The *Galungan* Holiday in Postmodern Historical Studies

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Abstract

This study examines the topic of *Galungan*, a cultural practice in Bali that occurs every 210 days. *Galungan* is not only celebrated in Bali but also in almost all major cities in Indonesia and around the world. In every celebration, *Galungan* is always referred to as the day of victory of dharma (virtue) over adharma (evil). This topic is examined using a postmodern approach, employing Foucault's theory of power-knowledge relations. The aim is to uncover the hidden power-knowledge relations within it. To achieve this goal, *Galungan* is positioned as subjugated knowledge. The research question is, what knowledge is subjugated, so that a single discourse emerges that *Galungan* is a celebration of the victory of dharma over adharma? This issue is examined using Foucault's methods of genealogy of power and archaeology of knowledge. The research results show that the reference to *Galungan* as the day of victory of dharma over adharma is the result of demythologization, a fictional story that is reconstructed and considered as truth. In order to realize this discourse, a great deal of old knowledge is subjugated, such as *Galungan* as the day of the arrival of ancestral spirits and the economic cycle of society. At the surface level, this effort is successful, in *pemedek* [worshippers] these two things are more prominent than highlighting the victory of dharma over adharma.

Keywords: *Dharma-dharma*; Ancestor *Pemedek*; Economic Circulation; Objective Structure.

Introduction

Galungan is a Balinese Hindu holiday that occurs every 210 days. It is believed to be the day of victory of *dharma* [virtue] over *adharma* [evil]. *Galungan* fell on *Rabu Kliwon Wuku Dungulan* [*Rabu*: Wednesday; *Kliwon*: the 5th day; *Wuku*: Elevent; *Dungulan: Galungan*] according to the Balinese calendar. In 2023, it fell on 2 August. The celebration is held in Bali and almost all major cities in Indonesia and the world. In East Jakarta, one of the locations for the *Galungan* celebration is the *Pura* Adhitya Jaya, Rawamangun. Most of *pemedek* are Balinese diaspora. They have crowded the *pura* since 7:00 AM Western Indonesia Time (WIB) and continued until night.

Unlike during COVID-19, there are no restrictions on the number of *pemedek* this time. However, due to the number being disproportionate to the size of the *temple*, the worship sessions are divided into several waves. The worship is led and perfected by the temple priest (*pemangku pura*), concluding with a *dharma* discourse, which is a

discourse on virtue and truth in carrying out *dharma* in daily life. The theme is 'being wise in using social media.' In essence, it invites *pemedek* to be critical and careful in receiving information from social media. The success of receiving and managing information is said to be a concrete manifestation of *dharma* in defeating *adharma* [hoax]. On the 10th day of the *Galungan* celebration, it continues with the *Kuningan* holiday, called the best moment to send the gods and ancestors back to heaven (Intan, 2023).

In Yogyakarta and Central Java, the *Galungan* celebration is centered at the Prambanan Temple complex. The realization of the Galungan celebration at this location is the result of a collaboration between the local Hindu community and the Directorate General of Hindu Community Guidance of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Prambanan Temple Utilization Working Team, the Cultural Heritage Conservation Center Region X, the Hindu Religious Affairs Office of the Yogyakarta Special Region Ministry of Religious Affairs, PT Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Prambanan and Ratu Boko, and the Indonesian Hindu Dharma Parisada (PHDI) of Yogyakarta and Central Java. This event is attended by *pemedek* from various regions including Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta, Sleman, Bantul, Klaten, and Boyolali (Injourney Destination Management, 2024).

Galungan celebration in 2024 (this year) is conducted by offering prayers and sacrifices from the main zone of Prambanan Temple. The theme of the celebration is linked to commemorating the creation of the universe and expressing gratitude for the blessings of *Hyang Widhi Wasa* [God]. Through the blessings of *Hyang Widhi Wasa*, Hindus are invited to be grateful for the victory of *dharma* over *adharma*. It also aims to motivate Hindus to offer the best for both human life and the universe. There is also a discourse to develop the *Galungan* celebration as a national process for Hindus from various regions of Indonesia as an effort to echo spiritual activities at the World Heritage Site of Prambanan. Ultimately, the preservation of culture through these spiritual activities can stimulate the development of quality tourism. On the other hand, these spiritual activities are expected to provide authentic and memorable experiences for *pemedek* (Fox, 2015, p. 29).

In Surabaya, the first *Galungan* celebration in 2023, which falls on January 4 2023, is centered at *Pura* Segara Bulak, the same *pura* as the *Galungan* celebration during the Covid-19 pandemic and amidst *Pemberlakuan Pembatasan Kegiatan Masyarakat* [Community Activity Restrictions] (PPKM)-a policy implemented in Indonesia during the Covid-19 pandemic to curb the spread of the virus. The revocation of PPKM has made the rhythm of worship in Surabaya return to normal. Before the ceremony begins, *penjor* [a symbol of a mountain made of curved bamboo decorated with agricultural products] and *sesajen* [offerings] are prepared.

