DESACRALIZATION OF CATUSPATHA IN THE BALINESE HINDU COMMUNITY

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Abstract
The article aims to analyze the desacralization of the symbol of Catuspatha. Catuspatha is a form of Pakraman village identity in residential space patterns and as an orientation center of the Pakraman village pattern in Bali. At the same time, a socio-cultural phenomenon arises towards the center of the orientation of the Balinese society today, namely the replacement of the Visnu Murti statue with the Bungkarno statue in Catuspatha, Banjar Anyar Village. A ruling elite plays an essential religious symbol. In this case, the researcher analyzed the more fundamental way of shifting the shrine Catuspatha. The problem is that the Hindu community sees an imbalance between expectations and the reality of the existence of Catuspatha, the factors of desacralization of Catuspatha, and the impact of the desacralization of Catuspatha on the beliefs of the people. These problems are analyzed eclectically with religious theory, Social Change, and Deconstruction Theory. Data were obtained through observation, unstructured interviews, and literature studies to obtain objective analysis. The research found that the Catus Patha served as upstream Pakraman Kediri Village because they are still functioned to carry out Ngider ceremonies. The caused desacralization, more dominantly caused by socio-political factors, namely the idea of respect for the services of a warrior by forgetting local competitiveness. While the impact of the desacralization more on the theological impact, namely the weakening of public confidence and trust in the existence of Catuspatha so that the shifting of the Ngider ceremony orientation center is sought.

Keywords:
Desacralization; Catuspatha; Hindu; Bali

Desakralisasi; Catus Patha; Hindu; Bali

Kata Kunci:
Desakralisasi; Catus Patha
A. INTRODUCTION

Changes in the government system from the royal government system that upholds the value of local wisdom to the colonial government system and the Republican government system that supports global values have a very significant impact on the religious life of Hindu in Bali. The contradiction between these two values in the state and religion relationship is as a state construction of local religion, which is considered one-sided and predicted to create political dynamics at various levels, including the tug of war between the state and its people. Thus, this will produce policies with a top-down model where state construction always involves a power approach and also in the name of power often leads to discriminatory policies and even conflict. Meanwhile, the direction that carries local enthusiasm at the bottom-up level has a narrow space to build subtle ways of thinking with the available local enthusiasm.¹

The struggle of globalization is a tug-of-war between the ruler and the ruler in a country whose society adheres to local culture. However, globalization has also influenced local people to adhere to hedonism. The influence of global culture and hedonism has entered various aspects of the life of the Hindu community in Bali as if there are no barriers that protect it. Such a situation shows anxieties and social criticism of the situation of the Hindu community in Bali. They have abandoned the valuable cultural values and moral values of their religion. Empirically, their lifestyle changed from modest life to pragmatic life. The change also affects the way they place residential space where they do not pay attention to the rules of residential space based on Hindu literature, such as Asta Kosala-Kosali and Asta Bhumi.

Cultural philosophy has set the pattern of settlements and villages of the Balinese people. This philosophy is the whole embodiment and the results of thought (logic), will (ethics), and feelings (aesthetics) in customs, traditions, and customary rules (Awig-Awig Adat) besides based on Hindu teachings. Balinese culture is a depiction of empirical life by taking the forms of activities, natural imitation forms, forms of artwork, all of which contain truth values (Satyam), virtue (Siwam), and beauty (Sundaram). Artistic manifestation, as seen, heard, or felt cannot be separated from various kinds of beauty, and "beauty" itself cannot be separated from "goodness" or even "truth."²

These three concepts are related to the ideas of spatial planning of settlements, settlements, and settlements of Balinese people. Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia has emphasized in the Book "The Decision Set of Seminar Interpretation of Unity Against the Aspects of Hindu Religion I-XV." It rearranged the rules for the placement and arrangement of Pakraman space in Bali under the philosophies of Balinese culture, such as the philosophy of Tri Hita Karana (the philosophy of balance), Tri Mandala (horizontal division of mandalas), Tri Angga (vertical division of space), Rwa Bhineda (upstream-Teben/downstream). These concepts are the ideal foundation in the construction of housing and settlements in Bali. However, there are essential points, which is the idea of Puser, the center, as a zero-point associated with the center of the living space, namely Natah; the center of settlement space, namely Catuspatha, Caturmuka or also called Pangkalan Agung. Catuspatha is a form of identification of the pattern of residential spaces, villages of Pakraman in rural or urban areas. Catuspatha is the central center of the Pakraman village pattern in Bali.

Catuspatha comes from Sanskrit, which is a crossroads.³ Catuspatha comes from the word Catus which means four and Patha refers to the road. This term is found in the Chronicle of Bali, the plans and names of the buildings of

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¹I Abdullah, I Mujib, and M. I Ahnaf, “Agama Dan Kearifan Lokal Dalam Tantangan Global” (Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM, 2008).
heaven three is an intersection (east-west, north-south). Balinese community as a cultural community organizes the traditional village as a residential area with its completeness, such as temples, Bale Banjar, markets, houses, roads, etc. Such buildings are arranged in one layout. Catuspatha often refers to as the significant crossroad, which means an area in the middle of the village as the direction center for the Kaja-Kelod (north-south) and Kangin-Kauh (east-west) which have passed the process of sacralization or purification.

When life becomes chaotic, local people need specific actions to revitalize local wisdom to restore the Balinese identity based on the fundamental values or principles of morality and spirituality. Besides, issues arise regarding the center of Balinese society's spatial orientation today, such as the replacement of the statue of Wisnu Murti in the Catuspatha of Pakraman Banjar Anyar Kediri with the figure of Bung Karno, a proclaimer of the Republic of Indonesia. The ruling elite plays with intrinsic religious symbols. The controversy over the shifting of sacred and profane values in the Catuspatha is a play of power over symbols as the state's construction of local religion. Symbolic power can be illustrated as 'magical power' so that individuals, groups, or communities comply through the mobilization of the symbolic order. The Hindu community in the Pakraman Banjar Anyar village was unaware of the event, which was forced cultivation through symbols of power or domination.

