

Journal of Social and Political Sciences

Anadhi, I Made Gede, Suarka, I Nyoman, Sukiada, I Nyoman, and Dwijendra, Ngakan Ketut Acwin. (2020), Dalem Ped Temple as Knowledge Source of *Rajah Panyengker* Practitioners in Bali, Indonesia. In: *Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, Vol.3, No.1, 186-195.

ISSN 2615-3718

DOI: 10.31014/aior.1991.03.01.158

The online version of this article can be found at: https://www.asianinstituteofresearch.org/

Published by:

The Asian Institute of Research

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The Asian Institute of Research Journal of Social and Political Sciences Vol.3, No.1, 2020: 186-195 ISSN 2615-3718

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Dalem Ped Temple as Knowledge Source of *Rajah Panyengker* Practitioners in Bali, Indonesia

I Made Gede Anadhi¹, I Nyoman Suarka², I Nyoman Sukiada³, Ngakan Ketut Acwin Dwijendra⁴

^{1,2,3} Faculty of Cultural Studies, Udayana University, Bali, Indonesia ⁴ Faculty of Engineering, Udayana University, Bali, Indonesia

Correspondence: I Made Gede Anadhi and Ngakan Ketut Acwin Dwijendra, Udayana University, Bali, Indonesia, E-mail: acwindwijendra71@gmail; acwin@unud.ac.id; anadhi jay@yahoo.com

Abstract

This article is an implementation of Foucault's theory of knowledge-power relations which is used as a basis for thinking about discussing Dalem Ped Temple as a source of knowledge of practitioners of *panyengker* in Bali today. By asking a question how practitioner *rajah panyengker* thinks about or interpret Dalem Ped Temple. *Rajah panyengker* is a means to get protection from the black magic that is provided by traditional healers on the basis of the level of knowledge about reverence. One of the elements that make up this knowledge is the epistémé or structure of their interpretation of Dalem Ped Temple, which is interpreted by traditional Balinese healers as a source of mystical power in Bali. The results showed that there was a tendency for traditional Balinese healers whether he as *balian*, stakeholder, *sulinggih* who wanted to improve his career as a practitioner of *rajah panyenger*, had to come to this temple, then build a hermitage, his representation in each home where the patients had to pray to the *Bhatara* in Dalem Ped Temple before getting services from the *rajah panyengker* practitioners.

Keywords: Knowledge, Source, Rajah Penyengker, Practitioners

1. Introduction

Talking about the formation of practitioners' knowledge about the panyengker's tattoo, inevitably, we must also look at its genealogy. But not to seek authenticity, starting from when the Balinese use panyengeker rajah as a media to avoid all forms of magical threats to get prosperity. Because as said by Foucault to look for authenticity or truth like that is no longer possible to do, because like the 'body' he was crushed oppressed by the systems that play behind him (Rusbiantoro, 2001: 15).

Hooykas (1980: 11) did say that Bali had known the art of writing thousands of years ago. When referring to archaeological findings in 882 AD (804 çaka), the Sukawana inscription appears written in Old Javanese. On the contents of the inscription can be seen the existence of a similar situation between Bali and Java in 882 AD. In this inscription, as explained by Goris, the king ordered the monks to build a hermitage in Cintâmani (R. Goris,

1948: 16). But it is uncertain whether Balinese have used *rarajahan* as a medium of healing and protection from black magic.

On the basis of the authenticity of the truth of historical objects, it is not necessary to look for origins when the Balinese first used *rarajahan* as an antidote to magical power attacks. More important than that is the search for interrelated knowledge and power in *rajah panyengker* in the present, so as to be able to analyze trajectories of plural, heterogeneous and open events, and how the formation of patterns of knowledge-power relations in rajah panyengker, without being trapped in truth claims (developed from Dean's thinking, 1994: 35-36, in Ritzer, 2015: 575).

