

The Battle of Power in Sacred Arena: A Study at Pura Dasar Buana of Gelgel, Bali

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Abstract. Temples are generally interpreted as sacred places. However, studies on a number of temples indicate that temples function plurals. Tracking the function of temples in a dynamic historical perspective is interesting to examine. As in the *Pura Dasar Buana of Gelgel* located in the center of the Kingdom of Bali, the king who ruled in the XIV-XVI century was the temple of the center of the kingdom of Bali. This study aims to understand the meaning of power struggling processes at the *Pura Dasar Buana of Gelgel*, especially to reveal the relations of political power between actors. The two theories used are the theory of power and knowledge by Foucault, and the modality theory of Bourdieu. Data were analyzed inductively using cultural study methods. This article argues that temple has a political function and shows that there are the models of power relations among the supporting actors.

Keywords: temples, power relation

1. Introduction

There are various purposes of a person or a group of people visiting a temple. Among the batch of diverse objectives, most spare certain amount of time to, psychologically, benefit from the beauty of the temples. However, in the course of certain period of time, many of the people undertake a number of activities in going around the temples, such as eating, working, meditating, and living with the monks, for other motives. These include taking efforts of discovering solutions for personal problems, raking in new impressions, and alternatively avoiding the burden of an increasingly laden mind [1]. Additionally, destinations from which personal satisfaction could be attained effortlessly are the most preferable visited spots for travellers [2]. Culture and tourism have always been inextricably linked to each other [3]. Tourism is a sector with significant economic relevance in several countries [4].

Tourism is one of the powerful resources bringing benefits to many aspects of community life. It brings about advantages to the development of economy, culture, and environment [5]. It has resulted in positively significant growth of the economy of the society and its rapid development has led to growth of multiple-related industries [6]. Additionally, along the journey of sustainably developing modern world, the tourism is the leading supporting factor [7]. In its long history, its great impact of progress creates a good climate to the economic outgrowth of

many host countries [8]. A large number of investors are turning to the world of tourism industry because of the intense intensity of development and progress so that the participation of travelers also rises positively [9]. The concerned experience is the one characterized by ways in which ecotourism companies use ecotourism ideology for their marketing, and experiences experienced are characterized by the massive satisfaction of tourists after their interaction with the place (landscape) [10].

Temples are generally interpreted as sacred places, the place for ritual and praying for Hinduism. The temple is considered neutral and far from political dynamics. However, studies on a number of temples indicate that temples function plurals. The temple also acts as a means of seizing economic resources and socio-political society. The study of Router (2005) about temple becomes a struggle for the adherents [11]. Fox (2010) says Besakih temple is influenced by king/state intervention [12]. Dhana (2010) explains Subak temple as a power struggle involving various interest groups. The temple as a sacred area become the battle of power [13].

Tracking the function of temples in a dynamic historical perspective is interesting to examine. As in the Pura Dasar Buana of Gelgel located in the center of the Kingdom of Bali, the king who ruled in the XIV-XVI century was the temple of the center of the kingdom of Bali. This sacred place is symbolized as the foundation of the earth and the unification of the macrocosm with a microcosm. Paying attention to the intervention of the King and the symbolization of the Pura Dasar Buana of Gelgel as the basis of the earth, indicates that the temple contains a dimension of power relations that is dynamic all the time. This article aims to describe about battle of power at Pura Dasar Buana of Gelgel, Bali. The aims of this research are: (1) outlines milestones developmental status of Pura Dasar Buana of Gelgel and (2) to understand the meaning of power struggling processes at the *Dasar Buana Gelgel*, especially to reveal the relations of political power between actors.

The data were taken from Pura Dasar Buana at Gelgel Village, Klungkung regency, Bali. The focus of this research are historic background and dynamic power relation in temple area. This study used cultural studies, interdisciplinary approach. This study used some theories. They are *critical Social theory*: Relation power and knowledge (Foucault), Modality theory (Bourdieu), and Hegemony (Gramsci). The data were collected by using deep interview, observation & documentary study. This study is qualitative research. The data in this research were analyzed descriptively.

2. Results and Discussion

2.1 History development of Pura Dasar Buana: 3 important milestones

Pura Dasar Buana as hermitage of *Mpu Gana* XI-XIII M century.

One of the historical relics of Klungkung which is the center of the kingdom in Bali is Pura Dasar Bhuana. The temple is located in Gelgel Village, Klungkung. Its position is at 42 kilometers from the capital city of Bali Province, namely Denpasar. Looking beautiful in a state of majestic standing, the temple is located on a vast land, precisely at the edge of the main road of Gelgel-Jumpai. Nista, Madya and Utama are the three types of mandalas possessed by the temple. A large banyan tree that grows with awesomeness stands in the Nista Mandala since centuries.

When entering Madya Mandala, visitors can see beautiful buildings, one of which is Pelinggih Bale Agung. The length that reaches 12 meters gives a unique characteristic for the building. The building is adjacent to Bale Pesanekan and Pelinggih is the place for all the

hermitage and the temples' Pratima in the village of Pakraman of Gelgel. Both Pratima and Hermitage are distributed when the Great Works *Pedudusan (Ngusaba)* take place, which are held to coincide with Purnama Kapat.

