

Bhairawa Puja Ritual Practice in Pujungan Bali

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Abstract: This research examines the Puja Bhairawa teachings development in Hindu Bhairawa in Pujungan Bali, especially the stages of ritual transformation and traces of the remaining practices of them which are still carried out as the Indonesian society traditions. The Research Methods include interview, observation, and documentation. The research results are the remaining teachings of the Pancamakara Puja practice that still exist such as Bhairawa puja ritual in Pujungan Bali. Hindu Bhairawa in Pujungan was brought to life by a man named I Nengah Gatot Kaca. The Bhairawa puja ritual is used as a short cut problem weapon to solve world problems. The Bhairawa puja ritual at Pujungan is placed in a quiet Pujungan coffee garden area away from the crowds. The ceremony leader of the ritual is I Nengah Gatot Kaca/Gede Gatot Bhinawa Rata who has the title of Diksa Bheru Baba. In the coffee garden area, two black stones (linggams) were placed as the embodiment of Bhairava and Bhairavi. The Bhairawa puja ritual procession began with prepare ritual facilities for male goat blood, alcohol, flowers, fruits and other ingredients. After all the ritual facilities were ready and the ritual participants were present, the ritual procession begins by summoning the spirits of Bhairawa and Bhairawi which was done by making offerings such as the blood of a sacrificial animal which is sprinkled on two lingams as the embodiment of Bhairava and Bhairavi while accompanied by chanting of mantras by the priest, followed by other offerings such as alcoholic beverages, fragrances, and flowers on the Linggam. At that time, some participants will feel the presence of Bhairava and all ritual participants can do whatever prayer or invocation they want.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini mengkaji perkembangan ajaran Puja Bhairawa dalam Hindu Bhairawa di Pujungan Bali, khususnya tahapan transformasi ritual dan jejak sisa praktiknya yang masih dilakukan sebagai tradisi masyarakat Indonesia. Metode Penelitian meliputi wawancara, observasi, dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian adalah sisa ajaran dari praktik Puja Pancamakara yang masih ada seperti ritual puja Bhairawa di Pujungan Bali. Bhairawa Hindu di Pujungan dihidupkan kembali oleh seorang pria bernama I Nengah Gatot Kaca. Ritual puja bhairawa digunakan sebagai senjata jalan pintas untuk memecahkan masalah dunia. Ritual puja Bhairawa di Pujungan ditempatkan di area kebun kopi Pujungan yang tenang jauh dari keramaian. Pemimpin upacara ritual tersebut adalah I Nengah Gatot Kaca/Gede Gatot Bhinawa Rata yang bergelar Diksa Bheru Baba. Di areal kebun kopi ditempatkan dua buah batu hitam (linggam) sebagai perwujudan Bhairava dan Bhairavi. Prosesi ritual puja bhairawa dimulai dengan menyiapkan sarana ritual untuk darah kambing jantan, alkohol, bunga, buah-buahan dan bahan lainnya. Setelah semua sarana ritual siap dan peserta ritual sudah hadir, prosesi ritual dimulai dengan pemanggilan arwah Bhairawa dan Bhairawi yang dilakukan dengan cara memberikan sesaji berupa darah hewan kurban yang dipercikkan pada dua lingam sebagai perwujudan dari Bhairava dan Bhairavi sambil diiringi dengan pembacaan mantra oleh pendeta, dilanjutkan dengan sesaji lainnya seperti minuman beralkohol, wewangian, dan bunga di Linggam. Pada saat itu, beberapa peserta akan merasakan kehadiran Bhairava dan semua peserta ritual dapat melakukan doa atau doa apa pun yang mereka inginkan.



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INTRODUCTION

Etymologically, Tantra which means weaving or loom, is a term used to refer to esoteric practices (hidden secrets) aimed at awakening the divine qualities in a person in order to achieve perfection (Suwanto: nd, pp. 119-121). The idea of narrowing the scope of Tantrayana as a part of late-phase Buddhism can be traced back to its early emergence in Bengali, India, at least as early as the middle of the fifth century. In Indonesia, the spread of Tantricism can be examined through three stages of a crucial period (Pandit Rajmani, 1988, p. 18).

The initial phase of Tantra development strengthened during the Srivijaya kingdom around 684 AD. This explanation is based on the words in the Talang Tuo inscription which mention Vajrasarira, as a Buddha relic capable of dispelling the forces of evil (Poerbatjaraka, 1951, p. 47). The second phase can be seen from the spread of Tantrayana influence in Central Java during the Rakai Panangkaran period, through the Kalasan inscription 778 AD, it mentions the construction of the Tantrayana temple Kalasan, to worship the goddess Tara (Soedriman, 1977, p.168). The third phase, which can be approached through research by J.L Moens and Berg, stated that the Tantrayana school had been successfully revived during the Kertanegara era until it was continued by his successor king from the Majapahit kingdom in the early fourteenth century. According to Berg, the role of these sects was to guide the direction of Kertanegara's political policies (Berg, 1962, p. 175).