2. Literature Review

Even though it is not burdened by the desire to search for truth claims, but there are other things that need to be revealed through this study which is to look for something hidden in the knowledge-power relations in *rajah* panyengker that must be found in texts that have been eroded, scratched and reproduced many times (Rabinow, 2002: 270) as seen in the picture of *rarajahan* written by Hooykaas (1980a).

In it there is the fact, that the face of contemporary images is the result of adjusting to Western interests or tastes, so that traditional Balinese portrayal models must yield. The Balinese usually write *rarajahan* on the surface of palm leaves measuring between 350-400 mm and 300-345 mm. Most are drawn horizontally as long as 200-400 mm, but there are also some vertical ones. Horizontal wide picture is very difficult to be reproduced in Westernstyle books printed on vertical paper. Even though forced to be disposed, but here and there are forced to have reductions (Hooykaas, 1980). Therefore, there are now a variety of improvisions in painting vertical areas (*see Figure 1*).

On that basis the metahistoris of the ideal truth and the texts are not limited to the *rajah penyengker* need not be discussed or disseminated through this study. Although it does not focus on the search for the origin of the ursprung model, the search for the origins of *rajah penyengker* through the entstehung and herkunft genealogies still needs to be used.

The most important reason for ignoring ursprung genealogy is in the *rajah panyengker*, which is because he has many weaknesses. One of the forms of weakness is because he is looking for the right essence in *rajah panyengker*. Ursprung also wants to find the purest possibility and at the same time be able to find out the identity that has been carefully covered for thousands of years regarding *rajah panyengker*. If the search is forced it means it must be able to move all the veils to cover the identity of the real panyengker tattoo As Foucault said, such an effort to search for identity is impossible because it is the same thing as asking when God must bear the origin of evil origin (Rabinow, 2002: 272-274).

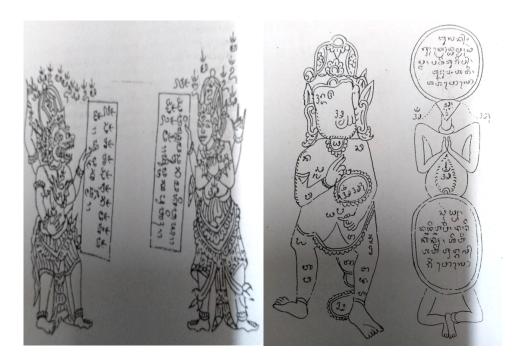


Figure 1. *Rajah Penyengker* - in Painting Vertical Areas Source: C. Hooykas, 1980: pp. 16-22

If the search for the identity of the *rajah panyengker* to get the original imposed, then the result is no more than an expansion of metaphysics that arises from the belief that the discovery is actually the most essential and right when the *rajah panyengker* is used for the first time in Bali. However, as said by Foucault, people who like to search for the origin of this model, think that they have found the most incredible moment in the history of the use of *rajah panyengker* in Bali, even though as Foucault said that the origins always precede the history of human birth and are always related with the gods, and the story is always sung as the theogoni, the song of the god (Foucault, 1971: 79).

On that basis, it needs to be reiterated that the history of the birth of *rajah panyengker* does not need to be touched on, because there is more important than that to pay attention to Entstehung and Herkunft from the *rajah panyengker*. The model Genealogy has no desire to bring back the *rajah panyengker* to a period of time in the past, for example in the *Warmadewa* dynasty. The Genealogy of the model is also not intended to fill in a relentless continuity that operates on the spread of negligent depictions of the colony as described by Hooykaas above. Therefore there is no point in asking when the Balinese people start to recognize or use a long-distance tattoo and continue to the present. This means that the description in this section is not intended to prove that the practice of *rajah panyengker* in the past actively still exists in the present. Nor is it to prove that the practice of using the panyengker tattoo of the past continues to revive the present. Nor is it to describe the form of *rajah panyengker* that can be proven in all its changes (developed from Foucault's thoughts as revealed in Paul Robinow, 2002: 279).

