

## Commodification of the Cremation Rite at Santha Yana Crematorium in Bali

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### ABSTRACT

The cremation rite is a part of *pitra yadnya* rite. Since the rite itself is considered to be so complex that it spends not only lots of budget but also tremendous amount of energy and time as well. The cremation rite often becomes a problem due the fact that it was formed based on highly regarded religious values. The Hindu-Balinese people are frequently being confined by tradition which tends to generate the glory of the ritual procession that costs lots of expenses while on the other hand they overlook their own capacity to hold the rite. Likewise, the cremation rite can not be conducted for various circumstances and personal issues. On the contrary, for those who forsake their duties (*swadharma*) in their *banjar/desa pakraman*-(neighborhood) will acquire the so-called 'custom injunction' from the people in the related constituency. One of these custom injunctions is called *kasepekang*. For Hindu-Balinese people, the cremation rite is usually carried out in the point of origin of the deceased where he/she became the member of *krama banjar* or *desa pakraman*. However, nowadays, there are many of Hindu-Balinese people who choose to conduct an alternative cremation rite by purchasing it. The place to conduct this rite is called Santha Yana Crematorium, located in Peguyangan Kangin village, North Denpasar subdistrict, Denpasar city, Bali province. The Crematorium is not only being used by the Hindus in Denpasar but also by other Hindus from all over Bali. There are several phases of the cremation rite at Santha Yana Crematorium such as *makingsan di geni*, cremation rite until *nganyut* and cremation rite until *nyekah (memukur)*. All the paraphernalias of the rite are provided by the Crematorium including the leader of the rite and the service of picking up the deceased. The underlying factors of the cremation rite at SanthaYana Crematorium are as follow: work, economy, time, energy, the request of the deceased, not being the member of *krama banjar* or *desa pakraman* and the custom injunction of *kasepekang*.

**Key words :** Commodification, The Cremation Rite, Santha Yana Crematorium

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Almost everyday Hindu-Balinese people hold a religious rite since it is the most prominent aspect of their social behavior and mindset. The religious rite itself puts influences in the life cycle and every social endeavor of the people because since a long time ago it has become a very crucial part of religious practice of Hindu-Balinese people. In the act of conducting various kinds of rites, the Hindus implement three main principles; they are *tattwa*, moral, and religious rite. These three basic frames act as a unit to execute the religious practice in general. Basially,

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all of the religious rites in Hindu are derived from the religious morals. In contrast, the religious morals are anchored in by the religious *tattwa* therefore the religious practice is heavily connected with *tattwa* values (Triguna, 1994: 73).

Bagus (Kebayantini, 2010 : 4) stated that Balinese people nowadays have changed from agricultural into industrial. Some characteristics of industrial modern living are the tight management of time, energy, capital, and the heterogeneous occupations of the people. Cognizant to this fact, this changing has triggered the transformation from agriculture to service culture. Modern people tend to be more mobile compared to traditional people. Tari Puspa (2011 :10) stated that the Hindus in Bali are required to be efficient and effective not only in conducting their life but also in performing the religious rites. Long time ago, kinship was very significant e.g. the making of *banten pengabenan* was made from the beginning till the end by *nguopin* or *metulung*. However, within the last decade, there has been a changing e.g. the family of the deceased started to buy or order *banten pengabenan* so that the rite itself has become a commodity.

The commodification indication appears in many life sectors as a result of money-economic policy which is solely founded on the purpose of gaining the most profit. This phenomenon is not only related to the commodity of the commercial products but also to the distribution and the consumption of them. (Karl Marx and George Simmel in Tuner, 1992 : 115-132). Piliang (2006 : 21) said that commodification is a process to turn a non-commodity product into a commodity. Barker (2005 : 517) stated that a commodity- a process associated with capitalism where objects, qualities, and signs are turned into commodities with the major goal to put them on the market. Quite the reverse, Marx defined that any product should be put on the market. In nutshell, products as a result of work, are not meant to be used but to be marketable (Smith dan Evans, 2004 : 32-33).

Kembayantini (2010 : 9) said that the cremation rite often becomes a problem due the fact that it was formed based on highly regarded religious values. The Hindu-Balinese people are frequently being confined by tradition which tends to generate the glory of the ritual procession that costs lots of expense while on the other hand they overlook their own capacity to hold the rite. Likewise, the cremation rite can not be conducted for various circumstances and personal issues. For those who forsake their duties (*swadharma*) in their *banjar/desa pakraman*-(neighborhood) will acquire the so-called 'custom injunction' from the people in the related constituency. Strangely, the injunction is often executed to the recently deceased in which he/she has yet to be proven guilty.

