

Between *Adat* and *Agama*: The Future of the Religious Role of the Balinese Shadow Puppeteer, *Dalang*

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Abstract

The fact that a Baliense *dalang* is a priest as well as the performer of *wayang* shadow puppet theater has already been pointed out in many studies. But the *dalang*'s role that is emphasized in Bali today is purely that of performer. While *dalang*'s religious role may not have been forgotten, the places where this role is carried out have definitely become fewer and fewer.

What is important when considering the background of the changes in the *dalang*'s religious role is the series of reforms that has taken place under the leadership of the Council of Hinduism in Indonesia, in the course of its campaign to have Hinduism recognized as a state religion.

In this movement which began in the latter half of the 1950s, what I want to give particular attention to here is the process whereby most Balinese rituals and beliefs have, as *adat* (custom), been eliminated from Hindu doctrine, scripture, and religious education as *agama* (religion). And with this, the religious functions of the *dalang* have been categorized as *adat* and likewise eliminated.

This study focusing on the religious role of the *dalang* will clarify how he was stripped of that role and changed with Bali's religious and cultural policies and elucidate further the unstable state of the *dalang*'s religious role, a role which, with the blurring of policy that followed the split in the Council of Hinduism in Indonesia Province in Bali Province of 2001, is oscillating between *adat* and *agama*.

Introduction

The fact that a Balinese *dalang* is a priest as well as the performer of *wayang* shadow puppet theater has already been pointed out in many studies. As a performer the *dalang* charms the audience as an entertainer, bringing into play all kinds of theatrical and musical skills—manipulating the puppets for the characters of the ancient Indian epics, *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, speaking the lines without a script, and reciting the metrical poems. But in performing the *wayang* for supernatural beings like gods and demons, the *dalang* performs the role of a priest, acting as a mediator between this world and the other world and performing purification rituals to rid people of defilement.

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But the *dalang*'s role that is emphasized in Bali today is purely that of performer. The *dalang*'s theatrical skills are what are valued today, and this is reflected in his reputation and the frequency with which he is asked to perform. While the *dalang*'s religious role may not have been forgotten, the places where this role is carried out have definitely become fewer and fewer.

What is important when considering the background of the changes in the *dalang*'s religious role is the series of reforms that has taken place under the leadership of the Council of Hinduism in Indonesia, Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (hereafter Parisada), in the course of its campaign to have Hinduism recognized as a state religion. In this movement, which began in the latter half of the 1950s, reforms such as the systematization of doctrines and scriptures, simplification and standardization of rituals, and publication of doctrinal books have been carried out, but what I want to give particular attention to here is the process whereby most native Balinese rituals and beliefs have, as *adat* (custom), been eliminated from Hindu doctrine, scripture, and religious education as *agama* (religion). And with this, the religious functions of the *dalang* have been categorized as *adat* and likewise eliminated. Furthermore, under the cultural policies that has been formulated and implemented according to Parisada's policy, the *dalang*'s religious role today, a half century since the reforms, is firmly established as *adat*. Today the younger generation of *dalangs* has almost no idea of the priestly aspect of the *dalang* and cannot properly carry out the rituals that a *dalang* should perform.

However, with the moves toward decentralization that accompanied the enactment of Law No.22/1999 concerning Regional Government some Bali Province Parisada officials have revolted against the directorate general of Parisada, which has been promoting the rationalization and standardization of Hinduism, and in November 2001 Parisada in Bali Province split in two. Since the split each sect has come out with its respective religious position, with one of the sects rejecting the excessive rationalization and standardization of Hinduism and calling for revivalist reforms aimed at a Hinduism that recognizes to some extent regional characteristics. Although informal, signs of localization in religion, an area which was not in fact subject to decentralization, had begun to be seen at almost the same time as the beginning of administrative decentralization.

This study focusing on the religious role of the *dalang* will clarify how he was stripped of that role and changed with Bali's religious and cultural policies inaugurated in the latter half of the 1950s and elucidate further the unstable state of the *dalang*'s religious role, a role which, with the blurring of policy that followed the split in Bali Province Parisada of 2001, is oscillating between *adat* and *agama*.

1. The *Dalang's* Religious Role

In Bali a *dalang* who has the skills of a priest is generally called a *mangku dalang*.¹⁾ “Mangku” is a generic name for religious functionaries of a lower caste (*kasta*) who supervise various kinds of temples and performs temple rituals.

