

Off You Go: Offerings in The Wailing, The Medium and Mangkujiwo

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the differences in ritual offerings depicted in three different horror films: *The Wailing* (South Korea), *The Medium* (Thailand), and *Mangkujiwo* (Indonesia). The offerings used in these films demonstrated cultural ritual practices for interacting with spiritual entities. The aim of this research was to study the meaning and differences of the offerings displayed in the three films, where each element of the offering had its own significance within a particular culture. The ethnographic method of Spradley was used to collect research data through textual and visual analysis. The research findings, based on Raymond Firth's theory, categorized the offerings into three types: Personal, Value, and Voluntary. In *Mangkujiwo*, the offerings reflected the mysterious Javanese tradition, which involved communication with ancestors to seek their blessings. In *The Medium*, Thai shamans used offerings to maintain the balance between the supernatural and human realms. In contrast, in *The Wailing*, offerings were used in Korean culture to protect oneself from evil spirits. The differences in the traditions of offerings showed that, although the elements used were similar, offerings were more than just spiritual symbols; they also reflected profound cultural identities and values. Overall, this study revealed how Asian cultures understood and practiced their relationship with the spiritual world through offerings, aimed at fulfilling desires and seeking protection.

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini membahas perbedaan sesembahan sesajen dalam tiga film horor: *The Wailing* (Korea Selatan), *The Medium* (Thailand), dan *Mangkujiwo* (Jawa). Sesajen yang digunakan dalam film, masing-masing menunjukkan adanya praktik ritual budaya untuk berinteraksi dengan entitas spiritual. Tujuan penelitian ini mempelajari makna dan perbedaan sesembahan sesajen yang ditampilkan ketiga film tersebut karena setiap elemen yang digunakan memiliki arti tersendiri dalam suatu budaya. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode Etnografi Spradley dengan cara mengumpulkan data penelitian melalui analisis teks dan visual sedangkan hasil penelitian menggunakan teori Raymond Firth yang ditunjukkan dengan adanya kategori dalam sesajen menjadi tiga macam: Personal, Value, dan Voluntary. Berdasarkan tradisi persembahan yang ditayangkan dalam film *Mangkujiwo* mencerminkan adat Jawa yang misterius yang melibatkan komunikasi dengan leluhur untuk mendapatkan restu dari mereka. Dalam film *The Medium*, dukun Thailand menggunakan tradisi persembahan untuk menjaga keseimbangan antara alam supranatural dan manusia. Sedangkan, film *The Wailing* dalam budaya Korea, tradisi persembahan yang ditayangkan digunakan untuk melindungi diri dari roh jahat. Perbedaan tradisi persembahan sesajen ini menunjukkan bahwa apapun elemen-elemen yang digunakan memiliki arti yang berbeda dalam masing-masing budaya. Persembahan lebih dari sekedar symbol spiritual, ia juga mencerminkan identitas dan nilai

budaya yang mendalam. Secara keseluruhan, penelitian ini mengungkapkan bagaimana budaya Asia memiliki keragaman budaya untuk menunjukkan dan mempraktikkan hubungan mereka dengan dunia spiritual melalui persembahan, yang bertujuan untuk mencapai sebuah keinginan atau memperoleh perlindungan.

Kata Kunci: *Sesajen, ritual, tradisi, budaya, film horor, Asia.*

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Introduction

Offerings were often an important element that reinforced the tense and mystical atmosphere in horror films. Offerings were global rituals that had local characteristics, which in their application involved the presentation of offerings to spiritual entities, gods or spirits. This was corroborated by Sartini (2022) from an article on ugm.ac.id argued that the tradition of offerings was divinely intertwined to God, gods, ancestral spirits, ancestors, or invisible creatures. On the other hand, offerings, as studied by Kasmin and Putra (2020), were rituals that had rules and procedures established by the community or group that created them. Therefore, each ritual had its own unique characteristics, both in its implementation process and in the equipment used. The offerings themselves reflected the unique cultural beliefs and practices of various societies, illustrated how each culture had a distinctive way of conveying honour and supplication to spiritual entities or spirits. This phenomenon gives rise to similar yet diverse offerings, depending on the cultural background. Often finding cultural differences in offerings in each region makes some people question why rituals and offerings to spiritual spirits used different offerings. As investigated by Sartini (2022), the objects contained in each offering can be different when the ritual was performed with different purposes, because each object had its own philosophy. In the context of horror movies, this concept of spirits imbued objects served as a means of offerings tended to be formulaically presented in the narratives to enhance the horror mood of the movies.



