

# Identity Struggle Perspective in Car-Shaped Shrine in Paluang Temple, Nusa Penida Bali, Indonesia

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**Abstract---** Car-shaped shrine (*pelinggih*) in the Paluang Temple Nusa Penida is an altar for worship a symbol of the God manifestation *Ida Bhatara Ratu Gede Sakti Ngurah* and *Hyang Mami* or *Siwa Durga*. The shape of the *pelinggih* are the VW Beetle and the Jimny Jeep. This is the identity of its existence, so it is viral on social media. This study reveals the socio-architectural phenomenon of this car shrine in the period determined by the *Klungkung Kingdom* era until in digital media era today. Revealing the process of meaning and actors who capture knowledge behind the car *pelinggih* identity to be used by cultural discourse. This research uses qualitative methods using descriptive analytics. Data collection with observation and documentation. Determination of informants is done by purposive sampling. Data analysis with poststructuralism approach, power genealogy methodology of Foucault's, and theory of discourse-power-knowledge relations also from Foucault. The end result, turned on by most of the local and outside communities of Bali, the knowledge hidden in these discourses has moved the community in each era, to reach each other's purposes, namely as identity contestation, and consumption of identity.

**Keywords:** *identit, struggle, perspective, car-chaped shrine*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Shrine of car-shaped is located in Paluang Temple, South side of Nusa Penida Island, Klungkung Regency. Paluang Temple is located in Karang Dawa, so it is also known as Karang Dawa Temple, even now better known as Pura Mobil because of the car-shaped altar. There is no written history in the form of *lontar* or inscriptions which clearly state the existence of the two *pelinggih* of the car, but there are myths that are believed to have been the background of the establishment of Paluang Temple for generations. It was said that the residents of Karang Dawa wished to open a new plantation area at the site of the Paluang Temple, now, during the process, there was a rock that needed to be moved to another place. After the rock was moved, strangely the next day the stone moved back to its original place, and it did not happen just once, but each time the stone was moved back to its original place. The oddity event was then asked for guidance on a smart person, and the results were given a *niskala* guide to establish a sacred building in the area [12].

Initially made a simple *pelinggih* in the form of a pile of stones, erected on a rock hill adjacent to a steep cliff (like a trough) according to the instructions in question, then the place was named Paluang Temple. The community strongly believes that the "manifestation of God" that is worshiped in Paluang Temple is *Ida Bhatara Ratu Gede Sakti Ngurah* and *Hyang Mami*.

Based on the instructions, 'real' and 'unseen', *Ida Bhatara*, located in Paluang Temple, has a four-wheeled "train" vehicle without horses that resembles a car. In the initial period before there was a car stop, every *piodalan* in this

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temple, there were often people who were possessed and asked to make a sacred building in the form of a "train without horses/cars", so that the two *pelinggih* were built. In the beginning there were only two cars in the form of cars, then after many people prayed, other people could be built and developed into what they are today [9].

The architectural design of the altar in the form of a car, of course, does not use the guiding foundation for the design of Traditional Balinese Architecture, as is commonly done in the Balinese Hindu community. Hindus in building worship architecture are based on traditional design guidelines. This Traditional Balinese Architecture Guide is contained in the form of *lontar* including *Asta Kosala Kosali*, *Dewa Tattwa*, *Kusumadewa*, *Ithi Prakerti*, *Padmabhuwana*, *Anda Bhuwana*, and others. These traditional building foundations are also very much related to the teachings of ethics and morality of longing [9].

The design guide, which is a "cultural discourse", is increasingly promoted through the mechanism of social religious arrangement policy in the era of the Klungkung Kingdom, and is considered to reach the golden peak of Balinese culture under the leadership of Dalem Waturenggong (1460-1490 AD) [39].

The design guide as cultural discourse is the production of power relations that are interwoven through discursive formation. Discursive formations or discursive groups are stated by Michel Foucault as the most elementary conceptual unit to identify the presence of episteme. Episteme is a term for naming how knowledge in each age, making that era has certain presuppositions, certain principles, certain possible conditions, or certain a priori [40].

## B. Literatur Review

Foucault emphasizes the process of disseminating discursive formation together with the dissemination of discourse or knowledge that distributes what is considered important and not important, is considered true and not true. In a sense, each era has its own formation and discursive groups which are disseminated through discourse and signify a regime of truth. Foucault [17] views that discourse cannot be released from power. Discourse is a means for an institution to gain power through a process definition and exclusion [17] [33] [38] [40]. According to Foucault, power is controlled by discourse and discourse is always rooted in power. Discourse is a social practice that will always shape power relations [17] [33].