Due to the fact of the multicultural life in Bali, the cremation rite can actually be carried out in the more practical, efficient, and comfortable procedures while still holding the essence of the rite itself. Thus, Maha Gotra Pasek Sanak Sapta Rsi Organisation established Santha Yana Crematorium. Even though at first there was an objection from the *desa pakraman* in Bali but the Crematorium was still built. Lately, the Hindus in Bali have started to show their appreciation towards Santha Yana Crematorium by using it not only for the cremation rite of *pasek* clan but also other Hindus from all over Bali including the *triwangsa* family.

## 2. DISCUSSION

### The Forms of The Cremation Rites at Santha Yana Crematorium

There are several administrative requirements that have to be fulfilled by a client before conducting the cremation rite. They are the death certificate from the hospital/*kelihan banjar*, the letter from the deceased's trustee, a copy of the deceased's ID card and family certificate, a copy of the trustee's ID card, then filling out the deceased's data and specially for foreigners, they have to be accompanied by the papers from their embassy. Next is to choose a cremation package. They are: (1) *makingsan di geni* rite, for domestic clients, it costs Rp. 6.500 000 (six millions and five hundreds thousands rupiahs), while for foreigners, it costs Rp 11. 500 000 (eleven millions and five hundreds thousands rupiahs). (2) the cremation rite until *nganyut*; for domestics it costs Rp. 12. 500 000 (twelve millions and five hundreds thousands rupiahs while for foreigners it costs Rp. 17. 500 000 (seventeen millions and five hundreds thousands rupiahs). (3) the cremation rite until *nyekah (memukur)*, for domestics it costs Rp. 21 000 000 (twenty millions rupiahs) and Rp. 26. 000 000 (twenty six millions rupiahs) for foreigners. (4) *Nyekah* or *memukur* rite for domestics costs Rp. 10. 000.000 (ten millions rupiahs) and Rp.15. 000 000 (fifteen millions rupiahs) for foreigners.

After the completion of all the requirements and choosing the package, the Crematorium will start making all paraphernalias for the cremation rite. In this case, the deceased's family as the client is not necessarily to get involved since they only need to do the rite while all the paraphernalias have been prepared by the Crematorium. Before executing the rite, the Crematorium will make and provide the necessities in which this activity is coordinated by a *serati (banten specialist)* as shown on the picture:



Picture 2.1

*Serati Banten* is Coordinating; The Making of The Cremation Rite

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After completing all of the paraphernalias, the processions of the cremation rite will begin starting from *ngulapin*, *ngeringkes*, *pengaskaran*, *mapegat*, cremation and *nganyut* rite. *Ngulapin* rite is started from picking up the deceased from the hospital or the mourn house by the Crematorium's ambulance. Once the deceased is sited at *bale semanggen*, the *ngulapin* rite begins by means of calling, awakening the deceased's *atma* and pronouncing to God that *sang lina* will be cremated. This ritual symbolizes the resurrection of *pengawak*-the deceased who will be revived through the rituals and being resuscitated within the *pengawak*. *Ngulapin* rite signifies that the deceased is in the throes of being reborn. The ritual itself is lead by a high priest and the family of the deceased. The picture shows a high priest leading the *ngulapin* ritual.



Picture 2.2  
Ngulapin Ritual

*Ngulapin* ritual will be followed by *pengeringkesan* rite – transporting the deceased from *bale semanggen* to the courtyard to be placed on *pepaga*. *Pepaga* is a square, waist length four pillar bamboo in which the main function is for bathing the deceased. Moreover, *pepaga* can also be used to transport the deceased to the cemetery. The ritual of bathing the deceased can be seen on the picture.



Picture 2.3  
Bathing the Deceased Rite

After the bathing, the deceased will be adorned with *pengeringkesan* paraphernalias like several bananas as arm bracelets, both the thumbs and the big toes are tightened with strings, both eyes are covered with glasses and other parts of the body such as eye brows, ears and joints are filled with *kewangen* containing coins. *Kewangen* also being put on top of the head, chest, elbows, knees and legs. Next, the deceased will be dressed and the family will perform a prayer to pay a final respect towards the deceased hoping that he/she will have a straightforward journey to the after life. The deceased then being rewrapped again with a white fabric in which both the head and the legs being tightened with strings or pieces of white cloth.