To become a *mangku dalang*, in addition to having acquired the skills to perform *wayang*, one has to have undergone the investiture rites, called *mawinten*, after learning the *mantras* and method for making holy water and acquiring the knowledge to perform purification rituals.²⁾

The religious role of *mangku dalang* can be roughly divided into two: performance of *wayang* for supernatural beings, and the conducting of the purification ritual³⁾ called *sudamala*. The former is the performance of *wayang* for the relevant gods and demons on temple anniversaries and rites of passage, the audience being, not humans, but invisible supernatural beings like gods and demons. *Wayang* stories are closely associated with the temple anniversary or rite of passage, and gods usually appear in them. And this *wayang* is mostly performed in a style called *wayang lemah*⁴⁾ without the use of a screen, and can be performed either in the day or at night. Margaret Mead has left the following description of *wayang lemah*.

There was a shadow play, but without the screen and the lamp. The *dalang* sat and recited and waved his figures in the dark and no one listened. And finally, late at night, there was an excited hush [Mead 1977: 193].

The latter role, however, has nothing to do with the *dalang's* skill as a performer. The *mangku dalang* prepares holy water using three or four set *wayang* puppets, a ritual formula, flowers and offerings and pours it over the head of the person who needs the purification ritual. The Balinese call this holy water “*wayang* holy water” (*tirta ringgit*, *toya ringgit*) or “purification holy water” (*tirta panglukatan*) and believe that this holy water is effective in ridding human beings of defilement, called *mala*, or ridding the spirits of the dead of defilement, and have it poured over their head many times in the various life course rituals that they undergo from birth to death. McPhee has recorded one series of such rituals.

1) *Mangku dalang* is also called *amangku dalang* [Hooykaas 1973: 14].

2) According to Hinzler there are two types of investiture rite. One is the *mawinten* mentioned here, the other, a large-scale ritual called *masakapan ring wayang* (marriage with *wayang*) [Hinzler 1981: 42-43]. Hinzler states that performance of magical *wayang* is possible on completion of the latter investiture rite, but my research showed that almost all *dalang's* perform all kinds of *wayang* after completing only *mawinten*.

3) *Sudamala* is a compound of *suda* (purification) and *mala* (defilement) and means “purification of defilement.”

4) *Lemah* means “midday” or “the earth” in Balinese.

At the end, about 3 a.m., the puppets were put away as usual, with the exception of Kajon, together with Tjintia, Siwa, Toealen and Bima.⁵⁾ Offerings were brought before the figures, and as the *dalang*, a *brahmana*, prayed he took each figure, decorated it with a flower, and dipped the handle in the holy water. When this was ended, the *dalang* descended to perform the *njodamala* [*sudamala*] ceremony, and liberate the child from the curse. Offerings were first made on the ground to the evil spirits, and then, approaching a special shrine made for the occasion, the *dalang* went through many prayer formulae. The child, held all this time in the arms of its mother, was then stripped of its ceremonial garments and stood naked upon the ground in the midst of the offerings to the demons. Bowl after bowl of holy water was poured over the shivering infant, and the ceremony was finished [McPhee 1981: 29-30].

Mala is not only the inherent defilement that afflicts one from the time of birth, but one can also acquire a state of impurity in one's daily life or through various mistakes that one makes. So a person must undergo the purging of *mala* by a *mangku dalang* at the time of the various rites of passage. All of these rituals are called *sudamala* and they are performed not only for human beings but also for the spirits of the dead who died in a state of *mala* [Hooykaas 1973: 15].

2. Steps toward a State Religion

The influence of Hinduism in Island Southeast Asia is said to date back to before the time of Christ, but it is clear from inscriptions that its influence in Bali dates from around the 8th century. Balinese Hinduism is the religion that developed with the subsequent fusion of Hinduism with native Balinese beliefs.

Hinduism in Bali in the 1950s was a practical religion, religious acts being conducted as the practice of ritual [Geertz 1973: 170-189]. In other words, it was not a religion based on a systematic doctrine, but a ritualistic religion in which religious practices are performed as rule-following behavior [Sugishima 1999: 309-310].

