



Banten : Entity, Identity, or Commodity? (Theological Perspective, Sociology of Religion, Slavoj Zizek's Philosophy)

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ABSTRAK. *Banten, sebagai sarana untuk menggambarkan bentuk abstrak Tuhan, tentu memiliki banyak makna dan sangat terbuka untuk ditafsirkan. Dianggap sebagai persembahan, ia mewakili diri tidak hanya untuk memohon kehadiran para dewa yang dipersembahkan, tetapi juga sebagai saran untuk meminta keinginan. Di sisi lain, hal itu secara implisit sarat dengan hegemoni dan kekuasaan untuk menghasilkan keuntungan finansial. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk menguraikan keberadaan banten, yang memiliki makna ganda, yaitu memiliki esensi sebagai perwujudan 'Yang Maha Esa' sekaligus mewakili komodifikasi simbol-simbol keagamaan. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, dengan fokus etnografis pada praktik liturgis masyarakat Bali. Persembahan, sebagai simbol entitas, selalu dikaitkan dengan konsep chakra yajna dalam agama Hindu. Chakra yajna mengacu pada gagasan bahwa Tuhan dan/atau dewa melimpahkan berkah pada kehidupan manusia. Di sisi lain, banten tidak hanya memiliki makna sebagai simbol entitas dan identitas masyarakat Hindu Bali, tetapi media persembahan ini juga dijadikan komoditas berdasarkan relasi kekuasaan masing-masing substruktur. Dengan kata lain, persembahan memiliki kerangka ganda, yang mengandung aspek keagamaan yang melekat pada persembahan. Di sisi lain, kewajiban ritual hanyalah menyediakan dana sesuai perhitungan harga.*

ABSTRACT. *Banten, as a means to depict the abstract form of God, certainly has many meanings and is highly open to interpretation. Perceived as an offering, it represents the self not only to invoke the presence of the gods to whom the offering is made but also as a suggestion to request a wish. On the other hand, it is implicitly laden with hegemony and power to generate financial profit. The purpose of this research is to elaborate on the existence of banten, which has dual meanings, namely having the essence as the embodiment of 'The One' while also representing the commodification of religious symbols. This research uses a qualitative approach, with an ethnographic focus on the liturgical practices of Balinese society. Offerings, as symbols of entities, are always associated with the concept of chakra yajna in Hinduism. Chakra yajna refers to the idea that God and/or deities bestow blessings upon human life. On the other hand, banten not only has meaning as a symbol of the entity and identity of the Balinese Hindu community, but this worship medium is also turned into a commodity based on the power relations of each substructure. In other words, offerings have a dual framework, containing religious aspects inherent to the offerings. On the other hand, the obligation of the ritual is merely to provide funds according to the price calculation.*

ARTICLE INFO

Kata Kunci:

Banten; Konsepsi Ritual; Komodifikasi

Keywords:

Banten; Ritual Conception; Commodification

Received November 17, 2024;

Accepted January 20, 2025;

Available Online January 25, 2025



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1. INTRODUCTION

Causa prima, as the entity of 'The One', reveals itself in the concept of the *Trimurti*, with its three faces – which can also become three gods – namely *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Shiva*. For ordinary people, divinity is revealed in the thousands of gods and goddesses, some of whom we know from the stories of the Ramayana and Mahabharata. Thus, all of reality is filled by the presence of a supernatural dimension. These deities are a personification of the one, abstract divinity. Thru the gods and goddesses, divinity became a presence in the real-life environment. The natural environment of village and city life is experienced as full of gods and goddesses, spirits, and various supernatural forces. In this experience as well, there is no purely empirical-sensory realm (Chophy, 2019). Rather, the sensory world is a realm full of supernatural power, which is why society constantly responds to it with various rituals and methods, according to their respective customs. In this experience too, nature is religious.