*Pengeringkesan* ritual is continued with *pengaskaran*. *Pengaskaran* begins with *melaspas kajang* that is the fabric to cover the deceased. Kaler (1993 : 58) stated that *kajang* is the name of a paraphernalia in *upakara* which is very intricate in the cremation rite. *Kajang* is made of a three-arm length of white fabric. The fabric itself is embellished with certain pictures and Balinese writing called *rarajahan*. *Pengaskaran* ritual is a part of *pabersihan* rite. Once this rite is accomplished, then the cremation rite is set to be conducted. Wiana (2004 : 48) stated that *pengaskaran* is a purification ritual as a leverage to determine the place of the deceased's *atma* to a higher one. Started from *petra*, a place where *atma* is the inhabitant of *bhur* realm to become *pitara* where *atma* becomes the inhabitant of *bhwah* realm.

*Pengaskaran* is followed by *papegatan* ritual, the last rite of the cremation processions before the departure to the cemetery. This rite aims to plead to *Ida Hyang Widhi* to *mapegat* (separate) the link between *atma*, *raga sarira* and *sukma sarira*. After separating the link between *atma*, its physical body (*sthula sarira*) and its spirit (*sukma sarira*), then the *atma* will be placed according to the deeds (*karma*) in its previous



life. In addition, this rite intends to wish that the spirit of *atma* will reach *moksa*, a state where *atma* unites with *parama-atma* so that it will not turn into an apparition (*punarbhawa*) (Nala, 2000 : 45). *Papegatan* is shown on the following picture.



Picture 2.4  
*Mapegat* Ritual

After completing *mapegat* ritual, the deceased will be transported to the cemetery (*setra*) for the cremation. Along the way to the cemetery, *sukarura* (yellow colored rice mixed with special flowers and coins) is sowed constantly. Arriving at the cemetery, the body of the deceased then being transported to the place of cremation. Next, the covering of the body is opened to be splashed with various kinds of *tirtha*. They are *tirtha pengelukatan*, *tirtha pebersihan*, *tirtha penembak*, *tirtha kawitan* and so forth. Finally the body is splashed with *tirtha pengentas*. The *tirtha* splashing is conducted by the high priest as shown on the following picture.



Picture 2.5  
The *Tirtha Pengentas* Splashing

After all the *tirtha* being splashed, the body then being cremated until it turns to charcoal. Next, the fire is being put out and then a mat is laid with a piece of white cloth being put on top of the cremation place. The mat is used as a place to assemble the bones (*ngreka galih*). The bones are assembled after they turn into charcoal like the skull, chest, back bone, arms, thighs, and legs. All those bones are assembled and reconstructed back like a human skeleton and being put on the white cloth. The *galih* (bones) are assembled by the family members by using a *sepit*. After that, the bones are put into a clay (*sesenden*) to be ground and poured with *kumkuman* water and sowed with *sukarura*. By taking turn, the family members deferentially grind the bones (*galih*) with black sugar cane. The cremation rite is shown on the picture.



Picture 2.6  
The Cremation



After being ground, the ash is collected by using *sidu* and being deposited into a scented *bungkak nyuh gading*. *Bungkaknyuh gading* then being wrapped with a white cloth and adorned with a *perarai* beautifully ornamented in the form of a doll. On top of it there is a bouquet of flower and a complete *seperadeg wastra*. The doll is called *puspa asti* symbolizing the deceased. *Puspa asti* is then invited to pray together and being given *pepegatan* rite. This is meant to disconnect the link between the god who rules the cemetery and the deceased. The next step, *Puspa Asti* and all the bones are thrown to the river or the sea. The goal is to appeal for the blessing of Hyang Wisnu as the ruler of water or Hyang Baruna as the ruler of the sea so that the deceased passed on in *pancamahabhuta*. This rite is commonly called *nganyut* rite (Kaler, 1997 : 110-111). *Nganyut* rite as a part of cremation ritual can be seen on the following picture.