However, unlike in the previous two locations, Jakarta and Yogyakarta, the people with special authority in Surabaya stated that *Galungan* is not only a day of victory of *dharma* over *adharma* but also a moment for the sacred spirits of ancestors to visit the earth to see their descendants. In addition to *Pura* Segara Bulak, the *Galungan* celebration in Surabaya also took place at *Pura* Segara, Kenjeran. The *Galungan*

ceremony began with a splash of holy water. One by one, the *pemedek* received holy water. After that, they prepared to offer prayers. It began with laying out offerings to be presented to *Sang Hyang Widhi*. The ceremony was led by the *pemangku pura* who performed the Puja Tri Sandya ritual. Then, accompanied by the sound of bells (Radar Surabaya, 2024).

In Bogor, *pemedek* headed to *Pura* Giri Kusuma, located on Jalan Pawon, Tanah Baru, North Bogor, to celebrate the second Galungan 2017 in November. The Mayor of Bogor inaugurated this *Pura* on 6 October 1998. This *pura* was chosen as the place to hold the *Galungan* celebration, not only because of its strategic location but also because it is the largest *pura* in the city. *Pemedek* brought *sesajen*, which were considered a symbol of gratitude to *Hyang Widhi* for all His blessings to humans and the universe. The *pemedek* ceremony started from 9:00 AM to 11:00 AM, led by *Pinandita* I Wayan Pasek. The activity continued with a visit among the congregation to greet each other about the *Galungan* holiday and to pray for each other to always be under the protection of *Hyang Widhi Wasa* and always be guided on the path of *dharma* (Radar Bogor, 2017).

If traced further, in almost all major cities in Indonesia where there is a Hindu diaspora, even abroad, *Galungan* is always celebrated as it should be as a day of victory of *dharma* over *adharma*. How should academic historians approach this sociological fact? Of course, it is not enough to only use a synchronic concept but also a diachronic one, based on a chronological order. Until now, no academic historian has dared to ask why *Galungan* is called the day of victory of *dharma* over *adharma*? Where are the academic historians, is the question unattractive or because it is difficult to find the data? Until now, only two articles have been found, which although not written by academic historians, have attempted to put forward a time dimension.

Firstly, Sumertini (2017) discusses the influence of globalization on several meanings of *Galungan*. Globalization has transformed the meaning of *Galungan* into a momentum for seeking worldly pleasures, which in philosophical concepts is called hedonism [a worldly view]. The hedonistic understanding makes Hindus more oriented towards worldly pleasures and does not believe in the law of *Karmaphala* or the afterlife. However, Hinduism states that if a person's orientation is only towards the pursuit of material things and pleasure, then they will only satisfy their desires. Apart from the way of thinking, globalization has also changed the Hindu philosophy about the art of *Galungan* ceremony ornaments, especially *penjor*. *Penjor* is an important part of the *Galungan* celebration because it functions as an expression of gratitude to *Hyang Widi Wasa* for His abundant grace and blessings to all living beings. But the worldly interests contained in globalization have eventually placed *penjor* as a stage for showing off that the owner or maker comes from an educated and high-ranking class, so that its Hindu philosophy disappears.

A second study that incorporates a temporal dimension can be found in the work of Dewi, Kebayantini, Arjawa, & Bayu (2020), which discusses the relationship between modernization and the commodification of *penjor*. As a symbol of Mount Agung, penjor is one of the *sesaji* in every religious ceremony in Bali. *Penjor* is used in

Galungan and *Kuningan* celebrations, as well as other ceremonies. However, modernization has reduced it to merely a commodity. This phenomenon occurred in Desa Kapal, Badung, Bali, which was examined using Herbert Spencer's linear evolution theory. The research results show that the commodification occurring amidst these social changes is caused by insufficient time allocation for rituals, limited family members, and economic constraints. The lack of interest among academic historians in addressing the topic of *Galungan* from a historical perspective is due to the Rankean historical method, which states "no document, no history," limiting their scope. *Galungan*, arguably, lacks authentic and credible documents. Therefore, only amateur historians are willing and dare to research the history of *Galungan* for non-journal article publications. Academic historians can learn a lot from this, and at the same time, criticize their work by placing it within a postmodern historical methodology, as done in this study.

Referring to Foucault, a postmodern theorist, one way to examine *Galungan* is by positioning it as "subjugated knowledges." The research question is, what knowledges have been subjugated, so that a single discourse emerges stating that *Galungan* is a celebration of the victory of *dharma* over *adharma*?