Power, according to Foucault, is not like what Weberian said, namely the subjective ability to influence others. Power is also not what the Marxists say is a material artifact that can be controlled and used by the capitalist class to oppress and dominate other classes [3] [7] [17]. Power is the nominal label for complex strategic relations in society. In that relation, of course there are those above, some below, some at the center, some at the edges, some inside and outside. The power is spread, scattered everywhere like a web that is ensnared. Barker and Foucault see the productivity of this power forming capillaries that are woven in the fibers of social order, distributed power in social relations [3] [17].

Discourse can establish a truth regime, while marginalizing other regimes. In the process of establishing this truth regime, Foucault [17] offers several processes, namely selection, limitation, control, and exclusion. According to Foucault, the process of selection, limitation, control and exclusion that preserves the truth regime is carried out

through two levels, namely internal and external. Internally through the narrowing of meaning in the production and reproduction of texts (discourse) and externally the formation and dissemination of discourse through institutions [3] [17] [22] [34].

The relevance of Foucault's thought to the context of car *pelelinggih* as a cultural discourse lies in the relation of knowledge and power in Bali in producing discursive formations to establish a truth regime. The formation of discursive groups or formations through the discourse of "identity", greatly influences the episteme, the range of reasoning, and the Balinese experience of its culture.

## II. RESEARCH METHOD

The cultural discourse that perpetuates a truth regime in Bali is preserved through processes of control, selection, limitation and exclusion. Through discourse on identity, the Balinese experience discipline and control, so they must be obedient. Organic intellectual actors as well as mass media play an important role in spreading discursive clusters of architectural identity. Furthermore, related to this paper, there are at least two categories of socio-architectural phenomena in the span of the Dalem Klungkung era until the era of digital media power that can be revealed, namely, architectural works as temples: identity contestation, and identity consumption.

Both of these phenomena are increasingly interesting to be studied with a critical approach to Cultural Studies, with the aim of revealing the strength of the discourse-power-knowledge relation behind the car-shaped altar. A number of these statements can be formulated into research questions, namely: (1) How is the identity contestation of Paluang Temple with its *pelelinggih* car, among a number of temples in Nusa Penida? (2) How do people from the mileneal era consume the sign of a car *pelelinggih* in Palung Nusa Penida Temple?

## III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### 1. Understanding *Pelelinggih* 'Altar' Shaped Car

The phrase consists of the word *pelelinggih* and car. First, the word *pelelinggih* according to Zoetmulder [48] in the Old Javanese-Indonesian Dictionary, comes from the word *linggih* which means sitting, residence, residence, position, rank, occupation. The word *linggih* gets the prefix *pa* to be *palinggih* interpreted a seat. The word *palinggih* in Bali is called *pelelinggih* which also means seat or *stana* related to the context of the shrine of worship. *Pelelinggih* architecturally is a designation of the sacred shrine (*altar*) of Hindu Balinese.

The existence and guidance of building *pelelinggih* can be seen in several palm leaves such as: *Asta Kosala Kosali* [12] [13] *lontar Dewa Tattwa, Kusuma Dewa, Ithi Prakerti* [13] [39]. The books of Traditional Balinese Architecture that allude to the existence of *pelelinggih*, such as the Book of Traditional Balinese Architecture [12] [18], Hindu Sacred Building Architecture Based on Asta Kosala-Kosali [12] [13] and others.

The types and forms vary, so does the function and naming. Placement, direction of face, and type of ceremony offered also vary. Material and color are also designed to adjust gerographic conditions or the potential for localization. Likewise, the size, transition of 'forming parts', and ornamentation or decoration that may be applied differ according to the hierarchy of functions. There are *pelelinggih* in the form of a monument, *gedong*, *meru*, *prasada*, *padma*, temple, and *bale*. There are permanent ones made of wood, stone, sandstone, concrete, and some

are semi-permanent or temporary, usually made of boards, plywood, bamboo and so on.

Second, the word car is a land vehicle that is driven by engine power, wheeled four or more, usually using fuel oil (gasoline or diesel) to start the engine [10] [11]. The car is one of the tools that help humans in moving places (means of transportation). The existence of a car, has made life easier and more practical in moving places, compared to walking which takes more time and energy. The types of cars available vary greatly, starting from the shape or model, the facilities are comfortable, efficient, and practical use. Increasingly the era of more and more cars offered by manufacturers to manufacturers by adjusting the needs of each consumer.