The roots of Tantrayana can be traced through pre-Tantric doctrines and practices, such as Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism. In the Tantrayana system, there are many devas who manifest wrathful and peaceful expressions, both of which aim to help free all sentient beings from the misery of samsāra and attain the Buddha's highest enlightenment (Ngawang et al., 1979, p. 60). Tantric ritual practices such as Yoga, intended as a means of enlightenment through bodily exercise have been represented as sexual intercourse to associate one's body, speech, and mind with the Buddhas. The concept of associating oneself and becoming one body with Buddha has been debated whether the ritual is performed in meditation or physically through sexual intercourse.

W.F Sutterheim (1956) said that the worship of Tantra-Bhairawa in Bali can be associated with the archipelago Indianization process, this form of Indianization is represented in the findings of archaeological evidence, such as Indian pottery at the Sambiran and Pacung sites. In addition to trade

contacts with India, the Sembiran Inscription (922 AD) which mentions the discovery of the market as a center for meeting indigenous groups with Indian traders strengthens the emergence of acculturation of social systems and beliefs. These ideas and social systems encourage social and cultural changes in Balinese society to be closer to Hindu-Buddhist influences. I Wayan Ardika said that the process of forming social organizations had resulted in the so-called "early state" of Bali (Goris, 1974, p. 65).

Kern and Rassers (1982) in their research also emphasized the phenomenon of fusion (syncretism) between Hindus and Shiva in Bali. These forms of fusion are supported by the research of Sukarto K. Atmodjo, who identified the direction towards the left of the phallus of the Kebo Edan statue in Pejeng showing an identity related to Shiva and the Tantr-Bhairawa school. The fusion of Hindu-Shiva as the basis of the Bhairawa sect is also based on the oldest linga discovery in Bali, it is estimated that it is the Linga at Penataran Asih Temple which also marks the beginning of worshipping Shiva Mahdewa in Bali.

After experienced a fairly long suspended animation since the entry of Islam and the period of the collapse of Majapahit influence in Bali between XIV-XVI, the Bhairawa sect is almost certain to disappear completely. However, it is undeniable that the influence of his teachings still exists and undergoes fusions that are embedded in the subculture of modern Balinese traditions to this day. At least the Bhairawa sect and the ritual of Puja Pancamakara which have been sinking for a long time have revived and come to life in the traditions and rituals of society which are mixed with various aspects of art, tradition, culture, and local worshipers such as grave worship and sex as rituals to this day. The question of whether the existence of this practice completely ceases to exist cannot be ascertained. However, at least a report from Raditya Hindu Magazine drew attention to the the Bhairawa ceremony revival in Pujungan in 2012. The appearance of the ceremony has proven that the worship performed by the Bhairawa sect is not a new form of worship tradition, moreover it distorts the existing tradition in Bali.

So far, there have actually been quite a number of academic studies ranging from those that generally examine the issue of Hindu-Buddhist influence in Bali, to specifically discussing archaeological remains as well as lontar manuscripts, kakawin, and several other works of Tantrayana literature in Bali. The research of inscriptions in Bali was carried out by Bernet Kempers (1960, 1977) on

Balinese archeology, R. Goris (1954), F. Sutterheim (1931) on the remains of the Padas monasteries in Bali and C. Hooykas on the Tirta religion (1964). In addition, researchers from Indonesia have also been busy taking studies on Hindu-Buddhist in Bali, such as I Wayan Srijaya who conducted research on the distribution of religious sites in Gianyar (1996), Hariani Santiko (1992) discussed the Bhatari Durga statue, and Ratnaesih Maulana conducted research about Shiva iconography in several forms and the link between statues and temples in Bali (1993), MM Sukarto K. Atmodjo on the Shiva-Bhairawa statue at Pura Kebo Edan, Pejeng, (1983), and R.P Soejono (1977) on Burial Systems at the End of Pre-historic Time in Bali.

