

The Resurrection of a Hindu Archipelago: Contemporary Identity Politics in Bali

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This study discusses the contemporary identity politics in Bali. Specifically, this paper addresses the dynamics of the resurrection of the Hindu archipelago which was discussed for general election 2014. This discourse could be observed in some media in Bali, having taken the resurrection of Hindu as an inspiration. The method of research for this project was historical-qualitative, through collecting library materials in the form published newspapers in Bali. For example, Bali Post, Tokoh Magazine, and Newspapers. The study found that the resurrection of the Hindu archipelago discourse was ‘thrown’ by Gusti Ngurah Arya Wedakarna as a central figure for political purposes. Wedakarna intelligently took the Hindu resurrection as inspiration on building his self-image as a Hindu figure. Therefore, he was elected as a member of the DPD RI successively in the 2014-2019 and 2019-2025 elections.

Key words: *Archipelago, contemporary, Hindu, identity, politic.*

Introduction

There is an interesting phenomenon in Indonesian politics in the reform era, namely, the resurrection of identity politics. Identity politics is deliberately played by several people or groups to gain power, using basic issues such as religion, ethnicity, culture, and territory. This identity is used as a tool of legitimacy and justification. This can damage the social harmony of the community. The substance of religious value is more important than the symbolization. It is wrapped in religion, but in practice, is contrary to religion. Religious-based ideology is hegemonic in nature must be avoided in politics (Subawa *et al.*, 2019; Suparna *et al.*, 2018). Democracy is an institutional arrangement to reach political decisions through the voice and vote of the people. A slacking world changes so quickly indeed, therefore people tend to form groups based on their primary identity. The study on identity politics actually originates from Michel Foucault post-structuralist philosophy. It focuses claims on the rights of indigenous people and development issues. An example of this is migration - migrant groups are similar

to the politics of populism developing now. In Indonesia, the events related to ethnicity (primordial) are not new, especially after the 1998 reform. Identity politics was rolled out in West Kalimantan in the Governor Election (Buchori, 2014), in Kendari (Sofyan Sjaf, 2014; Wirawan, 2018), the political issue of Jusuf Kalla-Wiranto in the 2009 Presidential Election (Widyawati, 2014), and finally the 2017 Jakarta Election.

Methods

The research method is historical-qualitative, which includes data collection techniques using the literature method. As it is a discourse study, this paper relies on discourses that appear in local Balinese newspapers for example Bali Post, Bali Post Magazine, Tokoh Newspapers, and other newspapers published between 2009-2019.

Discussion

Figure Castle is Hindu Identity

Puri (palace), comes from the word *Pur*, which means a fortress of defence. The establishment of a city usually begins with *Puri* as the centre of the kingdom as well as the centre of the government (Sartono, 1977; Ekayani *et al.*, 2018; Juliantini *et al.*, 2019). The founding history on *Puri* in Bali began in the Majapahit expedition in 1343. After Bali was ruled by Majapahit, the ruler of Bali, Sri Kresna Kepakisan was domiciled at Samprangan Castle, near Gianyar. Samprangan was chosen as the new government centre because it was the place wherein the Gajah Mada army was conquered in Bali (Mirsha, 1986; Rai Putra, 1991).

Samprangan was moved to Gelgel in 1383, during the reign King , Dalem Ketut Ngelesir III. The new castle in Gelgel is called Swecapura or Lingarsapura (Munandar, 2005). Furthermore, *Puri Gelgel* has a central role as the sole ruler in Bali. Since 1686 there has been chaos at *Puri Gelgel* because of the revolt of I Gusti Agung Maruti. Almost 12 years Maruti became King Gelgel. The King and the royal high nobles previously fled to Gelgel. Due to Maruti rebellion, Bali was later divided into several kingdoms. New *Puri* and other kingdoms including Karangasem, Buleleng, Sidemen, Badung, Tabanan, Taman Bali, Payangan, and Singarsa (Gianyar)emerged from Gelgel (Munandar, 2005; Agra *et al.*, 2018; Atmaja, 2018).

The castles establishment is based on maintaining the history and continuity of Majapahit's influence. The *Puri* construction always refers to the Majapahit Palace. From a political aspect, *Puri* is a government centre and royal power symbol. Socio-political life on the *Puri* icon (Palace), was apparently a common phenomenon in Southeast Asia at that time (Gelderen, 1982).