Some researchers have examined Catuspatha, but they have several limitations. Therefore, we are interested in researching Catuspatha scientifically. We collected several writings, researches, and lontar texts which contained information about the Catuspatha concept in the Eka Pratamaning Brahmin Sakti Bujangga and Batur Kalawasan lontar. There is a slight difference between the concept of Catuspatha and Caturmuka in India, especially in the city of Madurai and Chandigarh. The concept of Caturmuka is based on the principles of Shilpa Literature until its development during the Vedic Period City Planning (2000 BC to 400 BC), Important cities marked by traditional cities designed according to the principles of sacred geometry based on cosmological theory, namely, Vaasthu Purusha Mandala; Sthapatya Veda (part of Atharava Veda) - the layout of a city; Smrithi Literature-Street layout (micro and macro); Vaasthu Literature-applied architecture, planning and construction, and design, site selection, site planning, and orientation, soil quality, water resources, tree planting and gardens-with cities based on plans starting from the Pechaka Plan (4 Squares/corners) to Asana (100 boxes); Arthasastra - environmental management; Mansara Shilpa Sastra - Gram Vidhana and Nagara Vidhana with four different categories of human settlement; Mayanata, and Vishwakarma Prakara - with Temple as the focal point (the link between cosmic and human).

We find discussion of the existence of the Catuspatha in Bali in several scientific works, such as Gegevens Bettreffende De Zelfstandige Rijkjes of Bali (1906), Tan (1966), Geertz (1980), Dumarcey (1991), Badung Government (1992), Putra Agung (1996),
Researchers do not highlight the statue of Vishnu Murti but focus on the phenomenon of shifting function of the Catuspatha where the statue of Vishnu Murti was in that place before. The replacement of the figure of Vishnu Murti with the icon of Bung Karno received mixed reactions from the community, depending on their respective interests. On the other hand, they forgot the function of the Catuspatha. This statue replacement has an impact on the shifting role of the Catuspatha or the ritual axis of the Banjar Anyar Kediri Tabanan indigenous community.

This problem has also occurred in the Village of Tabanan Parkaman where the city of the Kingdom has changed to become the center of the district government. Catuspatha in Pakraman Tabanan then moved, which was initially in front of Puri Tabanan to the front of the Tabanan Regent's Office, precisely at the intersection of four, west of the Tabanan Regent's office. However, the Catuspatha was returned to the front of Puri Tabanan in 2012, following its original function. Putra remarks that the Regency civic center still uses the Catuspatha pattern as the spatial center of the district capital, as in the new Catuspatha (Jembrana, Tabanan, Badung) in Civic Centre Kabupaten (CCK). Putra's analysis seemed to distort the concept of Catuspatha because it was not the same as an ordinary four. Catuspatha can mean the intersection of four, the junction of four, which is at the intersection of three by adding one tunnel as an element of the spiritual path. Besides, local people must conduct sacred ceremonies, both in an empty place or in an area that has certain buildings, such as the Palinggih/shrine and statues, according to Hinduism for the existence of Catuspatha.

This phenomenon shows how people do not understand Catuspatha well. Therefore, through research, we will analyze the replacement of the statue of Wisnu Murti in Pakraman Banjar Anyar Kediri Tabanan village with the Bung Karno statue and how its implications for the great "Catuspatha" intersection in a Pakraman area of the village.

This study uses a qualitative method using two data sources, namely the primary source of the informants chosen purposively; and secondary sources, such as a literature review of documents, writings, and reports on internet search results, research, and lontar texts relating to Catuspatha. We use observation, in-depth interviews, and unstructured data collection techniques. After that, we analyze the data with interpretive methods or interpretations of life. Also, we describe the data in a descriptive-narrative way to answer research questions.

B. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. The Existence of Catuspatha in the Perspective of Hinduism and Balinese Culture

Based on the theory of reality from Mircea Eliade religion must be explained: "according to its own terms." This theory shows that everything sacred must be explained in terms of the place and time in which the religion develops and the extent to which religion can affect the lives of its adherents and how they...
interpret their religion. Eliade's thought departs from Hindu thought, which emphasizes spiritual unity with the highest Soul behind the world. Next, Eliade discovered three crucial things: first, life can be changed through "sacramental" experiences; symbols are the key to actual spiritual life, and many things can be learned from the countryside in India.

Based on Eliade’s theory, Catuspatha as a symbol of spiritual balance in Bali, the Catuspatha can be categorized as a sacred symbol associated with the highest Soul behind the symbol. Catuspatha is a place where the procession of religious ceremonies conducted for the Hindu community in Bali. Eliade emphasized that we can understand religion when applying "phenomenology" or "appearances."¹⁸

Besides, Eliade also separated the two religious lives of the people into two categories, namely the sacred and profane fields. "The profane is daily affairs that are ordinary, unintentional, and generally unimportant. The sacred is the opposite. It is a supernatural realm, extraordinary, impressive, and important things."¹⁹ Researchers agree with Eliade's view when studying Catuspatha as sacred and supernatural. Catuspatha at first was extraordinary, very purified, and devastating for the Balinese people in the context of a ceremonial procession to summon the Supernatural to be present.