Previous research has only raised the physical aspects of various remains of archaeological sites, both statues and the distribution of temple sites related to the concept of space and its environment. However, other aspects such as the presence of humans as subjects of civilization in preserving the Tantra-Bhairawa religious tradition in the past and the community's survival strategy to this day in Bali, are almost forgotten. Therefore, this research aims to fill the dialectical void of knowledge so that it can explain the activities of religious practices and elements of religiosity inherent in the tradition of ritual ceremonies of the Bhairawa sect more clearly. The revival of the Bhairawa from the Hindu-Bhairawa community of Pujungan Bali in 2012 attracted researchers to further examine the survival strategy of the Pujungan community in maintaining Bhairawa teachings in Indonesia.

METHOD

This research used historical method with a qualitative approach, which is a process of critically examining and analyzing the available sources in written form, field evidence and the results of in-depth interviews with resource persons. The use of the historical method in this research was carried out according to the guidelines of Kuntowijoyo (2005: 90) in historical research through five stages of research, such as: (1) Heuristics or source collection, through interviews with primary sources Mr. Gede Gatot Bhinawa Rata, through observations related to Bhairawa puja in Pujungan Bali, and documents; (2) Verification, which was to test the authenticity and credibility of the materials or sources obtained by observing and meeting directly with the main informant, Mr. I Nengah Gatot Kaca. To map the development of Bhairawa in Pujungan Bali, the location and shape of Linggam Bhairawa Bhairawi in Pujungan Coffee garden; (3) interpretation,

through interpreting the obtained sources and; (4) Historiography or writing of research results.

HISTORY OF THE HINDU BHAIRAWA SECT

Sect or "*sequi*" can be associated with "to seare" which means to separate. According to Hill, sect refers to a term that is widely used to describe any groups that holds views that differ from the general view. In particular, the word "sect" is intended for religious groups that are separated (self-separated) from the dominant group (Hill, 1996, p. 154). Elizabeth K. Nottingham, in "Religion and Society (1977), calls every religious movement or every organized effort to spread religious ideas or interpretations of a religion that previously existed is called a sect.

Likewise, Hinduism has experienced the division of subcultural sects, especially in the ninth century which spread in Java, Bali and parts of Sumatra. Very interesting findings from Kern and Rasers which have proven that in Bali there has been a fusion between Hinduism and Shiva. These forms of fusion or unification are known as syncretism.

Bhairawa is a leftist sect of Durga, part of the Shiva Tantrayana which has syncretistic tendencies with the worship of graves and witches, includes leyak-leyak, grave ghosts, monkeys who are depicted tasting or eating the flesh of corpses, includes symptoms that still exist in Bali. (Goris, 1974, p. 15). The traces of the Bhairawa sect's religious ceremonies, although faintly, are most closely represented in the narrative of the Calon Arang performance, in the worship of Durga Mahisasuramardani who killed the demon who resided in the body of the Buffalo. The act of killing a buffalo is meant as a justified way to exorcise demons at the expense of worldly life (possessed body). Another conception that characterizes the Bhairawa Tantra is that humans will always experience a continuous relationship to unite with gods even though they have died (*moksa*), by lifting themselves from the environment and limited physical characteristics.

The recognition of the existence of Bhairawa as a sect is also recorded in the Tantu Pagelaran as one of seven sects that developed in Java and Bali, includes: (1) Shiva-Siddhanta or Sridanta, (2) Pacupata, (3) Bhairawa, (4) Wesnava, (5) Buddha Sogata, (6) Brahmin, and (7) Sang Rsi (Pigeaud, 1924, p.340).

F.D.K Bosch in T.G.B described the process of arranging Hindu religious courts in Bali by pedandas involving local sects in the fourteenth century. Bosch's research contains information about the Bendosari inscription which dates to 1272

Saka (1350 AD) mentions the terms: Bhairawa, Sora, and Buddha, which refer to the Bhairawa sect of Surya worshipers and Buddhists. This information provides an explanation of the relationship of Buddhists who are considered to be a part of the sect of Hindu pedandas. Meanwhile, other contemporary sources contained in the Sekar inscription dating from 1287 Saka (1365 AD) also mention that the sects are: Bhairawa, Siddhanta, and Boddha. Siddhanta is a Hindu sect originating in South India (Shomerus, 1912, p. 37).

Meanwhile, the reliefs of Singhasari Temple provide information on the image of Bhairava dancing naked, carrying a skull cup and sacrificial knife, decorated with a skull and dancing on a skull ring, as an association of a king or a powerful leader. Kertanegara's identification as Shiva-Buddhist was not part of a syncretic religion, but rather a political-religious hegemony that had a profound effect on the form of statehood during the late Singhasari era to early Majapahit (Hunter, 2007, p. 27). The formulation of the Bhairawa Tantra ritual as leftist tantra such as the erection of posthumous images and ancestral shrines of the royal family, was intended to establish a series of symbolic points and political power that spread across the geopolitical area of East Java, the main goal of which was to ensure the stability of the kingdom both in the real world, secular government, and the metaphysical and symbolic world.

