The Myth of Durga and the History of the Indonesian Women’s Movement (Gerwani)

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(Gerwani)

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Introduction
In this paper I would like to show the connection between the fate of the warrior goddess Durga and the fate of one of the women’s movements of Indonesia, known as Gerwani (Gerakan Wanita Indonesia), the “Indonesian Women’s Movement”. Gerwani was an important movement that came to an unfortunate end following the so-called “coup of 1965”. We normally think of a subject like Gerwani as an “historical” issue that has little in common with myths like those that have grown up around the imagery of Durga. However, inspired by the detailed study of Saskia Wieringa in her book, Sexual Politics in Indonesia (2002) and Penghancuran Gerakan Perempuan di Indonesia (1999), I have come to believe that much of what we learn in Indonesia about Gerwani is a type of mythology that is connected with political image-making in the service of ideology. Reading Saskia Wieringa’s work in both English and Indonesian languages, complemented with other articles related to the massacres of 1965-66 in Indonesia, I came to feel that there is a strong connection between those two subjects, the myth of the goddess Durga in the history of Java and Bali and the modern myths that Indonesian children are taught in school about the nature of Gerwani and the reasons it was violently suppressed in the early years of the New Order (1965/66-1998).

The question posed in this paper is: how can there be a connection between an ancient myth and a modern historical event? To address that question, I will first briefly review my writing about the journey of the goddess Durga from India to the archipelago during the first millenium CE, through the period when the image of the goddess was demonized during the East Javanese period (ca.930-1527 CE) and finally the contemporary period, in which the demonized form of the goddess is still prominent in present day Bali. I will then detail the history of Gerwani and how myths that demonize women were open to manipulation by political actors during the crisis that led to the birth of the New Order or the Suharto regime (1966-1998). To support my theses in showing the connection of the two subjects I will use relevant secondary
sources in the form of literary works that include both ancient prose and poetic works. I will supplement my secondary data with information gained from my field work in East Jakarta that focused on the Pancasila Sakti monument in the Lubang Buaya area as well as information I gained from interviewing witnesses, survivors and one of the perpetrators of the mass killings that took place in Java and Bali during the transition period from the Old to the New Order. Since my work is about the demonization of the image of women in connection with the image of the goddess Durga, I will focus more on the so-called Gerwani survivors rather than male survivors of the tragic events of 1965; however I will occasionally draw on my interviews with male survivors if their stories are relevant to this study.

Mythic Transformations of an Indic Goddess: Durga in India, Java and Bali

Perhaps the most important difference between mythical transformations of representations of the goddess and parallels in political image-making is the factor of time. As I think will be clear from a brief summary of my work, mythic transformations take place over a long period of time and reflect slow processes of social and cultural change. This is not to say that there are no political factors in the origin and evolution of mythical stories and images. The development of mythical representations of the goddess Durga in Java and Bali is part of a history of over a thousand year’s duration. The political myths that demonized Gerwani, on the other hand, were created in a period of no more than twenty years following the events of 30 September 1965. Yet they seem to have a great deal in common with older myths that demonized images of the goddess Durga. I will try to show in this paper that political image-making in the New Order drew on a tradition of depicting powerful women in negative terms, or in terms of fears that needed to be overcome through the actions of men with special powers to exorcize negative female elements from figures like Durga-Uma in the Sudamala tale or Rangda in the Calon Arang tale.

The goddess Durga was originally portrayed in India as a beautiful warrior goddess with many arms, each holding a weapon granted by the other gods during her creation as a special protective figure, who alone would be capable of defending the gods from their mortal enemies, in this case is the demon king Mahisasura, the buffalo-demon (Mookerjee, 1988:8). Descriptions of this form of Durga are found in sacred hymns of
India like the *Devi Mahatmya*, an important subsection of the encyclopaedic *Markandeya Purana* (composed ca. 6th century CE).

In the Malay-Indonesian archipelago images of Durga Mahisasuramardini went through a long process of evolution radical change, images of Durga came to depict her in demonic form during the East Javanese period (ca.10th -15th centuries CE).

Based on the visual and textual evidence, I have formed a working hypothesis on some of the factors that caused the radical transformation of images of the goddess Durga in Java and Bali:

- As a warrior goddess Durga may have been considered too provoking to mainstream Javanese and Balinese society, where women did not normally participate in armed struggle. However, Javanese shadow play stories of a female warrior, Dewi Srikandi, suggest that legends about Durga as a warrior have lived on in the popular imagination.