Besides, based on the theory from Tylor stated that the origin of religion start when humans began to be aware of the concept of Noah or the supernatural. In Catuspatha, the Balinese Hindu community strongly believes that what resides in Catuspatha is the Sanghyang Catur Bhuana, a manifestation of Ida Sang Hyang Widhi / Lord. It is because the Balinese recognize a variety of events that cannot be explained with reason, such as the collision at noon (Tengai Tepet) and late afternoon (Sandi Kala). Catuspatha, as the zero points, means "there is and does not exist." That means that the place has a mastery but cannot be seen/Sunya. The Tread Dara symbol (+) is a sign that gives balance. Based on this belief, Hindus in Bali hold a Tawur Kesanga ceremony/Bhuta Hita at the great intersection or Catuspatha to balance and harmonize between the Great Bhuana (macrocosm nature) and the Bhuana Alit (microcosm). In other words, Catuspatha is a symbol of the center of ritual and natural orientation.

The religious perspective that the Catuspatha as an axis or center of the village is the result of the idea of religious experience, which subsequently becomes a religious norm. Hindus believe that everything comes from the absolute, namely Brahman or God, and in the end, everything will return to him. So in the belief of Bali Brahman is called Sanghyang Embang (empty), Sunya (empty), Niskala, Sanghyang Licin, without appearance, holy, and Acintya or He who is unthinkable by the human mind. According to Hindu thought, the empty or Sunya is God/Brahman, Brahman, as the center of spiritual concentration of Hindus. Thus, Brahman is the central axis that gave rise to the concept of Rwa Bhineda, namely Purusha and Prakerti, Sekala and Niskala, sacred and profane.

Rwa Bhineda shows the direction of natural spiritual and ritual in the concept of the Balinese sacred space, namely the direction of sunrise and sunset (east and west). The two directions of the natural spiritual axis are Kaja-Kelod, which are related to the direction of orientation to the sea and mountains (Segara-Carved), Luan-Teben, sacred-profane. Various Brahman names or attributes or so-called Śiva, which fills the entire corners of the universe, are subsequently described in the palms as the Gods of Nawasangga or the nine Deities who occupy the corners of the compass. Dewa Nawasagga is the guardian of the balance of the universe described by "Dara Tread," which subsequently developed into "Swastika" and Padma. Dara Tread is an equilateral crossing

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¹⁸ Pals, Seven Theories of Religion.
line that means balance as well as Swastika. Meanwhile, Padma developed from four directions (Tread Dara), subsequently developed into the Padma flower (Asta Dala).

Swastika means "safe" or "prosperous." For Hindus, Swastika philosophy has a profound religious meaning, which is as a symbol of "motion and eternal." It arises from the "pseudo-movement" direction of the sun from east to west. Swastika also has a meaning of world rotation that is guarded by the manifestation of God's omnipotence in the eight directions of the wind (Asthadala) and centered on Siva at the midpoint. The center/midpoint of the direction is the balancing center, and when observed in the Padma picture, it illustrates the concept of Widik and Dik Widik, a flower Padma that buds and expands. Catuspatha, in this case, is a space where black and white forces meet and turn grey. It is marked by the Catuspatha monument called the Walang Tamak monument, which in the cultural code is often described as Tapak Dara.

Catuspatha as the center where Mendak Ida Bhatara and Mendak Pitra are also a place of the Gods, the Pitara and Bhuta. It is mentioned in several lontar libraries in Bali, such as the Lontar Tutur Gong Besi as follows:


Leaving Puseh Temple then staying in the Pura Desa, his name is Sang Hyang Tri Purusa. Leaving Pura Desa then staying in the Bale Agung, his name is Ida Sang Hyang Bhagawati. Leaving Bale Agung then staying in a great place, his name is Sang Hyang Catur Bhuana.

The use of Catuspatha as a ceremony in the village of Banjar Anyar is to carry out the Nanggluk Merana Sashih Keenem ceremony. Then, it is continued with the Ngider ceremony at Sashih Kaulu on every Keliwon day with a peak at the Tawur Kesanga ceremony (near the Nyepi holiday). In reality, Catuspatha cannot be seen as a four-way junction only. However, it also shows a three-way intersection with one road in the form of a Sunya (invisible) road or a small alley because the place has received the process of sacralization. Thus it is called Catuspatha, Caturmuka, or great crossroad that is found in every village in the Pakraman village in Bali.

Catuspatha is different from the four-way intersection because it must go through a process of sacralization to attract the power of God and become the center of ritual orientation for Hindu in Bali. Catuspatha is also a benchmark in determining the main directions of Mandala (the central place), Madya Mandala (place in the middle), and Nista Mandala (the outermost place) in the philosophy of Balinese cultural space or Tri Mandala. Starting from the center of the space, the Balinese can determine which direction is sacred or profane while the orientation of the Center (Catuspatha) is called the region between the sacred and profane.

The symbol of unity, totality, the Upper World and the human world are mediums, intermediaries, pillars of the cosmos, or Axis Mundi. Through these mediums, the magical powers of the Upper World could appear in the human world. Such mediums take the form of a repetition of the "second event" of the creation of the human world, as mentioned in tribal mythologies. Through the ceremony, the situation can be restored as at the beginning of the world's creation by the Upper World. Everything will be "holy" and "orderly cosmos" again. As a result, the human condition becomes safe and prosperous.
Catuspatha is an axis Mundi or connecting medium between the Upper World and the human world. Humans perform certain ceremonies repeatedly in Catuspatha to maintain the balance of the universe and its contents within it or Bhuta Hita. Hindus in Bali and the Banjar Anyar Kediri Village Community, therefore, carry out the Ngider ceremony at Sasih Keenem (sixth month) and end at Sasih Kesanga (ninth month) according to the Balinese calendar. The ceremony always starts at Catuspatha.