So the phrase car *pelelinggih* in this paper, is intended as a work of architecture *parhyangan* 'holy place' in the form of sacred buildings worshipping Balinese Hindus shaped like a car 'vehicle' or land transportation, with smaller sizes and materials that are different from the actual car. In the context of the location of this research in Paluang Temple, Karang Dawa, Nusa Penida, the shape resembles a VW Beetle (frog) and Jeep Jimny (Suzuki).

## 2. *Architecture as a Struggle for Identity*

Balinese Hindu society has become a postmodern society, but traditional things are still thick coloring of daily life and cultural practices. The long journey of Balinese cultural practices can still be traced to the traces of its identity, one of which is artifacts in the form of architectural works.

According to Giddens's view of self-identity is built by the ability to perpetuate narratives about themselves, thus building a continuous feeling about the existence of biographical continuity [3][4]. Identity struggle is an interesting thing to be studied with the approach of cultural studies. According to Barker, the essence of cultural studies can be understood as the study of culture as practices of the meaning of representation [3][7].

The struggle for identity in the cultural practices in this study was taken from the architecture of the car *pelelinggih* in Paluang Temple, Bunga Mekar, Nusa Penida, Klungkung. Two socio-architectural phenomena in the range of Dalem Klungkung's power era to the era of digital media's power can now be revealed, namely the architecture of Paluang Temple as identity testing, and identity consumption.

## 3. *Identity Contestation*

Nusa Penida Island offers a number of interesting *tirtayatra* places to visit. Jro Mangku Made Buda noted that there were 16 large temples scattered in Nusa Gede or Nusa Penida Island, there were also 13 temples on Nusa Ceningan Island, and seven temples on Nusa Lembongan [5] [12]. A number of heavenly celestial temples on Nusa Penida Island are added to a number of temples which are categorized as territorial temples (*Kahyangan Tiga*), genealogy temples (ancestry), *swagina* temples (professions), *beji* temples (springs), and special temples outside the categorical (for example related to the historical place), one of them is Paluang Temple.

Paluang Temple was originally only a small temple with two *pelelinggih* cars that stand in one mandala only (Figure 1, 2 and 3). This temple does not include the temple counted in the heavenly celestial temple in Nusa Penida. Status only pretends to be family. Only after many people visited (local people of Nusa, mainland Bali, and people outside Bali), with various worship purposes, such as related to the process of asking for healing from an illness, asking for "*taksu balian*" or charisma as an alternative healer, the success of trading business, the success of

achieving political office, begging for descent, and others who have succeeded a lot. The potential of this temple is increasingly visible and rising in the temple scene to be reckoned with in Nusa Penida. The village took the initiative to make arrangements with the expansion of the temple yard, and the addition of a number of *pelinggih*. Furthermore, it is managed by a separate temple administrator under Karang Dawa, Bunga Mekar Village. Its status becomes *Pura Kahyangan Desa* and is promoted by around 80 families [19] [20].



Fig 1. The atmosphere of the Pelinggih Mobil Area in Paluang Temple, Nusa Penida, Klungkung Regency

Among the many large temples in Nusa Penida which are widely known to the outside of Nusa Penida Island, only a few, such as the Penataran Dalem Ped Temple, Gua Giri Putri Temple, Puncak Mundi Temple, Keremeng Temple, and Batu Medawu Temple. The presence of Paluang Temple with the uniqueness of the two car *pelinggih*, around the last decade, has participated in the growing enthusiasm for the spirit of prayer to Nusa Penida. The existence of Paluang Temple with its unique car *pelinggih* form and spirit potential, in the next era became a unique spiritual destination.

The contestation of the Paluang Temple with the departure of its cars among a number of temples in Nusa Penida is inseparable from the cultural discourse articulated by organic intellectuals in the internal of Nusa Penida. Cultural discourse concerning the unique identity carried by the two car *pelinggih* in Paluang Temple has formed a new episteme that influences the reasoning and experience that leads to a new truth regime.

Discourse is always rooted in power and power controlled by discourse. Discourse is a social practice that will always form power relations [14] [17]. The knowledge behind discourse has moved people to be obedient and disciplined in the power of discourse.

The strong relation of the power of knowledge in the myth was developed by organic intellectuals, namely religious leaders (stakeholders) along with traditional leaders and the Karang Dawa hamlet office. The knowledge behind the myth is captured and developed as power through the media of sacred buildings in the form of cars. Then the disciplinary power relations worked to discipline the body of the Dusun Karang Dawa community to be obedient and obedient in the practice of worship in both the sacred buildings and other sacred buildings in the Paluang

Temple. The power of discipline has even extended disciplining the body of the community outside the Karang Dawa hamlet. Discipline of the body is not only a form of fulfilling desires and expectations, the glue of social relations, but has become an ideology.