Method

The initial step in determining the method used in this study is to first understand the meaning of subjugated knowledge. There are two understandings of subjugated knowledge. First, it is in the form of blocks of historical knowledge that are present in a functional and systematic ensemble but are obscured, and their existence can be revealed through criticism using fairly clear scientific tools. Second, the edges of "subjugated knowledge" should be understood as meaning something else and very different. The foundation of this is the whole range of knowledge that is disqualified as non-conceptual knowledge, which is not complex enough: naive knowledge, which is hierarchically lower and below the required level of knowledge or scientificity (Foucault, 1980, pp. 81-82).

In other words, subjugated knowledge can be called historical knowledge that has been refined through new discourses that are different from the previous ones [factual historical knowledge] and maintained through power. How does power refine knowledge about *Galungan*? This is the question that needs to be answered. *Galungan* and other cultural practices are formed from subjugated knowledge, such as Ogoh-ogoh, large puppets that appear a day before *Nyepi*. The current discourse shows that the *Ogoh-ogoh* parade is part of the *Nyepi* tradition, which is presented as a medium to drive away evil spirits. However, from the colonial era (1908) until the 1970s, this discourse was unknown in the practice of *Nyepi* celebrations. So, it is merely a practice of disciplinary power that only began in the 1980s.

The practice of disciplinary power on subjugated knowledge in the *Galungan* celebration can be studied through Foucault's genealogy of power and the archaeology of knowledge. The genealogy of power does not study the types of consciousness, modes of perception, and forms of ideology but rather the tactics and strategies of

power. The emphasis is on examining the tactics and strategies used by power through implantation, distribution, differentiation, control of territory, and organization of domains that can become a kind of geopolitics where research will be connected to geographical methods so that it can study a broader history, including "political campaigns" and "social movements" (Foucault, 1980, pp. 73-74). The genealogy of power does not aim to restore subjugated knowledge to a more scientific form. In fact, it is explicitly anti-scientific. It does not seek to reject knowledge or to advocate for experiences that have not been captured by knowledge. Instead, it is about the rebellion of knowledge.

Nor is genealogy an attempt to inscribe knowledge in the hierarchical order of power characteristic of science. Genealogy is a kind of attempt to subordinate historical knowledge, to liberate it, or in other words, to enable it to resist and struggle against the imposition of a state, unified, formal, and theoretical scientific discourse (Foucault, 1980, p. 84). Genealogy aims not to inscribe knowledge in a hierarchical order of power linked to science. Genealogy should be seen as an attempt to liberate historical knowledge from subjugation, enabling it to resist and struggle against the imposition of theoretical, unified, formal, and scientific discourse. This imposition is based on the reactivation of local knowledge-small knowledge, which Deleuze calls in opposition to the scientific hierarchy of knowledge and its intrinsic effect on power, making genealogy irregular and fragmented (Foucault, 1980, p. 85).

Conceptual Considerations

According to Foucault (1980), at least one proposition can be found that, in its certain parts, can be used as a foundation for thinking in this study.

> "Humans are not driven by the philosophical values and norms they adhere to, but rather compromise with the discourse developed by those with the special power to speak. Within every discourse lies knowledge that is considered truth to be used as power in the sense of strategies, techniques, tactics, and maneuvers to discipline bodies to be obedient and useful to the hidden truth within it. The researcher's task is to strip away the truth and the hidden effects in every discourse until they themselves are ashamed because the domination of power hidden neatly behind the knowledge that shapes it is vulgarly exposed."

This proposition consists of three groups of sentences, which, when their relationships are sought, can help to find the power hidden within the discourse of *Galungan* as a day of victory for *dharma* over *adharma*. *Firstly*, "Humans are not driven by the values and norms they adhere to, but rather compromise with the discourse developed by those with the special power to speak." Nietzsche's critique of Christianity, which he claims only creates its truth, is very evident in that sentence. Therefore, according to Nietzsche, God [who is created] must be killed to save humanity. But Foucault goes even further, surpassing Nietzsche. According to him, humans only compromise with the discourse developed by those with the special power to speak. They prioritize the majority more than the voice of conscience.

Secondly, "Every discourse contains knowledge that is considered truth to be used as power in the sense of strategies, techniques, tactics, and maneuver to discipline bodies to be obedient and useful to the hidden truth within it." This statement shows that Foucault distorted Nietzsche's thinking. If he were still alive, it would make him groan and protest. Although Nietzsche was a figure who specified power relations as a general focus, his conception of power differed from Foucault's. Nietzsche sometimes still saw power realistically, such as when criticizing Christianity, while in Foucault it is abstract. Foucault positions power as a strategy, technique, tactic, and maneuver. However, Foucault does not explain how to make power like that. Therefore, it is necessary to find other references to understand the meaning of these concepts. Strategy is different from tactics. Strategy consists of several (macroscopic) goals or objectives, while tactics are the means or ways to achieve those goals or objectives. Certain tactical maneuver is needed to achieve strategic goals (Pruitt & Rubin, 1986, p. 7). The difficulty can be overcome, considering that Foucault's implicit understanding of other concepts can still be captured from the series of propositions and the methodology of power that he presented. But the next sentence makes historical researchers have to work harder.