God, as an entity, is viewed as the prime mover, meaning the cause of all creation, preservation, and destruction. Therefore, in this context, the One God is believed by humanity to be a Supreme Being whose power is capable of creating the binary law of rotation, namely giving life and death, happiness and suffering, up and down, black and white, and so on. Therefore, thru this abstraction of God's power, humans hope for a happy life and to be free from danger, fear, and suffering. Human reality as a being that always hopes correlates with the concept proposed by a psychologist named Erich Fromm, who stated that humans are *homo esparans*, meaning beings who always hope, namely hoping for something better than this moment (Elst, 2018). However, humans, as beings who have hope in something abstract, have limitations in concretizing the form of God. Therefore, as cultural creatures, humans create personifications of God in various forms. Hinduism, as the oldest universal religion, has concepts to describe the mysterious form of God. Specifically, followers of Hinduism in Bali localize the supernatural form of God in the form of offerings called *banten*.

The theoretical concept of using means to personify God as an all-powerful force can be answered by analyzing and elaborating on the theory of the limits of reason. The theory of the limits of reason is a theoretical framework within the discipline of religious anthropology that provides an empirical explanation that humans have limitations in describing and explaining the complex, infinite, and multi-contextual essence of divinity. Therefore, to simplify God so that humans can focus their concentration on religious activities or rituals, God's physical form was created in various shapes. The religious rituals performed by Hindus in Bali to physically manifest God are facilitated by the creation of offerings commonly known as *banten*. *Banten*, as a means of depicting the abstract form of God, certainly holds many meanings and is highly open to interpretation. *Banten* same as offerings represent the self not only to request the presence of the gods to whom the offerings are given, but also as a means to ask for a wish. Especially from the perspective of compensatory theory, as put forward by Lehmann, human actions always expect some form of compensation. Rituals that use offerings (*banten*) are automatically bound by the principle of compensation. The expected compensation is not only something material – people want to obtain amulets, for example – but can also be something immaterial, such as well-being (Bhuyan, 2021). Thus, there is a notion that religion functions as a term used to describe general systems of compensation grounded in supernatural assumptions.

The production of offerings, which is implicitly laden with hegemony and power to generate financial profit, is also supported by the concept proposed by George Ritzer regarding the McDonaldization of society. This idea is outlined in the book titled "The McDonaldization of Society." It is discussed in the book titled "Explorations in Theory from Metatheorizing to Rationalization." The idea of the McDonaldization of society is very appropriate for understanding the background of why more and more people are buying offerings rather than making them themselves, and this is what causes offerings to shift in context from a symbol of an entity to a commodity that is bought and sold. The principle of efficiency as an important component in the McDonaldisation of society, "the use of the word efficiency in a social sense... can mean being careful in managing time and energy, being effective according to strategies and instructions, and not being wasteful." This research will focus on answering two problem formulation questions: a) why *banten* has substance as a representation of the first cause entity, and b) why *banten* has undergone a shift in meaning toward the commodity dimension. The purpose of this research is to elaborate on the existence of *banten*, which has become dual in meaning, possessing the essence of embodying 'The One' while also representing the commodification of religious symbols.

2. METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach, with an ethnographic focus on the liturgical practices of Balinese society. The research locus is focused on several places such as Buleleng, Badung, and Gianyar. The location was chosen because the implementation and use of offerings as the essence of worship is very intensive. Therefore, the researcher used these three locations as sources to obtain data. Data was obtained by applying observation, in-depth interviews (purposive sampling), and document study. The triangulation of these data sources provided a coherent and comprehensive data coverage (data display) that met the research needs.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Result