Based on observations and interviews, Desa Pakraman Banjar Anyar has determined its Catuspatha based on the function of Hindu beliefs as the axis of the earth's axis to maintain the mystical relationship between heaven and earth or the so-called Bapa Akasa and Ibu Pertiwi. Catuspatha in Pakraman Banjar Anyar is located on the Kediri-Pesiapan bypass road, precisely at the Vishnu Murti Statue that was standing before. The place is a T-junction (Peteluan). However, the Banjar Anyar people believe that the place is a Catuspatha because, before the Kediri-Pesiapan bypass road, there was a footpath directed to the west (a Sunutan road to the river), so the road resembled the great intersection. Besides, there is a huge banyan tree in that place. This place serves as a place to start the Ngider ceremony. After the Kediri-Pesiapan bypass road was built at the site, Palinggih Catuspatha was built, and then a statue of Wisnu Murti was built as well. Likewise, based on a letter sent to the Local Government of Tabanan by Bendesa Pakraman Banjar Anyar emphasizing that the place where the statue of Bung Karno now located is Catuspatha with the following considerations:

a) Kediri intersection is a Catuspatha in which the community conducts the Tawur Kesanga Pecinan ceremony annually.

b) The Banjar Anyar community made the Kediri crossroad as a place to perform religious rituals.

c) Considering the community had operated Palinggih at the T-junction, and they carried out the Piodalan ceremony every six months.

d) When the authorities built the statue of Bung Karno in the Catuspatha, it will lead to the perception of worship of the statue. It is because next to the statue, there is Palinggih Ratu Nyoman Sakti Pengadang where the community of the Banjar Anyar Mesungsung Palinggih sacred it.

Based on interviews and letters of the Bendesa Adat of Pakraman Banjar Anyar Village, it can be concluded that the intersection in Banjar Anyar Village is a Catuspatha that functions as a place of religious ceremonies although all religious ceremonies are currently moved to the north because the Bung Karno statue was established there and changed the function of Catuspatha.

2. The Function of Catuspatha for Hindu Communities in Bali

Generally, the function of the Catuspatha in the Pakraman Village of Bali has similar functions to that of the Catuspatha in other regions with a slight difference. It relates to the concept of Mawacara Village, which is following local traditions, time, and situation. Following are the functions of the Catuspatha for Hindus in Bali:

a) As a place for the Tawur ceremony according to the Sasih or Balinese calendar,

b) Twisting the stretcher / Bade at the Ngaben ceremony or death ceremony,

c) Memendak Ida Bhatara Ider Bhuana or requesting the manifestation of God as the guardian of the compass,

d) As a place for the Nebus ceremony or the salvation of the sick,

e) As a place to beg for medicine for the sick,

f) As a place to ask for black magic for some people.

In addition to these functions, several informants stated that Catuspatha in Pakraman Banjar Anyar Kediri Village had also functions such as the following:

23Raka, I. M., interview by I Wayan Wastawa, Desa Pakraman Banjar Anyar, on October 5, 2014
a) Ulun Desa Pakraman Kediri (upstream village) carries out the Nangluk Merana (Keenem) ceremony as well as the Tawur Ulun village ceremony at the Tawur Sasih Kesanga ceremony, just the day before the Nyepi holiday.  

b) The place to start the Ngider ceremony at Sasih Keenem / sixth month, according to the Balinese calendar, where the Ngider ceremony procession is carried out with the Mapajatian and the Maprani processions. Then, bringing Patengen Patrol that is Malinggih in Bale Agung to Catuspatha as a request to Ida Bhatara Ider Bhuana to surround the village and trace the village road to the upstream village which is located north of the village of Banjar Anyar, bordering the Village of Pakraman Kukuh.

c) As a place to start the Ngider ceremony at Sasih Kawulu / eighth month according to the Balinese calendar. This ceremony is held every Keliwon five times in one month. The process starts from the Catuspatha heading north to the T-junction in front of Puseh Temple.

d) At the Sasih Kesanga / ninth month, the Ngider ceremony and Catuwatur Kesanga was held. The ceremony procession is similar to the Ngider ceremony at Sasih Keenem.

e) Palinggih Catuspatha, the village of Pakraman Banjar Anyar, functions to worship Ida Bhatara Ngurah Sakti Pang Panyadangan.  

Based on the results of interviews with informants, the function of the Catuspatha village of Pakraman Banjar Anyar has changed due to the hegemony and dominance of the regional authorities by moving the place to initiate the Ngider ceremony in front of the Puseh Temple located in the north of the village; the Ngider ceremony carried northward from the location of the Bung Karno statue; Palinggih Ida Bhatara Ngurah Sakti Pangantau moved to the west facing the Kediri-Pesiapan bypass road; the rotating container for the corpse is moved north in front of the Kediri terminal which is the road leading to the Setra/grave and in front of the entrance of each resident’s home. Therefore, the community understood the meaning of sacred and profane sculptures so that the desacralization of Catuspatha occurred in the Pakraman village of Banjar Anyar.

3. Factors for the Desacralization of Catuspatha

Based on the social change theory from Sztomka by citing several experts opinion about social change, the shifts of the incumbent Catuspatha in Pakraman by the Regional Government of Tabanan Regency is a transformation in community organizations towards their perspective and thinking about the sacred dimension to be profane, in addition to the changes to gain power through imaging using modification of community organizations as traditional organic religious groups into organic, pragmatism and hedonism groups. Changes also occur in the nature of the dominant culture of the society in the belief in the sacred to be psychologically shifted under the pressure of resignation to God. In addition, it is also a result of changes in the internal social relations of religious communities, between Hindus and other religious communities when associated with religious politics, as well as changes in social relations between religious communities and the government.