Some traces of the Bhairawa statue associated with Krtanagara in the emancipation of Aksobhya Buddha were also found in the Jago Temple complex, while the monumental Bhairawa statue with the same iconography as that found in Sumatra is generally associated with King Ādityawarman. Meanwhile, another important inscription that proves the policy of the unification of Krtanagara is the statue of Joko Dolog. It is clear that these symbolic and ritual acts were meant to have a far-reaching effect of counteracting the ritual power gained by the emperor Yuan Kublai Khan through his cults in 1264 AD and 1269 AD as Hevajra. A statue that refers to Krtanegara's reason for wanting to control the Melaka Strait as an important thirteenth century center of international sea trade port (Moens, 1974, p. 21).

The Joko Dolog inscription has at least given a fairly good indication of the pre-Islamic community's attention to the reunification of Java which had been dispersed into Panjalu and Jenggala during the Airlangga era, in the Joko Dolog inscription describing concerns and this problem remains a concern in the Singasari kingdom era, and contin-

ued Majapahit era in the mid-fourteenth century. This can be proven through a written source, Desawarnana who reported the Rajapatni temple as Prajnaparamita (Goddess of Wisdom) by saying "this holy place was established so that the Java Island becomes reunited" (Bullogh, 2005).

The Bhairawa oath which Krtanagara may have wanted as one of a combination of practical and symbolic political initiatives through the ability to project an astonishing symbol. The amalgamation of religious and political themes was a major part of the Singhasari period which sought to assert its political control in East Java in the larger idea of realizing the concept of expanding the hegemony of the archipelago (Pamalayu Expedition) (Bosch, 1954, p. 119). In fact, the personification and glorification of Krtanegara itself has experienced a diametrical contradiction. The symbolism of Kertanegara as Lord Shiva-Buddha is the embodiment of the union of Shiva and the sacred Buddha. In the Purana literature, the demon character in the figure of Shiva Bhairawa is intended to honor and to unite power with his Sakti, Durga or Kali as the goddess of death. (Rao, 1928, p.16)

However, another perspective exists when examining this depiction, in stark contrast to the narratives constructed by Pararaton and Ranga Lawe's versions when Krtanagara was disturbed by the enjoyment of Sura wine and feasts during the Jayakatwang attack. In one of the Puja Pancamakara rituals, Aminuddin Kasdi describes the killing of Krtanegara by Jayakatwang, also caused by Sura's intoxicating drink (Kasdi, 2018, p.100).

The depiction attached to Krtanegara is inconsistent when compared to examining other written sources such as the Song of the Panji Malat Rasmi, instead describing the heroism of Krtanegara's last moments against Kadiri troops. A Bhairawa statue from Padang Rotjo as high as 4.41 m consisting of a collection of 8 human skulls on a Padma flower, is an evidence of the influence of the Bhairawa sect in Sumatra. Actually, this sect had emerged in Sumatra in the eleventh century, earlier than the era of the Bhairawa sect during Krtanegara's reign, but it had faded and strengthened again during the reign of King Adityawarman of Pagaruyung (1347-1375). The Bhairawa statue from Padang Roto probably depicts an ordination ceremony that contains the characteristics of Bhairawa. This statue is not the only Bhairawa statue associated with Adityawarman (Pitono, 1966, p.26).

According to Brandes, in the recesses of Candi Jago, there used to be a statue of Bhairawa. This view is also justified by Krom (1926) who identified

several features in some parts of the statue, especially from the jewelry and letters carved on the inscription which have similarities with the letters on the inscription left by Adityawarman. Therefore, it is suspected that the statue was made in Sumatra and then sent to Singhasari (Krom, 1926). This means also showing Adityawarman's efforts to connect himself with the dynasties of the Singhasari and Majapahit Kingdoms so that he can explain the reasons why there are elements of Javanese Hindu influence in Sumatra from Arca art, the Bhairawa sect. Pitono even stated that between Adityawarman did have a blood relationship (genealogical) with Majapahit, in addition to political relations. Adityawarman's lineage is related to the character of Arya Damar, a younger brother from Palembang, based on the *Usana Djawa* and *Usana Balinese* books, Arya Damar is Adityawarman.