Figure 1: The Wailing

This was perceptible in the movies *The Wailing*, *The Medium*, and *Mangkujiwo*, which each highlight different cultural elements. *The Wailing* explored mystical beliefs and practices from South Korean culture, *The Medium* dived into spiritual traditions and rituals related to Thai culture, while *Mangkujiwo* introduced the audience to Javanese beliefs and customs. *The Wailing* and *The Medium* were similar in that both films focused on a central conflict involving a struggle against an evil spirit that was difficult to understand and overcome, with often tragic or ambiguous results. Whereas *Mangkujiwo* itself focused more on spiritual forces that could destroyed one's power. In this case, it can be seen that there was a slight difference in the purpose of the offerings. In the films *The Wailing* and *The Medium*, offerings were more emphasized on offerings to spirits and were intended to asked for protection from the spirits

they believe in. However in *Mangkujiwo*, the offerings given were aimed at commanding spirits to harm or destroy someone and even power.



Figure 2: The Medium



Figure 3: Mangkujiwo

The existence of the offering ritual was synonymous with mystical things, so it had an air of horror and fear, whether in films or the real world. Offerings in films often used food or even creatures to symbolized their sacrifice (Robbany & Supratno, 2024). As well as true in scenes from the movies *The Wailing*, *The Medium*, and *Mangkujiwo* where they showed rituals using cock, buffalo and mice. The animals used in rituals became a common tradition in cultures in various regions. In Korean culture, cocks were considered a symbol that can get rid of negative energy. In several traditional Korean *Shamanistic* ceremonies or known as *Muism* where cocks are used as sacrificial animals to please spirits and animals to avoid disasters and bring prosperity to life. This was different from Southeast Asian culture, especially Thailand, which used buffalo as a symbol of strength, protection and ward off evil energy. In some Thai ceremonies, buffalo were used as offerings to spirits and gods to appease them or protect villages from danger. Meanwhile, in Javanese culture, rituals often used *Cemani* roosters which symbolizes magical powers, good luck and a connection with the spiritual world. It was supported by Pranata (2014), that the community believes that *Cemani* roosters had magical powers as an antidote to evil acts committed by spirits or supernatural beings. Research has discussed the cultural diversity of offerings. Using the Roland Barthes theory approach, Malik (2023) and Ihsana (2024) found the symbols shown in the movie scenes as an understanding of Javanese cultural representations to the community. Other studied by Fatasyah (2022) and (Alkaf, 2013) showed that the ritual traditions used have spiritual values that help people understand the culture and prevent misunderstanding of local beliefs. However, these studies did not explore rituals in other regional cultures besides Javanese culture. This study aimed to explore the culture of offerings in various regions and foreign countries. Therefore, researchers wanted to discuss in more depth related to:

1. What objects do the characters use as offerings in *The Wailing*, *The Medium*, and *Mangkujiwo*?

To identify the objects used as offerings in the films *The Wailing*, *The Medium*, and *Mangkujiwo*, this research applied Raymond Firth's theory. Offerings as studied by Firth, offerings can be categorized into three forms: personal, value, and voluntary. Personal offerings are objects that personally belong to the giver, allowing them to offer these items to anyone they choose. Value offerings refer to objects that hold specific significance to the owner, whether in terms of material worth, emotional attachment, or sentimental memory. Voluntary offerings are those given willingly by the owner without any form of coercion or external pressure. This classification provided a framework for analyzing the various offering objects and uncovering the deeper meanings embedded in each offering depicted in the films.

In the implementation of rituals, offerings were an important element that can't be separated. It is because offerings were the connecting point between real life and other entities.