Thompson [42]. revealed, the function of ideology as the glue of social relations that bind members of society together by applying values and norms agreed upon collectively. The power and relation of dominance is reflected by the power of words and discourse. The social-ideological meaning is also constructed in discourse, so that solidarity and even solidity are maintained, and the unity of steps is also maintained thanks to ideology.

On the other hand, Danesi explained that buildings can be "read" as narrative texts with specific meanings [9][23]. Thus, architecturally, the design of a car *pelinggih* is influenced by certain car manufacturers' brands (VW and Suzuki). Car design (a mass industrial product of the Industrial Revolution era 2.0), was transformed into a religious symbol or religious sign. The design is out of the grip of traditional Balinese architecture. The traditional architecture standard stipulates certain provisions in constructing worship shrines (forms, materials and development ethics) which are categorized with high taste standards, noble values and high cultural characteristics. Thus, *pelinggih* car that is outside the values and norms of the tradition, including the category of popular culture.

This is in line with Piliang's thinking that understanding religion in popular culture develops simultaneously with industrialization, mass production, and mass media. The practice of religion is displayed, carried out, understood, and carried out as an inseparable part of the process of industrialization, mass production and mass media. Religion (religious symbols) is presented and carried out as a fulfillment of mass desires [17] [34].

It is precisely because of this pop label that Paluang Temple with its two *pelinggih* cars is able to stand side by side in the contestation of identity as a "must" visit when making a spiritual trip to Nusa Penida. This will be further explored in the review of the consumption of religious signs/symbols by the consumer society in this postmodern era.



Fig 2. Pelinggih Ida Bhatara Ratu Gede Ngurah and Ida Hyang Mami in Paluang Temple, After being restored on May 4, 2002



Fig 3. Pelinggih Ida Hyang Mami in Paluang Temple, After being restored in 2013

#### 4. Identity Consumption of Pelinggih Car-Shaped

On under the glory of the advanced capitalist era, fashion of production has now been replaced by mode of consumption. The more so in the era of the Industrial Revolution 4.0 by bringing forward the advancement of internet technology as a media of acceleration, then information and communication are increasingly open and transparent. The capability of the information transparency system has created a virtual copy of the realist physical world that is very rich in content to be consumed and even tended to hyperreality.

Consumption in understanding capitalism, then makes all aspects of life no more as objects, namely objects of consumption in the form of commodities, including sacred buildings (car *peelinggih*) in Paluang Temple. It is through these objects or commodities that a person in consumer society discovers their meaning and existence. The ritual procession in the *peelinggih* car and its architectural form, then became a place for selfies for visiting tourists, as well as the Hindu community after making offerings to be uploaded on social media. This can be understood as the consumption of religious signs and symbols in Bertens's thinking.

The above phenomenon in Piliang language [17] [34] is called ritual hyperreality. Hierreality rituals reduce rituals to surface phenomena, appearances, and signs, and to alienate everyone from their deep meaning, in essence, to their spiritual values. Rituals are reduced to symbols that are used as an expression, satisfaction and piety identity. Appearance of self who have visited or prayed to car temple on social media, is considered sufficient to present the meaning and values of the ritual.

Baudrillard argues, when consuming objects, then actually consuming signs, and at that time was defining himself [33] [36]. Thus the main function of the objects of consumption is not the function or benefits, but rather the function as the value of signs or symbols disseminated through lifestyle advertisements of various media. *Pelinggih*



or sacred building (worship altar) whose manifest function is as a building that is purified to emphasize aspects of God's manifestation and become a means of worshipping Balinese ethnic Hindus, or which was originally presented as religious symbols and symbols to emphasize the great manifestations of God, also consumed by consumptive peoples as a sign and symbol of self existence. Lifestyle "I am stylish then I" exist "said Chaney [6]. This is a recent phenomenon of the existence of a holy place in the age of *Kali*.

Baudrillard's thinking in the Consumer Society [4], further developed his idea of the position of consumption in consumer society. According to him, consumption has now become a fundamental factor in the ecology of the human species. The mechanism of the consumption system basically departs from a system of values and symbols, and not because of need or desire for pleasure. With this statement Baudrillard did not intend to deny the importance of needs. He only wants to say that in a consumer society, consumption as a system of meaning is no longer governed by the factor of need or desire to get pleasure, but by a set of desires for honor, prestige, status and identity through a marking mechanism [28] [29].