But because of these characteristics, Balinese Hinduism was not considered a state-authorized religion. Indonesia, which attained final independence in 1949 and made monotheism one of the national credos, at first recognized only three religions, Islam, Catholicism and Protestantism, as state-authorized *agama* (religions), but not Hinduism. This was because the Ministry of Religion

5) Kajon [*Kayon*] is a puppet symbolizing the "cosmic tree;" Tjintia [*Cintya*], an indigenous Balinese god; Siwa, the Hindu god; Toealen, one of the puppets used as a retainer in *wayang* but according to surviving legends in Bali, the brother of Siwa; while Bima is one of the five Pandawa brothers in the *Mahabharata*.

took as criteria for a state-authorized religion whether or not the religion had a name, a rational doctrinal philosophy, the notion of God, and scriptures, and it considered the ritualistic religion of Balinese Hinduism as not fulfilling those requirements [Bakker 1993: 226].

Over against the concept of *agama* is the concept of *adat*. All religious beliefs and acts that do not fall under the category of *agama* are called *adat* and, as local religious concepts and local customs, are considered distinct from *agama* [Fukushima 2002: 326]. Hinduism in Bali was assessed to be *adat* by a 1952 decision of the Minister of Religion. In response, from 1953 various actions were taken by the Bali provincial government and Balinese intellectuals to get the central government to recognize Hinduism as a state-authorized religion. In the process its doctrines and scriptures were systematized, a Hinduism section was set up in the Ministry of Religion in 1962, and, under a 1965 presidential decree, Hinduism was finally recognized as a state religion.

In the course of these developments, Parisada was established in 1958 in Bali as the unified organization of Hinduism in Indonesia, and this organization has been the heart of Hindu reforms down to the present. In order to get Hinduism raised to the status of a state religion, since 1961 it has been Parisada policy to cut out the customary parts of Balinese religious acts and save only those that passed as *agama* [Kagami 2000: 39-41]. The history of the stripping of the *dalang* of his religious role starts from the time, during these reforms, that the *dalang*'s religious role was categorized as *adat*, not *agama*.

3. Parisada's Religious Reforms and Changes in the Religious Nature of *Dalang*

The first time Parisada officially referred to the *dalang* was in the "regulations on religion" item in the platform adopted at a national Hindu Congress held in 1968 (Ketetapan Sabha Parisada Hindu Dharma ke II no. V/KEP/PHDP/68).

Parisada divided the many types of priests that had existed up until then into two groups, *pendeta* (or *sulinggih*) and *pinandita*. *Pendeta* was the highest rank of priest, one who could unite with Siwa or Buddha and who was indispensable for conducting the major rituals, using mantras, *mudra* (symbolic hand gestures), various ritual implements, flowers, etc., to make holy water. Parisada created a system that made it necessary to obtain Parisada authorization in order to be assigned as a *pendeta* [Rudyansjah 1986: 11]. A *pinandita*, meanwhile, was defined as an assistant to a *pendeta* and ranked below the latter. Also, although the *pinandita* was allowed to conduct the regular temple anniversary festivals and rites of passage, he had to use holy water prepared by a *pendeta*.

In the aforementioned "regulations on religion," *mangku dalang* are classified as *pinandita*.⁶⁾

Therefore *mangku dalang* are certified as priests by Parisada. The problem lies in the contradiction that exists between the religious powers of the *pinandita* authorized by Parisada and the religious acts which the *mangku dalang* have always performed.

Parisada made the *pinandita* an assistant to the *pendeta*. But the religious acts proper to a *mangku dalang* greatly overstep the bounds of the *pinandita*'s role as set by Parisada. In performing purification rituals the *mangku dalang* himself makes the holy water and pours it on the head of the person undergoing the purification, without needing any help at all from a *pendeta*. Furthermore, the *mangku dalang* performs *wayang* for supernatural beings in various rituals that *pendeta* are not involved in. All these religious acts of the *mangku dalang* Parisada has classified as *adat*. But the *wayang lemah* performed at temple anniversaries for the origin god of the temple is an exception and is recognized as comparable to *agama*. This is because *wayang lemah* is an integral part of the ritual of preparing holy water by a *pendeta* at temple anniversaries [Umeda 2001: 102-103], so there was no problem in authorizing it as the job of the *mangku dalang* as *pinandita*.

Opinion within Parisada was by no means unanimous on these policies. At the first seminar on regulations on Hinduism held by Parisada in 1985, there was an interpretation expressing that the *mangku dalang* was one kind of *mangku* and classifying the purification ritual (*sudamala*) conducted by the *mangku dalang* as falling within the role of a *mangku* [Parisada Hindu Dharma Pusat 1985: 41]. However this was no more than the expression of one possible interpretation, and after that Parisada never referred to this point again.