- Durga in some literary works is described as delighted to receive offerings of human flesh and blood. These depictions seem to reflect her role in the inscriptions as a deity who can bring about the death or destruction of those who transgress against the rules delimiting the existence of tax-transfer lands (*sima)*.

- Religious beliefs about a liminal and dangerous period between decease of a family member (especially among noble families) and the performance of the post mortem ceremonies called *sraddha* may be related to demonic portrayals of Durga by way of exorcistic tales like the *Sudamala*. In this tale Durga is described as being an inauspicious transformation of the gentle goddess Uma, who must roam the world bringing misfortune to humanity for twelve years before being exorcized by her husband, Bhatara Guru. This twelve year period is exactly the time between the death of a member of the royal family of East Java and the *sraddha* rites for that person. It may be significant here that the most famous *sraddha* rites of fourteenth century were for Rajapatni, the queen...
mother of Hayam Wuruk who took a divine form as the Buddhist goddess of wisdom (Prajnaparamita) during her sraddha rites of 1365 CE.

- The further development of demonic images of Durga in Bali, especially in the exorcistic drama Calon Arang, where she is identified with her devotee, the terrifying Rangda, suggest patriarchal trends in Balinese society, where women who are not within the "protective circle" of the family because they are widows, or have failed to produce a male heir, are considered very prone to performing black magic in order to counteract their lack of power and meaning within society. These aspects of representations of Durga/women seem to be the most open to political manipulation. I believe that this is what occurred when the women of Gerwani were demonized in black propaganda created to draw attention away from the real facts of the tragic events following the so-called communist coup in 1965.

Now, I would like to introduce briefly the historical background of the birth of Gerwani, which I will claim went through a process of political demonization that seems to reflect the long process of mythical demonization that affected representations of the goddess Durga in the Javanese and Balinese traditions.

**Historical Background of Gerwani**

Gerwani, the “Indonesian Women’s Movement”, was one amongst many women’s organizations in Indonesia founded during the post-independence era by enthusiastic young women who had just participated in the success of the nationalist revolution. But Gerwani was not the first women’s organization of Indonesia. In addition to the women’s organizations that arose during the post-independence period, there were also several women’s organizations during the pre-independence period, which included the period of colonialism and the period of the nationalist struggle for independence. ¹

In this paper I will focus on only one period in the history of women’s movements in Indonesia--the history and development of Gerwani--because it was the destruction of

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¹ See Doran (1986) for an article that details the close relationship between nationalism and the movement for women’s emancipation in Indonesia.

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Gerwani that was specifically used by Indonesian authority figures of the New Order as an important part of their state-building project. It is a great shame that the architects of the New Order (Orde Baru) chose to sacrifice an important women’s organization of the first decades of an independent Indonesia as part of their efforts to build a new regime, friendlier to Western interests than that of Indonesia’s first president, Soekarno. Through the use of black propaganda aimed at discrediting women who took an active role in seeking to reform feudal elements that dominated much of Indonesia during the late colonial period, they closed the door on much that could have been offered by the women of Indonesia in building a fair and just society.

While claiming to represent the forces of social justice, the New Order left a blank space in place of the vigorous women’s organizations of the first decades of Indonesian independence. In this sense their role in uprooting Gerwani from a presence in Indonesian society as part of their state-building enterprise can be compared to the more lengthy social and historical processes that led eventually to demonic visions of Durga in the mythical life of Balinese society. Both have had a negative effect on the degree to which women can play active roles in their social contexts, and on the ways that women are “imagined” in national and local narratives.

Gerwani was born from an organization called Gerakan Wanita Sedar Indonesia (Gerwis), or “Movement of Conscious Indonesian Women”. Gerwis was initiated on 4 June 1950 in Semarang by six representatives of various organizations who wanted to have one women’s organization which could accommodate their aspirations in both the domestic and political spheres. Those six organizations were:

- **Rukun Putri Indonesia** (Rupindo), the “Association of Young Indonesian Women” from Semarang
- **Persatuan Wanita Sedar**, the “Federation of Conscious Women”, from Surabaya
- **Gerakan Wanita Indonesia** (Gerwindo), the “Movement of Indonesian Women”, from Kediri
- **Istri Sedar**, or “Conscious Women” from Bandung
- **Wanita Madura**, “Women of Madura” from Madura and
- **Perjuangan Putri Republik Indonesia** (PPRI), the “Struggle of the Daughters of the Indonesian Republic”. This was the women’s section of the Barisan
Pemberontak Republic Indonesia (BPRI), or the “Front Line of the Rebelltion of the Republic of Indonesia”, an all-Indonesian organization strongest in Java, led by the popular guerrilla fighter Bung Tomo.