Kuppuswamy divides the factors of social change, among others are: demographic (population) factors, technological factors, economic factors, cultural factors, legal change factors, planning factors, and education

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24Panji Wisnu, A. A. N., interview by I Wayan Wastawa, Desa Pakraman Kediri, on October 12, 2014

25Raka, I. M., interview by I Wayan Wastawa, Desa Pakraman Banjar Anyar, on October 5, 2014

factors. These factors also predominantly influence changes in community understanding so that the Catuspatha in the Pakraman Village of Banjar Anyar Kediri Tabanan Regency can be decentralized, including cognitive factors, urban planning factors, and social-political factors. The last three factors explained in detail below.

a. Cognitive Factors

Cognitively, the community and regional leaders did not understand the function and meaning of the existence of Catuspatha. Basically, Catuspatha means a four-way junction. However, not all such junctions mean Catuspatha and not all Catuspaths are four-way junction. According to Hinduism in Bali, the determination of the Catuspatha begins with the process of sacralization through the ceremony of Pecaruan and Mendem Pedagingan to purify the place by attracting the power of God to be willing to attend and occupy the incumbent of a Catuspatha. The existence of the Vishnu Murti’s statue or Bhuta Siu is contained in the data of culture and tourism in Tabanan Regency in 2007. This statue is a work of art with the following philosophy: (1) has body and big belly; (2) is standing on a pedestal; (3) has three heads in which each has four faces except for the top one, one face facing east with a gaping mouth resembling a giant mouth and facing the corners of the wind; (4) crowned of gelung agung; (5) has eight hands where each holds the chakras, Gada, Trident, Nagapasa arrows, etc.; (6) has attributes like Gods (badong, sasimping, naga wangsul, etc.); (7) is wearing flame ornaments; (8) is as an offering to God (the God of Prosperity), Nusa, Nation and Mother Earth with the intention that He bestows His grace in the form of peace and prosperity to the country of Indonesia, including the Tabanan region that we love to remain a “granary” of the Balinese island; (9) In addition to that, He provides comfort and maintains our safety in traffic.

Based on the philosophy above, the statue of Vishnu Murti functions to create, maintain, prosper and fuse everything that is no longer functioning in this world. In addition, He is also a symbol providing humans on the journey the direction of truth so that obstacles did not block them, especially when they are on the road.

Understanding Catuspatha means understanding the life of the great and global elite. Catuspatha as the spatial orientation of the pattern of villages, cities and countries, and as a center for sustaining human life because in the Catuspatha there is an orientation of the central government, economy, togetherness, and strength of the entire community of residents of villages, cities and countries. Catuspatha is also a symbol of the development of the human mind through the development of reasoning, creativity, and living together in an area. Likewise, the understanding or knowledge of Catuspatha about humans which is composed of elements of the Panca Maha Bhuta (air, earth, fire, water and power) and elements of maturity, thus humans can be daivi sampad, which is the nature of love, humility, the wise, willing to sacrifice, love each other with respect to other creatures, noble character, and not sad when suffering, and not too happy when happy, and asuri sampad which is human nature that shows the character of cunning, lying, deceiving, thieving, jealousy, arrogant, and so on.

Therefore, it can be concluded that a lack of knowledge from the stakeholders and local leaders to maintain Balinese local wisdom based on Hinduism lead to the desacralization of Catuspatha in Pakraman village. These leaders believe as community leaders as if they have the power to control religious matters as they wish.

b. Urban Planning Factors

Urban planning, with the use of spatial patterns based on the insistence of an

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increasing population, both migration and urbanization, causes the importance of space for the development of their lives. Cities with very narrow space but with very high needs will result in the use of space that does not heed the existing local wisdom, such as the change of green open space or public space into a residential space.

Planned cities are usually only to overcome problems that are empirically very urgent. However, many plans do not pay attention to socio-cultural and religious matters in their development. Communities often do not want some planning and ultimately could change the social order, such as poor social relations between individuals, individuals with groups, and inter-community groups.

Similarly, it happened in the case of the desacralization of Catuspatha in Banjar Anyar village. Planning began when the regional government built a Kediri-Pesiapan bypass to reduce traffic congestion in Tabanan and to create a safe and fast track for heavy vehicles. The Balinese, especially the Subak residents, opposed the road construction. Despite rejection, the government continued to construct the road, and it subsequently resulted in changes in the city of Kediri, including changes in footpaths in Catuspatha and felling of the banyan tree—which is characteristic of a traditional village—and the transfer of the Catuspatha incumbent to the Melanting incumbent where the Kediri Market is located. However, because the transfer caused a polemic, the incumbent was returned to Catuspatha.

Over time, the local government erected a statue of Vishnu Murti in Catuspatha as a symbol of the guard, comfort, and fertility of the city. As a result of the change of power, the new local government replaced the statue of Vishnu Murti with Bung Karno. However, the local community rejected this establishment because it did not pay attention to the local culture. Nevertheless, the construction of Bung Karno's statue continued by moving the Paluspatha incumbent to the west and facing it to the Kediri-Pesiapan bypass. Thus, the function of the Catuspatha has changed as a form of Catuspatha's desacralization in Pakraman.

c. Socio-Political Factors

The socio-political factors of the Tabanan Regency Government greatly influenced the desacralization of Catuspatha in the village of Banjar Anyar. This research does not examine the issues that were hotly discussed in the Tabanan community regarding the replacement of the statue of Vishnu Murti with the statue of Bung Karno, but examines the Catuspatha in the region.

The establishment of the Bung Karno statue in the region is also related to socio-political factors. It is due to the planning and development process that involves executive and legislative people, in addition to the budgeted development through the APBD which requires a legal basis and approval from the Tabanan parliament.