After the disintegration of Gelgel, which was often called the Kings Era until the 20th century, Puri continued to develop with the feudal system. The Balinese kingdom is centrifugal, meaning the King has his own power (independent). Helen Creese (1993) called the government structure galactic (*galactic polity*). Klungkung is as the centre surrounded by other kingdoms. Klungkung is considered a kingdom. It is symbolically unifying due to its direct descendants from Majapahit.

The castles and castle figures were used by the Dutch when Bali was fully controlled by the Dutch at the beginning of the 20th century. The Dutch always collaborated with the castle to maintain its power. Nica (the Dutch runaway government) returned to Bali in 1946 to use their old allies, nobles, and castles. The parties which used Puri are not very successful as they are too dependent on the castle, not the building systems, and cadre. Political parties may split like the events of 1965 and 1971. There was no change or political innovation after the 1945 revolution. When there was reform, Bali's political life was shocked. Civil society and middle class Bali does not exist or has not yet been formed. It is for political development, especially, in the era of direct election of regional heads, the Balinese people are still oriented towards castles and castle figures. The Regent members of DPR (D) came mostly from the castle (Kuri *et al.*, 2018; Suada & Gelgel, 2018).

The political dynamics in Bali in the post-independence revolution periods can be seen from the political development parties as occurred in Java. The *Indonesian National Party (PNI)*, the biggest party in Bali, was educated by Puri Denpasar (Satria), figure named Tjok Agung Ngurah. There were also second and third major parties in Bali, namely, PKI and PSI which were managed by Puri figures. Even President Soekarno appointed A. A. Bagus Sutedja is a Puri Negara figure and the first Bali Governor.

The New Order's political strategy at first seemed to reduce the political Puri role. Suharto, through the 'project' of political modernization, placed ABRI and the bureaucracy at the centre. Finally, Golkar was also able to use the strength of the castle incorporated in the ABG group (ABRI, Bureaucracy, Golkar), relying on the castle with a culture of 'blessing'. It was proven that Golkar had attracted Puri figures. Even Golkar now (New Golkar) places key figures in the Puri figures. The Golkar and ABRI bureaucracy failed to build democracy for 32 years.

Since the 1998 reformation, the community has experienced fundamental changes, especially in the field of political discourse. New discourse in the community involves various issues in social life. Communities experiencing a new phase is difficult to imagine happening in the previous period.

An interesting trend observed lately is the resurrection of Puri figures in the leadership succession in Bali during the reformation era. The news in the local media, for example, said

that ‘Puri Karangasem is getting ready for its champion’ and ‘The power of Puri Gianyar can be split, Cok Nidya is hooked up to Agung Bharata’s younger sibling as a Cawabup,’ featured in the Nusa Bali daily headlines on March 26th, 2012). Although those examples are news excerpts that were published some time ago, this phenomenon is legitimate (Suara *et al.*, 2018; Suatama *et al.*, 2019). In fact, not many people realize that entering the year 2004 we entered a new culture, a new era, and a new vista in the history of Indonesian politics. In this era, we have been given the choice of our leaders freely and certainly democratically in direct elections. The people can vote directly. The taboo of the previous era, wherein we were only represented by people or leaders who had to be chosen, could not be anything else. The political space has been opened wide and we can determine our Deputy or Mayor, or our Deputy Regent, our Governor or Deputy Governor, and our current President. All the implications that we must be ready for a new leader, which is different from the previous era. Indeed, it is only now felt that we lack a civil cadre who fulfils these requirements, which include exemplary morals, abilities, including intelligence (Suwitha, 2013).

Wedakarna, as the central figure on the Puri, built the image as a castle figure and built two castles (palaces). As it is, the King Wedakarna ‘Majapahit Bali’ holds the title: Abhiseka Raja Majapahit Bali, Sri Wilatikta Tegeh Kori Kresna Kepakisan XIX and domiciled in Manca Warna Tampak Siring Gianyar, adjacent to the Presidential Palace in Tampak Siring (Bali Post, 1 July 2015, Bali Post, 19 Bali November 2015). As *warih* (descendant) of the King Badung, Wedakarna also built a palace called: Puri Tegeh Kori Bali (Bali Post Magazine, 6-12 July 2015). Tegeh Kori is a descendant of Kresna Kepakisan who was the first King Bali in Balinese era of Majapahit after 1343.