"The researcher's task is to strip away the truth and its hidden effects in every discourse until they are ashamed because the domination of power hidden neatly behind the knowledge that shapes it is vulgarly exposed." Here, Foucault embarrasses Marx, who deterministically sought power in its relation to production [economics]. In contrast, Foucault always reminds us to diligently search for the effects of power mechanisms. How do you find them, and where are they located? Once again, other sciences are needed to help find and discover them. One of them can be using the help of Social Psychology theory. Social psychologists are trained to think within the framework of the effects of mental conditions on social behaviour (Pruitt & Rubin, 1986, p. 10). More than that, and even primarily, historians need to study Bourdieu's generative structural theory. The importance of Bourdieu's presence is because Foucault does not explain how the effects of power enter into the dispositions of bodies, something that can be seen in Bourdieu.

Can genealogy find the possible connections in the scattered knowledge of *Galungan* so that it becomes a kind of autonomous life? Can genealogy be isolated in this way from every conquest of relationships? What power can be taken within genealogy? (Foucault, 1980, p. 86). The following describes some of the knowledge about *Galungan* that has been subdued by power, the first being *Galungan* as a mythology. Reduced interest in religious matters may have been a significant factor. From 1960 to 1990, Basis was heavily steeped in philosophical discussions. For instance, the May 1995 edition, titled *The Role of Philosophy in National Life* covered topics such as Pluralism in the Modern State (A Review of Political Ethics), Recognition *for Philosophy*, and *Influential Theories in the Social Sciences*.

Galungan Mythology

The *Galungan* mythology in Bali tells the story of the defeat of King Mayadanawa

against the God Indra in a great war. The mythology tells that Mayadanawa was a giant who was greedy, arrogant, and haughty, and who did not believe in the omnipotence of God. Mayadanawa told his people to worship him because he felt he was the strongest and most powerful. The gods were angry and finally asked God Indra to come down to the world. Long story short, there was a war between God Indra and Mayadanawa, each bringing their own troops. King Mayadanawa was finally defeated. This event is referred to as the day of victory of *dharma* over *adharma*, which is celebrated on *Galungan* and *Kuningan*.

Thus, in the discourse of *Galungan* as the victory of *dharma* over *adharma*, there is knowledge that the worship of Dewa Indra as a representation of Dewa Siwa (God) is the only way to eradicate arrogance, greed, and pride in society. This knowledge, captured and expressed in discourse, is considered truth and then used as power to discipline bodies so that they are obedient and useful to the hidden truth within them. These bodies include the monarchical body, the social body, the fantasy body, and the ideological body (Foucault, 1980). All become targets of power domination. It is unnecessary to ask when it happened, it is clear that as soon as the discourse emerges and everyone compromises with it, it merges with the social system.

Power in this case can be likened to a match, once it is lit, the person who lit it is no longer there. Similarly, with a discourse, the people who have the special power to speak only function as an initial spark, and then their physical form is no longer visible, because the discourse they have uttered has been intertwined with other aspects of a social system as a whole (Foucault, 1980). Power then transforms into a strategy that functions as a technique, tactic, maneuver, and disposition to make other bodies disciplined, meaning obedient and useful to the truth contained within them. Foucault refers to this as a power strategy, where power is practiced, accepted, and seen as truth (Kebung, 2002, p. 34). This model of power is part of a postmodern approach (Neuman, 2017, pp. 134-135), and is also the result of Foucault's rejection of phenomenological approaches as mentioned above.

How, then, could this knowledge discipline the bodies of the republic, so that until now, almost throughout Indonesia, in every *Galungan* celebration, it always invokes the truth of *dharma* against *adharma*, as explained at the beginning of this article? The immediate causes must be sought in the present, in the most recent events, that Bali needed a national identity that could be accepted across ethnic groups. Starting from when the mythology of King Mayadanawa was reinforced by people who had the special power to speak on behalf of India, which is the origin of Hinduism. They had a strategic position in the cultural realm in Bali, around the 1990s to the early 2000s, so their Hindu knowledge was heard and disseminated by the mass media (Gottowik, 2010; Saihu, 2020, p. 7). The *Galungan* mythology was also given a religious source, the *Veda* [Hindu scripture]. It is mentioned in India that the *Galungan* mythology as the day of victory of *dharma* over *adharma* is based on the *Veda* called *Divavali* and *Dusshera*. *Dusshera* means the destruction of *Dasa Muka* alias *Rahvana*, a symbol of the defeat of *adharma*, while *Divavali* is a symbol of the victory of *dharma*, which falls on the *purnama kartika*, around September-October. This celebration is also

intended to commemorate the victory of *dharma* over *adharma*. However, the mythology is slightly different (Putrawan, 2005, p. 10).