The women who represented these six organizations came from a variety of socio-political backgrounds, but shared an interest in founding an organization that would have specific goals and be selective in recruiting their members. Several prominent women representative of the type of women who initiated Gerwis had been involved in the nationalist struggles to free Indonesia from Dutch colonialism and later from the repressive regime of the Japanese wartime occupation. S.K. Trimurti, the prominent Fujinkai member during the Japanese occupation, for example, had served as the Minister of Labour for the Republican government of Soekarno (1945-49) and was thus the first female minister in Indonesian history, while Silawati Daud had served during the independence struggle as the Mayor of Makassar and was well-known for her confrontation of the notorious Captain Westerling (Wieringa, 2002:182). Other women who participated in the founding of Gerwis had occupied important positions in other parties or organizations. Sri Panggihan, for example, was a prominent PKI member even before the Madiun Affair in 1948, who went on to become one of the prominent leaders of Gerwis.

The first leader of Gerwis was Tris Metty, who had previously chaired the politically independent Rukun Putri Indonesia, the “Association of the Female Youth of Indonesia”. Tris Metty was also a member of Laskar Wanita of Central Java. But in 1951, during the preparatory session held in Yogyakarta for the first national congress, Tris Metty was pushed aside as chair of Gerwis and replaced by S.K. Trimurti. According to Wieringa (2002:183) this was because Tris Metty was a lesbian considered “too adventurous” to be the head of the organization.

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2 Captain Raymond Westerling was responsible for the killing of thousands of young republicans in South Sulawesi (Wieringa, 2002:182).

3 The Madiun Affair was a revolt against the Indonesian government under Soekarno led by Muso the PKI leader in Madiun, East Java in 1948 (see McGregor, 2007:49-50 for a full account).

4 Laskar Wanita Indonesia (Laswi), the “Women’s guerrilla Force” was an armed group that fought against the Dutch during the Republican struggle of 1945-49 (Wieringa, 2002: x).

5 The first congress was held in December 1951 (Wieringa, 2002:142). Wieringa does not mention where the congress was held, but notes that they held their preparatory meeting in Yogyakarta.
As Wieringa (2002:142,185) points out, during the first years of the life of the organization several leaders of Gerwis like Umi Sarjono, Suharti and Mudigdio (the mother-in-law of Aidit, chairman of the PKI) belonged to, or were closely affiliated with, the PKI, the Communist Party of Indonesia. Although Gerwis insisted that the organization was non-political in orientation and was not affiliated to any political party, the PKI had a very important voice in the establishment of Gerwis and continued to play a role throughout its existence as a women’s organization. This has led to the wide-spread idea that Gerwis, and later Gerwani, were “left-wing” or Communist organization, when in fact that were not directly aligned with any political party.

Looking closely at the socio-political background of the founders of Gerwis, who by and large had gained their early experience in the nationalist struggle, it is not surprising that they wanted a women’s organization that was conscious of their rights as women and as partners in the revolution, and militant in their approach to achieving their objectives.

However, during their first congress in December 1951, a rift between two main factions began to appear that revolved around tensions about membership in the organization (Wieringa, 2002:142). One faction, that favoured a broader based membership in the organization, mooted the idea of a change of name to Gerakan Wanita Indonesia (Gerwani), the “Movement of Indonesian Women”, whose name itself implied a broader base for the organization. Another faction, which represented the more militant and left-leaning founders of the organization resisted what they called the “mass line” and supported a more sectarian membership that would serve as a guiding force in what they saw as the revolutionary commitments of Gerwis. Muninggar, one of the members of Gerwis who took this position, openly stated her disagreement with the change of name from Gerwis into Gerwani and opposed the development of what she termed a “mass line” in place of the “sectarian” organization that she saw as the rightful form for Gerwis:
We need a woman’s organization that will truly defend women’s rights… I do not agree to a change of name from Gerwis to Gerwani […] [we] need fully conscious women, not a mass line (Wieringa, 2002:184 cited Document XXII: 2).