Offerings were commonly used as a ritual aspect in offerings to spirits. In other words, offerings became a medium for praying so that the ritual became sacred and meaningful (Adam et al., 2019). The diversity of offerings can be seen from the use of tools and materials used in rituals that make culture. With the ritual practices carried out, people try to stop the disturbance of evil spirits using offerings (Alkaf, 2013). Efforts made with offerings had several aspects of purpose. This was related to the function of offerings as a tribute to ancestors or a guarantee of safety against mystical disturbances experienced by the community (Kholis, 2022). The kinds of offerings that are offered also had their own meaning in the ritual. In fact, in more detail, the various kinds of offerings that appeared had symbolic messages containing ancestral teachings. representations of offerings in various forms through specific materials such as food, flowers, or animals. This discussion served as a means of honoring ancestors that reflected cultural practices that emphasized respect for the supernatural. In the implementation of rituals, offerings were an important element that can't be separated. It is because offerings were the connecting point between real life and other entities. Offerings were commonly used as a ritual aspect in offerings to spirits. In other words, offerings became a medium for praying so that the ritual became sacred and meaningful (Adam et al., 2019). The diversity of offerings can be seen from the use of tools and materials used in rituals that make culture. With the ritual practices carried out, people try to stop the disturbance of evil spirits using offerings (Alkaf, 2013). Efforts made with offerings had several aspects of purpose. This was related to the function of offerings as a tribute to ancestors or a guarantee of safety against mystical disturbances experienced by the community (Kholis, 2022). The kinds of offerings that are offered also had their own meaning in the ritual. In fact, in more detail, the various kinds of offerings that appeared had symbolic messages containing ancestral teachings. representations of offerings in various forms through specific materials such as food, flowers, or animals. This discussion served as a means of honoring ancestors that reflected cultural practices that emphasized respect for the supernatural.

Differences in offering culture between countries often arise due to historical factors, religion, and local beliefs that have developed in each society. In Indonesia, the tradition of offerings was closely related to traditional ceremonies and respect for ancestors and supernatural beings. Culture, as studied by Geertz (1973), was a system of signs that can be interpreted and used to understand social interaction. In this context, offerings become a means to communicate with the spiritual world, and religious elements, especially Islam, influence the form and meaning of offerings. For example, in Javanese culture, offerings were usually presented in the form of food placed on a pedestal, such as rice, flowers and fruits, in a slametan ritual. These rituals were performed to celebrate important events, such as births, weddings, or the approach of a new year, and as an expression of gratitude and supplication to God and ancestors. This showed that offerings did not only function as offerings, but also as social bonds within the wider community (Alkaf et al., 2023). Meanwhile, in Korea, the tradition of offerings is known as *Jesa*, which is a tribute to the ancestors. *Jesa*, as studied by Lee (2018) was a form of respect that reminded us of the importance of the relationship between living and deceased generations." The meal usually consisted of a wider variety of foods, such as rice, meat, fish, and fruits, which are served at the family altar.


Jesa is usually performed on certain celebrations, such as Chuseok (Harvest Day) and Seollal (Lunar New Year), as an expression of gratitude for the blessings given by the ancestors. As such, *Jesa* was not just a ritual, but also a reminder of the importance of the relationship between the living and the dead. In Thailand, the tradition of offerings called *Loy Khratong* was heavily influenced by Buddhism. *Loy Krathong* was an annual festival held to honor the river goddess, *Phra Mae Khongkha*. The festival highlighted the role of water in Thai culture through symbolic rituals and art (Thadaniti 2014). Its main activity involved floating offerings on banana leaf rafts, which contained flowers, incense, and candles. Based on Cahyani (2023), besides paying homage to *Phra Mae Khongkha*, people also floated the offerings while praying for health and safety. Although these three cultures shared similarities in terms of respect and gratitude, the forms of offerings and ritual contexts used show differences that were rich in



local meanings and values. Based on Durkheim (1912), "Rituals had an important social function in creating bonds and solidarity between individuals in society." Each culture had a unique way of expressing respect and gratitude, which not only reflected their spiritual beliefs, but also strengthened social bonds within the community. As such, the tradition of offerings was an important means of preserving cultural heritage, strengthening group identity, and maintaining connections with ancestors and the spiritual world.

Horror movies were a genre of movies designed to induce fear, terror, and anxiety in its viewers. Commonly, horror movies explored themes such as the supernatural, creepy creatures, psychopaths, curses, or mysterious phenomena that cannot be explained logically. Based on Setyaningsih (2023) The genre of horror movies aimed to evoked a sense of terror, shock, and anxiety in viewers by using a dark theme to astonish and frighten them. Horror movies were associated with offerings with various forms and functions. Foodstuffs in the form of fruit often functioned as an offering in those movies. The practice of Korean cultural traditions or known as *Muism* often involves rituals, offerings, and spiritual medicine to gain protection, healing, and fortune (Margareta, 2018). These elements were often found in horror movies, one of which is *Exhuma* which in this movie showed an offering used to carry out a ritual, the offering in the movie created a more horror impression. The offering used in horror movies was represented in various forms, in the film *Exhuma* the offering that appeared was food and dead animals such as pigs. Each offering used and represented in a movie had its own meaning. In Korean culture, pigs symbolize prosperity and good luck. While in a tradition, pigs were often used for offerings to the spirits of ancestors or gods and requests for blessings, welfare and blessings. While fruits in Korean culture symbolized prosperity. Fruits such as oranges and apples were often considered symbols of prosperity and fortune.