Wedakarna is Hindu Political Figure

The Majapahit Kingdom has not existed since 1478, however, the resurrection spirit and Majapahit identity still exists and this phenomenon is a part of identity politics. The politics of contemporary Balinese identity has been marked by a new era and a new revival. Identity politics is politics on utilizing primordial identities and building images through artificial activities to gain power. A new era was spearheaded by an educated and intelligent young man who had a doctorate at a young age (27 years) named Dr. Arya Wedakarna, M. Si. Dr. Arya Wedakarna, M. Si managed to ‘anesthetize’ the Balinese people with religious symbols and identities as diverse as Hindu figures establishing The Hindu Center, nationalist figures on establishing The Soekarno Center and chair of the PNI Marhaenisme Bali.

The success of Wedakarna as the ‘King Majapahit Bali’ is a recurring history through the legitimacy of the Majapahit rulers as obtained Dalem (King Bali) and the 500 Arya people when Gajah Mada placed Kesna Kepakisan as King Bali under Majapahit. Legitimation as a legacy of Majapahit is actually no stranger to Indonesian history. Raden Fatah from Demak

also Pajang and Mataram Kingdom still positioned themselves as heirs to the Majapahit Kingdom (Supomo, 1983). At the movement time, Majapahit's inspiration arose in Javanese nationalist ideas. They were actually reminiscent of the brightness of the Majapahit era. This idea later inspired modern Indonesian elites to be more confident against the Dutch invaders.

Dr. Wedakarna is a young man who became members of the DPD for the period 2014-2019, from the electoral on Bali district. His figure won the most votes in the 2014 legislative elections with nearly 200,000 votes. The 2019-2024 DPRD Member Election received 742,781 votes. He succeeded on utilizing his popularity as the identity of the Puri descendants figure of Majapahit and as a Hindu Indonesian figure. Wedakarna fully understood the conception of Hindu leadership called Rajarsi. According to Rajarsi's conception, the real duty of a knight is noble. Due to this, a knight can lead and can determine many people lives. Therefore, power is noble. Thus, it must be seized to be able to manage the people fate (Bali Post, 23-9-2019).

It is the past influence, where until the 19th century in Bali there was still a war between the Puri. Even at this time, the political influence on the direct local elections in which Puri figures often compete and fight for power, his character succeeded on eliminating barriers between. Wedakarna routinely establishes communication between castles and citizen groups.

The Majapahit Kingdom raised Kresna Kepakisan as the King Bali (1350-1380). Kresna Kepakisan along with fifteen Aryans, three Wesia and Javanese warriors joined in disregarding the new king to form a separate caste that has developed in Bali and Lombok. The top three castes or Triwangsa are Brahmin, Ksatria, and Wesia. Sudera is an ordinary community consisting of farmers and other workers (Sidemen, 2010).

Majapahit domination then led to dualism in the Balinese social system, namely, between Wong Majapahit and Bali Asli or earlier Bali (Bali Aga). The original Balinese were considered to have no caste system (nationality) because they had been demoted (sealed) to become ordinary people due to losing the war. The caste system only applies to societies with Javanese aristocracy (Djlantik, 1937).

It seems that since the Majapahit era in Bali (Gelgel era), the society stratification has grown increasingly complicated, evolving into a caste-like closed system, not allowing vertical mobility. The Gelgel Kingdom in Bali considered itself to be a continuation of the Majapahit greatness, especially in the area of protecting Hinduism. According to Wedakarna, the guarding function now is continued the 'Majapahit Kingdom in Bali' under the King Arya Wedakarna who holds the Kresna Kepakisan XIX or King Badung whose title is Tegeh Kori, the son of Kresna Kepakisan (Bali Post, 08-08-2016).

The Aryans who followed Kresna Kepakisan (king), were then given a strategic position and a title or title, namely: I Gusti or I Gusti Agung for men, I Gusti Ayu for women and their variants

depending on the wife. The Wesia were given the title gusi or Si, which later became Gusti, because Gusi or Si were considered less high.