Furthermore, in Utama Mandala, there are dozens of pelinggih, of which are Meru Tumpang Solas, Meru Tumpang Telu, Padma Tiga, and else. Within a year, there are two guardian/art events held: the guardian that coincided with the Great Pamacekan and as well as the Padudusan art held at Purnama Kapat.

Dasar Bhuana was built by Mpu Dwijaksara from the Kingdom of Wilwatikta (Majapahit Kingdom) in Caka 1189 or 1267 AD. This temple is one of the Dang Kahyangan Jagat in Bali. During the Majapahit Kingdom, Pura Dang Kahyangan was built to honor the services of the pandita (holy teacher). Dang Kahyangan Temple is grouped by history. Where, the temple known as a place of worship in the kingdom in Bali was included in the Pura Dang Kahyangan Jagat group. The existence of Pura Dang Kahyangan cannot be separated from the teachings of Rsi Rena in Hinduism.

Pura or Ashram built at the place where Maharsi did semadi yoga was a form of respect for the Maharsi. Like Pura Silayukti in Karangasem, Silayukti is believed to be the place for its mpu mpu Kuturan. Likewise with the Bhuana Gelgel Basic Temple, it was built as a tribute to the Ghanaian Masters. In this temple, Mpu Ghana, known as a Brahmana who had an important role in the development of Hinduism in Bali, practiced semadi (did *arahyangan*).

Aside from being Dang Kahyangan, the temple, which is about 3 kilometers from Semarapura City, Klungkung, is also the center of a chess for residents from clans. These clans include the Satria Dalem, Pasek (Maha Gotra Sanak Sapta Rsi), Soroh Pande (Mahasamaya Warga Pande), and Brahmana Siwa. All of them are Ida Batara's followers in the Bhuana Gelgel Basic Temple.

Each citizen has a panyungsungan, such as Meru Tumpang Solas - panyungsungan Para Arya and Satria Dalem and Meru Tumpang Tiga - panyungsungan Keturun Mpu Geni which reduces the Pasek breed. Meru Tumpang Tiga as a shelter for Pande residents. Padma Tiga is between Meru Tumpang Solas and Meru Tumpang Sia (nine), the brahmana community. With the amount of sorrow in it, it is believed that Pura Dasar Bhuana is a unifying universe with the concept of unifying all clans in Bali with the concept of "the kauala of gusti menunggal".

The temple which was built on the wide area also became the panyungsungan of Subak Gde Suwecapura. Among them are Subak Pegatepan, Kacang Dawa, Toya Ehe and Toya Cawu. Panyungsungan is carried out when the grand Pawanana Pedudusan work is held, which coincided with Purnama Kapat.

As its history, Bhuana Base Temple has a close connection with Mpu Ghana who lived at the end of the 9th century AD. Pura Dasar Bhuana was built by Mpu Dwijaksara from the Kingdom of Wijaya as a form of respect for Mpu Ghana. Mpu Ghana is a Brahmin who has a very big role in the development of Hinduism in Bali.

Mpu Ghana is a saint from Java. He arrived in Bali during the reign of Udayana Warmadewa and Gunapraya Gharmapatni who ruled and ruled in Bali in Caka 910 until Saka 933 (AD 988-1011). He is a Brahman of Ghanapatya adherents. For the rest of his life, he carried out the teachings of Sukla Brahmacari: namely not undergoing Grahasta (unmarried). The connection after the founding of the Suwecapura Kingdom was that this temple was used as a sulking of the royal family at that time. The location of this temple is exactly northeast of Keraton Suwapura. At

that time, Keraton Suwapura was established in Banjar Jero Agung, Gelgel. The temple is indeed closely related to the existence of the Kingdom of Singapora. A number of heritage sites in the Suwecapura Kingdom are still preserved in this temple until now.

2.2 Power Relation in the Pura Dasar Buana as Pesraman

During the Pura Dasar Buana position as Pesraman, the relationship between *ciwa* - *sisya* (patron client) was interwoven. Theoretically, the relationship between Mpu Gana and the *sisya* *trah* Pasek GELGEL is power-knowledge or knowledge power relation [14]. The power relation of knowledge in the religious sector became an instrument for Mpu Gana in dominating the community groups, especially those who later became residents of the Gelek Pasek clan community. Therefore, the clan group is submissive to him.

If it is associated with the concept of student soul, Mpu Gana is a patron (orientation center and role model), while the client or student is the Pasek Gelgel community. In this connection, Mpu Gana - who has authority in the field of religious knowledge - became a leader (ruler) and the Pasek Gelgel group became his student and functions to receive lessons, knowledge and instructions given he gives. As a logical consequence of this relationship, the clients are subject to and provide services to their *Ciwa*. In contrast, the patron is obliged to provide care and guidance in the religious field to the Pasek Gelgel group as his pupils.