In India, the story of the victory of *dharma* over *adharma* is based on the story of Rama's victory over *Ravana*. So, this holiday began to be celebrated in the *Satya Yuga* era. On the day of *Divavali*, a symbol called *Ogoh-ogoh* is made and paraded throughout the village and at night every house light lamp, while on the day of *Dusshera* people make *Ogoh-ogoh* of *Ravana* which is then paraded and eventually burned as the destruction of *adharma*. The symbolism in India is not much different from that in Bali. In Bali, the characters are *Dewa Indra* and *Mayadanawa*. This is all just a local variation of the story of *Ravana*, because *Mayadanawa* is a giant (*danawa*) who has many supernatural powers (*maya*) (Putrawan, 2005, p. 10).

Another version in India, the *Galungan* and *Kuningan* celebrations in Bali resemble the *Çradha* dan *Vijaya Dasami* ceremonies. *Çradha* means respect. This ceremony is performed in India every September or October. It begins by assigning *Brahmin* students to donate to the poor. After that, they perform the *Nava Ratna Puja*, which lasts for nine consecutive days, until the tenth day which is called *Vijaya Dasami*. This ceremony is specifically held by the *Kshatriyas* on a large scale. The celebration is carried out by cleaning each of their heirloom weapons from early morning.

After that, they invite a priest to lead and perfect the ceremony. Once the ceremony is completed, they offer prayers at the temples. In the afternoon, there is a parade of soldiers followed by a war reenactment symbolizing the battle between *Rama* and *Ravana*. Meanwhile, in eastern India, *Vijaya Dasami* is celebrated to commemorate the victory of *Durga*, also known as *Kali*, against *Mahisasura*. On the other hand, the Gurkha people in India celebrate it by sacrificing buffaloes accompanied by various performances (Talamentes, 2006). In another version in India, *Galungan* is said to be the tenth victory or the day of the death of the *Mahisasura* by *Durga*. *Mahisasura* symbolizes ignorance. Based on that, some say that *Galungan* is a very good day to learn arts that allow people to achieve success because ignorance has disappeared (Putrawan, 2010).

The social bodies of the Hindu diaspora, wherever they are, compromise with this discourse, so that a secondary discourse emerges, that *Galungan* is a celebration of the victory of *dharma* over *adharma*. In fact, within the internal environment of the family, performing prayers at family temples, both *Pura* Kawitan and *Pura* Dadia, the purpose of the celebration is only to seek protection from ancestors, but it is still wrapped in Hindu teachings. This is in line with other opinions that state that *Galungan* and *Kuningan* are a legacy of pre-Hindu Javanese-Balinese beliefs. The proof is that during the celebration, it is the ancestors who are worshiped. But because of the strong influence of the *Saiva Sidhanta* aliran, the object of worship is also accompanied by *Batara Guru*, which is translated as *Çiwa*. (Putrawan, 2005, p. 10).

The explanation above shows that the merging of the two natures of *Galungan* and *Kuningan* occurs subtly, so that relatively no one is aware of the differences. In Foucault's post-structuralist terms, this is called the practice of disciplining the body, so it is considered a truth. How can this practice of disciplining the body take place?

The second knowledge that is subdued is *Galungan* as a day of honoring ancestors, as explained below.

Galungan as a Day of Honoring Ancestors

Some argue that the purpose of *Galungan* is to honor the spirits of ancestors who have been purified (Ginarsa, 1987, p. 1). This opinion is not different from Korn's statement that *Galungan* and *Kuningan* are ceremonies to obtain protection from ancestral spirits in order to avoid disturbances from evil forces. This is done because, essentially, the practice of Hinduism in Bali is the worship of idols in the form of ancestors who are considered protectors (Korn, 1932, p. 2).

The worship of ancestral spirits has been ongoing since prehistoric times. So, *Galungan* is a transformation (a subtle change in form) of a tradition from prehistoric times. Hidden within this knowledge is the knowledge of the sacred spirits of ancestors as a refuge from evil spirits. In the *Saiva Sidhanta* aliran concept, evil spirits are known as *Sang Kala Telu* or *Sang Kala Tiga Wisesa*. In mythology, it is said that *Sang Kala Tiga Wisesa* descended to the world on *Redite Paing Wuku Dungulan*, exactly four days before the *Galungan*, to disturb the peace of humans. To avoid the evil power of *Sang Kala Tiga Wisesa*, on *Redite Paing Wuku Dungulan*, humans are encouraged to practice *anyekung jñana*, which means to quiet the mind so that it is not entered by *bhuta* (darkness) of *Galungan*. The mind will always be pure by quieting it, which is called *nirmalakena*. The *bhuta* of *Galungan* will not enter people whose minds are always pure, as *Sang Kala Tiga Wisesa*. To reach the stage of *nirmalakena*, on the day of *Redite Paing Wuku Dungulan*, humans must practice *yoga* and *samadhi*.