The use of new titles shows the political policy of Gajah Mada on forming a new aristocratic group. One aim was to obtain a guarantee of loyalty to the Majaphit authority. This strategy was then carried out by the Dutch in in 1920, giving a new title (title name) for the royal lineage of Ksatria Dalem who became Regen in Bali with the new title Anak Agung or Cokorda (Staatblad, 1920). Regen Badung, Tabanan, and Klungkung use the title Cokorda. Regen Jembrana, Buleleng, Bangli, and Gianyar used the title Anak Agung. Regen Karangasem used the title Anak Agung Agung. Then several subordinate kings, like Ubud, also used the title Cokorda and Anak Agung. The title Dewa and Gusti were instead abandoned because they were considered less high.

The present practice of the Balinese social system still uses the caste system. There is still a dualism that is very influential between mountainous Bali and plain Bali. The *banjar* system is still different, the burial system, the abolition system, the priesthood system, the association all still adhere to the caste system and are not yet egalitarian. During the revolution and the struggle between 1945-1950, there had been similarities that showed democratization and egalitarianism. There was another strengthening until the religious organizational system was split (Parisada Pecah), the Religion University also broke out. This is when Wedakarna, appears as a unifying Hindu figure .

Wedakarna continued to foster solidarity among the warriors (descendants) and several chateaux in Bali. Before Indonesia's independence, Puri had already fought to uphold Hinduism. The castle is a Hindu fort and a cultural fortress. Wedakarna organized castles in Bali for national solidarity. Puri also helped the community in carrying out Yadnya ceremonies. The role of Puri is not to restore feudalism, but a symbol of religious revival, and also culture. The community paid tribute to Gusti (Manunggaling Kawulo Gusti), for helping the community and implementing the concept of Hindu teachings called Karna Wasana (Bali Post, 11-19-2015).

Wedakarna's activities not only unite Puri's, but also various groups and elements in society. This was recorded from the dense program of requests from the Hindu spirit. Invitations came from the Brahmins, Pasek, Kebayan, Bujangga, Mahagotra, Arya Kenceng, and others (Bali Post Magazine, June-July 2015: 37).

The Puri in Bali was indeed built in a layout like in Majapahit. The genealogies of the kings of Bali are searched for their origins in Majapahit and Java. The origins of Brahmins also come from Java. If we trace back, there was indeed a long process of movement from Java to Bali



between the 9th and 11th centuries. Thus, the history of Majapahit's greatness has always been a reference and even a dream to be proud of as a new identity.

Bali is a Symbol of Hindu Archipelago Resurrection

Wedakarna was designated as the King of 'Majapahit Bali' on December 31, 2009 and was appointed at Pura Besakih by Hindu priests. He was, at the time of his appointment, 29 years old and had a doctorate (Bali Post, 07-29-2015). The area of Wedakarna's struggle is the entire archipelago, not just Bali. Majapahit, according to the youngest senator, had to get up and awaken his followers who were still loyal to the Hindu religion. It's hard to find a Balinese figure who is equivalent to Wedakarna. This is called the Keprabon revelation in Javanese philosophy.

According to Wedakarna, the resurrection characteristics of Hindu archipelago in accordance with the prediction of Sabdo Palon Nayogenggong is to purify the ancestral history. In 2012, Wedakarna purified the ancestral Majapahit in Trowulan. In 2013, Wedakarna also purified ancestors in Pajajaran in Candi Cangkung, West Java. In 2014, the Atma Wedana ceremony for ancestors in Mataram was held at the Keraton Mangku Negara-Solo. There was also the Yadnya ceremony to purify ancestral spirits in the Srivijaya kingdom in Candi Bumi Ayu, South Sumatra. In Sumatra, Hindu temples have sprung up, such as Candi Bahal in North Sumatra, Candi Muara Takus in Riau, and Candi Muaro Jambi in Jambi (Bali Post. 5-8-2015).

Hindu orientation is both national and global. Hindu Dharma is not Balinese Hindu. How to unite the Hindu Archipelago, thus, they can synergize with each other among Hindus in Bali, Java, Keharingan, Toraja, India on enforcing the Hindu philosophy. Hindu figures should be able to work together and parisada is also expected to show more regional leaders who know and choose their people in their respective regions. Hindu figures from Bali still have to become developers, no longer applying 'Balization' on Hindu based and culture in other Archipelago regions (Bali Post, 11-28-2018).