Research Methods

The data of this qualitative study were in visual and textual forms. The data were taken from *The Wailing*, *The Medium*, and *Mangkujiwo*. The visual data contained the offerings that were shot while the textual data contained the mantras, utterances, and music that followed the ritual. The reason table can be found under the bibliography page.

No.	Title	Reason	Visualisation
1.	The Wailing	Set in a Korean culture rich in symbolism, the movie presents the offerings and stages of the ritual in depth and clarity. Every element of the culture is meticulously displayed, from the preparation process to the execution of the ritual, so that viewers can feel and witness the authenticity of the traditions passed down from generation to generation in Korean culture through this movie.	

2.	The Medium	The movie features a series of rituals performed repeatedly in an attempt to exorcise the evil force or spirit possessing the main character. Although the rituals are performed intensely and guided by spiritually skilled characters, each attempt still fails to achieve the desired results. In addition, the movie is set in Thailand, which gives the audience a deeper look into the local culture and traditions that are steeped in the mystical and spiritual beliefs of the Thai people.	
3.	Mangkujiwo	The offerings in the Mangkujiwo movie are different from others because they are not only served, but also consumed by humans who become sacrifices as intermediaries for supernatural beings who reside in their bodies.	

This research collected data from various scenes in the movie used Spradley's (2016) ethnographic method, focused on domain analysis, taxonomy analysis, componential analysis, and theme analysis and interpreted the cultural meanings embedded in the scenes. The first step of this process was to analyze the domain. In this context, the offering in the horror movie, based on Firth (1993) categorized into three types, value, personal and voluntary. After categorizing the offerings, the taxonomy analysis commenced. Offerings were closely related to culture so that each medium had its own meaning and symbols, whether it was in the form of animate or inanimate objects. Therefore, the results of this domain and taxonomy analysis were presented in a table to show the relationship between the types of offerings and their ritual purposes. The last was identifying cultural themes. The culture of offerings reflected in horror movies were often associated with human efforts to communicate with or appease supernatural entities. Some offerings were even believed to influence the behavior of the revered spirits.

	Personal		Value		Voluntary	
	Animate	Inanimate	Animate	Inanimate	Animate	Inanimate
The Wailing	✓					
The Medium	✓					
Mangkujiwo		✓				

The portrayal of offerings in Asian movies enriches the meaning of the story, as offerings to spirits and gods were a recognized tradition in cultures such as Indonesia, Thailand and Korea. Each country had a different way of presenting and meaning of offerings, from the materials used, the location of placement, to the symbols included, reflecting their perspective on the connection with the supernatural world. The presence of offerings in movies not only informed the audience about the tradition in different countries, but also enhanced the atmosphere of mysticism, especially in horror movies. It also introduced the culture of

offerings in Asian horror movies, so that audiences can recognize and understand the values embodied in the tradition.

Result and Discussion

In this section, types of offerings were identified and classified into three categories: personal, value, and voluntary, which are further divided into animate and inanimate. All data were taken from three chosen movies namely *The Wailing*, *The Medium*, and *Mangkujiwo*. Thus, examined and thoroughly described in the discussion section.

1. Personal

Personal as studied by Firth (1963) were items or property owned by an individual, and the owner had full rights to give them to anyone they wished, including for used as offerings. Personal-Animate was found in three movies. *Mangkujiwo*, cock and rat in the scene Brotoseno slaughtered cock from which blood was drawn and the rat's organs were mixed into the rice served to Kanti. *The Wailing*, goat and cock In that scene, a goat was presented as Hyojin, because when the shaman stabbed the goat's neck, Hyojin felt pain. while a white rooster was slaughtered, and its blood was smeared on the shaman's face. In *The Medium*, a buffalo was brought to the temple for the ritual, and its head was severed to summon the spirit into Mink's body.