While Parisada was systematizing Hindu doctrine, it also carried articles on doctrine for the faithful in its periodical, *Warta Hindu Dharma*.⁷⁾ In the first article that appeared in the periodical on the *wayang* and the *dalang*, “*Hubungan Upatjara, Wayang dan Pendidikan*” [Relationship between Ritual, Wayang and Education], the educational merits of *wayang* performances as instruments of communicating to the audience things like morality, language, customs, and ancient literature were highly esteemed. On the other hand, the acts of the *dalang* as a priest who purifies human beings were dealt with as mystical (*mystik*) and magic (*magis*) [Oka 1970: 3-4], the insinuation being that these acts fell under the category of *adat*, not *agama* based on rational doctrinal philosophy. In most subsequent articles the focus was on the literary and theatrical

6) There are five types of priest included in *pinandita* in addition to *mangku dalang*: *pemangku*, *wasi*, *mangku balian/dukun*, *pengemban*, and *dharma acarya*.

7) *Warta Hindu Dharma* is Parisada's official organ and began publication in October 1967. It has continued publication to the present and is read by Hindu organizations and the faithful throughout Indonesia. As it comes out on the day of the full moon, some years there are thirteen editions.

aspects of the *dalang*, there being virtually no articles on his religious acts. The back cover of edition No. 332 in 1994 featured a color photograph of a *dalang* performing *wayang lemah*. As was already mentioned, *wayang lemah* is the only religious act of the *mangku dalang* that is recognized by Parisada.

The views of Parisada on the *dalang* were clearly spelled out at the All Bali Dalang Congress (Penataran Dalang Seluruh Bali) held from 8-10 November 1976 by the Yayasan Pewayangan Bali (Bali Wayang Foundation) that I will discuss below. A presentation was made there in the name of Parisada on the role of the *wayang* and the *dalang* in Hinduism (Peranan Dalang dan Pewayangan dalam Agama Hindu) that stated that the *dalang* should fulfill two roles, that of “moral education in keeping with the spirit (*kerohanian*) of art, entertainment, and religion” and that of “conducting Hindu rituals by performing the prescribed *wayang* stories” [Surpha 1976: 8]. Both of these are functions of the *dalang* as the performer of *wayang*; the function of the *mangku dalang* as priest is ignored.

Thus Parisada, in the course of its religious reform of Hinduism, consciously excluded from *agama* the religious acts of the *dalang*. Furthermore, the religious role of *dalang* was eliminated in the context of the cultural policy that I will discuss below.

4. Cultural Policy and Changes in the Religious Role of *Dalang*

Cultural policy in Bali started from the latter part of the 1950s during the Sukarno years. And the period of the start of cultural policy relating to the *dalang* and *wayang* is approximately the same as the period of the Hindu campaign to get recognition from the central government as an official religion—from 1952, when Hinduism was not officially recognized, to the first half of the 1960s. The start of the cultural policy in Bali is symbolized by *wayang* education at the Conservatory for Traditional Music (Konservatori Karawitan Indonesia) that opened in Denpasar in 1960. This high school offered three areas of specialization, traditional music, traditional dance, and *wayang*, and was the first public educational institution at which it was possible to specialize in Balinese performing arts.

From 1963 Sugriwa’s *Ilmu Pedalangan/Pewayangan* (Knowledge of *Wayang* Puppetry and Performance) [Sugriwa 1963] was used as a textbook. This textbook is the first reference book that brings together in a single volume in the Indonesian language literature on Balinese *wayang*. In addition to treating *wayang*’s history, types, philosophy, overview of stories in relation to the various Hindu rituals, iconographic features of the *wayang* puppets, and the theatrical skills needed for a performance, it contains, transcribed in the roman alphabet, the sections of the *Dharma*

Pewayangan, the *dalang*'s sacred text written in Balinese script, that are particularly important for performing, and with the exception of *mantras*, translated into Indonesian. It is noteworthy that there is no mention of the *mangku dalang*'s priestly role of purifying human beings. This textbook set the direction for *dalang* education at public institutions in Bali from 1963 on. And this educational policy was taken over not only by educational institutions at the high school level but also at the Academy of Indonesian Dance, Denpasar (Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia Denpasar) established in 1966,⁸⁾ where it continues to the present. So Bali *dalang* education that started within the culture policy framework excluded those parts of the *dalang*'s religious role that fell under *adat* and has been confined only to those aspects of the *dalang* as performer.