There is also no need to follow the complex path of derivation or the existence of the *rajah panyengker* of the past in the present, which also means that it does not maintain the continuation of past events in the appropriate distribution. Means it is not necessary also to identify a disaster, time lapses. There is also no need to reverse a wrong assessment, and a failed calculation, which is left on the *rajah panyengker* which is constantly allowed to emerge in a healing practice and search for timber that exists and is of value to the Balinese people. Also do not need to find the truth or lies that have existed in the *rajah panyengker* in the past (developed from Foucault's thoughts as revealed in Paul Robinow, 2002: 279-280).

3. Research Method

Even if we have to go to the past, an important thing to do is to match the documents of the *rajah panyengker* today with those that can be found in the past. The rest, what will be done is to rearrange a diverse system of how people today think and interpret the panyengker, not the power of meaning that is anticipatory, but a game full of domination. At this point, knowledge-power relations in *rajah panyengker* will turn to the surface, meaning whether in the relationship visible knowledge hidden in *rajah panyengker* are used as power in the sense of tactics, strategies, techniques and maneuvers to dominate others to be obedient and useful to the truth articulated in it.

The analysis must be able to describe the interaction of knowledge-power relations in the *rajah panyengker*, look for patterns of struggle in which the forces in it conflict with one another or are not in accordance with the environment. Until then all these forces to oppose themselves. This analysis must also be able to understand enough strengths in the articulation of the *rajah panyengker* in the way practitioners and *rajah panyengker* practitioners at this time to turn against themselves, make him ashamed in history and his own body, and give spirit of spirituality to himself towards awareness of the pure Siwa Sidhantha Religion (Rabinow, 2002: 284).

At the last mentioned point there is an opportunity to uncover hidden forces in the *rajah panyengker* as thought and interpreted by practitioners and diligents who are able to make him 'laugh' at themselves, so that without being forced to reveal the *rajah panyengker* themselves the relations are hidden in it. It will also be clear how relations of knowledge of power form themselves in the *rajah panyengker* (developed from Foucault's thought in Rabinow, 2002: 24).

4. Results and Discussion

Meaning Structure of Batara

Not all practitioners' knowledge is driven by the values and norms held by the Balinese, that mastery of Balinese script is a basic requirement to be able to provide services in the procurement of *rajah panyengker*, but there are still many who compromise with the discourse developed by people who have the power to speak on behalf of the science of reverence *balinese* that there is something higher than letters and language that is the power of the spirits, batara, according to their respective levels of reasoning and experience of these spirits (developed from Foucault's thought as revealed in C. Behan Mc Cullagh 2004: 95).

Knowledge obtained that way can be called togetherness. Lots of knowledge found in Bali, which was taken for granted without having been prepared before. Actually it happens to people who previously did not think or aspire to become traditional healers, do not know age, can be at a young age and even old, even six decades.

The esoteric experience takes various forms, but it can always be related to events in the area of a temple. Suddenly someone is confronted by a small black and white striped snake just in front of the door to enter the temple. Realizing that the snake was found still in the area, the snake was taken to be placed in another part, still in the environment of the temple. Then another esoteric experience takes place, for example suddenly disturbances, trance. After a while being appointed as my uncle of the temple (Interview with Jro Mangku Nyoman Rendi, 7 June 2019).

The Balinese interpret *pamangku* also as a healer (*balian*), because there began to be people who came to him for treatment. There are all kinds of necessities which are due to veins, sprains and some are headaches. In accordance with the type of illness the patient is facing, he will also be known as massage sequence. More than that, nothing can be done. Cannot give medicine or *rajah panyengker*. If there are patients who beg for things like that they will immediately ask for the temple, the place where my uncle is serving, being a servant of the

people. In such conditions, the position is no longer a sequence, but *pamangku*. Because the *panyengker* is given only in the form of holy water and discourses (Interview with Jro Mangku Nyoman Rendi, 7 June 2019).