Picture 2.7  
The rite of *Nganyut Puspa Asti* and *Galih*

#### The Underlying Factors of The Cremation Rite at Santha Yana Crematorium Work

To have a flourishing life can only be achieved through a hard work. Rindjin (Mahendra, dkk, 1994 : 139-142) stated that nothing can be gained without working. Working, according to Hindu is a must as it is a stated law of God. Furthermore, it is believed that the universe is the result of a hard work from God. What is more, the result of working is not only for personal interests but also for the completions of a variety of *yadnya* such as *dewa yadnya*, *bhuta yadnya*, *rsi yadnya*, *manusa yadnya* and *pitra yadnya*. This matter goes hand in hand with the sense of balance principle and harmony in Hindu as there is a logical connection amongst work, *yadnya*, life, nature, and God himself. As God's creation, human beings are attached to the law of working in which the result is to have a flourishing life and to execute *yadnya*. Since humans are part of the nature and live from the nature therefore it is expected that they should preserve and conserve the nature itself as it is also God's creation. Human beings, thus have not only social and religious awareness but also a celestial awareness. Humans are God's foremost conception seeing that they have the ability to work except for those who are physically or mentally disabled to function normally. Cognizant to this fact, it will be such a waste if normal human beings who have energy (*bayu*), voice (*sabda*) and brain (*idep*) do not want to work. By working, humans get involve in the process of being and becoming civilized creatures as *homo sapiens* and *homo feber*. Working is very crucial as stated in *Bhagawadgita III, 5* (Pudja, 1985 : 46-) as follow:

*Na hi kascit kksanam api  
jatu thishty akarmakrit  
karyate hy avasah karma  
sarwah prakritijair gunaih*

The Translation:  
There is no one lives without working  
Even if it's just for a while  
Cause humans are rendered immobilized  
Being made to act by the law of the nature.

#### Bhagawadgita III, 8

*Niyatam kuru karma tvam  
karma iyayo hy akarmanah  
sarirayatra pi cha te  
na prsidhed akarmanah*

The Translation :  
Work as you suppose to work  
For the reason that to work is much better than not to work

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If you do not work  
It is unfeasible to live

**Bhagawadgita III, 22:**

*Na me partha sti kartavyam  
trishu lokeshu kimchana  
na nanptam avaptavyam  
varta eva cha karmani*

**The Translation :**

There is nothing that I have to do  
There is nothing that I have to achieve  
By me within these three worlds, oh *partha*  
Yet I still work

**Bhagawadgita III, 24 :**

*Usideyur ime loka  
na kuryam karma ched aham  
samkarrasya cha karta syam  
upahayam imah prajah*

**The Translation:**

If I stop working  
Then this world will be shattered  
And I will be the creator of a devastation  
Deteriorating all human beings

In accordance with the above quotes, working is a form of devotion and a call with less to do with the result itself. All the energy, thought and feeling have to be put into accountability in completing the work to have the desired outcome.

In regards with the reason of working, there are several people who perform the cremation rite at Santha Yana Crematorium as acknowledged by I Gede Mantra (interview, 25<sup>th</sup> July 2014).

I Gede Mantra and his family have lived in Denpasar since his grand father's era. However, they still become the *krama* in their grand father's origin - *desa pakraman* Bukit Tumpang, a village named Lalanglinggah, West Selemadeg subdistrict, Tabanan regency. In this *desa pakraman*, there is a responsibility related with the religious rites as follow:

Firstly, if there is a public ritual, all the material and the execution of the rituals become the liability of *krama banjar* or *desa pakraman* like *dewa yadnya* rite at the public temple. Secondly, if there is a ritual for *dadia* (the same clans), then the material and the execution of the ritual become the accountability of related family such as *dewa yadnya* ritual at *panti temple* (*dadia* temple). Next, the ritual for a family is handled directly by the family in charge including the material and the execution of the rite e.g. the ritual at *sanggah* or *pamerajan* (a sacred place for praying belonging to one's family). Even though there are distinctions of responsibilities especially for the cremation rite except for the material, the *krama banjar* are the ones responsible for executing the rite till the end. *Krama banjar* being coordinated by a custom *prajuru* will instruct them to help the deceased's family in completing the ritual from the start till finish. Yet, Mantra and his family still chose Santha Yana Crematorium as the place to conduct the cremation rite due to the reasons that all of his family members have lived in Denpasar for years and they got difficulty in arranging the time as the cremation ceremony takes a lot of time as well as they're not able to greet all the people who came to help since the location's too far.