This cultural policy continued to be implemented after Suharto came to power in 1966 as well. What I would like to call attention to in connection with culture policy during the Suharto era is the establishment and activities of the Majelis Pertimbangan dan Pembinaan Kebudayaan (Commission for Evaluating and Promoting Culture), a body directly under the Bali provincial government.⁹⁾ This commission, established in 1966 with the two functions of preserving and fostering culture in tourism development and monitoring cultural and artistic activities tied to the outlawed Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), contributed greatly to culture policy on *wayang*. In relation to *wayang*'s religious role, it sponsored contests and published research on *wayang* in Bali.

Beginning with a *gamelan* music contest in 1968, the commission sponsored various artistic contests. One of these was the 1971 Festival Wayang Kulit, a *wayang* contest for *dalangs* from all over Bali.¹⁰⁾ In this contest *dalangs* were ranked by their performance, their knowledge and skills with regard to religious acts classified as *adat* not being considered at all. Here too the *dalang* was being identified as a performer, and in subsequent *wayang* contests as well, it was only the theatrical aspects of the *dalang* that were judged.

In 1971 a seminar was held on "sacred and profane arts in dance" (Seminar Seni Sacral dan Provan Bidang Tari), sponsored by a project team of the Bali Provincial Department of Education and Culture comprised mainly of members of the Commission for Evaluating and Promoting Culture, the object of which was to categorize what in Balinese performing arts was sacred and what profane and to stipulate that the art that was sacred could not be provided for tourism [Umeda

8) This educational institution was upgraded to a university in 1986, becoming Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia, Denpasar, and in 2003, an institute with a master's course, Institut Seni Indonesia, Denpasar.

9) The commission is usually called "Listibiya." It still exists but is inactive now, as its work has been transferred to other cultural administrative organs.

10) This festival was the first case of *wayang* being systematically directed and judged. For details about the festival, see Arthanegara [1974].

2003: 80]. But the seminar failed in its objective and ended up dividing art into three groups, *wali*: sacred art which, because it is part of Hindu religious ritual, cannot be performed apart from religious ritual; *bebali*: art which is performed as accompaniment to such ritual; *balih-balihan*: art which is performed purely for entertainment, having no connection with religious ritual.

It was not only dance that was discussed at this seminar but *wayang* as well, and *wayang* was categorized not as *wali*, a sacred art which is part of religious ritual, but at the next level, as *bebali*.¹¹⁾

This categorization had an influence on the only religious role of the *dalang* that Parisada recognized. As has been mentioned, the *wayang lemah* at temple anniversaries was performed as an integral part of the ritual for preparing holy water by the *pendeta*. But with *wayang* being considered as *bebali*, temple anniversaries could be held without *wayang lemah*. Thus the position of the *dalang* as priest became even more tenuous.

The resolution that was adopted at the seminar was immediately reported to the governor of Bali. And in 1973 a law incorporating that report *in toto*, a provincial law “prohibiting the performance of sacred dance in tourism or in general events” (No.2:/Kesra.II/d/26/73) was enacted.

The Commission for Evaluating and Promoting Culture, on the other hand, actively involved itself in *wayang* research. Two volumes of research prepared for the Second All-Indonesia *Wayang* Congress (Pakan *Wayang* Indonesia II) held in Jakarta in 1974 are particularly important [Listibiya 1974a; 1974b]. One volume is a collection of articles on *wayang* that discuss such things as *wayang*'s history, performance styles, music performed with *wayang*, the significance of the 1971 *wayang* festival mentioned above, and *wayang* in relation to tourism. A large part of the other volume, however, is taken up with phenomena falling under the category of *adat*, that is, running counter to the direction of the cultural policy of eliminating the religious nature of the *dalang*, things like the holy water prepared by the *dalang* and the puppets used at that time. To understand this it is important to note that this research was published with a readership outside of Bali in mind. In other words, the native elements of *wayang* and the religious role of the *dalang* are referred to presumably in order to convincingly argue that Balinese *wayang* has an old tradition and is historically authentic. But with the exception of this collection, there is almost nothing in *wayang*-related reports by cultural policy organs on phenomena related to the *dalang*'s religious role classified as *adat*.