Personal-Inanimate was found in three movies. *Mangkujiwo*, the offerings consisted of personal-inanimate visual forms were flowers and food. The flowers, particularly red roses, white roses, and jasmine, almost always appeared in every ritual scene or were simply placed in front of mystical objects. In Javanese culture, red and white roses as well as jasmine often symbolized purity, love, and respect for spirits or ancestors. On the other hand, tuberose flowers were specifically always presented in front of a twin vanity mirror owned by a nobleman, Tjokro Kusumo. In addition to flowers, other offerings included bananas, incense, and sego tumpeng with vegetables or "urap", which symbolized completeness in life, respect, and hopes for balance and safety (Ristiani et al., 2024). In Javanese culture, tumpeng in the shaped of a mountain represented the universe or nature world that is full of life. The shaped of the mountain on the tumpeng represented the center of the balance of nature, while its accompanying the side dishes, such as urap, represented the plants that surrounded and complemented life in nature world (Pianto et al., 2023). This film also featured an offering in textual form, consisting of a chant spoken to accompany the ritual performed by Brotoseno. The chant served as a medium of communication between Brotoseno and the spirit world when he summoned "kuntilanak" spirit to inhabit Kanti's body. This chant, in accordance with Javanese tradition, was believed to have magical power that could open the path for the spirit to appear and possess a human body.

In *The Wailing*, the visual forms were oranges, candles, and wood arranged at the ritual site, while textually, there were written chants and music included as part of the ritual. In that scene, oranges were arranged like a mountain, serving as an offering to the spirits. The oranges symbolized hope, prayers, and positive energy for the person performing the ritual. Then, in this movie, candles were arranged in a circle around the ritual site. In this context, the candles were used as a medium for communicating with spirits. In this film, the wooden statue was used as a means to send negative energy to Hyojin. The statue was believed to represent Hyojin's own body, so when the shaman hurt the wooden statue, Hyojin's body would experience pain.

In *The Medium*, the visual forms were marigold, incense, and eeg, then textual were the written chant used to cover Noi's head and the music played during the ritual. In Thailand, influenced by Hinduism and Theravada Buddhism, quoted from Myers (2024) marigolds symbolized purification, strength, and protection. Incense was also used in the

ritual as a symbol of respect for the spirits, creating a more sacred atmosphere. The egg was used to represent life and death. Based on Zulkifli (2022) egg symbolize the two opposing sides of life. In the film directed by Banjong Pisanthanakun, the egg was also used as a means of communication with the spirit world.

2. Value

In this category, the item given had value for the person who gave it. The value found in *Mangkujiwo* movie were animate and inanimate, Uma as value-animate was the daughter of Kanti, a woman who had previously been sacrificed by Brotoseno to create a *kuntilanak*. Uma was categorized as a value offering with immense significance, as without her, Brotoseno would not have been able to sustain *Mangkujiwo* cult. Uma became a pivotal element in the ritual, serving as a medium to summon the *kuntilanak* that resided within her mother, Kanti. Value-inanimate found in *Mangkujiwo* was the *Pengilon Kembar*, a mirror that has mystical strength, included in the value-inanimate category because the *Pengilon Kembar* was an inanimate object which is a historical heritage so it is contested by the nobles. This mirror is believed to have the ability to see things that give clues to its owner, and in the movie, there was a scene where the mirrors are washed with flower water. This ritual is sacred, as the water is thought to cleanse and purify the object, while enhancing its magical strength. This process illustrates how the object was not only valued for its shape, but also for the rituals and special treatment given to it because it was a valuable object, which implies the mystical and cultural values present in the story.

In *The Wailing*, the value found was animate, Hyojin as value-animate, she was the only child of Jong-goo, the main character in this film. She was portrayed as suffering due to the influence of an evil spirit that possessed her body. In this situation, Jong-goo and his family were willing to do whatever it took, even making any necessary sacrifices, to save and heal Hyojin. This demonstrated how immense Jong-goo's love for his daughter was, as he considered her the center of his life and the source of his happiness.