Regarding the level of experience and reasoning, the *balian* trust their esoteric experience with *batara* more than with a *rajah panyengker* in the form of literary drawings on the means of protection for their patients. They believe that if they have requested permission from their spirits or *batara* lords, by only scratching a line on the floor or ground, then a *panyengker* has been created, which serves to protect their patients from disturbances at once and noisily. So it is similar to the story in *Ramayana* when *Laksmana* drew a *panyengker* line to protect her sister-in-law *Dewi Sita* on a scale and noetic basis. There is no need for special exercises to master this knowledge, because people who have the gift of a certain deity whose power is higher than other deities will be able to do that, so as soon as he scratches his hand, the stroke has turned into a *rajah panyengker* (Interview with Jero Mangku Baruna, 2 June 2019).

There are also *balian* that give *rajah panyengker* without following the standard, because they do not have the ability or can not write *Balinese* characters as they should. But if there are patients who ask for the sake of adding a sense of security in living his life, then *balian* will give *rajah panyengker* which he called as *bekel* (talisman). Made of cloth with *Rajah Dasa Bayu* who then was asked by the *Pasupati* to his lord *batara*. But they do not know whether the thing is functioning, because previously they had no experience of the workings of the characters in the *rajah panyengker*. But patients themselves later find it useful when they come again for treatment (interview with Jro Mangku Dalem Peninjoan, 3 June 2019).

The efficacy of this model's *bekel* is not in its script, because the script could have been an imitation that could easily be taken from the *dasa bayu* script used by the *sulinggih* at the traditional Balinese building construction ceremony. By reasoning remembering the name of the *dasa bayu* script, which means the ten forces of nature, then the logic of thinking is that the script can certainly be used for other purposes, namely to protect patients from interference with magical powers. The series of *dasa bayu* scripts is then invented, written on a white cloth and wrapped in black cloth and the *Pasupati* grace is given to the *Batara* lord to have strength. Further, it is given to patients who ask for protection from wherever they come from (Interview with Jro Mangku Dalem Peninjoan, 3 June 2019).

Once a protector (bekel) shows its function, the patient will be more obedient and useful to the truth contained in practitioners' knowledge. The knowledge was then used as a power in the sense of tactics, techniques, strategies, and maneuvers to make patients compliant and useful to the science of reverence by means of discourse, which one should not only depend on Rajah Panyengker but must continue to ask them always sincerely beg for God's protection through the intermediaries of Batara Hyang Guru in Sanggah Kemulan and in the Kayangan Tiga temple (Puseh, Desa and Dalem) in their respective places of origin (Interview with Jro Mangku Dalem Peninjoan, 3 June 2019).

The thought or the meaning of rajah panyengker as mentioned above further confirms that humans are always compromising with people who have the power to speak in this case is a balian who dares to state that over the strength of bekel or panyengker, there is a high power namely Batara Hyang Guru in Sanggah Kemulan and batara residing in Kayangan Tiga temple. But not all balian agree with these articulations. Armed with reasoning, experience, and the structure of the meaning of black magic (leak). They dare to mention that the highest science of leak called Pudak Sategal, is said to be able to penetrate the strongholds of all temples, so there is no point in taking refuge in the temple. However, before carrying out the action the leak pudak sategal authorities should still have the blessing of the Dalem temple authorities, namely Dewi Dhurga (Interview with Jro Mangku Dalem Penenjoan, 3 June 2019).

The above phenomenon shows that the level of connaissance knowledge in the sense of return is influenced by the reasoning power, esoteric experience, and the structure of their respective meanings of the universe. Therefore, in some cases until there is said *Batara Baruna* (ruler of the sea) is everything, more than the power

of God. They believe it because by whatever means used to treat patients of origin has been blessed by *Batara Baruna*, patients will get benefits and everything they want will be realized (Interview with Jro Mangku Baruna, 3 June 2019).