The theoretical concept of using means to personify God as the most sublime power can be answered by analyzing and elaborating on the theory of the limits of reason. The theory of the limits of reason is a theoretical framework within the discipline of religious anthropology that provides an empirical explanation that humans have limitations in describing and explaining the complex, infinite, and multi-contextual essence of divinity. Therefore, to simplify God so that humans can focus their concentration on religious activities or rituals, God's physical form was created in various shapes. The religious rituals performed by Hindus in Bali to physically manifest God are facilitated by the creation of offerings commonly known as *banten*. *Banten*, as a means of depicting the abstract form of God, certainly holds many meanings and is highly open to interpretation. *Banten* same as offerings represent the self not only to request the presence of the gods to whom the offerings are given, but also as a means to pray for a wish. Especially from the perspective of compensatory theory, as put forward by Lehmann, what humans do always expects some form of compensation. Rituals that use offerings (*banten*) are automatically bound by the principle of compensation. The

expected compensation is not only something material – people want to obtain amulets, for example – but can also be something immaterial, such as well-being.

God, as an entity, is viewed as the prime cause, meaning the cause of all creation, preservation, and destruction. Therefore, in this context, the One God is believed by humanity to be a Supreme Being whose power is capable of creating the binary law of rotation, that is, giving life and death, happiness and suffering, up and down, black and white, and so on. Therefore, thru this abstraction of God's power, humans hope for a happy life and to be free from danger, fear, and suffering. Human reality as a creature that always hopes correlates with the concept proposed by a psychologist named Erich Fromm, who stated that humans are *homo esparans*, meaning creatures that always hope, namely hoping for something better than this moment.

Banten is indeed the same as offerings, but because the subject it offers is different from humans, *banten* has different characteristics than offerings for humans. Not to mention the symbolic meanings contained within it, which not only glorify the gods for their omnipotence but also convey the hope for compensation – in accordance with the nature of humans as *homo esparans* or humans as compensatory beings. Thus, it is natural that *banten* same as offerings is an aspect of the Hindu religion's appearance, which is multi-form, multi-functional, and multi-meaning, so it must be present in every ritual.

Discussion

Banten as a Representation of the Divine Entity (First Cause)

Banten is indeed similar to offerings, but because the subject to whom it is offered is different from humans, *banten* has characteristics distinct from offerings for humans. Not to mention the symbolic meanings contained within it, which not only glorify the gods for their omnipotence but also convey the hope for compensation – in accordance with the nature of humans as *homo esparans* or humans as compensatory beings. Thus, it is natural that *banten* = offerings is an aspect of the Hindu religion's appearance, which is multi-form, multi-functional, and multi-meaning, and therefore must be present in every ritual (Gupta, 2021). *Banten* is not just an offering, but also the identity of Hinduism in Bali. As presented above, *banten* has many meanings or is multicontextual. This allows *banten* to be viewed from a very broad perspective and analyzed using multiple paradigms. In this context, an interesting urgency to discuss is viewing *banten* within the parameters of being a symbol of entity, identity, and commodity. These parameters were chosen as a highly contextual reality to serve as material for reflection and future orientation. *Banten*, as a symbol of entity, is always associated with the concept of *cakra yajna* in Hinduism. In literature (Atmadja et al., 2017), This idea is conveyed through the Balinese phrase *banten-wali-balik-kembali*. In this context, *wali* is understood as a guardian or representative, while also carrying the meaning of "to return." Guardian in the sense of returning, that the elements of *yadnya* used as offerings or guardians all come from the creation of *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa* given to humanity, and humans who receive and enjoy them as thinking beings in an effort to maintain balance, in accordance with the purpose of Hindu religious teachings, certainly deserve to return them. The connection between *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa* who "*suweca*" gives His grace to humans, and humanity offering *yadnya* in the form of offerings based on *subakti*, from what has been received and then arranged into offerings or holy sacrifices, is solely aimed at realizing a sense of *santih*, which is peace.