The legislature has approved the construction of the Bung Karno statue to honor the founding father of the Nation. Initially, the idea emerged to replace the name of one of the streets with the name of Sukarno as a form of respect and a reminder of the national figure. Then, some people proposed the budget for the establishment of the Bung Karno statue to the Tabanan regional government to erect the statue in the Pahlawan street. Executives changed the location of the statue to Catuspatha Desa Pakraman and replaced the statue of Wisnu Murti. It raises the pros and cons in the community and also the regional parliament. The construction of the statue was considered political-nuanced agenda. Many local community members rejected the discourse of the construction of the statue starting from the stage of planning, construction, and inauguration.

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29Putra Nurcahyadi, I P. E. P., interview by I Wayan Wastawa, DPRD Tabanan, on October 7, 2014.
The pros and cons of building the Bung Karno statue in the village of Banjar Anyar can be found from the online newspaper Balipost.com and Metrobali.com as follows:

Metrobali.com, 2014/02/14 reported, "Tabanan Community Components unite in support of the statue of Bung Karno, Regent of Eka: all parties to be patient and wise." In its reporting, it was mentioned that approximately 4,000 people packed the Kediri field from various traditional elements, NGOs and CBOs to support the construction of the Bung Karno statue. In his interview, I Gusti Made Adi Nuramo said "the construction of the Bungkarno statue has gone through in-depth studies so there is no reason to delay or even cancel it. On that occasion, the Regent was accompanied by a representative and expressed his appreciation and gratitude for the aspirations conveyed peacefully and in an orderly manner, "as a regional leader, it is my duty to take a firm stand in guarding the stipulated program, we expect all parties to be positive and be able to take wisdom from differences that have ever existed. Our same goal towards Tabanan is better and better."

Whereas in Balipost.com, it stated, "The Joint of Kediri figures rejects the Bung Karno Statue in Catus Patha." The polemic over the construction of the Bungkarno statue at Catus Patha heats up after the Tabanan component united to support this project, now a rival movement has emerged rejecting the building. This rejection was expressed by dozens of Kediri community leaders in a meeting at the house of Nyoman Muliadi, one of the figures in the village of Kediri, Monday, 17 February 2014 night.31

Traditional Krama Kediri urges Wisnu Murti statue to be rebuilt.32 This aspiration was conveyed by holding a joint prayer at the Bungkarno sculpture project. Before the prayer, they held a meeting at the Puseh Temple of the local Indigenous Village. According to the action coordinator, Nyoman Muliadi, this worship activity was to pray for the leaders of Tabanan who had been mistaken in thinking, saying and doing to be forgiven by Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa.

Based on some of the news articles, it is very clear that the construction of the Sukarno statue reaps the pros and cons of the community and this is the active role of the community in the use of space, both from planning, utilization, development, licensing, and development control. Specifically, the people did not reject the construction of the Bung Karno statue, but they saw a mistake in its construction where the statue of Vishnu Murti as a cultural product based on Hinduism was a sculpture based on the study of ethics, aesthetics, and Hindu logic. In addition, several informants from community figures in Kediri regretted the construction of the Bung Karno statue that shifted the Palinggih Catinggatha. Therefore, it can be concluded that politics plays an important role in the desacralization of Catuspatha.

4. Impact of Desacralization of Catuspatha in Banjar Anyar Tabanan Village

a. The Social Psychological Impact of Religion on Society

The Balinese believe that every inch of land in the world is sacred because the use and development of everything always begins with the process of sacralization. Psychologically, human relations with buildings and nature are sacred while nature is superpower because there is a ceremonial procession, ceremonial means and norms that regulate these relationships, so that the relationship

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31Metro Bali, “Komponen Masyarakat Tabanan Bersatu Dukung Patung Bung Karno.”

eventually becomes sacred as well. The construction, demolition or rehabilitation of a sacred building in psychology is something that arises from religious psychology, such as the existence of (1) the function of copyright which is the intellectual function of the human soul in assessing, comparing and deciding whether an action is right or not so that the foundation of thinking in carrying out a teaching is very necessary to realize rational religious teachings, (2) the emotional function that plays a role in forming motivation in one’s behaviour to measure the role of these emotions in religion, and (3) the function of intention that attempts to encourage the emergence of the implementation of doctrines, religious teachings on the basis of psychological functions.

Based on these functions, the community can decide whether an action is correct or wrong according to the teachings of their religion. In this case, the community considered the dismantling of the statue of Vishnu Murti, especially the removal of the Catuspatha which incidentally as sacred religious symbols, disturbed their emotions who believed it. For this reason, the people of Desa Pakraman Banjar Anyar Kediri Tabanan also feel psychologically disturbed in their souls which can suppress feelings and weaken the belief of Hindus to the sacred.

The problem of the emergence of religious people’s mental disorder towards the sacred Catuspatha was strengthened by the Bendesa Adat of Pakraman and the Kediri that “with the construction of the Bung Karno statue and the shifting of the incumbent of the Catuspatha, the implementation of religious ceremonies also shifted to the north, people’s feelings were disturbed because there stood a profane human statue. If we carry out religious ceremonies there, then we are considered to be culting humans, because Catuspatha is basically a holy or purified place. In principle, Catuspatha is sacred.”

b. Theological Impact

The belief of the Hindu community towards the sacred and holy Catuspatha is final. Hindus believe Catuspatha as a palace of God (Sang Hyang Catur Bhuana), a source of the relationship between heaven and Ibu Pertiwi (Mother Earth), and a zero point from a rural area or village. As a sacred place, the shifting of the Catuspatha raises various theological problems among humans. It is because theology has a close relationship between humans and nature, humans and other humans sociologically, and the relationship between these two empirical matters by placing God as an authority in their behavior and morals.