On the other hand, some Gerwis members wanted the membership of the organization to be less sectarian, and so favoured as wide as possible an expansion of membership that would embrace as many Indonesian women as possible and make them fully conscious of their rights. This position was described by S.K. Trimurti: “the most important thing in any case is to make women conscious of their rights” (Wieringa, 2002:147).

Despite disagreements within the leadership of Gerwis leaders by 1952 Gerwis had grown rapidly into a large and progressive organization. During this period many other smaller organizations merged with Gerwis and there was also a substantial increase in the number of individual women also joined the organization. When Gerwis was founded in 1950, the membership was a mere 500 women, but by 1954 - the year that Gerwis was officially changed into Gerwani - the number of members had risen to the remarkable figure of 80,000 (Wieringa, 2002:152). With this enormous rise in its membership Gerwani had become the largest women’s organization in Indonesia that was recognized internationally during the post-independence period. What made Gerwani more interesting compared to other women’s organizations was that it was only Gerwani members who were concerned to raise their voices in advocating the rights of oppressed people from all socio-economic levels. Most other women’s organizations were not interested in fighting on a daily basis for the rights of the victims of rape, polygyny, child marriages and forced marriages, and they also were not ready to fight for the sake of poor women at the village level (Doc. IX:1-2 cited by Wieringa, 2002:148). Therefore, it was not surprising if the numbers of the Gerwani rose rapidly in a short period of time.

The Membership of Gerwani

Why were so many women interested in becoming members of the Gerwani? To address this question, we can list a number of important factors:
the organization did not set strict rules in recruiting women who were interested in becoming members, and in this way avoided questions about commitment to a particular ideology like the militantly socialist ideology espoused by the PKI and in part supported by the Old Order government of Soekarno

their programs were socially oriented, responding to the needs of women in terms of occupational advancement, as well as the promise of abolition of practices like polygyny, forced marriages and child marriages that many women saw as an unpleasant and destructive heritage from the feudal past

The increase of membership of Gerwani was clearly tied to the loosening of strictures on who could become members, and for what reason. Wieringa (1999:303, basing her comments on Buku, 1958:312 ff) explains that:

- Membership of Gerwani was open to all Indonesian women as long as they were 16 years old, or younger but already married.
- Gerwani did not ask any women to fill in any form or sign any legal paper as a prerequisite to membership; this was highly advantageous in terms of a mass membership since many potential members were illiterate.
- Gerwani allowed members to have dual membership with other organizations, so did not limit their membership along sectarian lines.

What were the programs that attracted many Indonesian women to join Gerwani? The first that can be listed is the attractiveness of their programs to women who had fought alongside men during the Republican struggle of 1945-49. The ongoing commitment of Gerwis/Gerwani to put an end to all forms of colonialism and imperialism was especially attractive to women of this group, while a larger and more general group was attracted by the promise of Gerwani to put an end to the practices of feudalism that had been responsible for so many broken families in the past, and had put an unfair burden on women by allowing practices like polygyny that allowed men to start multiple families without the need to take full responsibility. Finally, the many progressive programs put forward by Gerwani in favour of changes to political, social and legal structures meant that the organization held out the hope of significant changes to Indonesian society that would bring direct benefits for women in the workplace and home.

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The fate of Durga and Gerwani

The main argument developed in this paper is that in comparison with images of the goddess Durga in India, which have remained stable over a very long historical period, focusing on her benevolent aspects as a protective warrior goddess, images of the same goddess have gone through a process of demonization in Java and Bali that can be linked to historical and social factors and processes.