Three days prior, known as *Anggara Wage Wuku Dungulan* or *Penampahan Galungan*, Hindu devotees must defeat the *bhuta Galungan*, also known as *Sang Kala Tiga Wisesa*. This cannot be done solely through *nirmalakena* or a pure mind, but also by creating and offering *banten byakala* called *pamyakala lara melaradan*. Balinese Hindus generally offer this *banten* to *Batara Hyang Guru*, interpreted as ancestors. The day before *Galungan* is called *penampahan*. Some say that on this day, Hindus must kill the animalistic qualities within themselves. However, in practice, what is killed is a chicken and a pig, and some of the meat is used as an offering.

The following day, *Buda Kliwon Wuku Dungulan*, is called *Galungan*, which is said to be the day of the victory of *dharma* over *adharma*. Some interpret it as a series of rituals and spiritual practices based on the philosophy of the winning of *dewa sampad* [divine qualities] over the *asuri sampad* [demonic qualities] within oneself. Victory is understood as the extent to which a human can control their own desires. The ability to control desires must always be evaluated because the elements of *dharma* and *adharma* within a human being are always in constant battle.

So, the most important thing in the *Galungan* celebration, based on the opinions above, is self-control, which is the spirit (strength) within humans. Self-control is achieved through meditation by focusing the mind on *Hyang Widhi* while repeatedly calling His name. Such meditation practice will produce purity of body and mind. Not only meditation, on the days of *Galungan* and *Kuningan*, Hindu devotees must perform

worship and recite sacred prayers to testify to *Hyang Widhi* that they have carried out *dharma* (Sedana, 2005, p. 15). Another opinion states that, in addition to worshiping *Hyang Widhi* in His manifestations as *Uma*, *Durga*, or *Siva Mahadeva*, *Galungan* and *Kuningan* are also days for worshiping ancestors.

The day after is called *Manis Galungan*. On this day, people remember the beauty of the victory of *dharma* over *adharma*. This memory is reflected by visiting beautiful natural scenery or relatives while enjoying themselves. The following day is called *Paing Galungan* and *Pamaridan Guru*, which falls on the next day. Nine days after *Galungan* is called *Penampahan Kuningan*. In the lontar *Sundarigama*, as revealed on a website, it is mentioned as a day of *sapuhakena malaning jnyana*, eliminating the impurities of the mind. On that day, Hindus are encouraged to cleanse their minds of all forms of evil. The next day is called *Kuningan*, the day of the return of the *devas* and *pitara* to the heavenly realm. Therefore, offerings to ancestors should not be made past noon. Next, the knowledge that has been successfully subjugated by power is the history of *Galungan* as inscribed in the *prasasti* (stone inscription) as explained below.

Galungan in the *Prasasti*

Galungan began to be celebrated in Bali during the reign of King Jayakasunu, who ruled from 1150 to 1177. The celebration of *Galungan* continued during the reign of the next king, Sri Jayapangus. It is unclear whether there was any discontinuity in it or not at all. In one of the *prasasti* issued by this king in 1178 AD, what stands out in the celebration of *Galungan* is the existence of obligations that must be borne by the people. It is mentioned in the *prasasti* that the people of *Desa Bhwan*, on the edge of *Lake Batur*, were not required to contribute to the purchase of buffalo and pigs during the *Galungan* and *Tahapan-Çri holidays*. They were also not required to contribute to the purchase of buffalo and pigs during the celebrations of the moon and solar eclipses. But as a substitute, they were obliged to pay a contribution of two pots of *kuluma* fish and two bundles of shallots (Ginarsa, 1987, p. 8).

What can be learnt from the *prasasti* is that, regardless of the name of a ceremony, it involves objects for ritual purposes. These objects are not all obtained for free, but must be purchased. Thus, the assumption that rituals such as *Galungan* are also intended as a means of turning the wheels of the kingdom's economy is increasingly correct. This is reinforced by a number of inscriptions that mention gold and silver coins from ancient Bali. *The Sukawana A I* inscription (804 *Çaka* or 882 AD) mentions the cost of burial ceremonies. An unmarried person (*bujang*) is charged a burial ceremony fee of 2 *māsaka* of gold. If they have no descendants, the cost is 4 *māsaka* of gold. The cost of cremation (*ngaben*) reaches 4 *māsaka*' (Dewi & Ayu, 2011, p. 25).

Galungan and Economic Circulation

With people's awareness of celebrating *Galungan* as a day of worshiping ancestors, domestic trade also runs smoothly. The wheels of the economy will naturally turn when everyone needs *sesajen*. These *sesajen* consist of agricultural products, plantations, livestock, and fisheries, not only for daily needs but also for religious

ceremonies. Of course, these materials must be purchased and some produced independently. People from inland areas buy harvested products from coastal areas and vice versa. *Sesajen* materials that are not available in Bali must be brought in from outside. Not only for the sake of *sesajen,* on the day of *Galungan,* people also need new clothes to wear when praying. This raises a question of how people in ancient Bali met all these needs?