The Bali *Wayang* Foundation (Yayasan Pewayangan Daerah Bali) that was established with

11) At the seminar the discussion on *wali* proceeded on the premise that *wali* did not have a “story aspect,” and that was why *wayang* was classified as *bebali*.

financial assistance from the province in 1974 was closely connected to the Commission for Evaluating and Promoting Culture. The foundation is a separate organization from the commission and its funds come from a different source. But it is run from the same office and with the same staff as the commission. The foundation has published a collection of *wayang* stories (*pakem*) and romanized versions of *lontar* leaf manuscripts written in Balinese script. There are 13 publications in all, including those published with financial or other assistance of the foundation. But in none of these can one find any attention given to the religious role of the *dalang*.

Then from the latter half of the 1970s the Academy of Indonesian Dance, Denpasar published material on *wayang*. These publications can be roughly divided into two types. The first consists of textbooks used in classes and the reports from seminars held by the academy,¹²⁾ the other, research papers published in the academy bulletin. Because the first type were written in line with the university's educational policy they make no mention of the religious role of the *dalang* that falls under the *adat* category. In the second type however, the religious role of the *dalang* as priest that was taken away by Parisada has been discussed in recent years [Suteja 1995; Wicaksana 1996; 1998]. But this has had no influence on the curriculum at the academy.

5. Internal Dissent and the Split in Parisada in Bali

With the downfall of the Suharto regime in 1998, Suharto's successor, President Habibie, under the banner of "reform" (*reformasi*) undertook, along with democratization through measures like reform of the election system and abolition of restrictions on freedom of speech, a review of Indonesia's political system of centralized authority, enacting Law No.22/1999 concerning Regional Government and Law No.25/1999 concerning the Balance of Financial Budget between the Central and Local Governments in May 1999. These went into effect in January 2001 and, with this, various powers passed from the central government to local governments, but foreign affairs, defense, the judiciary, finance, and religion did not come under the scope of these laws [Matsui 2002: 209].

Parisada held its eighth national congress (Maha Sabha VIII Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia), a congress held once every five years, in September 2001 in Bali against this political background. The theme of the congress committed Parisada to carrying out "reforms to raise the power of Hindus," a theme consciously reflecting the dramatic political and economic reforms in Indonesia. And changes in the articles of association and policy on activities were in fact passed. But

12) Most of the textbooks and reports on *wayang* were written by I Ketut Rota, a teacher at the academy [Rota 1993: 44-49].

later, conflicts over these changes arose within Bali Province Parisada.

The change in the articles of association that triggered the split had to do with Article 5, paragraph 20, which stipulated the method of electing the organization's secretary-general (*ketua umum*). At the congress a revision of this item was adopted to allow for the election of the secretary-general from among not only the high ranking *pendeta* priests but from among lay persons (*walaka*) well-versed in Hindu learning as well [Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia Pusat 2001: 67].

Also, Parisada's activities policy was changed so as to positively evaluate the Sai Baba and Krishna cults,¹³⁾ called *sampradaya*, and recognize them as contributing to Hinduism [Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia Pusat 2001: 98].

Some members of Bali Province Parisada strongly objected to these changes in the articles of association and activities policy on the grounds that they would have a bad influence on Hinduism in Bali.¹⁴⁾ This confrontation showed the growing estrangement between the sect that wanted to incorporate the Sai Baba and Krishna cults and separate out Hinduism as a state religion from local Balinese features and the sect that wanted to retain the organization's charter that was drawn up after Parisada's establishment in 1961 and to call for the restoration of the native Balinese Hinduism. Then, in November 2001, this confrontation developed into a split in the Bali Province Parisada.

These events grabbed the interest of the Balinese, and almost every day from the end of November 2001 until mid-December news of the dispute was carried in local Bali papers, and the magazine *Raditya*, whose theme is Hinduism, ran a feature on the subject. Later the governor of Bali mediated to try and reconcile the two sects, but the confrontation was still going on as of February 2005.

Since both sects call themselves Bali Province Parisada, in order to distinguish between them in Bali they add to their names the place where they respectively held their first meeting. Parisada

13) The Sai Baba cult is a cult that worships the Indian religious figure Satya Sai Baba (1926-). Krishna cult is a general term for the cult that arose in the 16th century in the Bengal region whose exponent was Caitanya (1486-1533). But here it refers to the Hare Krishna movement promoted by the International Society for Krishna Consciousness. On the reception of these cults in Bali, see Howe [2001: 184-198].