The main difficulty of dealing with this subject is that it might be very easy to assume that the processes of demonization in a long-term process of myth-making had similar intentions as those that led to the destruction of Gerwani in modern times. I want to stress here that the demonization of images of women in mythology does not seem to have been directly motivated by a desire to suppress the rights of women, since we also find very positive images of female rulers and ascetics during the same period when demonic images of the goddess Durga were developed in the visual and literary arts.6 I argue that demonic images of the goddess Durga were developed in response to internal and external threats to the Majapahit kingdom of East Java (1293-ca.1527 CE) and to concerns about the liminal period between the decease and apotheosis of royal figures like the Rajapatni, a woman of extraordinary political and spiritual influence in 14th century East Java. However, even in this development, and especially in the later development of a completely demonized image of the goddess Durga and her main devotee (Rangda) in the tale of Calon Arang, there is a strong tendency for images of women to take a demonic form that must be exorcized through the power of a male authority figure. While the tale of Calon Arang is preserved especially in the performing arts of contemporary Bali, it is well known in much of Indonesia. For this reason, I claim in this paper that its lurid depictions of erotically charged women worshipping Durga in the graveyard while seeking her patronage and assistance in bringing death and pestilence to the kingdom of Airlangga are part of the background of fears about the power of uncontrolled women that was used by the founders of the New Order to develop black propaganda that was spread throughout the mass media in late 1965 in order to discredit the women’s movement and allow for its completed

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destruction through extra-judicial executions and imprisonment of the survivors of these executions.

The demonization of images of women in Indonesia has gone through a long complex process stretching over many hundreds of years. Based on the examination of textual and visual evidence, we can see that the most effective way to demonize the image of women has been by accusing them of being morally loose, sexually uncontrolled and operating outside the customary norms of society. Textual evidence for the demonization of images of women in mythology can be traced in the form of literary works like the *Sudamala*, *Andha Bhuwana* and *Calon Arang* and in temple reliefs of stories like the *Sudamala* tale represented at sites like Candi Tigawangi and Candi Sukuh. The modern, mass media side of this picture can be traced in newspapers, magazines and the dioramas and reliefs of public monuments that began to be produced during the Dutch colonial period, and became especially prominent during the founding of the New Order in 1965-66.

While I do not want to over-emphasize the demonization of women in myths developed in the East Javanese period, there is no doubt that these stories led to a negative view of the role of female figures in mythology. The following story from the *kidung* *Sudamala* (produced ca.1365-1406 CE) gives us a good example of the demonization of the image of a female deity in the mythology of East Java:

The three great deities Sang Hyang Tunggal, Sang Hyang Asihprana and Sang Hyang Wisesa once gathered together in the dwelling place of Bhatara Guru, the Supreme Deity. They were discussing the misdeed of Sri Uma, wife of Bhatara Guru, whom they heard had “shared her beetle-nut quid and face-powder” with Sang Hyang Brahma, that is she had committed adultery with Lord Brahma.\(^7\) Bhatara Guru was furious upon hearing that news, and so cursed Uma into becoming Durga, a terrifying demoness. Uma then transformed into a demonic figure with long dishevelled hair; her eyes were

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\(^7\) David Shulman (1985:304) notes that the close relationship of South Indian kings with the goddess can easily lead to the idea that the goddess is “fickle” or even fond of adultery. He points out that:

No less ambiguous is the king’s intimate relation with the goddess, either in her form as Sri, ‘royal splendor’- a notoriously fickle figure-or as the warrior maiden Durga or Durga-Laksmi.
like twin suns; her mouth was like a cavern with protruding fangs; her two nostrils were like the holes of twin wells and her entire skin was covered with spots and blemishes.

The mythological demonization illustrated in stories like that of the transformation of Uma into Durga (which has no counterpart in the Indian tradition) has had a continuing negative impact on how women have been perceived in Indonesian society, perhaps especially in Java and Bali. During the colonial period in Indonesia, Raden Adjeng Kartini (1879-1904) became famous for her advocacy for women’s emancipation and equality in education. She herself wished to get an education equal to that available to men and was supported to some extent by her father and husband, yet she found it very difficult to overcome the stumbling blocks of a society that continued to frame women within a tight, domestic circle that had been crystallized by the ancient traditions of Java. Kartini was even accused of being a coquette when she wanted to break the chain of tradition in order to seek a higher education in Holland. Hildred Geertz (1964:17) in her introduction to the translation of the *Letters of a Javanese Princess* by A.L. Symmers, points out the following unfortunate results of a visit by the liberal Dutchman van Kol to her home in Jepara:

The first indirect result of his visit was notoriety. He had been accompanied by the editor of the newspaper, *De Locomotief*, who published an account of his trip to Jepara. This was the first time Kartini's name had appeared in print, an event which her father had successfully prevented till then. The forces of reaction, both Javanese and in Dutch circles were mobilized against her and a whispering campaign began. She was accused of being a coquette, of wanting a Dutch husband, even wanting to be sexually promiscuous, and the pressures on her family to marry her off intensified. Her father became very cool to her.