Moens (1924, p. 521) also described the information contained in the Suroso Inscription dated 1297 Saka which mentions that King Adityawarman was ordained as Ksetrajna (Matter that knows the body, soul, spirituality, conscious principles in the framework of the body) with the name Wicesawardhani according to the rules Bhairawa sect. Thus, King Adityawarman was considered a loyal follower of the Bhairawa sect and was able to expand the influence of this sect throughout Minangkabau. Schnitger (1935) also found traces of buildings in the form of the remains of a terrace to the west where the Bhairawa Padang Rotjo statue was found. This discovery proves that the Minangkabau people at that time were familiar with the sacred Buddhist Tantrayana religious building.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE BHAIRAWA SECT IN BALI

Although many historians have succeeded in mapping out the phases of the development of the Bhairawa Tantra in Indonesia, this teaching is still very abstract and cannot be formulated so that it is often not explicitly mentioned in various writings. This issue shows that research on the Bhairawa sect in Indonesia is still problematic and debated.

One of the reasons that hinder the research of this teaching is the limitation or even loss of written sources. The scarcity of written sources leads to misinterpretation of these teachings. A quote from Sutterheim (1956) describes how the misunderstanding of the Bhairawa Tantra school called Vajradhara occurred:

“Thus, according to the Vajradhara school, women play an important role and an element of eroticism that transcends boundaries” (Sutterheim,

1956, p.46).

The exotic element referred to by Sutterheim refers to one of the five stages of the Puja Panca Tattva ritual or Puja Pancamakara. The five important building elements are *Madya*, *Mamsa*, *Matsya*, *Mudra* and *Maithuna*. To examine the roots of the Puja Pancamakara ritual, this research tries to rely on the initial definition of the stages of Puja Pancamakara in India through five rituals of Pancamakara, which are only permitted for sacred rituals aimed at opening circle (chakra). The five rituals include: (1) *Madya*: an intoxicating drink that causes joy, helps to forget deep sorrow and serves as a medicine. Sura (Wine) consists of molasses, honey and rice; (2) *Mamsa*: meat that gives strength, energy and increases intelligence; (3) *Matsya*: Delicious fish and adds generative power; (4) *Mudra*: delicious food made from dry food ingredients: which grows on the earth, is the root of the life of the three worlds; and (5) *Maithuna*: sexual union that gives intense pleasure, is the origin of all beings and is the root of a world without beginning or end (Banerji, 1978, p. 106).

Cynicism towards rituals stems from the image attached, especially to the Maithuna element, a man may only have intercourse with his wife as a sacred act for sexual intercourse, not mass sexual intercourse with other people. It should be noted that a brahmin should not offer wine to the goddess, nor should he drink it as it may lead to sin. Suras carry symbols that are bound in tantric rituals, are considered to have the power for physical and spiritual peace and give a person the nature of divinity.

The *Matsya* practice or eating fish, according to the *Matsya* Purana, in Hindu mythology is closely related to fish which has a noble position, when saving Vishnu during a great flood in seven days that will destroy all life. Thus, fish are considered to represent a good source of energy to sustain life. In the *Madya* ritual conception, drinking too much wine will make you unfit to be called a follower of *Bhairawa*. Those who cannot control their senses, should use sweet substances such as milk, honey, in place of Wine. Thus, it is easy to understand that the purpose of drinking Sura in a mudra ritual is not to get drunk like the accusations attached to the ritual.

Thus, it has become clear to acquire knowledge of the scope of the correct understanding of yoga and the art of Puja Pancamakara which gave birth to the highly erotic system and character in Maithuna really based on a deep thought process that is entirely devoted to worship, avoiding world-

ly goals and just doing it. under the guidance of the teacher. (Pott, 1966: 14). Although there are not many studies that mention the sustainability of *tantrayana* teachings in Bali, at least one of the types of evidence of the legacy of the influence of the existence of *Bhairawa* tantric teachings is the discovery of a Kebo Parud statue in Pejeng Village, Gianyar.

The Bhairawa statue from the Kebo Edan Temple may depict the king of Astasura himself. In addition, the Betara Betari area (king and queen) stored in the Subak Taulan Temple (west of Denpasar) which is described as standing on one leg (*ekapada*) may also depict the king of Astasura with his consort. This assumption is based on the writing and the number of years carved on the back of the area that reads *tannana-rasa-stake-single* (1260 Saka) (Atmodjo, 1983, p. 149).

The Tantra teachings in Bali are not a continuation of the Tantra-Bhairawa Adityawarman (now stored in the Tropen Museum, Leiden). Nor is it a continuation of the Bhairawa Heruka Cakra adopted by Kubhilai Khan (the statue is in the Temple of Biaro Bahal). However, Bhairawa Bali is closer to the Bhairawa Krtanegara school (now stored in the Jakarta Museum), this assumption is supported by evidence of the similarity of the Kebo Parud statue, at the Kebo Edan Temple. This Bhairawa Shiva statue is depicted dancing on a human corpse with a height of 3.5 meters. The embodiment of the Bhairawa statue is seen from the attributes he wears: The presence of snake decorations on the ankles and hands. Bhairawa at Kebo Edan Temple also stood dancing on the corpse. Furthermore, according to Sukarto K. Atmodjo, the direction towards the left of the phallus of the Bhairawa Kebo Edan statue may indicate an identity related to the Tantrayana school: the *prawrtti* school (right school) and the *niwrtti* school (left school).