In *The Medium*, the values found were animate and inanimate, Mink as value-animate, was a cherished child for her family, but she became possessed by an evil spirit as a result of the actions of Wiroj's ancestor, her father. This ancestor had massacred hundreds of people, and the spirits of the victims could not accept their fate. In retaliation, they cast a curse and inflicted karma upon all of Wiroj's descendants, including Mink. She bore the burden of the curse and became the target of this karma, possessed by an evil spirit harboring deep resentment toward Wiroj's ancestor and all of his lineage. Value-inanimate found in this movie was Mink's belongings, as part of the effort to ensure the smoothness of the ritual, the shaman asked Mink's family to bury several of Mink's belongings, such as her clothes and shoes. These items were believed to have been closely connected to the energy that clung to Mink, and thus, they were thought to have helped in the process of exorcising the evil spirit.

3. Voluntary

Voluntary, it is neither provided under duress nor takes place as a technical component of a sequence of events directed by a generally predetermined goal. In the film *Mangkujiwo*, there was a type of voluntary-animate offering in the form of a woman named Kanti. Kanti was a victim of assault by Tjokro, which left her pregnant. She was deemed a disgrace and was confined and ostracized in a stable. Initially, Brotoseno intended to rescue her, but he ultimately turned Kanti into a sacrifice in a dark ritual. He claimed that the sacrifice was made to avenge Kanti against Tjokro. However, it actually reflected Brotoseno's personal ambition to exact revenge on his rival, Tjokro.

In *The Wailing*, there was a type of voluntary-animate, offerings in the form of women who were Jong-goo's mother and wife, which became a tragic part of the story. Both of them passed away after a ritual to exorcise the evil spirit was performed. This occurred because the evil spirit had already possessed Hyojin, their daughter, bringing calamity

upon the family. The deaths of Jong-goo's mother and wife can be interpreted as consequences of the dark forces that took control of Hyojin, illustrating the immense price the family had to pay in their struggle against these malevolent powers.

In *The Medium*, there was a voluntary-animate shown through Noi's actions, as she consciously chose to take Mink's place in the exorcism ritual. This was done because Mink was someone deeply meaningful to Noi, leading her to willingly face numerous risks to protect Mink from the threat of evil spirits. Noi's sacrifice became a symbol of love and her sincere decision, even though it placed her in an extremely dangerous situation.

Conclusions

The conclusion of this study showed that the existence of offerings had a deep connection with culture, which was evident in the depiction of rituals in three horror films from Indonesia, Thailand, and South Korea. These three movies *Mangkujiwo* from Indonesia, *The Medium* from Thailand, and *The Wailing* from South Korea presented various forms of offerings as important elements in rituals that reflected the cultural values of each country. In *Mangkujiwo*, offerings were an integral part of the Javanese mystical tradition, where offerings were used to establish communication with ancestral spirits and gain their blessings. *The Medium* presented offerings in the context of Thai shamans or spiritual intermediaries, who were full of respect for ancestors and supernatural beings to maintain the balance of human life. Meanwhile, *The Wailing* showed the tradition of offerings in the context of Korean culture, which was influenced by Shamanism and various local superstitions, where offerings were used to protect oneself from evil spirits. Through these three films, it could be seen that offerings were not just symbols of offerings or sacrifices, but also reflected the deep connection between humans and the supernatural, and became a reflection of a strong and complex cultural identity. These offerings illustrated how each culture had a unique way of looking at the spiritual realm and showed the efforts of the people in maintaining a balance with the invisible world that was believed to influence their daily lives.

The existence of offerings in various cultures reflected a diverse range of differences, both in terms of form, function, and the meanings they contained. Interestingly, these differences did not only appear among distinct cultures but could also be found within the same region. For example, the presence of offerings in Banyuwangi demonstrated variations in their presentation, even though they all belonged to the same geographical area. *Badarawuhi di Desa Penari* movie and *Teluh Darah* movie were set in the same place, namely in Banyuwangi. Even though they had the same setting, the rituals in the two films were different. The difference could be seen from the location of the ritual in *Badarawuhi di Desa Penari*, which could only be performed in a hermitage, while in *Teluh Darah*, the ritual could be performed in any room. In terms of offerings, the two films also had differences. In *Badarawuhi di Desa Penari*, bananas and coconuts were used as personal-inanimate offerings, as these were meant to summon spirits. Bananas themselves had significance in Hindu/Balinese culture as offerings to gods and goddesses, while coconuts symbolized purification. Meanwhile, in *Teluh Darah*, the offerings used were only roses as personal-inanimate offerings, which symbolized death, supernatural powers, and were used to communicate certain messages in the supernatural world.

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