In short, *wali* means that the offerings used by Hindus are to return, express gratitude, or show appreciation for blessings from God, the gods, and the ancestral gods. In this regard, offerings are also a symbol of reciprocity or mutual relationship between humans and God, the gods, and the ancestral gods. Humans receive blessings from God, the deities, and ancestral spirits; therefore, they are obliged to return these blessings through offerings. It is within this reciprocal order that the expression *banten-wali-bali-balik* finds its meaning. In this way, a harmonious relationship is established thru an exchange involving the social actions of giving and receiving in a circular manner (Atmadja et al., 2017). This kind of interpretation can also be linked to the teaching of *cakra yajna* in Hinduism. By referring to (Atmadja et al., 2017), The teachings of *cakra yajna* refer to the idea that God and/or the gods bestow blessings upon human life. This not only takes the form of God embodying himself as the *atman* so that humans can live or have a soul, but also thru the creation of the universe and its contents, so that humans can sustain their lives. God's action toward humanity is *yajna*, which means sacrifice or service. This must be returned or consecrated in the form of a *yajna*. *Yajna* to God is represented in the form of offerings. This action gives rise to the *yajna chakra*, where humans and God perform *yajna* reciprocally. Thus, it is natural that *banten* is equated with *Bali - balik - return*, considering that *banten* is a tangible form of what humans return as a *yajna* to God.

Banten cannot only be viewed in the context of identity, but socially, these offerings are also inseparable from the Hindu identity of Balinese society. Therefore, *banten* becomes a theological-social symbol for every religious rite of the Balinese Hindu community. Referring to the formula compiled by (Atmadja et al., 2017), Another equally important issue that is criticized is why *Bali - wali - banten*? In order to answer this question, it is stated that "in religious practice, offerings or *canang* are often associated with the term '*wali*'. At the very least, think of '*wali*', think of '*banten*'. Think of *banten*, think of *canang*. This idea shows that *Bali - wali - banten* is essentially the same as *canang* (*Bali - wali - banten - canang*) (Atmadja et al., 2017). In relation to this, a question arises: why is *banten* identified with *canang*? The term *canang* originates from Old Javanese. Initially, *canang* referred to betel leaves (*base*) offered to an honored guest by the host. The offering of betel leaves was never presented alone; it was accompanied by slices of areca nut (*buah*) and a small amount of lime paste (*pamor*). The three are combined to create a *canang* – in the Balinese language, the act of eating a *canang*, where the water is mixed with saliva and turns red, is called *nginang* or, in more formal language, *me-canang*.

When Hinduism entered Bali, the Balinese people repurposed the *canang*, which was originally offered to honored guests, to be offered to Hindu gods. Although both are offered to honored agents, they are essentially different. Humans are tangible beings, while gods are intangible beings. Gods possess omniscient attributes (all-hearing, all-just, all-knowing, all-powerful, etc.), whereas humans are limited (hearing, just, knowing, powerful, etc. (Atmadja et al., 2017)). Thus, the gongs offered to the gods have different shapes, namely, they are combined into a central point. If the gong is offered to a respected person, the base, fruit, and lime are separate or simply presented, and the person eating it mixes them themselves. The background of the axis is placed as the axis because its three elements, namely *betel* nut, *betel* leaf, and lime, are symbols of Hinduism associated with the *Tri Murti* or *Tri Sakti*, namely *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Shiva* (Atmadja et al., 2017). Thus, the gong becomes extremely important, namely: first, it contains the core (lime, *betel* nut, *betel* leaf) not only as the center or core of the *gong*, but also as a symbolization of the three gods who also hold the position of the core of the universe – human life and the culture they create, namely, submitting to the power of *Tri Sakti* – creation (*Brahma*), preservation (*Vishnu*), and destruction (*Shiva*). Second, the gong containing the core is not new to the Balinese; it has been known for a long time, namely as a symbol of offering for honored guests. Third, the affirmation that the gong containing the axis is a symbol of respect is further reinforced by flowers and fragrant pandan leaves. This element – without disregarding other elements – emphasizes and simultaneously distinguishes the meaning of respect between humans and gods, namely that one is higher than the other. Fourth, thus the *canang* is so important that offerings to the gods in general, which are commonly called *banten*, are referred to as *canang*.