In the 3rd National History Seminar in Jakarta in 1981, Sukarto K. Atmodjo said the existence of the Kebo Parud statue was none other than the embodiment of a Balinese king figure with the title *Paduka Bhatara "Sri Astasura Ratna Bumi Banten"* who reigned from 1328-1343. This information refers to the evidence carved in the copper inscription of *Patapan Langgaran* which is dated 1259 Saka (1337 AD). But in the *Nagarakertagama Prapanca* book, he changed it by referring to the King of Bali as a figure of an angry and despised King, who was defeated by the Majapahit troops. What was conveyed by Prapanca in the *Nagarakertagama* pupuh described the political conditions and government of the Balinese kingdom which was controlled by Majapahit. The invasion in the mid-Bali-Majapahit

period was marked by the Gajah Mada Military expedition to Bali in 1343 AD, resulting in the collapse of the Ancient Balinese Kingdom (Aryanatha, 2008, p. 14).

During fourteenth century, the expansion of Islamic power has brought a lot of shifts in meaning in viewing the Puja Pancamakara ritual as a deviant teaching and has been abused. Some of the factors that encourage the weakening of Bhairawa Tantra are the strengthening of suspicion of tantric teachings influenced by several factors, one of which is always being transmitted in secret. The problem of the poorly understood mythology of the practice of Puja Pancamakara worsened with the label as a "black magic" teaching for evil purposes, causing its image in Java in the early fourteenth century to be tarnished and turning into heresy.

Initially, the Puja Pancamakara ritual did have its origins in the Tantrayana Buddhist religious tradition of India as a path to power and enlightenment. The issue of using methods prohibited by orthodox discourse, which is body-centered and uses sexual rituals always has a bad precedent. This negative understanding of what they see as a vile and decadent cult to demean all Hindus is leading a countercurrent to seek a "purer" form of Hinduism. The element of eroticism in the Yoga movement is some of the most problematic and debated because it is filled with accusations of bodily abuse that are synonymous with exploratory practices of sexuality, celebration of cannibalism, and liturgical depictions and symbols of death.

DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU BHAIRAWA IN PUJUNGAN BALI

Even though Goris stated that the Bhairawa sect had completely disappeared, its influence still exists and experiences fusions that are embedded in the traditional subculture of Indonesian society to this day. At least the Bhairawa sect and the relatively long sunken Puja Pancamakara ritual are still alive and transforming in the traditions and rituals of the community which are mixed with various aspects of art, tradition, culture, and local worshipers such as worship of graves as rituals to this day.

The question of whether the existence of this practice completely ceases to exist cannot be ascertained. But at least a report from Hindu Magazine drew attention to the revival of the Bhairawa ceremony in Pujungan in 2012. The appearance of the ceremony has proven that the worship performed by the Bhairawa sect is not a new form of worship tradition, moreover it distorts the existing forms of tradition and runs in Bali. (Hindu Raditya, 27 Octo-

ber 2012).

Hindu Bhairawa in Pujungan was established by a man named I Nengah Gatot Kaca, born in Dauh Puri Kelon village, West Denpasar District, on July 24, 1965. I Nengah Gatot Kaca is the son of a coffee farmer and a meditation teacher (Transcendental Meditation) whose teacher was the Beatles (John Lennon) whose name is I Ketut Sukarata from Pujungan village with Ni Made Yudi's mother a girl from Pujungan village. These two parents returned to Pujungan after the 1965 PKI incident. Because the conditions in the city were not safe, there were many murders. I Nengah Gatot had his childhood at SD Pujungan. In childhood, he was classified as a naughty boy who liked to fight, but when he grew up, he became a good boy. After completing elementary education, he continued his studies at SMP 2 Denpasar, where there was no place to play like in Pujungan village, so he could focus on researching, once a chess champion in Bali. It was during this junior high school that he began to learn Meditation. This is because participating in activities with parents, meditating. After high school he continued his studies at Callen College London to research the language and research English history. He was able to go to London as a result of the TM workman network, a TM organization. Incidentally, his father is an TM teacher and National TM leader in Indonesia (interview with I Nengah Gatot Kaca/Gede Gatot Bhinawa Rata, 2019).