Problems then arose in which the people of the village of Pakraman Banjar Anyar had denied the existence of Catuspatha as a sacred area of the village because the Government had built a profane human statue. They assume that human sculptures with the spirit of heroism deserve only to be respected, while the statues of religious symbols are a medium of worship to God.

Changes to sacred objects of worship also affect changes in the theological attitudes of the people live in the village. The people became apathetic and skeptical of various religious activities. Even though they keep doing it well, they always ask themselves and feel their beliefs have been hurt. They can only give this problem to God and ask for the best way for the suppression of people’s beliefs. Thus, this problem is not under the theology of liberation that emphasizes the liberation of the type of soul. Passive souls are souls who want peace concerning fellow beings and nature. However, in reality, there is a gap between the soul and empirical attitudes that cause theological chaos towards God. In this case, the community starts to blame God, why those who believe in God’s existence in Catuspatha get persecuted inside.

The shift in the Belinese’s trust and beliefs towards Catuspatha, according to the informant, causes a shift in ethical behavior to establish the belief in the relationship between humans and nature, and between humans and God. It is consistent with the idea of postmodern theology, which does not want violence even though it does not reject it for certain things and stresses the soul who wants
peace concerning fellow beings. However, in reality these ideas can be very different because people’s feelings have been hurt and a desire arises in the community to commit violence. It has led to the violence of the people’s souls who have long felt peace. Thus, it is not under the theology of liberation discussed above. The theology of social violence arose because, besides, to believe God as the owner of the ethical and moral rules of society, there are disappointments, malice, and chaos that degrade the belief and theology of Hindu society.

c. Socio-Political Impact

Concerning the politics of power, Max Weber said that power is an opportunity for a person or group of people to make other people aware of the security of their own will while applying it to the actions of resistance from certain people or groups. Besides, Afdhal Rizqi argues that politics can also be seen from different perspectives: (1) politics is an attempt by certain citizens to realize the common good (classical Aristotelian theory); (2) politics are matters relating to the administration of government and the state; (3) politics is an activity that aims to gain and maintain power in society; and (4) politics is everything about the process of formulating and implementing public policy.33

To achieve political goals, a leader sometimes issues policies only with his conscience without regard to the conscience of others or the local community in this sense. It can be said that the decision-making process is contrary to local wisdom. The case of the removal of the Palinggih Catuspatha around the statue of Wisnu Murti - as a religious symbol - and replaced with the statue of Bung Karno - as a profane symbol of the human form - caused social and political polemics in the Tabanan community in particular and the Balinese people in general.


Such a political policy received a negative reaction from the Banjar Anyar Kediri villagers because it involved religious matters. The representative then sent a letter to the Regent of Tabanan Regency; Letter number 27 / DA / BA / VIII / 2013 dated August 12, 2013, with the following application:

"The Regent we respect, considering the construction of the Bung Karno statue at the Kediri crossroad, we the Banjar Anyar community plead with the Regent to willingly rethink the plan with the following considerations:

a) Kediri intersection is a Catuspatha where we hold the annual Tawur Kesanga Anniversary ceremony at that place.

b) Kediri intersection is used as a place to carry out religious rituals for the Banjar Anyar community.

c) Considering that at the crossroad since it was a T-junction, a Palinggih was established and sacred by the surrounding community and every six months a Piodalan ceremony was held.

d) When the statue is built, it will give rise to the perception of worship of the Bung Karno statue considering that beside him is the Palinggih Ratu Nyoman Sakti Pengekar which is sacred by the Banjar Anyar and Kediri manners.

With these considerations, I beg you please restore [the function of Catuspatha] under the original conditions for the diversity of Balinese religion, customs and culture. Thank you for your attention.

Based on the contents of the Bendesa Adat letter, it is very clear to mention that the place where the statue of Bung Karno was founded was a Catuspatha that was purified by the Hindu community. This means that the social feeling of Hindu society has been suppressed by political power which is more dominant in government, not in the religious realm. Because the local government did not respond to the letter, the Bendesa Adat Desa Pakraman Banjar Anyar sent a second letter to the
Tabanan DPRD as a request for a hearing with a letter numbered 21 / DPBA / VI / 2014, dated June 22, 2014, as follows:

With respect, along with this letter, we request your willingness to accept us (± 25 people), the people of Desa Pakraman Banjar Anyar, Kediri District and various components of the community who are concerned with implementing the plan to install the Bung Karno statue at Catuspatha / Kediri intersection to conduct a session hearing opinion.

We are an obligation to convey the aspirations of the people, especially from Pakraman Banjar Anyar Village with other community components regarding differences of opinion in the installation of the Bung Karno statue. This difference of opinion seems very principled and has the potential to cause situations and conditions that are not harmonious in our society.

Based on the contents of the letter, there are two interests, namely the political interests of power and religious-political interests. Sociologically, Pakraman Kediri Village is very concerned about the construction of the Bung Karno Statue, but on the other hand, they feel marginalized from religious social politics where the erection of the Bung Karno statue has undermined people's belief in the sacred area of the Catuspatha. Meanwhile, political interests are to educate nationalism and beautify the face of Tabanan. These are two opposing interests and give rise to public sentiment to mobilize social movements.

Based on the reactions of the Banjar Anyar Pakraman Village community who rejected the demolition of the statue of Wisnu Murti and the removal of Palinggih Catuspatha, it had a social-political impact, not only an impact on the social and political relations of the Banjar Anyar Kediri Tabanan community with the Tabanan Regional Government, but also had an impact on the broad political and social relations, both in Tabanan Regency and in Bali region in general. These reactions emerge through opinions in the mass media and social movements that are pros and cons to the construction of the Bung Karno statue from various elements of society, both on behalf of individuals, groups and community organizations from various media sources.