Getting a gift from *Batara Baruna* becomes a very specific thing, it is not a common thing in balian. In general *balian* relies on his belief in the *batara* in the *Dalem* temple which places the goddess *Dhurga* as the highest and the *batara* who rests on the sacred statues they have. In addition, no less important are ancestral weapons (heirlooms) which are believed to still be magical because they are always nourished spiritually by making offerings in the form of offerings on certain days (Interview with Ida Rsi Agung Bang Pinatih, 17 March 2019).

In providing therapy, practitioners of typology *balian* usually ask for help from the lord *batara*. Not long after they will trance, *kerauhan*, possessed by the lord's *batara* spirit. Once giving a touch, the patient will scream hysterically and some even faint. When dealing with a paralyzed patient, by only patting his body, the patient is cured and protected from mystical diseases (Interview with Ida Rsi Agung Bang Pinatih, 17 March 2019).

Connaissace knowledge hidden in such healing practices does not recognize territoriality, so that it easily and very quickly spreads across time and space, until it is captured by patients across districts. They generally complain of an incurable illness, commonly called *babai*. Without being realized by the patient's introductory family, in themselves they have formed a discourse (language in action), that only by treating the balian who treats his patients while complaining, then patients who suffer from even the most ignorant diseases such as *babai* can be cured and at the same time get protection (*panyengker*) from all the destructive actions or *ugig* (Interview with Ida Rsi Agung Bang Pinatih, March 17, 2019).

By being touched while being heeded by the healer, the patient affected by the *babai* disease will name the people who ordered him to hurt the patient and anyone involved in the process makes him sick. Then proceed with the process of expelling evil spirits from the patient's body. Very often healing with this method results in a quarrel in the patient's household, because they are upset and angry with those who are declared involved in the procurement of the family's illness. However, the mention of the names was not accompanied by physical evidence, so that here and there appeared denial and continued resistance to the authorities. They accused the healers of slander, so that the authorities intervened to conduct an investigation (Interview with Ida Rsi Agung Bang Pinatih, 17 March 2019).

But not all *balian* use a similar method when dealing with *babai* disease. Once touched, the patient has been screaming, but there are balian who do not want to pursue further the source of the disease suffered by the patient so as not to be opposed by the source of the disease. Thus while treating his patients he was still conscious. It can still separate itself from the lord *batara*, so that it is able to deal with the patient more subtly, for example by saying, "*nah jani megedi cai, suwud nyakitang anak nenenan*" (now you go away from this person's body, stop hurting him). After that the patient is conscious then again continued with the massage (Interview with Jro Mangku Nyoman Rendi, dated June 7, 2019).

The esoteric experience initially only formed connaissance knowledge in the self of a *balian kapican* like this. Even though I have never studied formal massage techniques, but because of constantly undergoing balanced practice, the connaissance knowledge finally turns into savoir, which is able to explain scientifically the anatomy of the body, many ailments basically originate from veins, whatever is blocked must cause pain in the body especially that is blocked is blood circulation (Interview with Jro Mangku Nyoman Rendi, dated June 7, 2019).

On the other hand, there are also things like that that are not satisfied with their abilities. They do not want to treat by way of monkeyism (trance). This method can be very dangerous for himself and others. On that basis, unnoticed by frequent changes to the epistémé, the structure of its interpretation of the *batara* residing in *Dalem* Temple, the place where he became the executor of the ceremony and then sought the blessing of the *batara* whose position, strength, supernatural power was higher than the previous lord *Batara*, *Dalem Ped* Temple in

Nusa Penida. Changes in epistème which they did not realize gave birth to a discourse (language in action), that only by getting closer, asking for grace on the batara in *Dalem Ped temple* would be obtained by supernatural powers that were more adequate in healing and providing protection to patients (Interview with Ida Rsi Agung Bang Pinatih, March 17, 2019).