In the political context, Arya Wedakarna hopes Hindu enclaves in Indonesia have representatives from DPRD, DPD, and DPR. Hindu figures, young people, intellectuals, and other religious organizations come together to build political power. Hindu High Schools throughout Indonesia managed by the Hindu Foundation and the government can build human resources and the Dharma Duta program. In the general election and regent election, the Hindu community must actively participate. Hindu people must support nationalist parties for the diversity of the Republic of Indonesia (Bali Post, 27 April 2018).

Wedakarna is an Indonesian Hinduism representative who is known worldwide. Indonesian Hinduism moves slowly but surely toward the international stage. Therefore, the Indian



government awarded the title 'Arjuna' on international meeting Hindu leaders at the 'Global Wellness Meet 2016' held in Bangalore city, the title 'Arjuna' was directly awarded by Dr. Orthyamoorthy Bhatt (Bali Post, 26 April 2016). Wedakarna, who is also the President of the 'World Hindu Youth Organization', collaborated with world Hindu figures and tried to continue to improve the closer relations between Hindu Indonesia and India. The activities and communication on behalf of Hinduism continue. In his trip to America, Wedakarna was awarded as an honorary citizen in Florida, namely Honorary Citizenship.

Wedakarna held a meeting with the Norwegian parliament in Oslo on his trip to the European Union. Wedakarna was amazed by the greatness of the Vikings who had a strong character. A small nation but has 'branding' in the International awards activities namely Nobel Prize. It is due to they have the concept of embarrassment like Hinduism (Bali Post, 3 July 2015). Many noted that Wedakarna's activities carried Hindu symbols to the world level. Wedakarna also collaborated with the Pakistani government in terms of tourism, pluralism, and education. On behalf the World Hindu Youth Organization, seeking peace between Hindus and Muslims. The two religions each have more than 1 billion adherents. The role of Hindu and Islamic religious leaders is crucial, especially, to avoid religious conflicts in South Asia and the Middle East so as not to enter Indonesia. Wedakarna also contacted Hindu Nepalese figures as recorded on meeting in the 'Universal Peace Federation was recently held in Katmandu (Bali Post, 3 July 2015).

One of the ideas of Satya Graha Wedakarna is to make Bali as the Hindu centre in world activities, both ritually and academically. Bali must receive world recognition for Hindu Dharma's existence that was done the ancestors of Srivijaya and Majapahit. For this reason, Wedakarna is always present in every World Hindu activity. Wedakarna was recently present at the International Yoga Conference in Sanur-Bali (4th Asia Yoga Therapy Conference 2019) and World Hindu Wisdom Meet 2019 in Buleleng-Bali. (Bali Post, September 24, 2019). Furthermore, according to Wedakarna, Bali needs many young people who have the ability in international diplomacy aimed at bringing Hindu noble values to the world. We have to communicate with Hindu-Buddhist countries such as Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Singapore, Burma, and Malaysia. Likewise, Cashmere and India, in the world, there are 1.2 billion Hindus, to bring Hinduism to the next level requires knowledge and intelligence or Juana Yadnya.

What the young figure did to form The Hindu Center in several provinces in Indonesia was a brilliant leap. It is very beneficial Parisada both central and regional, because Paris can collaborate with The Hindu Center. The Hindu Center was formed in Southeast Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, and South Kalimantan (Bali Post, 27 April 2018). The Hindu Center was later inaugurated in North Sumatra, Riau, and West Java Provinces (Bali Post Magazine, June-July 2015: 35).

In order to realize the ideals of upholding the Hindu Archipelago, Wedakarna seeks to communicate and try to unite the castle or palace in Bali. Hundreds of castles are being contacted in a polite manner, one of them is to give gifts of souvenirs in the form of coloured crystal lamps, this gift is a typical European lamp called chandelier. The gift of a lamp symbolizes light and means building solidarity with the of castles in Bali. The castle is the bastion of Balinese culture, Hinduism. If the castle is destroyed, Hinduism will be destroyed. In the concept of life, the palace must be bright as a symbol of prosperity and light of Devi Sri (Laksmi).

Ceremonies in accordance with Majapahit tradition must involve Sulinggih. Bali must maintain its ancestral traditions, but it must still show simplicity. Obligation on castle to deceive Sulinggih. Likewise, Hindu economic needs are absolute. On the simplifying of traditional and religious ceremonies, all will lead to the resilience of the Hindu economy. Stop the sale of Balinese lands, large-scale ceremonies, make proposals, and restore the temple carelessly not taking into account historical values.