14) The following is an abridged translation of an interpretation of the Sai Baba and Krishna cults from a publication of Parisada Campuan [Parisada Hindu Dharma Propinsi Bali 2002: 9-11]. "Today education of Balinese people has advanced, and some even go overseas. And in this age of globalization, various information reaches Bali from around the world. Among these are the Sai Baba and Krishna cults. These are not bad beliefs. But if they come to Bali, Bali's own beliefs will be destroyed. Putting perfume in *lawar* (a traditional Balinese dish) doesn't make sense. *Lawar* is fine just as it is, and no matter how wonderful the perfume, if it were put in *lawar* you would have to throw out the *lawar*. And if you put more combs in beautiful hair, you only damage the hair. Parisada cannot accept these cults, and the Indonesian government and Parisada must guard against their coming to Bali."

Besakih is the sect that calls for rationalizing and universalizing Hinduism as a state religion, and Parisada Campuhan is calling for the restoration of Balinese style Hinduism. These names will be used hereafter as well.

6. The Parisada Split and the Reevaluation of the Religious Role of the *Dalang*

Parisada Campuhan distances itself from the Directorate General of Parisada in Jakarta and continues to control publication of the Parisada organ, *Warta Hindu Dharma*. The present chief editor is a person who as a *walaka* held a heavy responsibility for many years in the Parisada headquarters. He vehemently opposed organizational reforms and the introduction of the Sai Baba and Krishna sects at the Parisada national congress in 2001 and was active in setting up Parisada Campuhan. However he did not leave the position of chief editor. So it is no exaggeration to say that the Parisada organ is edited by Parisada Campuhan. Of course to this day the magazine has never carried an article about the internal Bali Province Parisada row.

Nevertheless, since the split the position of Parisada Campuhan has been clearly reflected in *Warta Hindu Dharma*. This is seen too in the inclusion of an article mentioning the importance of the religious role of the *dalang*, something Parisada had previously rejected.

This article entitled “Apresiasi Wayang di Jakarta” (Appreciation of Wayang in Jakarta) not only contained a description and explanation of a *wayang* performance in Jakarta in 2002 by a *mangku dalang* and the *sapu leger*,¹⁵ a kind of purification ritual, that was performed then, but the cultural significance of the ritual was also discussed. This was a three-page article with a photo and was carried in the section devoted to contributions from the magazine’s Hindu readers [Diya 2002: 18-19, 35].

The *sapu leger* ritual is not only a *wayang* performance for supernatural beings done without a *pendeta*, it contains a purification ritual for cleansing human defilement. Thus *sapu leger* is clearly a ritual that falls under the *adat* category and one never before taken up in a Parisada publication. Considering the fact that there had never been an article in *Warta Hindu Dharma* before referring to the cultural significance of rituals inconsistent with Parisada policy, one can say that this article represents a big change in the magazine’s editorial policy.

The split in Parisada also occasioned the holding of a seminar to rethink the relationship between Balinese culture and religion. The Commission for Evaluating and Promoting Culture, with

15) *Sapu* means “to sweep” or “drive out.” *Leger* comes from *reget*, which means “dirty,” or *leger*, meaning “blighted leaves.” This ritual is performed only for children born in the 27th week of the *wuku* calendar (*wuku wayang* or *wuku ringgit*). For details about the ritual, see [Umeda 1997].

financial assistance from the provincial government, got together scholars from various fields in the “seminar on sacred arts” (Semiloka Seni Sakral) in December 2002, the first such seminar since the one held 31 years earlier, in 1971, on “sacred and profane arts in dance.” At this seminar, which was about a year in preparation and which had the strong backing of the chairperson of the Commission for Evaluating and Promoting Culture, who is also secretary-general of Parisada Campuhan, there was critical discussion of the resolutions that came out of the 1971 seminar and the provincial laws that were based on them, including presentations referring to the religious nature of *wayang* and the *dalang*.