Consumer society that is developing at this time is a society that runs the social logic of consumption, that is, the use and service is not the last motive for consumption, but rather the production and manipulation of social markers. Individuals also receive their identity in relation to others not from who and what they do, but from the signs and meanings that they consume, possess and display in social interactions. The consumer community establishes that the sign is the most convincing reflection of individual self-actualization.

Baudrillard offers the principles of values and symbols as a framework for reading reality today that is enforced by consumption and reproduction. For example, a Jaguar car, is considered not because of its benefits as a means of transportation or an expensive price, but because it becomes a symbol of lifestyle, prestige (symbolic-value), luxury and the owner's social status (sign-value).

Pelinggih in the form of a semiotic car is a religious sign or symbol which certainly has a sign value and symbol value. This religious sign was built from a myth that was preached by traditional intellectual actors in Karang Dawa Village, Nusa Penida. Foucault stated that discourse is a way of constructing social knowledge and practices. For Foucault discourse has the power to construct knowledge and power. Discourse is a social practice that will always shape power relations [17] [34].

In the era of the Industrial Revolution 4.0 which carried the internet and digitalisation, the process of globalization of media information accelerated and expanded the consumption of sign and symbol values, not only limited to the environment of Nusa Penida, but has expanded to all parts of the world. This cannot be separated from the role of capitalist actors who capture the knowledge behind the existence of the two sacred buildings in the shape of the car, to be discourse into power in the commercial realm.

The proliferation of commodity culture, imaging culture and lifestyle in the consumer society or postmodern society, has led to the purpose of worship in Paluang Temple into the universe of religious commodities. Various forms of image and lifestyle packaging, such as: tirtayatra packages, vacation packages, travel packages, are now part of the ritual of tourism. The spiritual journey has been led into the trap of mass culture (popular culture), according to which Piliang & Jaelani [34] various forms of artificiality, language-free play, and imagery are



developed, as a way of creating collective imagination and manipulation of the minds of the masses.

Pelinggih car with the status of Kahyangan Desa, is packaged as a commodity in the tirtayatra package 'spiritual journey' in the Nusa Penida island region. The shape of the car altar becomes a unique and attractive commodity to be produced as a package of spiritual tourism destinations. Capitalist actors make use of manual and digital advertising media to distribute information, and gain consumers to make religious visits or just travel to the car temple.

The high level of consumption of Balinese and outside Balinese people who pray or just visit this temple, has increased the level of welfare of not only the capitalist actors, but also the family of the temple owner, the temple caretaker organization, and the community of Bunga Mekar village as a whole. The renovation in 2013 and the addition of 11 traditional Balinese pelinggih in the Balinese "main mandala" viscera area, the arrangement of the pages into tri mandalas, namely the main, intermediate and insulting mandala or innards, middle jaba, and side jaba, is such an empirical fact consumption of these religious symbols.

That context may also be inseparable from the spirit of lifestyle of the current postmodern era, which everyone wants to watch and watch. The Industrial Revolution Era 4.0 strongly supports this with the sophistication of smartphone video cameras and the strength of the increasingly broad range of mobile phone internet network connections. This is in accordance with the view of Chaney [6], that lifestyle is a reflexive project and the use of consumer facilities is very creative. The end result is the consumption of religious signs and symbols, especially car pelinggih in Paluang Temple, which is increasingly intensive and massive to fulfill the desire to gain honor, prestige, status, and identity through a marking mechanism.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

Car-Shaped Shrine in Paluang Temple, Karang Dawa Hamlet, Bunga Mekar Village, Nusa Penida is a Hindu religious symbol to strive the manifestation of God with the title Ida Bhatara Ratu Gede Ngurah and Hyang Mami (term in local theology terminology) or Shiva Durga in Hindu theology terminology.

The uniqueness of this *pelinggih* architectural design of the car that is "free" from the mainland Balinese tradition, becomes an architectural existence that is different from a number of large temples in Nusa Penida. This then becomes a calculated potential in identity contestation with a number of large Kahyangan Jagat temples in Nusa Penida, in addition to the various success gifts of life that have been felt by the people who believe in them.

Furthermore, in the millennial era, information globalization was exploited by capitalist actors who captured the knowledge behind the existence of these two car-shaped holy buildings to be discouraged into power in the commercial sphere. The power of this discourse-knowledge-truth thrives in the spirit of the lifestyle of the religious practices of the people of Nusa Penida or the people of Bali in general and also tourists. This then triggers the consumption of religious signs/symbols, to fulfill the desire for honor, prestige, status, and identity through a marking mechanism.

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