Banten in the Representation of Consumer Commodities

Referring to other research, it can be said that the Balinese people hybridized Indian and Balinese cultures, resulting in a unique cultural pattern, with *canang* as a component. This hybridization refers not only to the form and meaning of *canang* but also to its name, which is a combination of Sanskrit and Balinese languages that can be used interchangeably, i.e., *Bali - wali - balik - banten - canang* (Atmadja et al., 2017). In short, when talking about the name of Bali Island, it can not only be called Bali Island, but also Wali Island, *Banten* Island, and even *Canang* Island.

This idea clearly applies to the purchase of offerings. There are various reasons why ritual participants buy offerings, including, first, practicality. Peritual is not occupied with making offerings. As long as there is money, the offerings are readily available, so the ritualists only need to present them. Second, economical. If you make your own offerings, the raw materials for the offerings must be prepared carefully. The raw materials for offerings are not easy to obtain, as certain parts of the offerings are often difficult to find, either because they are scarce or because people don't know about them. Mass production of offerings is sure to be accompanied by the provision of food and drink, resulting in additional expenses. During the process of making offerings, the ritualist must stay with it, which automatically disrupts their work time, especially for a long period. Conversely, if someone buys offerings, these aspects can be addressed, resulting in savings of time, effort, and even money. Third, a characteristic of modern humans is being busy, namely being busy working to earn money. In conditions like this, people buy offerings so that their busy work of earning money is not disrupted. The aspect of predictability or predictive power concerns "the assurance that their products and services will be the same at all times and in all places." Although not exactly the same as the service at McDonald's restaurants, it cannot be denied that the makers and/or sellers of *banten* are aiming for predictability. This symptom can be observed in geriatric care for *banten* buyers, which is generally relatively the same across space and time (Atmadja et al., 2017; Mishra, 2019). This symptom is not only seen in the price of offerings for the same package, but also in the arrangement and order of the ritual's execution.

Beside its significance as a symbol of the entity and identity of the Balinese Hindu community, this means of worship is also used as a commodity based on the power relations of each substructure (Atmadja et al., 2017). The power relationship between the senior *sarati* and his subordinates, namely the junior *sarati* and workers in the social arena of *Geria* as the center of the *Banten* industry. In this context, the relationship between the senior *sarati* and his subordinates forms a hegemonic relationship. This pattern cannot be separated from Hinduism, both as knowledge that permeates the making of offerings and as an ideology. The ideologization of religion implies that Hinduism is used as an ideal concept to justify power and/or the placement of senior *sarati* in the upper class, while junior *sarati* and other workers are placed in the lower class within the creative industry of *bebantenan*. In short, the link between the senior *sarati* and his subordinates is no longer solely dominant, but also hegemonic, based on Hinduism as an ideology.

This kind of relationship pattern can also be seen in the link between knowledge and power. The senior *Sarati* mastered the junior *Sarati* and the ordinary workers by using their knowledge of Hinduism as a basis – specifically regarding offerings. The senior *Sarati* had a higher level of knowledge about offerings, so it's not surprising that they had the authority to manage the junior *Sarati* and ordinary workers in the making of offerings (Atmadja et al., 2017; Conway, 2018). The power of the senior *sarati* is reflected in their authority to normalize and discipline their subordinates' bodies in the making of offerings, ensuring that the offerings produced in the creative industry are ready-made and on time, thus satisfying consumers.