Compromising with Dalem Ped Temple

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Compromising with the batara in the Dalem Ped temple and other symbolic elements, is part of the formation of the Balinese epistème regarding the *rajah panyengker*. Requests for grace at *Dalem Ped* temple should not be done remotely, but must prostrate before the altar of worship by offering offerings first. Armed with reasoning, the request must also not deviate far from the goal, namely so that there is no longer a concern when he is healing and providing protection to patients, because the ways of complaints have proven to cause problems in the patient environment that continues to legal issues. If the request is granted it means that the healer is no longer complaining when treating his patients (interview with Ida Rsi Agung Bang Pinatih, 17 March 2019).

The change in epistémé marked the change in the structure of Balinese traditional healers for the supernatural world, that there was something higher than the real experience, namely the difference in consciousness between *Buana Alit* (human being) and *Buana Agung* (the universe), that a healer should not only be only a healer utilize the blessings of *batara* when providing services, but must also use literature, which serves to awaken the gods from within the human body (*Bhuana Alit*) to harmonize with the gods in the universe (*Bhuana Agung*), which will create abilities in heal and provide protection to patients become sharper (Interview with Ida Rsi Agung Bang Pinatih, 17 March 2019).

In Bourdieu's language, this phenomenon shows the ongoing process of maturation of habitus or internalization which then thickens the cultural capital of *Balian* practitioners. Efforts to strengthen the capital are done outside of consciousness, which contains efforts to always distinguish themselves from what is done by balian in general. Unwittingly, this effort is also one of the strategies, tactics, and maneuvering techniques used by traditional healers to maintain dominance and on the other hand as a means to accumulate the types of symbolic capital they have (Developed from Foucault's thought in Haryatmoko 2017: 45).

This phenomenon also shows that the dominance strategy varies depending on the type of arena. In the arena of social struggle of the *Balian*, the strategy of domination is always related to the effort to draw closer to a source of power that is more powerful than previously possessed, which in this case is the batara in the *Dalem Ped* temple. This step in Foucault's language is called epistémé, because it cannot be separated from how the structure of the meaning of the sacred *balian* in general to the temple.

The name *Dalem Ped* temple takes its own village name, namely *Ped* Village, which belongs to the *Sampalan* region, Nusa Penida, Klungkung Regency, whose name is very well known throughout Bali, which is therefore included in the typology of the *Kahyangan Jagat* Temple. This temple is also referred to as the *Dalem* temple, but not in the Hindu Majapahit conception of the temple which is located in the cemetery as a form or place of worship of Shiva's worship, but refers to *Dalem*, the ruler in Nusa Penida, namely *Ratu Gede Nusa* or also called *Ratu Gede Macaling*. There are so many mythic and mystical stories about the existence of this temple, including the three magic tapels which are believed to be able to cure various diseases, both suffered by humans and plants (the results of the author's field research, January 17, 2018).







Firgure 2. *Dalem Ped* Temple in Nusa Penida Source: Documentation, 2018

There are four locations of this temple which is united in the area of Penataran Agung Ped Temple. Segara Temple, as the place where Batara is based, is located at the northernmost point close to the shoreline of the Nusa Straits sea. A few meters to the south is the Taman temple with a pond around the worship altar in it. This temple functions as a purification place. Heading west is the location of Ratu Gede Macaling's temple as a symbol of the ruler of Nusa Penida. Penataran Ratu Mas Temple is located on the east side complete with the Central Jaba area with Bale Agung building. The Bale Agung building is an altar of worshiping batara statues from all major temples and statues from twenty-three traditional villages on the island of Nusa Penida, at the grand ceremony of Ngusaba (the results of the author's field research, January 17, 2018).

