (BNR) near the area of Tanah Lot Temple, a temple built in the 15th century. Marginalization and domination gave birth to disappointment and the peak occurred on October 12, 2002, when a bomb exploded in Legian which later proved to be performed by hard-line Islamic terrorist groups.⁶⁰ Meanwhile, Henk Schulte Nordholt searches for the causes of the rise of the spirit "*mengajegkan*" Bali in the implementation of regional autonomy, which is sourced from the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 22 of 1999 on local government and the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 25 of 1999 on the financial balance between central and local governments. Furthermore, he argues that promised legislative autonomy at the wider district level resulted in administrative divisions and political confusion.⁶¹

This relates to the fact that Bali intellectuals of various groups basically disagreed with the granting of autonomy at the district level, what they wanted was autonomy at the provincial level. The desire was fought before the Laws No. 22 and No. 25 of 1999 were enacted.⁶² The struggle was carried out as organic intellectuals considered the coercive implementation of autonomy at the district level would cause adverse issues in Bali, among others, the disappearance of ethnonationalism. That is, Bali previously shaped as a whole region, it is feared would be fragmented into small areas in the style of the royal eras. That would be reflected in the rivalry between the two levels of government to increase revenue, which was feared would have a negative impact on the physical environment and culture in many ways.⁶³ The organic intellectual autonomy, alarming at the district level, was finally taking rescue measures, some of which took the initiative to form a working group team autonomy bill. The idea came in a roundtable discussion at the News-Press Room Nusa, in Denpasar in September 1998. After the team was formed this was followed by the organization of a number of meetings with analysts and critics of Bali, including delegates from each of the local governments throughout Bali. The team finally produced the Autonomy Bali Bill. On April 16, 1999, just a few months before the Laws No. 22 and No. 25 applied, they held a meeting with the House of Representatives. During the meeting, there was delivered the opinion that the Local Government Bill offered by the House of Representatives still contained some clauses detrimental to the people of Bali.

4. Conclusion

The Hindu and Buddhist lessons from India have been developed in Bali from the first to the eighth centuries through the trade route between India and China. Bali entered, later on, its historical period, particularly at the end of the 8th or early 9th century. It is even said, that the Buddhist lesson developed earlier than the Hindu one. However, the Dhyani Buddha statuettes that have been found in Pejeng and in Bedulu are fewer in comparison with the Hindu remains in the region. The archeological and historical sites show that in the period of Classical Balinese history in the period of 10th to 11th centuries-- particularly in the reign of the King Udayana-- there was a new epoch in the context of Balinese history, regarding a new foundation of the Balinese civilization and culture. From the same period, have been found the Buddhist statuettes namely the relief of Dhyani Buddha in Mas Ketel Temple, Pegulingan Temple and the Goa Gajah Temple regarding the concept of *Tathagata/ Jinna, Bodhisattwa* (God) already mentioned in the book of *Sanghyang Kamahayanikan*. Tathagata is always in the position of meditation which according to Vajrayana lessons consists of *Wairocana, Aksobhya, Ratnasambhawa, Amitabha, and Amogasidhi* (Astawa 2014: 20). In this concept the

⁵⁹ This is in accordance with the opinion of Behan McCullagh that historians should look for the causes closest of an event, for reasons including the idea of something that creates impact. Welcome given to a colleague at the entrance to make her smile, not the explosion that started the universe. C Behan McCullagh, *The Truth of History*, London: Routledge, 1998:177.

⁶⁰ Thomas Reuter, *op. cit*: 7-9. Similar views to Reuter's also can be seen in the thinking of Pamela Allen and Carmencita Palermo, "Ajeg Bali: Multiple Meaning, Diverse Agendas," *Indonesia and the Malay World*, Volume 33, Number 97 / November 2005: 1. The study of the relationship between Bali and the Islamic terrorist group, which is referred to as contemporary radical Muslim group which emerged after the fall of Suharto discussed by Azyumardi Azra, "Bali and Southeast Asia: Debunking the Myths," in *After Bali: The Threat of Terrorism in Southeast Asia*, Kumar Ramakrisne and See Seng Tan, Singapore: World Scientific / Institute of Defence Studies and Strategic, 2003: 50.

⁶¹ Henk Schulte Nordholt, "Prolog, Bali: Sebuah Benteng Terbuka," in I Ngunur Suryawan, *Bali Narasi Dalam Kuasa Politik dan Kekerasan di Bali*, Yogyakarta, Ombak, 2005: xxviii.

⁶² Undang-undang Republik Indonesia No. 22 tahun 1999 ditetapkan tanggal 7 Mei 1999 dan Undang-undang Republik Indonesia No. 25 tahun 1999 tentang perimbangan keuangan antara pemerintah pusat dan daerah ditetapkan tanggal 19 Mei 1999.

⁶³ The result of discussions with I Made Suryawan, aged 40, in Denpasar, 23 November 2002.

highest God is Bhattara Buddha. Until the present time, the Balinese still pray to Buddha, in which the prayer for *Tathagata* by the Buddhist priests is based on the book of *Purwakaweda Buddha* (Astawa 2014: 21).

Both the Hindu and Buddhist lessons originated from India and even now strongly influence Balinese civilization and culture. Even though the influences are Indian or Indic, it can be concluded, that the Balinese are able to synergize between their cultural traditions of the prehistoric time so that Hinduism, Buddhism, and ecology become the capital and reliable assets. The Balinese strongly respect their ancestors. Their respect encourages certain important activities regarding rituals and ceremonies in order to have a prosperous life in the context of peace and harmony. Bali in the image such as “The Island of Art”, “the Island of Thousand Temples” positions the culture including art and culture as a source of identity, the basis of inspiration and harmony as well as a never run dry source of creativity. Due to the richness of its cultural tradition, Bali has become an interesting tourist destination in Indonesia. Balinese culture which is inspired by Hinduism and Buddhism builds character and strengthens Balinese cultural life in facing the globalization processes for a better life in the future.

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