Banten and all its accompanying conditions are a highly interesting and enjoyable empirical phenomenon, making it a sensitive topic for discussion. This is because *Banten* has now spread and become an inseparable element for the Hindu Balinese community. In fact, a famous anthropologist named Clifford Geertz stated that Bali is an "island of rituals." Of course, what Geertz said is not without basis. The reality that shows Bali is an "island of rituals" is seen from the massive religious practices in Bali and the use of cultural products that symbolize and personify the form of God

created by humankind (read: the Hindu community). Certainly, the discussion of offerings, which can be viewed not only in ritual aspects but also in economic aspects, serves as self-criticism for the Hindu community in Bali, highlighting that offerings have been turned into a means of generating financial profit. If analyzed further from a more sociological perspective, the phenomenon of offerings in Bali can be viewed from the perspective of the sociology of religion. The first thing to look at is the offerings (*banten*) as a cultural product of the Balinese Hindu community in depicting or embodying the form of the most abstract God. Culture is the result of human creation, feeling, and will (Gautam, 2022). Modern anthropologists and social scientists understand culture as a set of shared knowledge possessed by a society, which serves as a guide for action and for understanding and interpreting the environment. Religion, culture, and society clearly cannot stand alone; the three are very closely related in their dialectic, either harmonizing in creation or subsequently negating each other. The dialectical process, according to Berger, is experienced by religion in three forms. First, the externalized energy that individuals possess in society then forms a shape. Second, the objectification of human creations and finally, their return in that shape. Third, with the flow of information internalizing into individuals. In this dialectic, it doesn't mean stagnation. The results of objectified externalization are always developing; humans will never be satisfied with the achievements they have made. In an idealistic view or perspective, humans have normative assumptions that are never limited to a single creation. Humanity's inescapable existence within immanence and constant confrontation with absurdity makes humans, along with religion, which is also part of this dialectic, ultimately dynamic. Similarly, culture, the dialectical process experienced alongside religion, is not very different, and is even the same (Rigopoulos, 2019). Three forms: externalization, objectification, and internalization are also processes by which culture is formed and how it relates to religion. The same thing also happens with the religious rites of the Balinese Hindu community, whose religious practices are not only trapped in a very abstract immanence. To depict and "present" the physical form of God, offerings (*banten*) were created as a symbolization of God, with their materials taken from nature. Because the concept in Hinduism is that it is a religion of nature, the depiction of God's omnipotence in the form of offerings is also composed of all abundant natural resources, as a form and indication that God is all-loving, all-great, and has unlimited creations. The use of natural materials in the components of the *banten* also indicates that God always bestows His blessings upon the survival of humanity. This can also be seen in the fact that nature is referred to as the place that provides everything, all the needs required by humankind. Semiotically, the *banten* that uses natural elements advises humans to always preserve nature, because if nature is damaged and "angry," then human civilization will be destroyed. Just as with God, if humans are negligent in remembering God and do not offer sacrifices as a form of devotion, then God will also be angry and the world will face a terrifying condition called *pralaya*. This is the concept of culture and religion being dialectical and correlated. *Banten* is made to represent God and gives *banten* the same meaning for bringing God into every religious ceremony. *Banten* is also a form of objectification of immanence.

Banten, which is never separated from the religious activities of the Balinese Hindu community, where *banten* is an important element in depicting God as an exclusive abstract figure. It's interesting to explain the phenomenon of offerings when analyzed using the thinking framework of the Slovenian philosopher Slezek. Offerings are not only used to depict the figure of God, but also serve as intermediaries for prayers and requests made by those who are religious and perform ceremonies. Zizek presents a highly philosophical explanation to explain this phenomenon. He explained that in order for us to obtain the Thing, we don't need to create a scenario where the Thing disappears, let alone design a scene where the Thing is stolen by the Other, or a story where we betray the Thing. So, what is sacrifice? A priori, what do we offer from that sacrifice? At its most basic, sacrifice is grounded in the idea of exchange: I offer something I love to the Other so that the Other will give me something far more important for my life (tribes considered "primitive" sacrificed animals or even people so that the gods would grant them good rain, victory in war). The next level is even more complex: we must conceive of sacrifice as an action that does not necessarily aim directly at achieving a beneficial exchange with the Other to whom we offer the sacrifice. The more fundamental goal is that we are trying to ensure that there is something else "out there" capable of responding (or not) to the request we accompany with the sacrifice (Cybil, 2022; Zizek, 2019). Even if the Other doesn't grant my request, I still believe that "there is" another Other who might answer my request differently next time: the world out there is full of various disasters and misfortunes that could befall me, so the outside world is not a blind, weightless machine, but a companion we can engage in conversation with, so disaster can be read as a meaningful response, and the outside world should not be considered a kingdom filled with blind opportunities.