When it comes to this temple, traditional Balinese healers do not question the origin of this temple in detail, they only come to worship to get a gift in accordance with their respective needs. One thing that is more benevolent they do is get closer to all the *batara* in *Dalem Ped* temple by coming directly to make prayers on *piodalan* day (celebrations every 210 days) or on certain holy days and in each place of residence erecting altars worship as his representation and ask all patients to worship and beg for his help.

In Bourdieu it belongs to the stage of strengthening dominance. Domination is not only determined by the ownership of capital, but also habitus and capital placement strategies. Domination through discourse, which is part of the ruler's strategy, turns out to be covering symbolic violence. Therefore objective structures (structures embodied in social space) that cannot be separated from the analysis of the origin of mental structures within biological individuals, which are partly a product of the union of social structures and analysis of origins social structures themselves.

In the case of the healers, their visit to *Dalem Ped* Temple which aims to request an increase in strength and supernatural power ultimately unravels the mechanisms and strategies of domination that they carry out on their patients. The existence of domination is no longer solely from external consequences, that they have come to the *Dalem Ped* temple, but it can also be seen also the consequences that are binded, that patients who request healing assistance to themselves must make prayers to the *Dalem Ped* temple from a distance through palinggih, a worship altar that has been built in each practitioner's home (developed from Haryatmoko's thoughts about Bourdieu, 2017).

All *balian* in Bali know the existence of the *Dalem Ped* temple, but not all also compromise with it. It all depends on the level of awareness of each. There are *balian* who are very satisfied because they have received the *batara* award as a massage balian. He treats the gift well through the realization that he is just an ordinary person, who has never learned anything about illness and healing, but only touches the diseased part of his patient, instantly he knows the wrong paths in his muscles, for example his muscles seemed to cross, he was sure that was the cause of his illness, then he would return the position of the muscles back to be straight and parallel (Interview with Jro Mangku Nyoman Rendi, 7 June 2019).

So compromising whether or not a *balian* with *Dalem Ped* temple is very dependent on reasoning, esoteric experience, and the structure of their meaning of the universe in Bali. Because it can be understood there are *balian* who dare to disclaim the temple of *Dalem Ped* is nothing compared to the *god Baruna* and vice versa. Or in the case of '*Balian* Now' the most powerful is *Basudewa Krisna* and *Dewa Indra*, but must get the blessing from God in accordance with the religion of each patient, Allah for Muslims and Jesus for Christianity.

Finally, it can be said that in every discourse put forward by *balian* there are interrelated relations between the expressions of the discourse, with the underlying connaissance knowledge and power relations in the sense of strategy, tactics, techniques, and maneuvers that operate behind them which they use to dominate the the patient. This means that every discourse they make that there is a higher power than *bekel* or *panyengker* is obliged to pray to the *Batara Hyang Guru* in *Sanggah Kemulan* and in the *Kayangan Tiga* temple or *Dalem Ped* temple is a reflection of their esoteric reasoning and understanding structure of the *batara* residing in each of these temples. Thus, the relationship between the expression of the discourse with connaissance knowledge which underlies hiding the power relation, which is a product of the practice of power. But that power is plural not centralistic, which grows from various peripheral spaces and is everywhere, including in the spaces of traditional healing practices (developed by Foucault's thought as explained in Piliang, 2004: 223).

5. Conclusion

An important conclusion that can be drawn from this study is the relationship between knowledge and power in *rajah panyengker* practitioners is not merely a form of practices related to body regulation, behavior regulation, but also the structure of their interpretation of *batara* (God). If they want to enhance their career as practitioners of *rajah panyengker*, one way is to ask for strength from the *batara* in *Dalem Ped* Temple. The knowledge hidden in the power of *Delem Ped* Temple is used as power, in the sense of tactics, strategy, technique, maneuvering to disperse the bodies of patients so that they are obedient and useful to the discourse they offer. The discourse is a *rajah panyengker* will not be able to provide protection if it is not accompanied by praying to the *batara* in *Dalem Ped* Temple.

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