The search for or procurement of those materials was easily done, as trade was already quite developed in ancient Bali. From historical records, it is clear that all the *sesajen* used today were already traded in the 9th century, including ginger, shallots and garlic, chili, rice, coconut, banana, betel nut, durian, cow, duck, pig, chicken, buffalo, fish, and turtle. All of these materials could be purchased at the market. At that time, the market trading system was already running well. This is revealed in the *Dausa Pura Bukit Indrakila AI* inscription.

In this inscription, a number of terms are mentioned that are commonly used in the market, namely *ser parar* for the market leader, *wanigrama* for male merchants, *wanigarmi* for female merchants, and the terms *banyaga* or *wanyaga* for large inter-island traders. While for small or retail traders, the terms *atanja, manghalu,* and *adagang* are used. Furthermore, in the *Dausa* inscription, the term *bngunén pasar* is also mentioned. In the *Sukawana AI* inscription, a similar term, *lagad pasar*, is also mentioned (Setiawan, 1996, p. 109).

Through these two terms, it can be inferred that in ancient Bali, there were buildings for conducting buying and selling processes. The existence of buildings for buying and selling would not only facilitate the trade of materials for the implementation of ceremonies but also raw materials for the procurement of clothing. The raw material for making clothing was cotton. At that time, cotton could easily be purchased at the market. In the *Sukawana D* inscription dated 1222 *Saka* or 1300 AD, it is mentioned that there were many cotton plants east of *Desa Sukawana*, precisely between Panursuran and Balingkang. This indicates that cotton was one of the commodities that provided profits for farmers. Cotton produced by the people of Kintamani was traded to the northern coastal areas of Bali such as Les, Julah, Bawundalem, Indrapura, Bulihan, and Manasa.

Trade between the two regions appears to have been ongoing for quite a long time. This was revealed in the *Kintamani* inscription, dated *Çaka* 1122 or 1200 AD. The inscription mentions a kind of trade monopoly in the Kintamani region, referred to as trade autonomy. Trade practices at that time were more accurately described as a monopoly rather than trade autonomy, as there is data suggesting that only the people of Kintamani were allowed to sell cotton to the northern coastal areas of Bali, while the people around Lake Batur were prohibited from doing so (Setiawan, 1996, p. 111).

Upon reaching their destination, the cotton was purchased by retail traders. They sold it by peddling. This is evident from the terms *tanja* or *mangalu* found in ancient Balinese inscriptions, which can be interpreted as traveling to sell goods. This term is still used today, as seen in the word *metanja* which means to peddle. These peddlers carried their goods on their shoulders or heads. This is revealed by the terms *apikul*

and *asuhun* in ancient Balinese inscriptions. However, if they had a large amount of goods, they used packhorses as a means of transportation. Horses were the most suitable animals for transporting goods across the mountain ranges that divide North and South Bali. If the goods had to be transported across the sea, boats were used as a means of transportation. The *Sembiran A IV* inscription, dated 987 *Çaka* or 1065 AD (11th century) issued by King Anak Wungsu, mentions traders from overseas who came by ship and boat, anchoring at Manasa (Setiawan, 1996, p. 114).

Trade can only run smoothly if there is a currency as a means of payment. Did ancient Bali have currency or was trade conducted through a barter system? Initially, the exchange system in ancient Bali was conducted through barter, but over time, money emerged as the primary medium of exchange and the basis of payment. Archaeologists have found many types of currency used at that time. The money was made of gold, silver, and iron. The units or denominations included mas *suwarna*, *maçaka*, *kupang*, and *piling* or *sāga*. The exchange rate was: 1 *mas sūwarna* is equivalent to 1 *tahil* or 16 *māsaka* or 64 kupang (Setiawan, 1996, p. 113).

The use of currency as a means of transaction is mentioned, among others, in the *Trunyan* A I inscription, dated 813 *Çaka* or 891 AD. This inscription states that an *Adhikara* is entitled to receive two *kupang* of silver if there is a purchase of Hon. However, it does not explain what this object is or why he should be given money. The payment of money for a broader use is seen in the rules of donations that must be paid to blacksmiths. It is stated in the inscription that everyone is obliged to pay a donation to the blacksmith in Trunyan village of 1 *kupang* of silver, which is offered to Sanghyang in Trunyan. It turns out that the collection of money in ancient Bali was relatively extensive and varied. This also includes burial costs. In the *Sukawana A 1* inscription dated 804 *Çaka* or 882 AD, it is stated that if the buried corpse is a bachelor, the cost is 2 *maçaka* of gold, if married, the cost is 4 *maçaka* of gold. To continue with the cremation ceremony, the cost is 4 *maçaka* of gold. (Dewi & Ayu, 2011, p. 44).