Continuing what was said by (Vandenberghe, 2018; Zizek, 2019) Thru its philosophical arguments, *Banten* becomes a medium of supplication and affirms that humans are homo religious, or beings who believe in and desire to unite with an abstract entity believed to be the cause of all things or events in the universe. *Banten* is also believed to be the "tongue" that conveys the prayers of mortal humans to the eternal creator. Thus, by offering *banten*, it can alleviate human psychological conditions because they have already expressed their grievances, hopes, or requests during their lives in the world. Whether God (referred to by Zizek as the Other) grants their petition (read: human), humans will still offer offerings as an expression of their genuine seriousness in fulfilling their obligations as God's creatures and will never cease to seek happiness in the world thru the intermediary of offerings.

The paradigm building that makes offerings one of the most important media in every ceremony, especially since offerings play a primary role in personifying the form of God and serving as a medium for conveying petitions or requests to God, has made offerings a current business opportunity. Economically, offerings are now viewed as a commodity that can be bought and sold. The massive sales of these offerings are not surprising, as from a sociological perspective, the

social world has entered an era known as postmodernism. Postmodernism is a social phenomenon in which advanced capitalism is intensely universalized. In postmodern society, economic production emphasizes an immaterial commodity rather than material production. This immaterial commodity is produced for the intensification of postmodern consumer society. In other words, postmodern culture goes hand in hand with consumer culture. As seen in the views of simulacra, implosion, and hyperreality, information floods postmodern society in abundance. The result of the mass media's intensity in cyber society clearly leads to mass consumption by the public. They are addicted to consumption, and therefore postmodern society is also called a consumer society. The same phenomenon is also seen in Balinese Hindu society, which is very large in "consuming" offerings as a means of ceremony. The large volume in the use of offerings as a means of religious practice for the Balinese Hindu community is also supported by the very high mobility of the people, leaving no time to make the offerings. Upholding effectiveness and the presence of mass media also supports those who use offerings to see the price list and the types of offerings being sold. Of course, people who are skilled in making offerings or those who are very knowledgeable about religious literature will benefit from this industry. In fact, the increasingly high standard of living of the Balinese Hindu community also encourages a process of display during ceremonies. They tried to showcase a grand and festive ceremony, of course at a very high cost. This is done so that there is social recognition that the person performing the ceremony is someone with high social status and wants to be placed at the highest level of social stratification.

4. CONCLUSION

Another principle encompassed in the McDonaldization of society, namely calculability, can be seen in the application of numerical calculation to the purchase of offerings. Computational power encompasses various aspects, for example, first, the computational power for pricing. What is the exact price of the offerings as determined by the makers and/or sellers of the offerings? Similarly, the purchase of offerings for daily rituals, such as canang sari, has a fixed and relatively consistent price across different vendors. Second, the calculation of time has certainty, meaning that before the ritual – for example, the day before – the offerings are already ready to serve. Third, the calculation of the form, name, function, and meaning of the offerings is certain, as it is based on standard traditions used by the makers and/or sellers of the offerings. Fourth, the calculation of the arrangement of the offerings is certain, as it is the responsibility of the makers and/or sellers of the offerings. In short, the calculations are carefully done by the makers and/or sellers of offerings, covering both the technical and religious aspects inherent in the offerings. The ritual obligation is only to provide funds according to the final price calculation, and the ritual proceeds as expected by the buyer of the offerings.

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