The stated data gives a vivid picture that having a preference to conduct the cremation rite at Santha Yana Crematorium is a logical and rational alternative as a result of the impracticality of leaving work.

**Economy**

Ardika (Tari Puspa, 2011: 259) said that the economic rapid growth will heighten human beings to be more efficient. He also stated that the vast distribution of work-force within the society will create a more multifaceted social order. Furthermore, nowadays there are tendencies of Hindu-Balinese people to act more lenient or permissive i.e. (1) free to communicate locally, nationally and globally which the shift contained by filters and selections (2) free to adopt the socialism ideology with its materialistic and pragmatic values. (3) free to being consumptive and hedonistic (4) free to make decisions, to create and to converse capital including land (5) free to accommodate a new life style which has got out of hand.

Within the grand scale of dynamic openness of local, regional, national and global levels, there are a number of Balinese people who rapidly transcend into modern people. These modern people reside in a materialistic, consumptive, permissive, and flashy life style and look down



upon the values of traditions. Lots of social norms have revealed the profound relation between Balinese people and their social systems (Geria, 2008 : 125).

The life of Hindu-Balinese people supported by strongly embedded customs and traditions is mainly anchored in the moral values deeply implanted within them namely called *tat twam asi*. The basic principles of *tat twam asi* in the Balinese tradition are stipulated into several virtues, they are (1) the virtue of happiness and sorrow (*suka duka*) meaning that the people will withstand together the bad and good in life (2) the virtue of *paras paras* meaning that other people are part of oneself and the vice versa. (3) the virtue of *salung sabayantaka* meaning that the good and the bad, life and death being endured together (4) the virtue of loving and caring each other (*saling asih, saling asuh*), caring each other means to love, guide and help each other (Dharmayudha dan Santika, 1991 :25).

The cremation rite as one of the ways to care for the dead is quite complicated. In addition, it takes lots of time, energy, and not to mention lots of money. Owing to this fact, the Hindus in Bali especially Maha Gotra Sanak Pasek Sapta Rsi organisation tries to find a resolution with the main goal to help those who are financially deprived. This organisation attempts not only to trim down the budget in the cremation ritual but also to make it more practical and efficient.

I Wayan Arnata (interview, 17<sup>th</sup> April 2014) proclaimed that the reason why there were lots of people who chose to conduct the cremation ritual at this Crematorium was because the cost is less expensive compared to other places that give the same services. It is proven by the fact that if the cremation rite is conducted at the deceased's origin, it will cost about Rp. 50 000 000 (fifty millions rupiahs), while at Santha Yana Crematorium it will only cost Rp. 6 500 000 (six millions and five hundreds thousands rupiahs). With this huge gap of expense, a lot of clients chose this Crematorium even though they are still the members of *krama banjar* or *desa pakraman* in their point of origins. The clients who chose this Crematorium were not only from the poor families but also from middle up families. This fact is simply as the result of the huge gap of expense where in this Crematorium it is way cheaper compared to the others.

### Time and Energy

The cremation rite is a very complicated ritual since it requires plenty of energy and not to mention more intricate paraphernalias to prepare and the long processions. Sukarsa (2008 : 4) claimed that the total number of people needed for the cremation rite both men and women since day 6<sup>th</sup> before the ritual until the day to execute the cremation rite is 5.591 people. On the day 6<sup>th</sup> before the rite, it needs 60 people, day 5<sup>th</sup> it increases into 108 people and on the D-day of the rite, it needs 2.218 people. Consequently, the number of people both for men and women needed to perform the ritual is enormous.

For the clients who do not purchase the cremation *banten*, all the material and paraphernalias of *upakara* are prepared by *yajamana*. The next step is to ask for help (*nguopin/matulung*) to make all the necessary *upakara*. This help includes preparing food and beverages for those who come to assist the preparation process (*matulung*). In regards with the cremation ritual at Satha Yana Crematorium, the energy and time needed are less consuming compared to the deceased's origin. This is caused by the factor that the deceased's family do not need to prepare for the food and beverages. On the contrary, if the cremation is performed at the point of origin, the deceased's family will have difficulties in arranging the time. They will feel reluctant to ask for a leave for more than 3 days from their working place. Gede Mantra (interview, 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2014) as one of the clients at Santha Yana Crematorium who chose the place mainly caused by the limited time and energy stated as follow:

*".....titiang ngelaksanayang upacara ngabenan I pekak ring Krematerium Santha Yana boya ja sangkaning takut nelasan jinah apang liyu, sakewanten sane dahat pisan inggian punika mangda irit waktu miwah irit tenaga. Irit waktu duwaning tityang sekeluarga megenah kapingkalih ngerereh pengupajiwa ring Denpasar. Siosan ring punika, yen upacara pengabenan kelaksanayang ring banjar pakraman, tityang sekeluarga merasa kimud ring krama banjare duaning inggian tan prasida nyanggra krama banjare. Duaning kadi punika, tityang sekeluarga nyungkemi mangda upacara pengabenan I pekak kemargiang ring Krematerium Santha Yana.*

The translation:

*".....the cremation of my grand father at Santha Yana Crematorium is not due to budget reason but it is mainly caused by the time and energy saving. It is time saving because my family and I live in Denpasar. Furthermore, if the cremation rite is performed at banjar pakraman (point of origin), my family and I feel embarrassed because we do not have the chance to greet all members of banjar pakraman. On account of this fact, we decided to do the cremation rite at Santha Yana Crematorium.*

The above data has proven that to conduct the cremation rite at Santha Yana Crematorium is a logical and rational option since it is time and energy saving, more practical, efficient, safe, and comfortable.

### The Request of The Deceased

To live within a society, each individual will have to blend in with each other hence there are certain codes of conduct need to be applied to keep these individuals in an order. For Hindu-Balinese people who live within *desa pakraman*, these codes of conduct are called *awig-awig, sima, pararem*.

*Awig-awig* commonly consists of the fundamental rules of life in *desa pakraman*. On the other hand, the more detail implementation of the rules is regulated into *pararem* – the decree made by the council which abides the people. Judging from its qualification, there are three

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categories of *pararem*, they are (1) *pararem penyacah awig* – the decrees of *paruman* (the council meeting) made specifically to give details of the fundamental implementation stated in the *awig-awig*, (2) *pararem nyeje* or *ngele* are the decrees of *paruman* to deal with special cases which occur and have yet to be bound by the law in the *awig-awig*, and (3) *pararem panepas wicara* or *pemutus wicara* are the decrees of *desa pakraman* made specially for solving problems related with the breaching of the law or the dispute amongst *krama desa* (The District Law Enforcement Bureau, Bali Province in Wisuda, 2008 104).

Related with the cremation ritual at Santha Yana Crematorium, it was due to the request of the late dr. Jawi to his wife, Ni Kadek Suastini. Mandra (interview, 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2014) acting as the former *bendesa pakraman* Nyuh Kuning as well as the family member, explained that the execution of the cremation rite in his society is as follow:

*Ngeninin upacara ngaben ringDesa Pakraman Nyuh Kuning kepeah dados kalih inggian punika, asiki, yen sane padem krama biasa, upacara ngaben kelaksanayang limang warsa apisan. Selantur ipun, layon patut kapendem. Akalih, yen sane padem jro mangkutri khayangantiga, uger-uger upacara pengabenan limang warsa apisan nenten maanggan. Keluarga sane madruwe layon kedadonan ngelaksanayang upacara ngaben. Siosan ring punika, inggian prabiaya upacara ngabenan pemangku sami kamedalin antuk krama Desa Pakraman Nyuh Kuning.*

The translation:

In regards with the cremation rite in *Desa Pakraman* Nyuh Kuning, it is divided into two, they are (1) if the one who died was a commoner, the cremation will be done once in a five years. And the deceased's body be buried. (2) if the one who died was a high priest/ priest (*pinandita/pamangku tri khayangantiga*), the five year rule is not applicable. Moreover, all the expenses will be the responsibility of the members of *Desa Pakraman Nyuh Kuning*.

According to the above quote, each *krama Desa Pakraman* of Nyuh Kuning who died will only be cremated once in five year unless it was a high priest/priest (*pinandita/pamangku tri khayangantiga*) where the rule was not implemented. And for the commoner member of *krama*, the cremation rite will take place once in five years.