After a year in England, he represented his father at the TM International Conference in The Hague Netherlands, for 3 months. From there he learned about Maharishi International University (MIU). After from Leiden back to Indonesia. Then he became interested in researching at MIU. The majors taken in the Science Creative Intelligence course. Here, we learn about Marcy's teachings that are owner (non-formal). Specifically researching modern science, medical science. After that he was interested in (W)midic science only in the Himalayas not in the form of a university but *asrahm* (hermitage) His father actually did not approve him to study sciences, hoping to continue researching in America and continue his education in Technology Art and Building in America. Because the major was not in high demand, he fled to return to Bali (interview with I Nengah Gatot Kaca/Gede Gatot Bhinawa Rata, 2019).



Figure 1. The figure of I Nengah Gatot Kaca/Gede Gatot Bhinawa Rata (right) was bringing illustrations of Bhairawa images (personal collection, 2019)

Arriving in Bali, because his father was disappointed, he was sentenced to stay in a coffee garden for 1 year. His father wished him success in business or technology, not spiritually. For his spiritual father did not provide a worldly successful life, while he was interested in the world of meditation. It was at that time that he proved that learning does not have to be in school but also in the field, finally being able to translate the book Science of being and the art of living, then translating Bhagavad Gita: a new translation and commentary (interview with I Nengah Gatot Kaca/Gede Gatot Bhinawa Rata, 2019).

He then received a scholarship to promote Hindi abroad from India in Agra India, such as at the Kendriya Hindhi Sansthaan campus where this campus is a gathering place for people to learn Hindi around the world. He attended this course for 1 year until it was finished.

During his holiday, he took the time to go to the Himalayas to see ashrams, such as spiritual ascetic places or monasteries in Indian religions. In 1993, he graduated and returned to Bali.

In 1995, he returned to India to continue his studies at the ashram at Haidakhan Viswa Ma-

hadam, Himalayas. During his education at the Himalayan Ashram, he felt his education surpassed the military. For example, waking up at 4 o'clock in the morning in the cold air from the foothills of the Himalayas, bathing in the river, being shaved, until sleeping at 10 at night, and each person doing Karma Yoga, which is unpaid work. At first, he worked in a flower garden, then a month later he moved to Pujari, a place where he studied for priests. The type of work is to prepare everything for the preparation of prayer. After returning from the Himalayas, he founded an Ashram while farming coffee and rice fields, inherited from his ancestors for 4 generations. The area is 7.5 ha. (interview with I Nengah Gatot Kaca/Gede Gatot Bhinawa Rata, 2019).

In 2010 or two years before the Himalayan guru died, he was asked to come back to the Himalayas. There he set out for the Himalayas again with 12 followers. At that time, he was taught about Bhairawa for 18 days. In fact, in 1995 he was offered to learn about Bhairawa both practicing and memorizing the Bhairawa mantra. His teacher said, you used this Bhairawa ritual as ultimate weapon, let you become brave person, you become brilliant person, and so that you have a big ashram. However, after returning he still did not want to do the Bhairawa ritual because it was seen as having a negative image (interview with I Nengah Gatot Kaca/Gede Gatot Bhinawa Rata, 2019).

When he experienced successive difficulties, such as his teacher died, his mother experienced coffee harvest failure, cloves due to seasonal anomalies, that's where he remembered his teacher's words as a short cut problem weapon was doing the Bhairawa ritual. After practicing, the following year the harvest was successful (good harvest). This condition causes him to think that the good character of that person will only be known after that person dies. Likewise, remembering his father's advice to engage in worldly fields such as business and so on, only in his old age turned to spirituality. After he got married, had a wife and children, he realized that the material was needed, but on the one hand he was already in the *yogis* field, becoming the leader of the Bairav Baba Ashram (father Bhairawa). For this reason, besides being the head of the Ashram, he also continued the coffee farming and plantation business inherited from his ancestors, as well as being a coffee exporter (interview with I Nengah Gatot Kaca/Gede Gatot Bhinawa Rata, 2019).

The Bhairawa ritual itself has been carried out since 2012 until now. The first time he did the Bhairawa ritual, he did it with a group of friends in the Coffee garden area near Haidakhan Ashram.

Shiva worshipers worship Durga, this worship of Bhairawa includes vedic science. Bhairawa knowledge is a secret, not taught and not written. In Pujungan this ritual can be started at any time depending on the needs of the community who want worship compiled by a coordinator. If several people in need perform rituals, the coordinator contacts the priest, and the implementation is based on the situation and conditions and the pastor's assessment. Generally, people who come and perform Bhairawa rituals are those who need to fulfill their worldly needs such as restaurant entrepreneurs, so that their restaurants sell well, etc. (interview with I Nengah Gatot Kaca/Gede Gatot Bhinawa Rata, 2019).