As the king 'Majapahit Bali', Wedakarna truly became an icon of the resurrection of the Hindu Archipelago. The work of the youngest senator from Bali showed good results, especially, developing Hindu sovereignty outside Bali. He initiated and later inaugurated The Hindu Center which was established in all provinces in Indonesia. On July 28, 2015 he opened and inaugurated The Hindu Center in North Sulawesi which is one of the historical centres which are recognized as areas of influence of the Majapahit kingdom as mentioned in the book of Nagara Kertagama (Slamet Mulyana, 1979). According to Wedakarna, North Sulawesi is a special region with high tolerance, this means the Majapahit values are in North Sulawesi. Therefore, The Hindu Center must work together with the North Sulawesi government to explore the nation's history with the values of Majapahit and Pancasila.

After North Sulawesi, Wedakarna inaugurated The Hindu Center of Riau in Pekanbaru city. Riau province is central to the development of Shiva-Buddhism in Sumatra. It is still in Sumatra, following The Hindu Center in North Sumatra and also in West Java. The Hindu Center in West Java also aims to save the ancestral teachings in the Hindu kingdom of Pajajaran, which is known as the strongest Hindu kingdom in Java. (Bali Post Magazine, June-July, 2015: 35). In North Sumatra, it is also managed to revitalize the old hidden temple of Buhai.

In Jayapura, Wedakarna fought for a *setra* (grave), Wedakarna asked the Jayapura city government to give permission for a *setra*. Due to all the Hindus in Papua, ten million rupiah have been spent just to send bodies to Bali. They were treated as having no grave in Jayapura



(Bali Post Magazine, June-July, 2015: 43). The Hindu Center in Ambon was even inaugurated by President Joko Widodo, 18 February 2018 (Bali Post, 19 March 2018).

Some Hindu traditions were later developed and revitalized, unlike the ancestors history purification or the birth anniversary or Sugeng Wiyosan Tinggalan Dalem, Ngadeg Ratu Abiseka ceremony (Birthday of the throne). On December 31, 2015 at the Mancawarna Tampak Siring palace, the sixth (kaping nem) Ngadeg Ratu Abhiseka, King Majapahit Bali event was celebrated. Sri Wilatika Tegeh Kori Kresna Kepakisna 19 (XIX) (Bali post, 29 July 15). Traditions on Ngadeg Ratu memorial services were arranged with *ruwatan* on several places such as in Yogyakarta and the Earth alms ceremony at the port in Ratu Sukabumi (Bali Post, 31 December 2015).

Another tradition was further developed and revitalized by Wedakarna is the birth day ceremony or Sugeng Wiyosan Tunggalan Dalem. According to Wedakarna, in history since being transported to become the king of 'Majapahit Bali', every year a remnant ceremony is held Dalem. Dalem ceremonial remains have been destroyed since 'Sirna Missing Kertaning Bumi'. Since Wedakarna departed and he was made a successor on Ciwa-Buddhists and Kajawen people throughout the archipelago. The ceremony was reconstructed again. The Sugeng Wiyosan ceremony was followed on the purification of the puri heirloom (Jamasan), the purification of the golden kid train as a gift from the Mangku Negara palace. The ceremony in the Hindu tradition is called King Yadnya.

Wedakarna can utilize the castle network in the archipelago. Various groups/groups came to meet Wedakarna to convey their hopes, especially, how the castle became a unifying Hindu symbol. Therefore, Wedakarna routinely visited castles in Bali and also other groups. Before Parisada (the High Council of Hindus) was formed in 1957, the castles in Bali had indeed functioned as protectors of Hindus. The function of protecting Hindus is then echoed again by Wedakarna.

The Resurrection of Hindu Economy

Efforts must be made so that Hinduism can be independent (swadeshi) and can meet the needs of the economy (satya graha), developing the economy as well as possible. Hinduism outlines that the purpose of human life is the fulfillment of four things called the Purusaartha Chess namely *dharma* (virtue), *artha* (wealth), *kama* (desires), and *moksah* (free). Another foundation is Karmapala, which requires economic prosperity based on ethics and truth. Thus, Satya graha economic independence will be achieved. Satya graha economy is an economic activity that teaches community participation based on unity, truth, honesty, and responsibility for realizing independence (Bali Post, 23 April 2018). Thus, economic actors must be based on *dharma* and *karmapala*. Based on truth and honesty, people will always trust and foster a work ethic from



this karma doctrine. Competition in economic activities must be accepted as a reasonable activity, as well as, the acquisition of results or profit. The profit value is proportional to the value of the quality of service provided.