In a presentation on “sacredness in the performing arts” one of the speakers, a teacher of *wayang* at the College of Indonesian Arts, Denpasar (Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia Denpasar) and himself a *dalang*, after criticizing the categorizing at the 1971 seminar of various kinds of *wayang* as art that is merely incidental to religious ritual, that is, as *bebali* as well as touching on *wayang* as indispensable to religious ritual and on the importance of the religious role of the performer, stressed the necessity for new provincial laws. It seems that this speech expresses dissatisfaction of *dalang* in Bali more or less.

The statements in the seminar critical of Parisada’s position to date and the cultural policies based on them came out of a deep dissatisfaction by the participants, who keenly felt that the ritual and religious acts that, as *adat*, had been excluded from *agama*, were important elements of Balinese belief. But this dissatisfaction had only been able to come out in the open through the circumstances of Bali Parisada splitting, and Parisada Campuhan being set up.

Conclusion

In this study I have focused on the religious role of the *dalang* in Bali and tried to clarify concretely how that role has changed with the cultural policies carried out in line with the reforms and policies that were undertaken by Parisada to get Hinduism made a state religion in Indonesia.

An entry in a 1991 Hindu dictionary put out by a publishing company under Parisada supervision shows in all its starkness the definition of *dalang* that grew out of the policies starting in the 1950s. The “*dalang*” entry merely states “a puppeteer, someone engaged in religious education,” with no explanation of the *dalang*’s role as priest [Musna 1991: 16]. The *dalang* has become no more than a performer of *wayang*, changed from a priest to a religious educator.

In order to get the Hinduism that had been the native faith in Bali recognized as a state religion, and to give a modern religious form to Hinduism in Indonesia and make it universal, the rationalization of the religion was necessary. Bakker says that in pursuing these reforms Parisada ended up

abandoning *adat* when it clashed with its own concept of Hinduism [Bakker 1993: 290].

Not that this rationalization was able to reform overnight the ritualism deeply rooted in Balinese society. As Boon says, at least up to the first part of the 1970s, ordinary people living in the villages carried out, mainly with low caste priests, nearly unreformed rituals even as they were, to a certain extent, accepting Parisada reforms [Boon 1977: 217-218]. In considering the changes in the religious role of the *dalang* that have been discussed up to now, it can be said that, even though those changes originated in the Parisada reforms, the direct cause of those big changes were the cultural policies that were carried out based on Parisada's platform. Most religious aspects of the *dalang* clashed with Parisada's principles and policies and in the beginning were abandoned or ignored, later, after many years, to be swallowed up in the waves of religious reforms and cultural policies.

As the result of Parisada's excluding it for half a century from *agama*, the *dalang*'s religious role as *adat* was gradually distanced from the religious life of the Balinese. But the administrative decentralization moves, which by all rights should not have affected religion, had no small influence on the establishment of Parisada Campuhan, which radically rejected the streamlining of Hinduism in Indonesia.

This sect aimed at returning to the organizational structure at the time of Parisada's founding in 1959 and the charter¹⁶⁾ drawn up in 1961 [Kusma 2001: 2; Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia Propinsi Bali 2001: 98]. One can see in the charter the beginnings of religious rationalization in things like the rejection of the traditional concept of "impurity" and references to placing a throne for a unitary god in the temple. But it does not say that local Balinese features should be stripped from the state religion of Hinduism [Sekretariat Parisada Hindu Dharma Pusat 1970: 12-17]. This charter was drawn up when preparations were underway in Bali to make Hindu a state religion, a time when a rational and systematic doctrinal philosophy and uniform method of worship had not yet been created. Thus various rituals, including ritual acts by the *mangku dalang* as priest, that were carried out as rule-following behavior had not, as *adat*, been excluded from *agama*.

The Directorate General of Parisada does not recognize the existence of Parisada Campuhan and regards its activities as having nothing to do with Parisada. There is no doubt that the issues raised by Parisada Campuhan sparked the dissatisfaction with Parisada that had been smoldering among Balinese people. And by speaking out at the seminar in 2002 the scholar-cum-*dalang* was issuing the opening salvo in the battle with Parisada to restore his own religious role as *dalang*. Will

16) The charter is called *Piagam Campuhan* (Campuhan Charter) because it was written in Campuhan. It is carried in its entirety in Sekretariat Parisada Hindu Dharma Pusat [1970: 12-17].

the religious role of the *dalang* be raised to the level of *agama*, or will it continue to be buried in a Hinduism that pursues the path of rationalization? Now this role is caught in the fissure between *adat* and *agama*.

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