The Bhairawa puja ritual at Pujungan is placed in the coffee garden area behind the Haidakhandi ashram in Pujungan which is quiet and far from the crowds. The leader of the ceremony in the ritual, such as a devout and humble Siva follower Gede Gatot Bhinawa Rata who holds the title of diksa Bheru Baba. In the coffee garden area, two black stones (linggams) were placed as the embodiment of Bhairava and Bhairavi. The Bhairawa puja ritual procession is carried out in the morning



Figure 2. Two black stones as a representation of Bhairawa and Bhairawi in the middle of Pujungan coffee garden (private collection, 2019)

at around 8.00 am which begins with preparing the ritual facilities for male goat blood, alcohol, flowers, fruits and other facilities. After all the ritual facilities are ready and the ritual participants are present, the ritual procession begins by calling the spirits of Bhairawa and Bhairawi which is done by making offerings such as the blood of a sacrificial animal which is sprinkled on two linggams as the embodiment of Bhairava and Bhairavi while accompanied by chanting of mantras. by the priest, followed by other offerings such as alcoholic beverages, fragrances, and flowers on the Linggam. At that time, some participants will feel the presence of Bhairava and all ritual participants can do whatever prayer or invocation they want. In the Bhairawa ritual ceremony, the Priest only leads the ritual, recites mantras, how to welcome them (Bhairawa and his followers) comes, invites them to sit down, invites them to eat, bathe in blood, then beg. Only priests can invite (interview with I Nengah Gatot Kaca/Gede Gatot Bhinawa Rata, 2019).

In inviting Bhairava (king of demons), they must be followed by their subordinate elements, such as those in graves, trees, rivers, etc. As an analogy, if we invite the president, the lower elements such as governors, regents and so on will surely come. At the end of the ritual procession, the remaining blood of the offering is used as a tilak (mark) on each other's forehead, and the remaining alcoholic beverages can be drunk together, and the meat of the sacrificial animal is cooked and eaten together (Interview with Pastor I Nengah Gatot Kaca/Gede Gatot Bhinawa Rata; Raditya Hindu Magazine, 27 October 2012).



Figure 3. I Nengah Gatot Kaca/Gede Gatot Binawa Rata was leading the Bhairawa puja ritual procession in Pujungan (source: Gede Gatot Bhinawa Rata's Facebook, July 8th 2020)

CONCLUSION

Bhairawa according to Gatot is the Demon King in Heaven. It is created from Shiva's third eye when he is angry, so no one can endure it. That is why at the

time of King Kertanegara and after that the Bhairawa ritual was used as a war ritual. With faith no one can withstand Shiva's wrath. During the Kertanegara era, the Bhairawa ritual was known as Pujapan-camakara or Five Ma.

The Bhairawa puja ritual procession in Pujungan is a medium to call Hyang Bhairawa as a manifestation of Siva who is believed to be the king of Satan to come down to earth to be able to help according to the difficulties experienced by the ritual participants.

This research found attractive findings in the form of the construction of the Pancamakara Puja practice at the time of Kertanegara, Adityawarman, and the difference between the Bhairawa puja in Pujungan. At the Bhairawa puja in Pujungan there is no sex ritual (maithuna). Drinking is not carried out until intoxication, the offering of blood is only poured on the linggam (black stone) which is represented as Bhairawa and Bhairawi, the rest is used only as a tilak (mark on the forehead), and eating the meat of the sacrifice after the ritual is complete.

In the Bhairawa ritual at Pujungan the participants who attended were from various religious backgrounds, so that the Bhairawa ritual can be said to be not a religious ritual, but a form of request to realize worldly desires by bringing Bhairawa.

The shift of meaning in the knowledge transfer and memories inheritance to the practice of Puja Pancamakara. This distortion can occur with the complexity of the background that is intertwined and developed in the oral traditions of the Indonesian people, especially Java and Bali. Residues from rituals that survive even though they are very limited show distortions of the dominant discourse and prove that the complete elimination of the Bhairawa school has never been successful. The discontinuation of the Bhairawa Tantra teachings after the penetration of Islam was actually never really able to completely erase the previous religious discourse, such as the Bhairawa sect because old practices were still limited.

Therefore, the description of Pujapan-camakara in the era of Kertanegara and Adityawarman which was horribly constructed can be reconstructed more clearly by comparing it to the reality of the Bhairawa ritual in Pujungan Bali today.

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