2.3 Power Relation of the Pura Dasar Buana to Becoming Royal Temple

The transformation of Pesraman into Pura Dasar Buana is the king's hegemony towards the people (Pasek community). Appreciation in the form of appointment of the status of the temple into a royal temple can be viewed as a strategy to tame group interests (clan of pasek, Pande, Brahmana, and knight/aristocratic goal) to submit to the king as ruler. In this case, those who become members also include priest Brahmana (*Ciwa* - Buddha). This Pesraman status levitation is certainly positively created by the Pasek Gelgel community. It is as if they are also involved in the social structure of society. With the appointment of the status, the temple is automatically integrated into the entire community whose territory is included in the auspices of the kingdom of Pura Sweca.

On the other hand, the king gained the legitimacy of the Pura Dasar as a royal temple. Appointment of the temple status is able to provide loyalty from Pasek Gelgel as the majority of citizens. This made the kingdom have a strong position in the structure of the nationality society in Bali. In this way, the rebellion carried out by the Balinese group at the beginning - the postscript including the residents of Pasek, who were previously in power became voluntary to support the legitimacy of the government of the current Gelgel palace in power - is proven. In other words, the appointment of the status of the temple becomes an instrument of power in order to be able to hegemony interest groups so that they voluntarily show support to the ruler (king).

2.4 Conflict of Interest in the Seizure of Power in the *Sakal* area (XX century)

Pura Dasar is not always able to play an important role as a media in seizing power between the people and the king. When the central government was no longer in Gelgel because it was moved to Klungkung (Semara Pura), the position of the Pura Dasar Buana began to experience degradation. It is no longer getting attention as before. Although the status of the temple is still regarded as the inheritance of the castle and it is still positioned as a public temple, the temple is

no longer receiving the important attention of the castle community. The Pura Dasar is definitively acknowledged as belonging to the temple, but the management and implementation of the ceremony has been handed over to the Gelgel Traditional Village and the knight group in Gelgel traditional village.

Taking into account the development of the existence of the Pura Dasar, in this modern era, it raises its own problems. The lack of clarity in the ownership status and authority institutions makes ambiguity of the Pura Dasar status. Now, complaints from three community groups, called the trident (three dimensions) of the Pura Dasar Buana of Gelgel, emerge. The three groups in question are *puri* (traditional elite of Gelgel traditional village, and moderate Hindu group (Pasek Gelgel clan) who feel entitled to be the successor to Pura Dasar Buana. Puri Klungkung Group feels entitled to be the heir of the Pura Dasar Buana because the temple was indeed made a Royal Temple by its ancestors and has not yet been revoked.

The traditional village group of Gelgel feels entitled to control of the Pura Dasar of Buana because territorially the location of the temple is in its territory and the people who hold the ceremony are the people. This phenomenon is supported by the fact that from generation to generation, that supports and carries out ceremonies in Pura Dasar Buana is an indigenous community of Gelgel with their knights.

If observed, the power relations in the struggle for claims of the Pura Dasar Buana between traditional elite groups and the community, Counter hegemony - carried out by the Pasek group are reformers with traditional power (collaboration of the castle, traditional village and traditionalism) on the existence of the Pura Dasar Buana of Gelgel - occurring. The Pasek Gelgel reformer community felt entitled to have control over temple because of historical reasons and the reality of the *pemedek*, an individual or a group of people who pray, who do worshipping at the place. From a historical perspective, it is clear that Pura Dasar Buana originated from the Pura Pasek of Gelgel or Pesraman Mpu Gana, which was later appointed as the Royal Temple. Second, the majority of the people of *penyungung* Pura Dasar Buana are the Pasek Gelgel clan group. Even the temple is often equated with Pura Pasek Gelgel. Therefore, this group felt entitled to claim Pura Dasar Buana as a Pura Pasek of Gelgel clan. Of course, the counter hegemony carried out shows a more repressive side than the cultural approach. In other words, the dynamics between the practice of hegemony and counter hegemony in relation to the power of elites and the public always occur. These two forms of power relations are currently in processing and they have not revealed any significant results.

3. Conclusion

Pura Dasar Buana of Gelgel has a long history, since XI- XXI century until now. Broadly, status of *Pura Dasar Buana of Gelgel* can be classified into three: (1) as the hermitage of *Mpu Gana* (XI-XIV century), (2) as a kingdom temple of *Gelgel* in XIV-XVI M century, and (3) *Kahyangan jagat* temple (general temple) (XVII-XXI M).

Pura Dasar Buana of Gelgel reflects power struggles dynamically. At the time of becoming hermitage (the center of religious education) power relations of priest/*empu (brahmana)* happened with the students. The relation of patron-client (*ciwa-sisya*). When it was transformed into kingdom temple, power relations take place between the king and the people (relation of *kaula-gusti*). A more complex power struggle against claims of *Pura Dasar Buana* occurs after the royal

center moves to the Klungkung city and continue until now. Power relations occur between traditional elite, customary village, and the group of moderate people (clan of *pasek Gelgel*).

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