While the results of the fear of the potential “danger” of women outside the domestic circle is well-illustrated in the story of Kartini, it did not have nearly the disastrous results as the campaign of black propaganda that was directed against the women of Gerwani in late 1965. In this campaign “legends” of the sexual perversion and moral depravity of the women of Gerwani that had no basis in fact were developed and broadcast through state-controlled mass media. These included the national radio broadcasting network (RRI) and the two main newspapers of the Armed Forces; *Berita*
This modern form of demonization resulted either in the direct loss of life or imprisonment for much of the adult lives of women whose main “crime” had been to work in the social services and educational efforts that were a prominent part of the activities of the women’s movement during the post-Independence period.8

The form taken by this modern mass media form of myth-making is reflected in tales of the conduct of the Pemuda Rakyat and Gerwani in a series of articles that appeared in the English language edition of the state news agency Antara on 30 November 1965 and in the armed forces newspaper Angkatan Bersendjata on 13 December 1965. It is remarkable that the so-called “orgy” of the women of Gerwani is said to have been attended by Aidit, the chairman of the Communist Party, even though eyewitness accounts of the events of 1965 have shown that he had to be awakened from his sleep to be told of the news of the failed coup attempt, and not long afterwards fled to Central Java after realizing that he and his party would take all blame for the murder of six generals on the fateful night of 30 September 1965. A recent Indonesian publication (Proyek Historiografi 1999:89) describes the “transformation” of the events of 30 September 1965 as follows:

[T]he accounts of the atrocities committed at Halim have undergone considerable elaboration, in which the strongest emphasis has been on unholy rites and sexual orgies preliminary to the slayings: thus the Gerwani were accused of giving themselves indiscriminately to Air Force officers and to Pemuda Rakyat in a ritual orgy presided over by Aidit, the principal feature of which was a “Dance of the Fragrant Flowers” performed by naked Gerwani girls.

In a sense we can group together the demonization of women in the mythology of the East Javanese period (ca.930-1527 CE) and in the black propaganda of the founding of the New Order (1965-66) by understanding that folklore, literary tales and temple

8 Particularly important articles building a modern myth about the participation of the women of Gerwani in the murder of six generals on the night of 30 September 1965 appeared in the October issue of Berita Yudha, 9 October and the 11 October issue of Harian Angkatan Bersendjata, 11 October 1965.
reliefs all represent ancient forms of “mass media” that had more local effects than the modern mass media that were open to the use of the New Order in their campaign to destroy the Communist Party, Gerwani and a great many teachers and intellectuals who were judged “guilty by association” with these official organizations. In both cases the most effective way to create demonic images of women has been by suggesting that women will engage in sexually uncontrolled and violent behaviour when not “kept in place” in the domestic sphere, under the guidance of male authority figures. This theme is less prominent in the tale of *Sudamala*, but comes out strongly in the tale of Bhatara Guru and Giriputri from the literary work *Tantu Panggeleran* (composed in sixteenth century Java) and in the Calon Arang tale that is still very popular in Bali. In modern times is reflected in the reliefs of the Pancasila Sakti monument in Jakarta, where President Suharto is shown sheltering behind him the gentle nursing mothers of his idealized domestic world from the “horrors” of the orgy of sexually charged violence “perpetrated” by members of Gerwani and the Pemuda Rakyat at the Lubang Buaya field, East Jakarta.

In mythological terms the first phase of development of accusations that women are morally loose and adulterous can be traced to the composition of the *kidung Sudamala* in circa 1365 CE during the East Javanese period, where the local Javanese poets depicted the beautiful goddess Uma as committing adultery with Lord Brahma. Uma is then depicted as being cursed to take on a demonic form as Durga and live in a graveyard for twelve years until her husband, Shiva, the most powerful male figure in East Javanese religion, carried out her exorcism and allowed her to return to her benign and benevolent form as the gentle goddess Uma. This ancient pattern of controlling women through labelling women as uncontrolled demonic figures has continued to be a theme throughout the history of Indonesia, reaching its most terrifying fulfilment in the black propaganda that led to the brutal murders and imprisonment of the women of Gerwani in modern times.

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