The people of *Desa Pakraman* Nyuh Kuning as other *desa pakraman* also have *awig-awig* called *eka ilikita*. In the *eka ilikita* it is stated that the cremation rite in *desa pakraman* can only be conducted once in five years and this rite is called the mass cremation rite. In addition, there is also a rite called *dadakan rite*. The implementation of the cremation ritual at *Desa Pakraman* Nyuh Kuning according to *eka ilikita*, is as the following:

*Sajeroning pamargin atiwa-tiwa Desa Adat Nyuh Kuning kamargiang nga limang warsa sapisian, kabaos pengabenan kelompok. Sajawaning pengabenan kelompok taler sampun kamargiang pangabenan bah bangun utawi dedadakan. Pariindik pamargin atiwa-tiwa puniki kapidartayang ring awig-awig Desa Adat Nyuh Kuning (Anonim, 1997 : 5).*

The translation:

Related with the *atiwa-tiwa ritual* at the custom village (*Desa Adat*) Nyuh Kuning which is being held once in five years, it is called the mass cremation rite. More over, the village also hold an incidental rite or *sawa prateka*. (the details about the execution of *atiwa-tiwa* is explained in the *awig-awig Desa Adat* Nyuh Kuning).

In accordance with the given explanation, the cremation rite at *Desa Adat (custom village)* Nyuh Kuning can only be carried out collectively once in five years. Even if the people are from middle up families but still they are not permitted to conduct the cremation rite. In response to this applied *eka ilikita* and the request of the late before he/she passed away, the family chose to do the rite at Santha Yana Crematorium.

#### Not Being The Member of *Krama Banjar* or *Desa Pakraman*

Bagus (Arnati, 2002 : 14) stated that Balinese people are divided into two groups, they are the minor clan and the major clan. The minor clan consists of the core family – a father, a mother and the children while the major clan consists of a group of minor clans. Each of the minor clan has a sacred place to do praying. Even in each of the residence it has "*kemulan taksu*". On the contrary, the major clan has more members than the minor clan and some time they do not know each other but they are still connected within a congregation in the form of "*panti*" or "*paibon*" or "*pemerajan agung*". What's more, the Hindus in Bali are bound together in a traditional organization called *banjar* or *desa pakraman*.

*Banjar* is a social group smaller than *desa pakraman* and the members have the responsibility towards *parahyangan*, *pawongan*, and *palemahan*. In accordance with the elements of *parihyangan*, *krama banjar* have the responsibility to preserve, converse and conduct sacred rituals at *khayangan desa*, the *banjar's* temple and also the implementation of religious practices including *panca yadnya*. The element of *palemahan* is the territory of *banjar* in the form of land called *karang desa*, private land, paddy field land, and cemetery. On the other hand, the element of *pawongan* consists of a membership system and its structural management along side with the rights and the duties of each member. The three elements of *tri hita karana* basically have been explained in the *awig-awig banjar* or *desa pakraman*. One of them related



with the element of *pawongan* is *ayahon banjar* or *desa pakraman*. Each *krama* in a *banjar* or *desa pakraman* has various duties like *gemong/nyungsungkayangan tiga, suka-duka* and so forth.

In the act of implementing the religious practice, each *krama* who has got married and resides in the land of *ayahon desa pakraman*, he has several duties (*ayahon*). *Ayahon* can be categorized into three; they are physical duty (*ngayah*), the duty of providing the main material and other material (*rerampen*) for rituals, and the duty to expend certain amount of money and other material. In spite of that, there are a number of individuals such as the late I Nyoman Suba who was yet to be registered as the member of *karma banjar* or *desa pakraman* hence he did not have any right or obligation towards the *banjar* or *desa pakraman*. As a result, the deceased's family had no right to use the cemetery's facility and they decided to use Santha Yana Crematorium as an alternative to hold the cremation rite.

### The Custom Injunction *Kasepekang*

The term "custom injunction" for the Hindus in Bali is more well-known as "*pamidanda*". There are two types of *pamidanda* categorized as major sentences, they are the custom injunction of *kasepekang* (being exiled) and *kanoroyang* (being discharged as the *krama*). In the custom injunction of *kasepekang*, the status of the custom *krama* remains yet the person is excluded from the custom order. It means that the related *krama* is excluded from the custom's law such as not getting any form of notification (*tan polih arah-arahan*), not getting the service of traditional wooden bell (*tan polih pasuwaran kulkul*) and not getting the help from the *banjar*. In the injunction of *kasepekang*, the person can still use the cemetery but he/she will not get the help service form the *banjar* or *desa pakraman*. On the contrary, in the custom injunction of *kanoroyang*, the status of the person is no longer as the member of *desa pakraman* hence he/she deserves to get "*penanjung batu*" if he/she uses the cemetery (Dharmayuda, 2001 : 34-37).