There was a tendency for the Hindu community not to focus too much on the economy. Thus, the groups engaged in the economy were considered less high or poor. In the future, business and economy will become more important in the journey of Hindus. Hindus must produce products (goods) such as food, not dependent on outsiders, so that, resilience can be maintained.

If Hindus progress and are rich, they have to create young people with entrepreneurial spirit, not *priyayi* (civil servant), who have difficulty advancing. Creating young people who are entrepreneurial minded, can bring Hinduism into '*sugih*/rich' artha, so that they can reach satya graha according to Wedakarna. Furthermore, to encourage entrepreneurship spirit, Hindu student is encouraged to study while working.

Lectures on working is a process of making SMD Hindu not left behind. The work process is a 'life science' and is not obtained in the campus. Experience gained from work, an academic degree was achieved, this is millennial generation. If the child works since college, when he graduated already has a CV and experience (Bali Post, 10 December 2018). Students, according to the senator, are expected to be able to appear as movers and entrepreneurs. Hinduism is a minority, so one of the efforts to be able to speak at the national level is on improving human resources quality. College is no longer a mere formality, looking for a diploma, but after graduating one must be able to appear as a mobilizer in all fields (Nusa Newspaper, September 21, 2018).

A leader in Hinduism (Rajarsi) must also actively advance the economy, not just the government. The real government task is to advance the economy, so that the people prosper and developed countries. The root of the lack of prosperity is the absence or lack of economic activity. Furthermore, it was mentioned that a Rajarsi (leader) was tasked with developing people's welfare which included exploring income in innovative and creative ways. The following wealth phases or income must be maintained and developed and invested continuously. Then, the acquisition of this development is divided into three parts, namely socio-religious, needs, and venture capital to be developed (interview in FGD).

"Waruh" Majapahit believes that Majapahit has not been destroyed, only the area has diminished, namely Bali (Pranajaya *et al.*, 2015). Majapahit still exists, even Bung Karno told the Prime Minister of India-Jawaherlal Nehru when visiting Bali, that Majapahit had not been destroyed. Majapahit became smaller because of frequent battles. Majapahit which consisted of satellites, subordinates, when it needed a strong leadership like Gajah Mada before.

According to Wedakarna, due to the poor people needing economic progress (Satya Graha) in this case, tourism is to sustain a prosperous life. When there was a war over the throne in Majapahit between the East and West Keraton, the people were invited to fight continuously. When will society be able to develop the economy because of the continuing war? Therefore the people left their king to turn to new rulers.

Wedakarna's economic thinking about Satya Graha in Bali is now manifested in the life of tourism, especially, cultural tourism. Bali is economically independent and able to finance religious ceremonies. Satya Graha's economy is strongly supported by tourism, especially, tourism on Puri, dance, cultural performances that reflect the past Majapahit culture which is now experiencing revitalisation. The resurrection of castles in Bali is not only related to political identity, but also on supporting tourism. In the contemporary level, the castle's identity is not only as a major tourism destination, but also as a main cultural tourism supplier.

As it is mentioned before, the Balinese community in its development is far different from its neighbor-Java. In Bali, there were 10 are now districts and cities. Besides, as it is mentioned by Clifford Geertz (Geertz, 1974). The Balinese tendency is fast changing and fast imitating, finding it easy to accept things from the outside and then make their own. It was stated '*Nak Bali tidak pernah kekurangan akal*/Balinese people never back a way. Therefore, tourism is fast developing and belongs to the Balinese. It's as if the Balinese lives are all related to tourism.

The pioneers of Bali tourism were the aristocrats, who then functioned as the middle class after the 1945 revolution (Suwitha, 1996). Retainer of Ubud (Gianyar) Cokorda Sukawati makes the castle as an inn to entertain foreign guests such as Walter Spies and Rudolf Bonet. The castle is used as a resting place becoming the foundation of tourism accommodation in the style of villas and bungalows in Bali. Meanwhile, in 1920, the Bali Hotel complex, Puri Denpasar, was built by the Dutch (Darma Putra, 1993). In 1957, in Sanur, Ida Bagus Kompiang pioneered building on beachfront hotel immediately. Furthermore, Cokorda Ubud and Ida Bagus Kompiang collaborated with foreign artists to promote Bali abroad. Foreign artists such as: Colin Mc Phee, Jone Belo, Jaap Kunst, Arie Smith, Han Snel, Mario Blanco, and others influenced the tourism development in Bali, especially, Ubud and Sanur. (Hilbery, 1979). Since, the 1970s Bali's economy began to improve, especially, in the tourism field. Puri still has strong resources, both human and economic resources such as vast lands.