There were also taxes on the processing and ownership of agricultural land. All of these were well-regulated in ancient Bali. In the *Dawan* inscription, dated *Çaka* 975 or 1053 AD, it is stated that if a foreigner worked on a dry field or plot of land in Desa Lutungan, they were required to pay a tax of two *kupang* to the village. Meanwhile, in the *Srokodan B* and *Sukawati C* inscriptions, there is a provision for residents of Desa Bwah who own dry land outside their village, requiring them to pay a tax of 1 *kupang* to the village where the land is located (Ardika, 1995, p. 53).

Therefore, without realizing it, there has been a practice of subjugating *Galungan* as a day of victory for *dharma* over *adharma*, a fact that is not historically proven. There is no historical event that tells of the victory of an individual or group in the name of *dharma* defeating *adharma*. Moreover, the mention of *Galungan* as a day of victory for *dharma* over *adharma* is not reflected in the objective structure when Hindu society faces contemporary realities, as explained below, therefore additional analysis from Bourdieu is needed.

Disregarding the Objective Structure

Similar to Foucault, Bourdieu also saw power as dispersed and often hidden within the ways of seeing and describing the world that are widely accepted by society and often unquestioned. However, unlike Foucault, the dissemination of power or symbols is closely related to—but cannot be reduced to—economic and political power, so the fact of its dissemination also serves as a tool of legitimation as solid as economic and political power itself (Jhonson, 2015, pp. xvi-xvii).

Bourdieu studied the dynamics of social life by distinguishing between objective and subjective structures. Objective structures are manifested in social space, while subjective structures are dispositions that exist within individuals. The two are interconnected and mutually influence each other in a complex process to produce social practices. If the objective structure indicates a victory of dharma over *adharma*, then it will be reflected in the subjective structure or habitus, also called a system of dispositions (attitudes, tendencies in perceiving, feeling, acting, and thinking that are internalized by society).

It seems that the victory of dharma over *adharma* is relatively found in individuals, but it is not yet reflected in the objective structure in the daily practices of Balinese society in the lead-up to *Galungan*. Most members of the community seem unable to control their desires, as seen in the hustle and bustle of traditional markets, supermarkets, and minimarts before *Galungan* and *Nyepi*. The busy market for procuring ceremonial supplies has even occurred long before. Some argue that the increase in sales of instant ceremonial supplies, such as *lamak* and *sampian penjor*, and others has resulted in a price increase of up to 200% from ordinary days (Lestari, 2023).

The beneficiaries are not only local traders but also, and especially, middlemen of raw materials for ceremonial supplies. Most of the middlemen for *Galungan* ceremony materials come from East Java, especially Banyuwangi. A few days before *Galungan*, they bring dozens of trucks of ceremonial equipment materials such as *janur*, *enau*, and *bananas* from Banyuwangi to Bali. This shows that agricultural, plantation, and livestock products in Bali are no longer able to meet market demand. The presence of goods from outside Bali can indeed reduce the purchase price of *Galungan* ceremonial supplies. If only relying on local products, the purchase price would certainly be much higher. In any case, the *Galungan* holiday has created a market opportunity not only for local people but also for those from outside Bali.

Conclusion

The discourse of *dharma*'s victory over *adharma* represents the ultimate subjugation of the knowledge of *Galungan*. It is a different form of factual historical knowledge but is still maintained through mechanisms of power. The tactics and strategies employed by power to subdue the factual knowledge of *Galungan* are by attaching the mythology of a king's war against a god from heaven. The king represents human arrogance, cruelty, and pride, while the god represents virtue. The moral lesson intended by this mythology is that humans must always prioritize virtue in order to defeat arrogance, cruelty, and pride which can endanger their lives.

This discourse is reinforced by new knowledge originating from India by using the *Vedas* as its foundation, stating that the day of *dharma*'s victory over *adharma* is indeed recognized and is part of the Hindu religion. All *pemangku* tasked with leading and perfecting ceremonies in temples have compromised with this discourse and distributed it to wherever they may be. Not only in Bali, but wherever there is a Hindu community, almost throughout Indonesia and even the world, a uniform discourse will emerge, stating that *Galungan* is the day of *dharma*'s victory over *adharma*.

Once this discourse surfaced, a piece of local knowledge was submerged: *Galungan* as a day to welcome the arrival of ancestral spirits into the world through a religious ceremony to stimulate the community's economy. However, Hindus merely compromised with this discourse, while in practice at the family level, the focus of the *Galungan* celebration always leans toward a religious ceremony to maintain harmony with ancestors. Because it is celebrated simultaneously by all Hindus, *Galungan* has managed to find its historical purpose of improving human well-being through economic circulation within it. This can be seen from the circulation of money.

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