Alongside with the given injunction, there are three possibilities that might happen. They are (1) the convicted will be invited to have a re-discussion if the *banjar*'s demand has been fulfilled according to the mistake made by the convicted. The obligation of the convicted is called *penanjung batu*. (2) if the convicted does not want to fulfill the demand from the *banjar*, then he/she has to resign as the member of *banjar*. Then he/she can join with the other closest *banjar* along with all the consequences. (3) the convicted will establish a new *banjar* (Windia, 2009, 104-105). Diantha (2009 : 39-40) stated that the injunction of *kasepekang* is still needed to re-establish the people's awareness to live together in a harmony. Furthermore, before the injunction of *kasepekang* is executed, there are several stages that can be done e.g. (1) it is necessary to give a warning to the one who breached the custom's law to keep and restore the social order in the society. The warning lasts for a month to give the chance for the person to think and undo his mistake. (2) if the warning goes neglected, the next stage is to ask the convicted to compensate a certain amount of money due to his failure to fulfill his obligation towards the custom duties stated in the *awig-awig* (3) the compensation lasts for a month and if the convicted does not complete this fine within a month, he will be charged with one fine *penikel* (4) if one fine *penikel* also goes neglected, then the injunction of *kasepekang* will be executed with the consequences that the convicted will not get any notification (*arahan*) or given the service of traditional wooden bell (*suaran kulkul*) without discharging him/her from the custom membership. The injunction ends after the convicted realizes his/her mistake and fulfills all of his/her custom duties along with an apology. During the application of *kasepekang* injunction, the convicted can still use the cemetery (*setra*) but he/she will not get any help from the *banjar* based on *suaran kulkul*.

The above explanation shows that the rights will be given if the duties have been performed. It means that the duties come first then the rights come later as the compensation. In regards with the injunction of *kasepekang*, there is a minor clan of Banjar Pangkung Karung, Tabanan, Bali who chose Santha Yana Crematorium. This group was given the injunction of *kasepekang* because of its refusal towards the extension of *desa pakraman*. The refusal was due to the reason that the extension was considered illogical by this minor clan. Not only because the distance was not too far from the main *desa pakraman* and the infrastructure of the road has been built, but also the major clan was considered too emotional without weighing the impacts of the extension itself. If the annual endowment from the governor was the main consideration, the *krama* neglected the responsibility towards the extension of *desa pakraman*, then the impacts will be very complex in the future. Meaning that the people did not only build physical infrastructures but also they have the duties to preserve and offer various *yadnya* in that particular temple. This matter considered to be very costly since it required a huge amount of money. As the minor clan refused to obey the demand of the major clan, this minor clan was given the injunction of *kasepekang*. With this injunction, the minor clan was not allowed to use the facilities at the cemetery so that if there is any one from the minor clan dies, then the cremation rite will be conducted at Santha Yana Crematorium.

### 3. CONCLUSION

In relation to the given explanation above, there are several conclusions can be inferred as follow:

The execution of the cremation rite at Santha Yana Crematorium begins with the completion of the paper works. The next step is to choose the cremation package. All the material and paraphernalias are made and prepared by the Crematorium including the leader of the rite and the service of picking up the deceased. The rite processions include *ngulapin* ritual, *ngeringkes* ritual, *pengaskaran* ritual, *papegatan* ritual, the cremation and *nganyut* ritual.

There are several underlying factors that cause the cremation rite at Santha Yana Crematorium. They are work, economy, time, energy, the request from the deceased, not being the member of *banjar* or *desa pakraman* and the custom injunction of *kasepekang*. The reason of work; the deceased's family live far away from the deceased's origin so that it is not easy to leave their work. The economic reason: the cremation rite at Santha Yana Crematorium costs much less compared to the one conducted at other places. The time and energy saving consideration; the cremation rite at Santha Yana Crematorium can do a lot more of time and energy saving. The request from the late, *eka ilikita* or *awig-*



awig which does not allow to perform the cremation rite before five years. The reason for not being the *krama* at the *banjar* or *desa pakraman*, they are not allowed to use the facilities at the cemetery that belong to the *banjar* or *desa pakraman*. On the other hand, the custom injunction of *kasepekan* was triggered by the refusal of a number of people towards the extension of *desa pakraman*.

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