In almost every district in Bali there is a castle (palace) but the 'Warih' (descendants) cannot all maximize the castle as a tourism destination. Of course, it cannot compete with the palace of Cirebon, Surakarta, especially, Yogyakarta. Puri tourism is a trend in Bali tourism now alongside nature tourism. Puri tourism is still within the cultural scope and has become an icon

of Bali tourism. Some of the castles become tourism destinations such as Mengwi castle in Badung, Kerambitan castle in Tabanan, Klungkung castle in Klungkung and Puri Karangasem in Amlapura, besides Ubud castle, certainly a pioneer. Puri tourism presents Balinese dances, Balinese cuisine served with a modern twist. Puri is also a center for distinctive arts and culture. Arts have long lived and then developed in castles such as *tektekan* and *okokan* in Puri Kerambitan-Tabanan (Bali Post, 15 June 2016: 14). At Puri Mengwi, several regular sacred dances are performed (Ruastiti, 1988).

It is currently one of Bali's main identities is tourism, specifically, cultural tourism. It is also developing alternative tourism such as nature tourism, environmental tourism, marine tourism, and rural tourism. Indirectly, there is zoning which is cultural tourism and other tourism (alternative). This is important on the culture is maintained in the face of modern and mass tourism (mass tourism). In 2015, Bali was visited by 10 million foreign tourists. In 2016, Bali was awarded the second best tourist island in the world.

The current Indonesian government is building 10 new tourism destinations outside Bali that are spread throughout Indonesia. The Indonesian government revives 10 new tourism destinations unlike Bali so that they are called 'new Bali'. Tourism in Bali seems never to be lonely, promising its own variety of tourist attractions, because not only has a natural and cultural panorama. They can make tourists, but also a number of Puri (palace) in Bali, most of which are duplicates of the royal palace of Majapahit.

Conclusion

The resurrection discourse of the Hindu Archipelago is indeed a form of identity politics. This is 'echoed' by its central figure, Arya Wedakarna. Wedakarna as a traditional figure and castle figure that can take advantage of the Hindu Archipelago resurrection moment that is packaged for the sake imaging politics. 500 years ago according to the Babad Sabdo Palon, there was a dialogue in Blambangan East Java between Sabdo Palon, Nayo Genggong, and King Brawijaya V Majapahit. According to the Babad Sabdo Pallon, Hindus will be resurrected again five hundred years later.

The Hindu-based Majapahit Kingdom has long since fallen. The Majapahit glory gave pride, inspiration, and symbols of the struggle to uphold the resurrection of Hindu-Archipelago. The resurrection of the Hindu image development has existed since the collapse of Majapahit. Some heroes like Trunojoyo (17th Century) echo the majesty of Majapahit. The role of Majapahit as inspiration also took place during the early 20th Century National Movement.

The resurrection of the Hindu Archipelago and Puri is inseparable from the inspiration echoed by Balinese figures, Arya Wedakarna made Majapahit and the resurrection of Hinduism an



inspiration, but also carried out identity politics and built a self-image to gain power. Indeed, politics cannot be separated from imaging and self-identity. Identity is something that is inherent in a person or group, in this case, is a Hindu identity, Majapahit identity, nationalist figure, because identity is never single.

As it is a small island Bali's identity continues to change to maintain its existence. Various discourses emerged, in the 1930s came the discourse of Balisering (excavation), then the discourse of the federal state, even Bali later became part of the federal in the form of the NIT (Negara Indonesia Timur). After the reforms appeared "Bali Merdeka" followed by discourse 'Ajeg Bali' and 'Ajeg Hindu'. In the contemporary discourse, the 'Majapahit Kingdom of Bali' emerged along with the resurrection of castles in Bali and Hindu Archipelago with the main character Dr. I Gusti Ngurah Arya Wedakarna, M.Si.



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