Balipost reported that some community leaders in Kediri rejected the erection of the Bung Karno statue in Catuspatha. "[P]olemic construction of the Bung Karno statue in Catuspatha is getting taper after the Tabanan components unite to support this project. Now, there is a counter-movement to reject the development. This rejection was expressed by dozens of Kediri community leaders in a meeting at Nyoman Muliadi's house, one of the figures in Kediri Village, Monday (2/17) night." 34

Balebengong.net, a member of the Bali DPRD, Nyoman Adnyana, urged the Tabanan Regency Government to immediately take action concerning the planned construction of the Bung Karno statue at the crossroad of Kediri Road. The Tabanan regent must act decisively concerning planning the development of the Bung Karno statue at the Kediri intersection after there were pros and cons of the local community because it was considered inappropriate and previously stood the figure of the God of Murti," he said, Tuesday (06/06/2014). According to Adnyana, the pros and cons of the community regarding the erection of the Bung Karno statue should the Tabanan Regency Government immediately take a firm stand, whether the location is continued or moved so that the construction does not cause problems. According to him, the Tabanan regency could not remain silent, because since the demolition of the statue of Lord Wisnu Murti was almost a year ago, the community felt disturbed when performing religious rituals at the intersection of the road. Therefore, we suggest that Tabanan Regency Government must have a firm attitude; if it continues the construction of the Bung Karno statue, the related authority has to

34Balipost, “Patung Bung Karno Akhirnya Dipasang Di Kediri.”
finish it. So it is not stalled as it is now, but the foundation is already standing," he said. If indeed the construction of the Bung Karno statue will be moved, he said, the Tabanan regency must convey to the community the location to be built for the icon of the Republic of Indonesia's proclamation. Therefore, he said, he hoped that there would be an explanation related to the construction of the statue because the local community (Kediri) prefers the re-establishment of the figure of Dewa Murti. Previously, the people of Kediri Village demanded the Tabanan Regency Government to rebuild the statue of Dewa Murti as before for ritual purposes.

Other news reported Request of Wisnu Murti Statue to be re-established in Catuspatha Kediri by Halmahera Postede in News, Culture, Hinduism, Leadership "The elected senator met the deputy Regent of Tananan in Penebel." An elected senator of Bali Ratu Shri I Gusti Ngurah Arya Wedakarya Mahendradata Wedastraputra III met Tabanan regent Sanjaya at an event in Penebel Tabanan. Gusti Wedakarna stressed his position on behalf of the Balinese Hindus and the Tabanan community in particular so that the statue of Vishnu Murti standing in Catuspatha Kediri, which had been torn down by the Tabanan regency to be rebuilt in Kediri Tabanan. Wedakarna advised a leader with a Sukarnoist spirit to listen more to the aspirations of the people, so Gusti Wedakarna asked the Tabanan regency to continue building the statue of Vishnu Murti in Kediri and advised him not to move the problem to other areas.

In Catuspatha Abiantuwung Kediri, his party handed it over to the people of Tabanan and suggested that Tabanan's sovereignty lay in the hands of his people. However, Wedakarna still politely conveyed the attitude of himself and his supporters, who always wanted the statue of Vishnu Murti to be rebuilt with the solution of shifting the figure of Bung Karno to the Regency Park as a proper form of respect for the Proclamator.

News Bali, Tuesday, September 3, 2013, reported that the Deputy Chairperson of the Tabanan Regency DPRD I Nyoman Suarsedana proposed that the Soekarno statue is relocated to the front of the Tabanan Regent's office. "That will allow Bung Karno's spirit to remain in the minds of the government and our leaders in Tabanan." While the statue of Wisnu Murti in which the authority has demolished, it should be rebuilt again. Balinese Hindus are, therefore, one of the essential figures ... in Hinduism." Gunarsa also reminded that the Bung Karno statue in Catuspatha was inappropriate or not following Dresta (customary rules), especially the position of the figure in a state sitting on a chair.

From some opinions, the pros and cons of the establishment of the statue of Bung Karno socially politically raise the pros and cons of winning the interested parties. It is undeniable that concerning the problem of dismantling the statue of Vishnu Murti and the shifting of the Catuspatha, it has an impact on social tensions because it is related to social thoughts, feelings, and actions. The problem does not stop to discourse only, but also a social effort by mobilizing the masses, both to support the development or to refuse the construction of the Bung Karno statue. Socially and politically, the establishment of the Bung Karno Statue has crossed the boundaries of public policy to realize the common good. It is because the authorities are looking for images to gain and maintain power in the community. The construction of the Bung Karno figure looks a wish of the bodies by sacrificing public feelings.

C. CONCLUSIONS

The existence of Catuspatha is a center of natural spiritual direction and ritual direction in the area of a settlement pattern in Bali, which refers to the concept of Asta Dala, Tapak Dara, Suastika, and or is called Nyatur Muka. In this case study, the dismantling of the Wisnu Murti Statue in Catuspatha Pakraman Banjar Anyar Kediri Tabanan Village was mainly due to socio-political factors, the idea of respecting the struggle of the Indonesian heroes and beautifying the face of the city by the local government by marginalizing the local wisdom of the Balinese people in religious and cultural
activities, besides community cognitive and urban planning factors.

The Catuspatha’s desacralization has a significant impact on communities’ theology. Besides strengthening the community’s belief that not every statue is capable of religious symbols except going through the sacralization process, the people’s trust in the existence of Catuspatha faded. It also leads to the shift of the orientation of the Ngider ceremony. No less important, it also has an impact on the community’s psychology, which ultimately leads to feelings of unease, tension, and prolonged emotions in the community, besides socio-political impacts, namely the fading of people’s trust in the local government, thereby causing social actions.

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